THE BIBLE

This volume examines the development and use of the Bible from Late Antiquity to the Reformation, tracing its geographical and intellectual journeys from its Middle Eastern homelands to all parts of the Mediterranean and into northern Europe. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter's volume provides a balanced treatment of eastern and western biblical traditions, highlighting processes of transmission and modes of exegesis among Roman and Orthodox Christians, Jews and Muslims, and illuminating the role of the Bible in medieval interreligious dialogue. Translations into Ethiopic, Slavic, Armenian and Georgian vernaculars, as well as Romance and Germanic, are treated in detail, along with the theme of allegorised spirituality and the multifarious practice of glossing; and the chapters take the study of medieval Bible history beyond the concerns of the monastic cloister and ecclesiastical school to consider the influence of biblical texts on vernacular poetry, prose, drama, law and the visual arts of East and West.

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The *New Cambridge History of the Bible* series comprises four volumes which take into account the considerable advances in scholarship made in almost all biblical disciplines during the previous forty years. The volumes respond to shifts in scholarly methods of study of the Old and New Testaments, look closely at specialised forms of interpretation and address the new concerns of the twenty-first century. Attention is paid to biblical studies in eastern Christian, Jewish and Islamic contexts, rendering the series of interest to students of all Abrahamic faiths. The entire *New Cambridge History of the Bible* offers a comprehensive account of the development of the Bible from its beginnings to the present day, but each volume can also be read independently, providing a substantial contribution to the scholarship of the period it covers. The *New History* will provide an invaluable resource for scholars, researchers and students alike.

List of volumes:

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EDITED BY JAMES CARLETON PAGET AND JOACHIM SCHAPER

Volume 2: From 600 to 1450
EDITED BY RICHARD MARSDEN AND E. ANN MATTER

Volume 3: From 1450 to 1750
EDITED BY EUAN CAMERON

Volume 4: From 1750 to the Present
EDITED BY JOHN RICHES

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF
THE BIBLE

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VOLUME 2
From 600 to 1450

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Edited by
RICHARD MARSDEN
and
E. ANN MATTER

CAMBRIDGE
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Preface

The original *Cambridge History of the Bible* was published in three volumes between 1963 and 1970 and became an essential and trusted resource for all with an interest in the evolution and use of the Bible in its various manifestations from the beginnings to the present day. At the start of the new millennium, however, the desirability of replacing this *History* with a completely new one, which would take account of the considerable advances in scholarship made in almost all biblical disciplines during the previous forty years and respond to the new scholarly concerns of the twenty-first century, prompted Cambridge University Press to appoint a steering committee of international academics to plan it. The four-volume *New Cambridge History of the Bible* is the result.

The present volume is the second and traces the history of the Bible from Late Antiquity to the eve of the Reformation. It is both bigger and more comprehensive than its predecessor in the earlier *History* (also volume 2, edited by G. W. H. Lampe). We have aimed to present a more balanced treatment of eastern and western biblical traditions and especially to highlight the reception and study of biblical texts among Jewish and Muslim scholars, thus illuminating the important role of the Bible in medieval interreligious dialogue. We have given far wider coverage to the many scriptural languages of the Middle Ages, some of them ignored or barely mentioned in the earlier volume, including Ethiopic, Armenian and Georgian, and the Scandinavian and Slavonic languages. Also included is more extensive consideration of biblical influence on medieval secular literature and the visual arts; two substantial chapters treat the transformation of biblical narratives into public representation in a variety of media. Throughout the volume, the contributors have made extensive use of recent research, not least that on the materials of the Cairo Genizah, which has increased our knowledge of Hebrew and Greek textual history.

The organisation of the volume is explained in an introductory chapter. We have tackled a diverse and complex period of history by arranging the

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forty-four essays in five sections. 'Texts and versions' addresses the extraordinary linguistic plurality characteristic of the medieval period, during which the enduring primacy of the established scriptural languages was continually tested by the newer vernaculars of both East and West. 'Format and transmission' surveys the evolution of production techniques and changing fashions in the presentation of the sacred text, with the great luxury pandect only the most obvious of many manifestations. 'The Bible interpreted' examines the exegetical legacy of the fathers and the challenge to this from a new sort of interpretation, fostered by monastic and cathedral schools and based on grammar and dialectic; it explores, too, the vigorous dialogues which developed between Christians and Jews and Muslims, all of whom had different and sometimes competing interests in the Bible. 'The Bible in use' addresses the most important of the liturgical, devotional and secular roles of the Bible in the medieval practice of Christianity, as well as its contribution to the formation of the Qur'ān. Finally, 'The Bible transformed' explores the mission to communicate the Bible to the less educated, which so characterised our period and was accomplished by an increasing diversity of visual and dramatic means. Pervading this volume is a further overriding theme: how the evolution and use of the Bible not only reflect the intellectual concerns and institutional and social structures of the medieval world, but also decisively shape them (the Bible, we are reminded more than once, represents power) and leave their mark on the reception of the sacred text in modern times.

We acknowledge gratefully the expert contributions of all our authors. Some have waited patiently for several years to see their essays in print, owing to the sorts of delay which seem inevitably to dog projects of this magnitude. We express our thanks also to Cambridge University Press, where Laura Morris and Jodie Hodgson guided the volume through its final stages. Our gratitude goes also to Kate Mertes for the index and to Fiona Little for her work on the bibliographical references; and a special debt is owed to our main copy-editor, Anne Marriott, without whose skill and kind patience the volume would have been much the poorer.

R. M. and E. A. M.

Abbreviations

ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAN	Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BL	British Library, London
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
BodL	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, series graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series latina
CHB I	*The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. I: From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. K. Evans (Cambridge University Press, 1972)
CHB II	*The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. II: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge University Press, 1969)
CISAM	Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto
CLA	E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols. and suppl. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934–71; 2nd edn of Vol. II, 1972)
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
CPL	*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, 3rd edn (Steenbruge: Abbatia Sancti Petri, 1995)
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
CTHS	Comité des travaux historiques et scientifique
CVMA	Corpus Vitrearum Medii Ævi
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society (original series)
es	extended series

ss	supplementary series
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Capit. episc.	Capitula episcoporum
Cap. reg. Franc.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Conc.	Concilia
Epp.	Epistulae
Poet. lat.	Poetae Latini aevi Carolini
SS	Scriptores
SS rer. Ger.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
MIP	Medieval Institute Publications
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
PG	*Patrologia graeco–latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
PIMS	Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
PL	*Patrologia latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
PO	*Patrologia orientalis*, ed. R. Graftin, F. Nan, Max, Prince of Saxony, and F. Graftin (Paris: Firmin-Didot and Brepols, 1904–)
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Languages Association*
RAN	Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk (Russian Academy of Sciences)
RB	*Revue Bénédictine*
RTAM	*Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*
SAZU	Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti (Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SISMEL	Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino
SMIBI	Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles
Stegmüller, *Repertorium*	F. Stegmüller and K. Reinhardt, *Repertorium Biblicum medii aevi*, 12 vols. (Madrid: Graficas Marina, 1950–80)
VL	*Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron* (Freiburg: Herder, 1949–)
VLB	*Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel* (Freiburg: Herder, 1957–)

Abbreviations of books of the Bible

Old Testament (including apocryphal books)

Amos	Amos
Bar.	Baruch
Cant.	Canticle of Canticles (Song of Songs / Song of Solomon)
1 Chron.	1 Chronicles (1 Paralipomenon)
2 Chron.	2 Chronicles (2 Paralipomenon)
Dan.	Daniel
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Eccles.	Ecclesiastes
Ecclus.	Ecclesiasticus (Sirach)
1 Esd.	1 Esdras (or 3 Esdras)*
2 Esd.	2 Esdras (or 4 Esdras)*
Esth.	Esther
Exod.	Exodus
Ezek.	Ezekiel
Ezra	Ezra (or 1 Esdras)*
Gen.	Genesis
Hab.	Habakkuk
Hag.	Haggai
Hos.	Hosea
Isa.	Isaiah
Jdg.	Judges
Jdth.	Judith
Jer.	Jeremiah
Job	Job
Joel	Joel
Jon.	Jonah
Josh.	Joshua
1 Kings	1 Kings (or 3 Kings)[†]
2 Kings	2 Kings (or 4 Kings)[†]
Lam.	Lamentations
Lev.	Leviticus
1 Macc.	1 Maccabees

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2 Macc.   2 Maccabees
Mal.   Malachi
Mic.   Micah
Nah.   Nahum
Neh.   Nehemiah (or 2 Esdras)*
Num.   Numbers
Obad.   Obadiah
Prov.   Proverbs
Ps.   Psalms
Ruth   Ruth
1 Sam.   1 Samuel (or 1 Kings)†
2 Sam.   2 Samuel (or 2 Kings)†
Sir.   Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
Song   Song of Songs (Song of Solomon, Canticle of Canticles)
Sus.   Susanna
Tob.   Tobit (Tobias)
Wisd.   Wisdom (Wisdom of Solomon)
Zech.   Zechariah
Zeph.   Zephaniah

New Testament

Acts   Acts
Apoc.   Apocalypse (Revelation)
Col.   Colossians
1 Cor.   1 Corinthians
2 Cor.   2 Corinthians
Eph.   Ephesians
Gal.   Galatians
Heb.   Hebrews
Jas.   James
John   John
1 John   1 John
2 John   2 John
3 John   3 John
Jude   Jude
Luke   Luke
Mark   Mark
Matt.   Matthew
1 Pet.   1 Peter
2 Pet.   2 Peter
Phil.   Philippians
Philem.   Philemon
Rev.   Revelation (Apocalypse)
Rom.   Romans

1 Thess.	1 Thessalonians
2 Thess.	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim.	1 Timothy
2 Tim.	2 Timothy
Tit.	Titus

∗ In early Latin traditions, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras were known, respectively, as 1 Esdras, 2 Esdras, 3 Esdras ('the Greek Esdras') and 4 Esdras; the last two were declared apocryphal by the Council of Trent.

† In the Vulgate, the Greek tradition of grouping together the two books of Samuel and the two books of Kings (or *Malachim*) as four books of the Reigns (or Kingdoms) – hence 1–4 Kings – was frequently followed. Thus the books known as 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings in the King James Version may be designated 1–2 Kings and 3–4 Kings respectively in editions of the Vulgate.

Table of Psalm numbering

Throughout the volume, the medieval practice of numbering psalms according to the tradition of the Septuagint and Vulgate is followed. This differs slightly from the numbering in the Hebrew tradition, as used in most modern translations. The numbers correspond or vary as follows:

Septuagint/Vulgate	Hebrew
1–8	1–8
9	9–10
10–112	11–113
113	114–15
114	116:1–9
115	116:10–19
116–145	117–146
146	147:1–11
147	147:12–29
148–50	148–50
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Introduction

RICHARD MARSDEN

When the period that we call 'medieval' opened, the Bible – a canon of author-
itative texts embodying the venerable traditions of Israel and the chronicles
of the young Christian church – was already firmly established with all its
complexities. Its subsequent developments were interwoven with both the
religious and the secular history of the Mediterranean, the Near East and
transalpine Europe. The medieval period was a long one, characterised by
bewildering changes, at the end of which the shape of what is now identified
as the modern world may be discerned. In 600, Christendom still enjoyed a
broad measure of political and spiritual unity, and Islam was yet to appear.
Byzantium was the leading Christian society in the East, while the evangelisa-
tion of the West continued apace, with much of northern and western Europe
still in the process of conversion, though that would not take long. By 900,
the unity of Christendom had gone and the schism between Constantinople
and Rome, political at first and then doctrinal, too, had become one of its
defining characteristics. The church of the East remained essentially Greek, in
contrast to an increasingly confident Latin West, secure in its notions of papal
authority and powered especially by the Carolingian empire. The challenge of
Islam had by now been felt in the East and was encroaching ever westwards.
By 1450, this threat had been contained and the schism between Rome and
Constantinople had become irrelevant, for the Greek empire had dissolved.
The western church had experienced its own disruptions and divisions, and
papal authority, ever in a stand-off with princely powers, was now under
serious threat from within. The agenda of the Reformation had been set.

 In its myriad manifestations, the Bible was, by the end of our period, avail-
able to a wider (and more critical) audience than ever before. Early changes
in script and in parchment preparation had enabled the production of more
and cheaper volumes, and there had been a move from the monastic scripto-
rium to secular, 'professional' workshops. But if it had become cheaper and
easier to produce manuscript Bibles, nevertheless the patronage of rulers and

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the wealthy aristocracy was still of enduring importance. The de luxe, iconic volumes which survive disproportionately were often gestures of political or doctrinal will; the Bible was both a symbol and a tool of power. The manuscript era was in fact drawing to a close, to be replaced by the culture of the printed book, which would bring new opportunities in the spread of the scriptural word. The increasing availability of the Bible during our period was, however, as much a function of linguistic diversification as of technical innovation. It had always been 'vernacular', for Hebrew (with Aramaic), Greek and Latin were simply the dominant languages of communication in the communities in which the scriptures were first used; now, wherever Christianity took root, new versions appeared for new linguistic groups. Most of the languages of the modern Christian world that are distinguishable by the end of the medieval period had found their literary feet, and often their alphabetical form, through the activities of Christian missionaries and monks. Reservations about direct public access to scripture were expressed perennially, but – with the notable exception of the activities of the Inquisition – wholehearted official opposition was rare, or at least ineffective.

Learning for the medieval Christian was, essentially, the study of the Bible, whose language and content permeated thought. In both East and West, church writers continually sought a balance between literal and spiritual interpretation. Learning had found its natural home in the monastery for hundreds of years but increasingly in the West it began to move out, first to the great cathedral schools, and then to the newly formed universities, involving a fundamental change of approach to interpretation. For the cloistered monk, steeped in the tradition of *lectio divina*, the Bible was still a *bibliotheca*, to be experienced as a whole, an ineffable synthesis of its many parts. In the schools, however, and above all in the universities, it became an object of analytical study. The discipline of theology evolved, and its raw material, the text itself, was now an object of keen critical attention. With the end of what had been in effect a Benedictine monopoly of professional religion, new and often aggressive orders reflected and exploited new social structures.

While continual change and often confusing variety in the transmission of the Bible are fundamental themes in our history, we are repeatedly reminded that the Christian world of the Middle Ages (itself in two parts) existed in a sort of dynamic equilibrium with the worlds of the other great monotheistic religions, the older Judaism and the younger Islam. Politically and socially, civilisations might clash, but in the scriptural sphere such interaction was often a matter of creative competition and fruitful exchange. Thus the idea of using the codex for Hebrew scripture may have come from the example of the

Qurʾān; Jewish exegesis in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was profoundly affected by the exegesis of the Christian schools; and Islamic writers needed a knowledge of the Bible in order to explain how Muḥammad came to succeed Christ. The chapters in this volume reveal many more examples.

Although the period covered by our survey is notionally 600 to 1450, such boundaries are flexible. Much of what our authors describe cannot be understood without detailed reference to what went before, and it may also be necessary to take the story forward to complete a coherent picture. Even today, the study of many areas of Bible history is in its infancy and our chapters reflect much recent and continuing scholarship, most obviously in the field of textual history, where (to give but one obvious example) research on the material of the Cairo Genizah continues. The volume is organised in five sections which highlight some main themes, though neither the sections nor the chapters within them are intended to be (or could be) exclusive. 'Text and version' are closely connected with 'format and transmission', and these in turn may affect, or themselves be a reflection of, 'interpretation'; exploration of the 'use' of the Bible is potentially limitless, for it includes all aspects of lived Christianity, and the concept of 'transformations' embraces the hugely diverse efforts of those whom we might call the creative artists of biblical interpretation: for them, at least, the Bible remained a *bibliotheca* to be experienced.

Texts and versions

The texts of scripture in the primary languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, underwent significant developments during our period, and versions in 'new' languages multiplied. The relationships between the three older languages are well known; the new versions derive mostly from Greek or Latin, though there is sometimes a return to the Hebrew, too. There is a web of further interactions between languages, new and old: Armenian mediates between Greek and Georgian, for instance; early Slavonic translations may have been influenced by versions in Old High German; and there is a three-way relationship between French (Occitan), Spanish (Catalan) and Italian translations.

As for the Hebrew Bible, the text that we use today is a product of our period (Chapter 1). The adoption by Jews of the codex form facilitated the development of the Masorah, the compendious critical apparatus which, especially in respect of the vowelling and thus 'fixing' of the bare consonantal text, brought relative textual stability and stimulated the development of Hebrew grammar and lexicography. Innovation and 'technical' revolution also affected

the transmission of the Greek of both Testaments (Chapter 2). Notable early on was the adoption of the pandect, along with the move from majuscule to minuscule scripts, but it was accompanied by a bewildering variety of part-Bible formats; idiosyncrasy was a defining feature of the Byzantine biblical manuscript. The complex relationship of the Old Testament texts to the Septuagint led to much textual variation, but there was hardly less for the Greek of the New Testament. Greek was also the language of the Byzantine Jews, and the idea that they rejected Hellenic culture once Christians had adopted it is not tenable (Chapter 3). There is abundant evidence to show that Greek-speaking Jews in the Middle Ages had their own translations, transmitted orally or in written form, which, derived as they were from revisions of the Septuagint made by Jews in the Roman period, were different from those current in the Christian church.

Despite the daunting complexities that dog the study of the transmission of the Latin Bible in respect of its text (or more correctly texts), the outline is clear. The earlier part of our period, until about 900, saw the consolidation of the 'new' versions of Jerome (Chapter 4). These, with the implicit endorsement of church writers such as Gregory the Great and Isidore, were privileged over the Old Latin versions; Jerome's authority extended also to the books that he did not revise, which were joined with the others to form what later came to be known as the Vulgate. But uniformity was a long way off: textual variation and local traditions remained, as did Old Latin contamination; the constitution of the canon was fluid and the permutations of book order apparently limitless. After 900, the sense of textual disorder seemed to increase, but detailed modern scholarship was still wanting (Chapter 5). Efforts to counter a relentless process of deterioration were made, but they tended to be local, with little long-term effect. The influence of the schoolmen was considerable, but there was no officially approved text; it took another two centuries for steps to be taken (at Trent) to produce one – and fifty more years for that text actually to appear. One important effect of the thirteenth-century Parisian Bibles, however, was to establish many of the ancillary features of Bibles which would soon become commonplace.

Among the older vernaculars of the East, Ethiopic (or Ge'ez) was one of the earliest to have the Bible, probably by the middle of the fourth century; the Old Testament was probably translated from the Greek Septuagint used in Alexandria, possibly by Jewish Christians (Chapter 6). Bible translation is of unusual importance in Ethiopian history and is invaluable for understanding the transmission of Judaism, Islam and traditional African religions. Crucially, too, Ethiopic preserves intact many ancient writings that have been lost in

the original languages, including the book of Enoch and the book of Jubilees. After the rise of Islam and the Arab conquests, the pastoral and liturgical needs of Christian communities where Arabic now dominated made a Bible in that language an obvious necessity (Chapter 7). The earliest translations were made in the Palestinian monastic milieu, the sources being Greek, Syriac and Coptic. The heyday of translation was the ninth century (though there was no complete Arabic Bible until the sixteenth), and at about the same time appeared the first Arabic translations of the Hebrew Bible by Jews.

The Bible in Armenian had a complex gestation period, paradigmatic of Armenia's role in the spread of Christianity through southern Caucasia (Chapter 8). After beginnings in oral tradition and the creation of an alphabet specifically for Christian purposes, it developed first through translations from Greek and Syriac prototypes, coloured by Antiochene exegesis. A major mid-fifth-century revision eschewed earlier freedoms in favour of a more literal translation, made to a new Greek standard, but both textual streams continued to circulate, with manuscripts frequently showing cross-contamination. In Georgian, the earliest fragments of gospels date from the sixth century, but there are indications of earlier translation; at least some of the Old Testament, too, had been translated by the sixth century (Chapter 9). There is evidence of multiple recensions for most parts of the Bible. The base text for the Gospels may have been Old Armenian, while Syro-Armenian and Greek influences were at work variously in the Old Testament. A later phase of the evolution of Georgian scripture depended on the activities of Georgian scholars outside Georgia, most notably at Mt Athos.

The Bible was brought to the Slavs in two more or less simultaneous but largely independent movements (Chapter 10). The first extensive translations into Slavonic were probably those made by the Byzantine missionaries, the brothers Cyril and Methodius, in the second half of the ninth century, but the 'golden age' of the Slavonic Bible followed the virtual obliteration of that legacy in the tenth century by Magyar invasion – it ended with further invasion, by the Ottomans in the fourteenth century – and was centred on the monasteries of Bulgaria and Macedonia, along with Bulgarian foundations on Mt Athos. A second movement was based among the Bohemians, who were evangelised by the Franks, using Latin, in the ninth century. Czech vernacular translations begin in the thirteenth century but the full flowering of Slavic scripture, and the first full Bible translation based on the Latin Vulgate, came a century later, under the aegis of the emperor Charles IV.

Behind the façade of Latin unity in western Christendom scripture in the local vernaculars throve from the seventh century onwards, all of it rendered

from Latin and thus contrasting with that notable example from an earlier era, the Bible in Gothic (an east Germanic language soon to disappear), whose sources for both Testaments were Greek. Christianity came to the continental Germanic peoples as early as the end of the fifth century and the conversions were completed by Charlemagne in 804. Almost from the start scriptural translations of some sort were available to them in their various Low and High German dialects (Chapter 11); among the earliest extant evidence are eighth-century scraps in Old Frisian. An easy interchange across dialectal areas created a sort of 'linguistic ecumene' of vernacular scriptural texts reaching to all parts, helped by Charlemagne's encouragement of vernacular Germanic culture. In England, too, parts of scripture were continuously available in English, in one form or another, from at least the eighth century (Chapter 12). An engagement with the polemics and potential problems of scriptural translation was evident, too, at least as early as Alfred the Great in the ninth century. Like so many vernaculars, English initially saw a mass of paraphrastic renderings of key biblical narratives in verse, along with considerable English glossing of the Latin texts, but as early as the turn of the tenth century continuous unadorned translations of the Gospels and much of the Hexateuch were made. After an explosion of English biblical versions of all genres from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, much of it cloaked by interpretative guidance derived from the schoolmen, the Wycliffite Bible consciously attempted something different: the naked word (more or less).

Although there were missions to Scandinavian countries in the ninth century, Christianity was not established firmly throughout until the twelfth (Chapter 13). Small amounts of scripture used in homilies or the liturgy survive from this period, but substantial translations were apparently compiled only in the fourteenth century or later. By this time the Norse language originally common to all the Scandinavian countries had developed into separate languages. The Norwegian translations are characterised by much paraphrase and the addition of commentary based on sources such as Peter Comestor. Some of the Swedish translations may well have originated in the Birgittine order of nuns and this is a possibility for the Danish Bible as well. The absence of extant Scandinavian translations of the Gospels may be the result of loss, but the greater attraction of the Old Testament historical narratives to people steeped in the saga tradition would be no surprise.

The emergence of scripture in French may be understood in terms of a process whereby the vernacular came to compete with Latin as a high-status language in support of the devotional needs of the laity (Chapter 14). From the tenth century, two main language communities within 'France' can be

distinguished: north of the Loire, the *langue d'oïl* (Old French proper) and, south of the Loire, the *langue d'oc* (Occitan). After a range of works in which translation went hand in hand with interpretation (creating one important new genre, the Bible history), the first complete vernacular Bible in Europe appeared in the mid-1200s – the Old French Bible, which survives in multiple copies. Occitan scripture was always less in volume, but it largely echoed the north in its range of genres and often depended on Old French sources, though it was also in touch with the scripture of its Italian and Catalan neighbours.

Systematic research on the numerous surviving manuscripts of the Bible in Italian has begun only recently (Chapter 15). The fourteenth century was especially productive, with most earlier evidence coming from Tuscany. Biblical manuscripts were not the preserve of the religious confraternities but were increasingly owned by wealthy families for use in their private devotions. Complete Bibles appeared in substantial numbers from the fifteenth century, but there was a strong tradition also of Bible histories, many of them in verse. By the sixteenth century, translations were made in Judaeo-Italian circles directly from the Hebrew. The notably free circulation of scripture in Italian during the medieval period ended with the coming of the Inquisition. Richness and diversity were the hallmarks of vernacular scripture in the Iberian peninsular also (Chapter 16). Two main language groups may be distinguished – the Castilian and the Catalan. The Jewish role in the formation of the former was crucial, for the Jews needed a vernacular Bible to help them understand the Hebrew Bible. Their activities account for the biggest group of surviving manuscripts. After their suppression, Bibles became a key element in the efforts of the secret Jews to retain their faith. The Catalan manuscripts that survive are mostly those that were dispersed beyond Spain and so escaped the actions of the Inquisition. A few early fragments show Occitan origins. The major 'Fourteenth-Century Bible', probably a royal commission, was based on the Vulgate but Hebrew influence is apparent in some books; the succeeding 'Fifteenth-Century Bible' was stopped by the Inquisition.

Format and transmission

Until the very end of our period, all transmission of the Bible was by manuscript – with the exception of the scrolls still used in Hebrew in liturgical contexts – but the range of formats and specific contents was almost limitless. Selection of books, size of volume, choice of text, use of ancillary features (if any), the provision of illustration (if any), the quality of presentation – all varied

according to need and purpose and, in many cases, the wealth of the sponsor; political and doctrinal considerations may also have entered the equation.

In the East the Greek text of the Old Testament was not standardised and Byzantine scribes had to try to reconcile disagreements between their exemplars (Chapter 17). For the New Testament, however, we can recognise a koine version whose homogeneity increased with time – first seen in a group of luxury codices of 550–600, it was used in the mass of manuscripts from the ninth to the fifteenth century. Manuscripts in the Byzantine world (in whatever language) were mostly produced by professional scribes associated with the state bureaucracy or church, in small workshops not tied to large institutionalised centres. The process was thus more or less immune to political upheavals and continued into the thirteenth century, even under Muslim rule. Part-Bibles remained usual, but there was no stable combination of books; pandects were known but were exceptional.

The Carolingian period saw an explosion in the copying of biblical manuscripts, and above all of pandects – most famously the fine presentation copies characteristic of Tours but also the more portable scholarly volumes from Fleury (Chapter 18). There were multi-volume Bibles, too, and a wide range of part-Bibles, dominated by the gospelbook. Charlemagne's faith in the Bible as the perfect source of instruction and wisdom contributed to a renewed preoccupation with textual matters; Alcuin's careful correction of the text and Theodulf's text-critical approach were responses. In the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, Bible production entered one of its most distinctive phases, reflecting the rise in western Europe of a passion for the art and architecture of ancient Rome (Chapter 19). Hundreds of 'Romanesque' Bibles were made, which, at their most impressive, could be as much as 900 mm in height and were often luxury volumes, richly illuminated and decorated, each being conceived as an individual work. Sponsored by popes, bishops and, often, the aristocratic laity, and apparently designed for an honoured place on the altar, these manuscripts bore witness to the effectiveness of the revitalisation of the institutions of the church and the commitment to communal worship in the wake of Gregorian reform.

The work we now associate above all with the medieval scholastic world, widely known simply as the 'Gloss', began on a small scale among a group of northern French scholars in the early twelfth century, in the form of short marginal explanations of the biblical text, but it was soon being mass-produced all over Europe. The full version required at least twenty volumes (Chapter 20). It seemed to meet the needs of the time, suiting the teaching style used in the schools (especially in Paris), which was based on the oral exposition

of an authoritative text. Yet it was a surprisingly short-lived phenomenon and by the 1230s had already outlived its usefulness, partly because it had become too difficult to understand for those not already deeply versed in the church fathers.

The dominance of pandects, the introduction of smaller – and thus more portable – formats for these (made possible by various technical innovations) and the sheer numbers of Bibles copied made the thirteenth century one of the most significant periods in the transmission of the Latin Bible (Chapter 21). Although these developments were famously centred on the Paris of the schools and university, the concept of the so-called 'Paris Bible' must be understood to imply not a specific format (for that varied hugely), but one current textual type. While this was never in any sense an official text, Paris Bibles did exert a significant influence on later developments, including early printed Bibles and, eventually, the Sixto-Clementine text.

The four Gospels were among the most copied Christian texts in the Middle Ages and survive in many forms, ranging from large and sumptuous gospel-books (often commissioned by wealthy patrons, both secular and religious) to practical 'pocket' versions (Chapter 22). They varied widely, too, in the prologues and other ancillary material they carried. The canon tables of Eusebius were popular and often attracted elaborate decoration. The gospelbooks that survive are dominated by the sumptuous volumes, for they were the ones treasured and protected, but they would originally have been far outnumbered by workaday copies. The Apocalypse (the Book of Revelation) also stood out among the books of the New Testament for special treatment, on account of its eschatological significance as an essential final statement of holy scripture as prophecy (Chapter 23). Unlike their successors in the Reformation, most medieval Christians accepted a literal meaning for the book, which for them had a unique divine authority, and so it circulated from early times as a separate book, often accompanied by commentary reflecting contemporary ecclesiological or moral issues. From the twelfth century onwards, the Apocalypse was translated into many European vernaculars and these manuscripts are as numerically important as the Latin ones.

In the form of a discrete psalter, Psalms was probably more widely used than any other biblical book (Chapter 24). Among the three Latin versions of Psalms apparently made by Jerome, the dominance of the *Romanum* was assured until about 800 by the spread of Benedictine monasticism, but thereafter the *Gallicanum* became the most widespread, especially after being chosen by Alcuin; the *Hebraicum*, though it is Jerome's most accurate rendering, never enjoyed more than occasional local acceptance. The recitation of psalms was

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integral to the performance of liturgy from earliest Christian times, so that they became part of the daily vocabulary of both monastic and secular religious and left a mark on the language and modes of expression of medieval writers. The psalter was, moreover, the earliest book to be made in any quantity for the laity.

From the beginning, Christianity (in contrast to both Judaism and Islam) was a religion of the image as well as the book, and in a wide range of Bibles and part-Bibles illustrations gave visual form to the biblical themes, helping to structure the sacred text and provide additional reward for the thoughtful observer (Chapter 25). Although the earliest surviving example of an illustrated biblical manuscript is from the East (a sixth-century Syriac Bible), such volumes were rarer there, even after the end of the Iconoclast period. In the West, lavish examples appeared in the Carolingian period but it is between 1050 and 1225 that we see an explosion of large-format illustrated Bibles throughout Christian Europe. Among part-Bibles, it is the gospelbooks, Apocalypses and psalters that accounted for most of the illustrated volumes. Vernacular Bibles attracted illustration, too: of special note was the *Bible moralisée*, which gave a pared-down biblical text with lavish illustration and was developed for French monarchs. In the later part of our period, illustrated Bibles were ever more closely associated with the wealthy laity.

The Bible interpreted

In a cultural world that made little separation between religion and politics, interpretation of the Bible reflected institutional developments and broad intellectual, as well as theological, concerns and in turn itself acted to shape the culture. The overall trend was a move from the cloister to the school, and from the Bible as a focus for spiritual rumination to the Bible as a resource for study and teaching. The focus shifted from the Old Testament to the New, evident in a reaching back to the apostolic life, the ideal of which was embodied in the new orders of friars. Models of interpretation able to address the realities of human life were increasingly sought. Whatever the details, church writers in both East and West continually looked for a balance in their exegesis between literal and spiritual interpretation.

Byzantine exegesis, rooted in a creed-based orthodoxy relying on a select few authorities (in particular, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil and Theodoret), has largely been neglected or marginalised in relation to eye-catching developments in the West, but the lingering perception that nothing original was produced is false (Chapter 26). Byzantine exegesis after the sixth

century should be sought not so much in discursive exegesis (there are rare exceptions) as in manuscripts of catenae, linked series of extracts, often accompanied by illustrations, which culminated in the great illustrated Octateuchs produced from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. The exegesis is to be seen in the choice of texts and their contexts, and in the allusions made or implied in the illustrations. By the ninth century, exegetes may have been composing deliberately for catenae, rather than for full commentaries. Political theory in Byzantium was embedded in exegesis of the Old Testament and biblical models of kingship remained part of the great debate about imperial and ecclesiastical authority.

The role of the church fathers in establishing Christianity as the dominant cultural force in western Europe can hardly be overstated (Chapter 27). The major societies (above all Charlemagne's empire) were shaped by Christian notions of history derived from a typological reading of scripture that differed from Jewish and Greek interpretations. Through their cathedral and monastic schools, the Carolingians 'institutionalised' biblical culture, and their view of the Bible as a self-sufficient source of all that is necessary for life in this world and the next lasted for centuries. The systematisation of biblical commentary by masters such as Hrabanus Maurus led to the privileging of single-volume collections of extracts – a sort of 'exegesis of exegesis' – with the biblical text itself pushed, to a great extent, into the background.

The relative decline of the monastic schools in the ninth century was accompanied by an increase in the importance of the cathedral schools (Chapter 28). By the eleventh century secular priests monopolised the role of 'master of the sacred page' and enjoyed a rising status. The liberal arts were essential to interpretation, though this did not mean an ignoring of the text itself. Authority was paramount and was restricted to half a dozen key patristic writers; the running commentary, growing out of glosses, became the exegesis par excellence. Schools after 1000, in an age of reform, faced new challenges – the literal sense of scripture was redefined with a demonstration of its historical potential, giving universal meaning to historical experience. In the thirteenth century, the rise to prominence of the universities placed the study of the Bible in an institutionalised setting, and for the first time it became an academic discipline (Chapter 29). While the universities at Oxford and Cambridge began to grow in importance, it was Paris that dominated. One consequence of the new academic focus of the universities was the rise of speculative theology at the expense of the study of the Bible itself. Under the stimulus of the mendicant orders (religious orders dependent on alms or charity), new study tools such as concordances and subject indices were developed. The importance of the

biblical languages was recognised, too, and the study of Greek and Hebrew increasingly encouraged.

The idea of Christ and his church was already written into the Old Testament, and reformers had always worked to bring the visible church into closer alignment with the scriptural ideal (Chapter 30). Only in the eleventh century, however, with Pope Gregory's reforms, was the onus put on the church itself, rather than the individual believer, though the problem of trying to equate Jewish experience in the Old Testament too literally with the contemporary church persisted. Linked to reform was the rise, or at least the clearer definition, of heretical movements, with their evangelistic preference for the New over the Old Testament. They did not reject biblical interpretation (there is ample evidence of their use of the allegorical approach) but they created an impasse that lasted until the eve of the Reformation: reformers (including the Wycliffites) could not trust the clergy to interpret scripture in the context of a true christological tradition, while the clergy could not (or would not) trust the laity to interpret scripture at all.

The essence of Jewish biblical exegesis in the Middle Ages – drawing on advances in the study of the Hebrew language and stimulated in particular by the dominant Islamic culture of the East – was the study of scripture in its literary and historical context, replacing the ancient rabbinical interpretative approach (Chapter 31). The new movement was led in France by scholars such as Rashi. Stimulated by the challenging Christian environment in which they found themselves, and adopting the more *ad litteram*, or literal, approach to exegesis practised by the Paris masters, Jews found common ground with Christians. In the thirteenth century, new methodologies appeared, including philosophical exegesis and mysticism. Christians, on the other hand, based their anti-Jewish polemic on the Augustinian notion that Jews could in fact only read the Old Testament literally – not, as they did, christologically and therefore, in essence, metaphorically (Chapter 32). Yet if we follow the increasingly sophisticated dialogue between the two sides, we find Jewish commentators elaborating metaphorical explanations of scripture, and Christians becoming more aware of the need to understand the literal and historical levels of the Old Testament in order to base spiritual interpretations on them. It is interesting to observe an increasing perception of linguistic issues from the twelfth century onwards and greater efforts by Christians to study Hebrew, which allowed them to question key interpretations by Jerome.

From the beginning Islam was aware of its relationships in the family of the great monotheistic religions, and the Qur'ān alludes positively to both the Gospels and the Torah (Chapter 33). Accommodation between the separate

communities seems to have characterised early contacts between Christians and the emerging Muslims, and what resulted was a creative interplay between the two religions: Christian writers alluded to Qur'ānic ideas (in respect of compassion, for instance) and Arabic became a new language for Christian works. On the Muslim side, writers clearly needed a knowledge of the Bible in order to explain how Muḥammad came to succeed Christ, and their profound knowledge of Christian theology enabled them to refute in a sophisticated way some fundamental Christian doctrines. In their polemics, Christian and Muslim theologians read the others' sacred text 'through the prism of his own', but they used the same intellectual weapons.

The Bible in use

The Bible was an essential component of the lived religion of the medieval Christian, whether 'professional' or lay. The former encountered it most regularly and consistently through its use in the daily masses and offices – for all practical purposes, the medieval liturgy was 'the singing of the Bible' (Chapter 34). Central were the psalms, but passages from the Old Testament (especially the historical, prophetic and sapiential books) and the New were prescribed also, along with extracts from the church fathers. The specific liturgical content of the offices varied according to the venue (monastery or cathedral), as well as by region, and was continually subject to revision. Although dedicated lectionaries were not essential (the Bible itself could be used) they became usual. Readings were chanted to a flexible recitation framework in such a way as to clarify the grammatical structure of the text and to enable it to be heard at a distance: this can be especially effective with readings of the passion in Holy Week. Preaching, too, was integral to the practice of medieval Christianity, and was in essence a commentary on the Bible (Chapter 35). Sermons began to circulate in homiliaries, and they might be used in the Office and for private reading, as well as in preaching. From the twelfth century, under the influence initially of the schools and then the mendicant orders, the sermon became more and more structured, and various auxiliary tools were developed, including concordances, lists of biblical words in their various meanings and model sermons. The rhetorical ingenuity which often resulted, pushing the elucidation of the scripture itself into the background, was noticed and condemned by reformers such as Wyclif.

One of the most remarkable features of western Christianity from about 1100 was an explosion of 'spiritual literature' (Chapter 36). Relying on received traditions of biblical interpretation, it had much in common with the exegesis

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of fathers such as Augustine and Gregory in its guidance on how to live the Christian life, but it was profoundly influenced also by the eastern tradition of apophatic spirituality – a struggle to express the ineffable nature of God and a longing for mystical union with the divine. Job and the Song of Songs were among the books most often visited by the exponents of this genre, such as Richard of St Victor, Richard Rolle, Bernard of Clairvaux, Julian of Norwich, the Flemish Beguines and many others.

The antithesis 'literate clerics / illiterate laypeople' became ever more blurred during the medieval period, as more and more laypeople acquired some sort of literacy (Chapter 37). Latin remained the language of Christianity and its scripture, but use of that language as a yardstick to measure literacy became irrelevant as written vernaculars flourished and achieved autonomy. Throughout our period the literary competence of even the religious is often questionable. From the eleventh century, reading for devotional purposes among the laity, who displayed a growing religious self-confidence, increased, as did the acquisition of vernacular books in monastic libraries, though the traditional communities held more persistently to Latin. The development and practice of literacy among women, both religious and lay, followed a parallel but often rather different course to that of men.

The canon law that we know today, essential both for the internal organisation of the church itself and for its relationship to wider society, was formed in the Middle Ages (Chapter 38). Law based on biblical principles had been established in Ireland as early as about 700, but it was Gratian, a monk from central Italy, who tackled the overriding need of the church for systematisation. His *Decretum* (*c.* 1140) became the universal (yet never official) standard for the western church, though different national systems remain in operation in the East. Based on the premise that the Bible expressed the perfect natural law, the challenge for Gratian, and for the canonists and judicial commentators who followed him, was to maintain biblical principles while accepting that practical circumstances change. Every part of the Bible was used, though Psalms, the sapiential books and the Pauline Epistles were especially useful.

The use of the Bible in the Qur'ān is one of the most striking examples of cross-fertilisation between the great religions, and results from the proximity of the living communities of both Jews and Christians to the emerging Islamic community in Medina (Chapter 39). The beginnings of the Qur'ān lie in oral communication, and both Jewish and Christian scriptural traditions form an almost continuous web of 'intertexts' underlying its text. The extent to which the Qur'ān is populated by biblical characters is remarkable, and many of the key narratives (including those of Adam, Noah, Abraham and Lot,

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Joseph, Moses, Mary) are retold there. They are modified by various rhetorical strategies, most notably in the move away from an historical focus towards intimations of an eschatological future, but biblical authority is retained.

The Bible transformed

The Middle Ages were an era of Bible transformations. For artists, craftsmen and poets throughout Christendom, scripture was the supreme point of reference and principal source of narrative imagery. Alongside the scholars and exegetes, they created in infinitely varying ways a dynamic parallel world of 'other' Bibles, which, in their visual manifestations, came to be called a 'people's Bible'. Whether this world was experienced through a wall painting in the Roman catacombs or in a lyric on creation by a Northumbrian cowherd or in the antics of a guild player on a wooden stage in Florence, this was the Bible as performance. The purpose on the one hand was to instruct the public audience in the events and personalities of the biblical narratives, and on the other to engage them at a symbolic level, pricking their consciences (ideally, at least) and provoking them to an awareness of their own failings in relation to the divine certainties which the performance asserted.

Traditions of illustrating the narratives of the Old and the New Testaments were widespread in the Roman world from the late second century CE and had become firmly established in the Mediterranean theatre by the fifth (Chapter 40). The next 500 years witnessed an engagement with the Bible in the public visual arena that was vigorous, inventive and extremely varied. The traditions that had evolved in the fifth and sixth centuries of deploying biblical imagery in churches, on artefacts (such as caskets) and even about the person (as on amulets) continued to be followed and to develop. But new patterns and new emphases emerged, too. There was a sense of adventure and experimentation in the way scripture was visually accommodated to the public requirements of society. In the second part of our period, programmes of wall painting became ever more typologically complex and ingenious (Chapter 41). Groups of biblical narratives were often presented in two or more registers, wrapping round the contours of the church, the apse being generally devoted to the major theophanic themes, such as Christ in Majesty and the Virgin and Child. Recent scholarship has made much of the connection between art and the liturgy, but a good case for a political dimension may sometimes also be made. Public art moved with the times. A revival of sculpture was associated with the large-scale building programmes and monastic reform of the eleventh century, and the use of stained glass as a narrative medium

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was linked especially to the development of Gothic architecture with its great expanses of glazed windows.

Why the icon as a visual source of biblical knowledge for the majority of the public should have become such a defining feature of the church in the East by 600 is not entirely clear (Chapter 42). An icon can be made in any medium, though it is commonly identified almost exclusively with painted panels. Only after the ending of the disruptive Iconoclast movement in 843 do we see the developments which are now so familiar in eastern churches – above all, the elaboration of the sanctuary screen to the point where, with its intricately related registers of panels, it depicted no less than a microcosm of the heavenly order. Processional icons came to supply a visual enhancement for the rituals of the liturgy. Those carried on Good Friday, with paintings of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, were to influence depictions of Christ in the West, especially among the Franciscans.

From at least the eighth century, verbal transformations of the Bible in the local vernaculars of the West paralleled the visual as a pervasive means of conveying the key narratives, teaching moral themes and provoking compunction in the Christian, but they allowed more scope for personal intervention, both in composition and in performance (Chapter 43). The great store of apocryphal scripture was as likely to be used as the canonical books for these texts – ranging from those which were epic both in scope (world history) and in length (30,000 lines or more were not unusual), to short devotional songs, often based on a psalm, they adopted the language and the metrical conventions of the poet's milieu. All these compositions may be seen as 'personal speech acts', in which the poets mediated the Bible – whether to monastic, aristocratic or popular audiences – in the light of their individual understanding and experience. Last but not least of transformations in the West was that most democratic and, in its various medieval forms, most exhilarating of genres – the biblical drama (Chapter 44). Though rooted in the representational tendency implicit in liturgical worship, it became increasingly secular in its performance context. Unabashedly, the plays and pageants revealed, and revelled in, every detail of God's relationship with humankind as set out in the Bible. No aspect of divine history was beyond their reach, for their trademark was a 'sublime naiveté' which pre-empted accusations of blasphemy. Thus it was that they got away with the unthinkable, even depicting God on stage. The Council of Trent would later frown on them, to be sure, but would not entirely suppress them.

PART I

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TEXTS AND VERSIONS

The Hebrew Bible

JUDITH OLSZOWY-SCHLANGER

The medieval period, considered here broadly to lie between the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud *c.* 600 CE and the end of the fifteenth century, is crucial for the history of the Hebrew Bible. The biblical canon and the tripartite classification of the twenty-four books into Law (the Torah or Pentateuch), Prophets (*Nevi'im*) and Hagiographa (*Ketuvim*) had long been established.[1] The consonantal text, too, had been standardised well before; a large proportion of the Bible manuscripts from the Judaean desert from the beginning of the Christian era attest already to a type of consonantal text similar to that seen in later medieval manuscripts.[2] Nonetheless, in the Middle Ages the Hebrew Bible was subject to many changes. First, the books acquired a new shape: alongside the traditional scrolls, which continued to be used in the liturgy, the biblical text was now copied in the codex format. Second, the fixed consonantal text was provided with written vowels, cantillation signs ('accents') and textual notes known as the Masorah (usually translated as 'tradition'). These masoretic additions not only recorded the various traditions of pronunciation but also imposed a fixed interpretation of those words whose purely consonantal form could be read in different ways. The introduction of the vowels, together with the growing influence of philosophical and scientific debates in the Arab world, proved to be one of the essential factors leading to the development of new approaches to the biblical text – namely, the birth of grammar and lexicography and of a new type of 'proto-scientific' commentary distinct from the Late Antique genres of homiletic and legendary midrashim

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1 R. T. Beckwith, 'Formation of the Hebrew Bible', in M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling (eds.), *Mikra. Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum / Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1988), pp. 39–86, at pp. 58–60.
2 E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress / Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1992), pp. 24–5; F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1986), pp. 309–11.

(collections of exegesis and exposition of scripture).[3] Last but not least, the geographical spread of Jewish communities accounted for a diversity of hand-copied Bibles, which show the influence of the book-making techniques of non-Jewish neighbours.

These three aspects of the Hebrew Bible in the Middle Ages – the scroll and codex, the Masorah, and the diversity of the Bible as a book – will be the focus of this chapter. They will be preceded by a brief review of the extant corpus of medieval Bible manuscripts and their role in modern Bible editions.

The extant medieval manuscripts

The medieval history of the Hebrew Bible before the beginning of the tenth century is largely conjectural. The Talmud and the 'extra-canonical' treatises appended to it, such as *Masekhet Sefer Torah* and *Soferim* (from about the eighth century), abound in information concerning the production and copying of biblical scrolls, but no dated Bible manuscripts are known before the codex of Hagiographa copied in 902 CE, in Gunbad-i-Mallgàn in Iran, and preserved in several fragments from the Cairo Genizah (on which, see below).[4] A few biblical fragments from Antinoopolis and Oxyrhynchus can be dated to the Byzantine or early Muslim periods,[5] and a leather scroll fragment with the text of Exodus 15, today in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, has been carbon-dated to the seventh / eighth century, and probably also originated in Egypt.[6] Several biblical fragments, such as a Genesis scroll from the Cairo Genizah, today in the Cambridge University Library, almost certainly pre-date the tenth century, but their dating is based on palaeographical, and thus uncertain, grounds.[7]

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3 See for instance M. Sæbø with C. Brekelmans and M. Haran (eds.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. The History of its Interpretation. Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300). Part 2: Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), esp. E. J. Revell, 'The Interpretative Value of the Masoretic Punctuation', pp. 64–73. For an overview of medieval Hebrew linguistics, D. Téné, 'Linguistic Literature: Hebrew', in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem: Keter / New York: Macmillan, 1971–2), vol. xvi, cols. 1353–90; I. Zwiep, 'The Hebrew Linguistic Tradition in the Middle Ages', *Histoire Epistémologie Langage* 18 (1996), pp. 41–61.

4 M. Beit-Arié, C. Sirat and M. Glatzer, *Codices hebraicis litteris exarati quo tempore scripti fuerint exhibentes*, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997–2006), vol. 1 (*Jusqu'à 1020*), no. 2.

5 See W. D. McHardy, 'Hebrew Fragments', in C. H. Roberts (ed. and trans.), *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. 1 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1950), Appendix, pp. 105–6; and C. Sirat, *Les papyrus en caractères hébraïques trouvés en Égypte* (Paris: CNRS, 1985), pp. 118–19.

6 Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ashkar-Gilson Collection, Hebrew 2 (previously housed at the Duke University of North Carolina).

7 See C. Sirat, M. Dukan and A. Yardeni, 'Rouleaux de la Tora antérieurs à l'an mille', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (November 1994), 862–3; and A. Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Carta, 1991), pp. 210–13.

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The number of preserved Hebrew Bible manuscripts increases from the tenth century onwards. Precise statistics are not available, but it can be estimated that some 5,000 are known today (just under 10 per cent of all extant Hebrew manuscripts). To this number should be added the many thousands of fragments from the Cairo Genizah[8] and from the so called 'European Genizah' – that is, fragments of Hebrew manuscripts reused in bookbindings found in various European libraries.[9] An historical study of the Bible should preferably be founded on dated manuscripts, but the evidence of these is limited: scrolls never contain a date, and only 184 Bible codices are explicitly dated. Thirty-one of these are from before the end of the twelfth century: twelve are from the tenth (all of them from the East), seven from the eleventh (six from the East and one from North Africa) and twelve from the twelfth century itself. The latter include the earliest dated Bibles of European origin: the Codex Reuchlinianus, copied in 1105/6, probably in Italy, and the Valmadonna Pentateuch, copied in 1189, probably in England.[10] As yet, there are no systematic studies on the later Bible manuscripts and on undated manuscripts, but the perusal of various catalogues and specific publications gives an idea of a great diversity in respect of both the geographical provenance of the manuscripts and the variety of their external characteristics.

Medieval manuscripts and critical editions

Until the 1947 discovery in the Judean desert of ancient manuscripts dating from around the beginning of the Christian era, medieval manuscripts were the oldest available sources for the study of the Hebrew Bible. From the beginnings of modern scholarship, they were examined as 'witnesses' to the biblical text with the aim of reconstructing the urtext, the putative original text or archetype. The results of collations of medieval manuscripts such as

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8 More than 24,000 appear in the four-volume catalogue of the Bible fragments of the Cambridge collections alone; see M. C. Davis and B. Outhwaite (eds.), *Hebrew Bible Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections*, 4 vols., Cambridge University Library Genizah, 2nd ser. (Cambridge University Press, 1979–2003).

9 See for example, C. Sirat, 'Le Bibbie ebraiche dell'Archivio Storico Comunale di Modena', in M. Perani (ed.), *La 'Genizah Italiana'* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1999), pp. 245–51.

10 Respectively, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, 3, and London, Valmadonna Trust Library, 1. The numbers here are based on Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer, *Codices hebraicis litteris exarati*, vols. I–IV, and on the published results of the Sfar-Data project; see M. Beit-Arié, 'The Codicological Data-Base of the Hebrew Palaeography Project. A Tool for Localising and Dating Hebrew Medieval Manuscripts', in D. R. Smith and P. S. Salinger (eds.), *Hebrew Studies. Papers Presented at a Colloquium on Resources for Hebraica in Europe Held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 11–13 September 1989*, BL Occasional Papers 13 (London: BL, 1991), pp. 163–97.

those of Benjamin Kennicott in Oxford and Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi in Parma were on the whole disappointing because the 'variants' distinguishing one manuscript from another mostly reflected the unintentional scribal corruptions inherent in hand-copied book production rather than pertinent differences which might reflect underlying divergent textual traditions.[11]

Early textual criticism focused on the consonantal text of the Bible. However, the consonantal skeleton is but a part of the medieval text, which cannot be considered without its vowels, accents and masoretic critical apparatuses. While no one would claim that the masoretic text represents the oldest form of the Bible, it has roots in the ancient oral tradition and it achieved an authoritative status in medieval Judaism. The masoretic text became the focus of biblical studies and critical editions from the turn of the nineteenth century onwards. The most influential collation, of more than seventy manuscripts, is C. D. Ginsburg's four-volume *The Massorah*, with his later analysis of the masoretic practices.[12]

The turning point in the study of the masoretic text in the late nineteenth century was the discovery of Bible manuscripts in various Jewish synagogues in the East. An important collection was assembled by the Karaite scholar Abraham Firkovitch in the mid-nineteenth century, and is kept today in the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg. The discovery of a genizah (a repository of worn-out writings which are unfit for use but cannot be destroyed because of the sanctity attributed to the Hebrew language and writing) in the Ben Ezra synagogue in Old Cairo (Fustat) gave a new impetus to biblical studies. In 1896, Salomon Schechter, reader in rabbinics at the University of Cambridge, brought the bulk of the contents of the Cairo Genizah (about 150,000 manuscript fragments) from Egypt to Cambridge. Hundreds of other fragments found their way to various collections in Europe and the USA.[13] In 1960, another major development took place: the president

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11 *Vetus Testamentum hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, ed. B. Kennicott (Oxford: Clarendon, 1776–80); *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, ed. G. B. de Rossi (Parma, 1784–8); M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts. Their History and their Place in the HUPB edition', *Biblica* 48 (1967), 243–90; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 37–9. Only a few medieval variants are included in critical apparatuses of the most recent Hebrew Bible editions, such as that of the Hebrew University Bible project. For a comprehensive study of the variants, see D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, 3 vols., Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 50/1–3 (Fribourg: Academic Press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1982).
12 *The Massorah*, ed. C. D. Ginsburg, 4 vols. (Vienna and London: [no publ.], 1880–1905) and C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London: Trinitarian Bible Society, 1897; repr. New York: Ktav, 1966).
13 See S. C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo. The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000).

of the State of Israel, Izhak Ben-Zvi, who was also a leading biblical scholar, announced the arrival in Israel of the *Keter Aram Ṣova*, the 'Aleppo Crown' (Aleppo Codex). This manuscript is believed to have been vocalised (that is, its basically consonantal text augmented by signs to show the pronunciation of vowels) in Palestine in the tenth century by the famous masorete Aharon ben Asher and used as a model by Moses Maimonides. The codex was mutilated but rescued from destruction during the 1947 riots against the Aleppo Jewish community, which had kept custody of it for the previous 500 years. Today it is kept in the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem.[14]

The discovery of the eastern manuscripts, which pre-date by 200 years the earliest dated manuscripts previously known to European scholars, was essential for the understanding of the development of the masoretic text. The work of Paul Kahle and his school in particular focused on different traditions of vocalisation: the Palestinian, the Babylonian and the better-known Tiberian tradition.[15] Some scholars argued that groups of manuscripts with Palestinian and Babylonian vocalisation differed at the level of the consonantal text as well, while others maintained the monolithic nature of the consonantal text regardless of the type of vocalisation in a manuscript.[16] More importantly, from the end of the nineteenth century, scholars studied systematically the masoretic notes themselves, and used them as sources for textual differences.

The availability of these early manuscripts had an impact on critical editions of the Bible. The quest for the 'original' text which motivated the eighteenth-century editors gave way to the search for the most 'reliable' masoretic text. The valued recent editions are often built around one manuscript considered as the most perfect example of Ben Asher's school, and accompany this single text with detailed critical apparatuses listing different readings, including those in early translations and, more recently, the manuscripts of the Judaean desert. Thus, the *Biblia Hebraica* edited by R. Kittel (Leipzig, 1905), revised in 1967–77 by W. Rudolph and K. Elliger and published as the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, is based on the Leningrad Codex, a complete Bible copied in 1008 and corrected from an exemplar vocalised by Aharon ben Asher.[17] The editors of the *Hebrew*

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14 Ben-Zvi Institute 1; see I. Ben-Zvi, 'The Codex of Ben Asher', *Textus. Studies of the Hebrew University Bible Project* 1 (1960), 1–16.

15 P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

16 B. Chiesa, *L'Antico Testamento ebraico secondo la tradizione palestinese* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1978); L. Díez Merino, *La Biblia babilonica* (Madrid: CSIC, 1975). Cf. E. J. Revell, *Biblical Texts with Palestinian Pointing and their Accents*, Society of Biblical Literature Masoretic Series 4 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977).

17 *Biblia Hebraica*, ed. R. Kittel (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905); this was later revised and published as *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. W. Rudolph and K. Elliger (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung,

University Bible, initiated by M. H. Goshen-Gottstein (with Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel published so far), chose from the outset to follow as closely as possible the text of the Aleppo Codex (where preserved) and its masoretic notes.

The changing shape of the Hebrew Bible: scroll and codex

Since biblical times (see Ezek. 2:9), Jewish books in general and the Bible in particular were produced in the form of a scroll. In antiquity, scrolls were written on papyrus, as attested by a few biblical manuscripts from the Judean desert,[18] but later this less durable material was considered unsuitable for biblical text, and it was deemed preferable to copy it on animal skins. Rabbinic literature (both early texts, such as the Mishna and the Talmud, and later works, such as the *Soferim* or the responsa and commentaries of medieval scholars) abounded with rules concerning the production, preservation and use of biblical scrolls: the suitable types of skin, inks and writing implements, exact sizes and proportions, column layout and the details of the script itself. These particularly concerned scrolls for public liturgical use, especially the Torah (Pentateuch) scroll, which was read in a three-year cycle according to the Palestinian rite, as practised up to the eleventh century, or in a one-year cycle according to the more widespread and still prevailing Babylonian rite. However, periodically during the history and geographical diffusion of Jewish communities, technological changes in book production were introduced with the approval of the rabbinic authorities of the time. For instance, in the talmudic period, the skins of 'clean' animals were scraped to remove hair, soaked in water with added organic matter, treated with salt and flour and sprinkled with vegetable tannin, mostly a gallnut concoction. This technology resulted in superficially tanned leather (*gevil*) with a resistant and smooth but slightly darkened surface, turning from yellow to brown, and darker on the hair side where more gallnut tannin was applied.[19] This eastern technology, described in regulatory texts, was not used in the production of liturgical scrolls in the Latin West. The western parchment (*qelaf*) was produced by a

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1967–77, which in turn is now in its fifth edition (1997). St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Firkovitch EBP. I. B.19a (given the siglum L); see *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition*, ed. D. N. Freedman (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998); I. Yeivin, *The Biblical Masorah* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2003); Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer, *Codices hebraicis litteris exarati*, vol. I, no. 17.

18 E. Tov, 'Copying of a Biblical Scroll', *Journal of Religious History* 26 (2002), 189.

19 M. Haran, 'Bible Scrolls in Eastern and Western Jewish Communities from Qumran to the High Middle Ages', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 56 (1985), 34–8.

process of soaking in a lime solution and scraping on both sides, resulting in much lighter writing surfaces with a minimal difference between the hair and flesh sides.[20]

To produce a scroll, sheets of leather or parchment large enough to accommodate from three to eight columns of text each were sewn together with the sinews of 'clean' animals or linen threads to form a long strip of writing material. The text was written in columns, each of them wide enough to contain in one line the longest word of the Pentateuch, למשפחותיהם (Gen. 8:19), and containing, at least in theory, the prescribed number of forty-two lines of text. The calligraphic regularity of the script was ensured by guide lines ruled with a hard point (a reed). The scroll was rolled vertically, from two sides towards the middle. Its extremities were left free of text and attached to wooden handles, called ʿammud, 'pillar', or later ʿeṣ ḥayyim, 'tree of life', to echo Prov. 3:18: 'She [that is, wisdom, which is the Torah in rabbinic interpretation] is a tree of life for all who grasp her'. Twin handles at two ends were used for a Torah scroll and one handle for smaller and less heavy scrolls such as Esther. The calligraphy of a liturgical scroll was special: letters shin, ʿayin, ṭeth, nun, zayin, gimel and ṣade were decorated with pointed strokes called *taggin* (crowns).

In Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages the reading cycle of the Torah, with selected prophetic passages (*haftarot*) for the Sabbath and festivals, was already a well-established focus of Jewish religious and communal life. The scroll was a liturgical object of veneration and its production, reading and conservation, and finally its disposal in a genizah after it was no longer fit for use, were highly ritualised. Even today, the Torah and the *Megillah* (the book of Esther, read for the Purim festival) are read from scrolls in the synagogue service.

Nevertheless, since the Middle Ages the codex, too, in parallel with the scroll, has played a major role in the history and transmission of the Hebrew Bible. After a long period of reluctance, the Jews adopted it for most of their writings, with the scroll gradually acquiring an exclusive liturgical status. It is generally agreed that the codex was a Roman invention and derived from the use of wooden tablets covered in wax which could be joined together. The replacement of the wood by papyrus or parchment would give birth to the form of the book we know today. Contemporary Jews did know and use so-called *pinkasim* (from Greek πίναξ), which were composed of several writing tablets attached together and were used for jotting down records and personal notes. The writing tablets were usually made of wood with one

20 Ibid., p. 29.

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surface covered in wax on which one wrote with a sharp stylus. Flexible attachments on both sides of each tablet would allow folding the *pinkas* not like a book but rather in a concertina-like fashion. For this reason the rabbinic composite *pinkas*, or Greek *pinaks*, differs from the Roman codex and cannot be considered as its precursor.[21]

The codex presented many functional advantages: opening it was easier than unrolling a scroll, especially if one was looking for a particular reference, and the leaves of the codex could more easily be written on both the recto and the verso, thus saving space. Because of this greater practicality, but probably also to signal their distinctiveness, the Christians adopted the form of the codex as early as the second century CE.[22] However, although it is difficult to imagine that the Jews were unaware of the new and practical book form used around them, there is no evidence that they adopted it for their books until after the Muslim conquest. It is in fact likely that they adopted the codex form from the Muslims (who chose this by-then-prevalent form for the Qurʾān),[23] for the term for codex in medieval Hebrew, *miṣḥaf*, is an Arabic loanword. It is used to designate the codex in the source which is the earliest evidence for its existence among the Jews, the eighth-century *Halakhot Pesuqot* of Yehudai ben Naḥman, Gaon (i.e., head of the talmudic academy) of Sura (760–4), where it is stated that only scrolls and not codices can be used for the liturgical reading of the book of Esther.[24]

The practical and economic advantages of the codex and its impact on book-production techniques, and more broadly on the processes of transmission of knowledge in the world of Christianity, are well established.[25] For Jewish book culture, too, it had far-reaching implications. A first consequence, as already noted, is the writing on both recto and verso of each leaf. This is not

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21 Thus M. Haran, 'The Codex, the Pinax and the Tablets' [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 57 (1988), 151–64; see S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine. Studies in Literary Transmission Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the I Century B.C.E. – IV Century C.E.* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1962), pp. 204–5.

22 E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977); I. M. Resnick, 'The Codex in Early Jewish and Christian Communities', *Journal of Religious History* 17 (1992), 1–2.

23 See F. Déroche and A. Berthier, *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe* (Paris: BNF, 2000), p. 13.

24 *Halakhot Gedolot*, as published in Venice in 1548 (printed by Marco Antonio Giustiniani): fol. 80, col. a. See M. Glatzer, 'The Aleppo Codex: Codicological and Palaeographical Aspects' [Hebrew], *Sefunot* 4 (1989), 260–1; N. Sarna, 'Ancient Libraries and the Ordering of the Biblical Books', in N. Sarna (ed.), *Studies in Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2000), p. 57.

25 See C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London and New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1983).

to say that a scroll could not be covered in writing on both sides, for several such opistographs were identified among Judean desert manuscripts, but none contains a biblical text: the scrolls of the Bible were traditionally written on the recto only.[26] Second, while in ancient times scrolls were simultaneously both physical 'books' and units of a single biblical book, the economy of space enabled by a codex allowed the copying of all twenty-four books in one volume (see below). Even more significantly, perhaps, the codex allowed for the introduction of such textual and graphic elements as vowels, accents, critical apparatuses and marks of subdivision of the texts (such as those for the ends of verses and the *parasha* or *sidra* sectional sign), as well as decoration and inscriptions.

The regulatory texts forbid additions to the liturgical scroll which might alter the form sanctioned by tradition. The prohibition of writing the vowels is well attested and discussed in medieval literature, for example in the twelfth-century liturgical and legal compendium from northern France, the *Maḥzor Vitry*. Quoting an earlier author identified with Natronai Gaon (ninth century), the *Maḥzor Vitry* claims a relatively recent invention and human origin for vowel signs, as opposed to the 'revealed' consonantal text. The vowels are not a part of the original Torah given to Moses on Sinai but an invention of the sages, and their use would infringe the rule given in Deut. 13:1 (Vulgate 12:32): 'What thing so ever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it'.[27] Similar prohibition was expressed by other medieval authors, such as Hai Gaon (938–1038) in one of his responsa. In the late eleventh century Judah ben Barzilai, from Barcelona, states clearly in his *Hilkhot Sefer Torah* that a vocalised Torah scroll is unfit for public reading and is considered as defiled (*pasul*).[28] Consequently, the liturgical scrolls contain only the consonantal text and are devoid of any additional signs, except for some hundred 'scribal anomalies' whose tradition goes back to early rabbinic texts.[29] The only text division in liturgical scrolls is a separation of paragraphs with blank spaces of prescribed length.

There is in fact some evidence that the vocalisation of Torah scrolls was endorsed by some Karaites – members of a medieval Jewish religious move-ment who considered the Bible as the main source of their legal system and

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26 See Tov, 'Copying of a Biblical Scroll', p. 194.

27 *Machsor Vitry nach der Handschrift im British Museum* (Cod. Add. No. 27200 u. 27201), ed. S. Hurwitz (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Vereins M'kize Nirdamim, 1893), p. 91, par. 120.

28 E. N. Adler (ed.), *Ginzei Misraim. An Eleventh-Century Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Hart, 1897), p. 8.

29 For the list and description of the scribal anomalies, see A. Dotan, 'Masorah', in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. XVI, cols. 1401–82, at col. 1408; Yeivin, *The Biblical Masorah*, p. 48.

claimed a human, not divine, origin for the talmudic laws. However, the significance of the evidence has been much debated, and it is clear that not all Karaites agreed. A number of biblical scrolls with vowels and/or end-of-verse signs have indeed been discovered in the Cairo Genizah but there is no evidence that these were in any way associated with the Karaites. It may be suggested that they were simply informal study scrolls rather than liturgical books.

Although in many respects the biblical codex was a departure from the strict rules of liturgical scrolls, there was a clear interaction between the two forms. The rules for the copying of liturgical scrolls influenced the codices and this influence is manifest (to various degrees) in the observance of the above-mentioned 'anomalies' of the copied text, of the prescribed space of four blank lines separating consecutive books of the Pentateuch, in the division of the text into open and closed paragraphs, in the attention to the use of specific words to open a new page (the words יהודה in Gen. 49:8, הבאים in Exod. 14:28, שני in Lev. 16:8 and טבו מה in Num. 25:5 are traditionally written at the beginning of a new column in Torah scrolls), in the use of *taggin* (crowns) in some codices, especially for the poetic passages (for example, the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15 in the Valmadonna Pentateuch), and finally in the specific page layout for these passages.

On the other hand, good-quality masoretic codices were used as models for copying and correcting not only other codices but also liturgical scrolls. Thus the rules for the Torah scroll in Maimonides' *Hilkhot Sefer Torah* are explicitly based on a vocalised Ben Asher codex. Having observed the discrepancies between existing scrolls, Maimonides decided to write down the textual parameters for Torah scrolls following a specific model:

> The book on which I base myself for these matters is the one famous in Egypt, which includes twenty-four books and which was in Jerusalem for some years where it served as a model to correct books. Everyone used to rely on it, for Ben Asher corrected it, studied it for years and corrected it many times, as he copied it. I followed it in the *Sefer Torah* that I have copied according to its version.[30]

This Ben Asher codex, 'famous in Egypt' and used by Maimonides as an examplar for his own Torah scroll and for the prescriptions in his legal code, is identified today with the above-mentioned Aleppo Codex.

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30 *Hilkhot Sefer Torah*, 8:4.

The Masorah

The adoption of the codex allowed the Jews to set in writing the corpus of hitherto oral traditions relating to orthography, exact pronunciation and the liturgical chanting of the biblical text: the Masorah. In the medieval period Hebrew had not been a spoken vernacular for several centuries, and the invention of vowel signs (*niqqud*) was a way to preserve the traditional pronunciation of the biblical text. The liturgical cantillation was recorded by a system of 'accents' (*te'amim*), which includes a graphic sign to mark division into verses.[31] The textual details were included in the critical apparatus, of which there are three types: first, the 'small masorah' (*masorah qeṭanah*), usually written between the columns and in the side margins of the codices, whose main role is to record in an abbreviated way the many occurrences of an unusual word or form, and, in some 1,350 cases, to indicate the so-called *ketiv-qeri* – words traditionally written in a particular form in the consonantal text, but which are to be read differently according to the orally transmitted tradition;[32] second, the 'great masorah' (*masorah gedolah*), written in the upper and lower margins, which quotes verses (usually by their incipits, or opening words) containing words listed in the 'small masorah' and various lists of words arranged according to their grammatical peculiarities; third, some longer notes and lists, placed at the end of the codices and called the 'final masorah'.

Vowels are not mentioned in the Talmud, and Jerome (347–420) stated clearly that the Jews did not write them in their books. There are no references to the vowels even in the late 'extra-canonical' talmudic tractates such as *Soferim*. The earliest datable reference to the *niqqud* with the meaning of 'the vowels' is attributed to the aforementioned Babylonian gaon, Natronai ben Hilai, as transmitted by the *Maḥzor Vitry* (par. 120). There were some references to masoretes, such as Pinḥas, described as 'the Head of the Academy', and Asher son of Nehemiah, the grandfather of the famous Aaron son of Moses, who were active in the ninth century. It is said that Nehemiah's grandfather, known as Asher the Great, was a masorete, and he must have lived in the eighth century. As for the actual vocalised manuscripts, the earliest dated fragments in the Cairo Genizah are from the beginning of the tenth century,

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31 See J. S. Penkower, 'Verse Division in the Hebrew Bible', *Vetus Testamentum* 50 (2000), 379–93.
32 See esp. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: SCM Press, 1968), pp. 194–220.

and some undated ones can be attributed to the ninth.[33] The evidence for the beginnings of graphic signs for vowels and accents is therefore scarce and highly hypothetical before the ninth century. Scholars generally assume that the vowels must have been invented before the activities of the earliest mentioned masoretes and propose the seventh century as a safe midway point between the close of the Talmud (sixth century) and the better documented eighth- and ninth-century evidence.[34] However, a later date is possible, given the lack of early evidence and the silence in the 'extra-canonical' talmudic tractates, and the coincidence with the probable late adoption of the codex.

The earliest dated masoretic codices already contain a well-developed system of vocalisation and accents. Until the end of the eleventh century, three graphic systems of notation coexisted: the Tiberian, the Babylonian and the Palestinian. There were also several variants and hybrid forms of these. Although the three systems were originally designed to reflect corresponding traditions in pronunciation, there is no necessary equivalence in the extant codices between the system used and a particular type of pronunciation.[35] The Tiberian system was recognised as the most accurate as early as the tenth century, and was the chosen foundation and norm for the formal study of Hebrew grammar.[36] Though devised to reflect a scholarly Tiberian pronunciation, it was often used to transcribe the Babylonian or Palestinian pronunciations also.

The supralinear system devised by the Babylonian Jews is attested in a number of preserved codices and Cairo Genizah fragments.[37] It originated in Iraqi communities and was used in areas under Babylonian influence – in Yemen, for instance. As for the Palestinian system, manuscripts witnessing it were virtually unknown until the discovery of the Cairo Genizah, although it was mentioned in medieval literature.[38] This supralinear system was in use

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33 For an overview of the sources, see B. Chiesa, *The Emergence of Hebrew Biblical Pointing* (Frankfurt, Berne and Cirencester: Lang, 1979).

34 Dotan, 'Masorah', col. 1417.

35 See esp. G. Khan, 'The Languages of the Old Testament', in J. Schaper and J. Carleton Paget (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to* c. 600 (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming) .

36 For the description of the Tiberian masoretic system and its most ancient manuscripts, see Yeivin, *The Biblical Masorah*.

37 Díez Merino, *La Biblia babilonica*; I. Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalisation* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1985); J. Ofer, *The Babylonian Masora of the Pentateuch, its Principles and Methods* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language and Magnes Press, 2001).

38 See Kahle, *The Cairo Genizah*; Chiesa, *L'Antico Testamento*; Revell, *Biblical Texts with Palestinian Pointing*. For the medieval sources, see *Maḥzor Vitry*, *Machsor*, ed. Hurwitz, p. 462. See also N. Allony, 'What is "our vocalisation" in Mahzor Vitry?' [Hebrew], *Beth Miqra* 8 (1965), pp. 135–44.

only until the end of the eleventh century, but the pronunciation it recorded survived in a number of manuscripts using a so-called 'extended Tiberian graphic system'.[39]

As for the textual apparatus of the masorah, it appears to have been initially written in separate booklets, of which fragments were found in the Cairo Genizah. The contents of most of these works are arranged according to the order of the biblical text. In some of them, the biblical verses are noted according to a system of *serugin*: the first word of a verse is written in full and for the remaining words only the initial letter is noted.[40] It was probably by the ninth century that these independent works started to be copied into the margins of biblical codices. The textual independence of the masoretic notes can be seen in the fact that in some cases the notes do not tally with the text they accompany.

The page layout of the masorah may vary according to the origins of the manuscripts. In the 'Tiberian' Bibles, the 'small masorah' is normally written in the side margins, on two sides of the columns of the text in the eastern and Spanish codices, and on the side corresponding to the external margin of the page in the Ashkenazi Bibles. Masoretic notes in the Bibles with Babylonian and Palestinian vowels are less developed, probably owing to the continuing production of separate masoretic booklets in these traditions.[41] The 'small masorah' in these Bibles can be written between the lines of the text, and the 'great masorah', if any, may appear in the side margins as well as in the upper and lower ones.

Hebrew medieval Bibles: their production and diversity

Unlike Latin books, Hebrew books were not produced in scriptoria or similar institutions but rather at the scribes' homes. It was a matter of legal precept that every Jewish man had to copy for himself a Torah scroll (Maimonides, *Hilkhot Sefer Torah* VII:1), and some famous scholars, including Maimonides himself, accomplished this difficult task. Professional scribes copied to order for wealthy patrons, for synagogues and community institutions, or for subsequent sale, but a large proportion of the books were copied for private use.

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39 See for example, S. Morag, 'The Vocalisation of Codex Reuchlinianus. Is the "Pre-Massoretic" Bible Pre-Massoretic?', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 4 (1959), 216–37.
40 See I. Yeivin, 'A Babylonian Fragment of the Bible in the Abbreviated System', *Textus. Studies of the Hebrew University Bible Project* 2 (1962), 120–39.
41 See Ofer, *The Babylonian Masora*, p. 3.

The production of a medieval Hebrew Bible was a complex process requiring the contribution of several craftsmen, beginning with the preparation of the writing material and implements, through to the copying, often preceded by a careful planning of the page layout, and ending with decoration. All these were dependent for their detail on the specific destination of the book. Medieval texts and the colophons of some Bible codices identify three different stages of scribal work: the copying of the consonantal text; the writing of the masorah (which includes at least one of the three elements: vowels, signs of cantillation, critical apparatus); and finally the collation and correction of the copied text. In some cases, all three stages were accomplished by the same person; for example, the colophon in the aforementioned Leningrad Codex states that 'Samuel ben Jacob wrote, vocalised and provided with the masorah this Bible codex'. In other cases, the consonantal text and vowels were copied by different persons; for example, St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Firkovitch EBP. II. B.17, was copied in 930 by Salomon ben Buyaʿa, with the vowels, accents, masorah, illumination and corrections supplied by Ephraim ben Buyaʿa, probably his brother.[42] Separate colophons identifying correctors have been found as well, as in Firkovitch EBP. II. B.281, a fragment of Hagiographa, copied in Egypt or Palestine in 960.[43]

The geographical spread of Jewish communities in the Middle Ages led to diversity in the books they produced. As remarked by Malachi Beit-Arié, medieval Hebrew manuscripts were 'cross-cultural agents', artefacts which on the one hand enshrined specific ancient Jewish book traditions and on the other were open to technical and aesthetic trends prevalent in the various countries of Jewish settlement.[44] Of course, the codified role of the Bible in Jewish religious and intellectual life made this book more faithful to the traditional models but it is still the case that Bibles (codices, of course, but to some extent also liturgical scrolls), like any other type of book, differed according to the cultural milieu in which they were produced or where the scribe received his training.

Several distinct types of Bible can thus be defined according to their geographical origin: Eastern, Sephardi, Byzantine, Yemenite, Ashkenazi, Italian. Each group contains local typological variants. The East, for example, includes places as widely separated as Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and Persia. Sepharad

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42 Yeivin, *The Biblical Masorah*, p. 20.
43 Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer, *Codices hebraicis litteris exarati*, vol. i, no. 10.
44 M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West. Towards a Comparative Codicology*, The Panizzi Lectures 1992 (London: BL, 1993), p. 1.

encompasses Spain, the Maghreb (from the end of the twelfth century), southern France and also, after the 1492 expulsion from Spain, the Ottoman empire. Ashkenaz includes France, England, Germany, northern Italy and eastern Europe. The term Byzantine covers a vast geographical span from the Crimea to Greece and southern Italy. Bibles produced in these various locations display systematic differences in script, preparation of writing material, arrangement of biblical books, page and text layout, and illumination. Sometimes, too, there are different systems and subsystems of vocalisation.

Medieval Bibles varied in the choice of writing material. Liturgical scrolls and more elegant codices were usually copied on the skins of ritually clean animals prepared with special care, but the majority of extant medieval Bibles were less carefully copied and destined for private use and study. Hundreds of fragments of such 'personal Bibles' have been recovered from the Cairo Genizah; most of them are small in size, and some display a less accurate text and use inferior kinds of parchment. Unlike the liturgical scrolls, huge numbers of medieval eastern Bibles were written on paper, as attested by the fragments from the Cairo Genizah. Most of the paper Bibles were less formal, but some were calligraphic, with an elaborate masoretic apparatus, and were copied for an identified patron, as for example a Hebrew Pentateuch in Arabic characters copied in the early eleventh century by Samuel ben Jacob for a certain Salomon ben Abraham.[45]

Content and arrangement of the text

The most perceptible differences between the various medieval Bibles lie in their exact content and organisation. Some small codices contain only one biblical book, or even one weekly reading portion (*parashah*), probably destined to commemorate a family event such as a *bar miṣvah* ceremony, or a marriage.[46] Many Cairo Genizah fragments contain a selection of weekly portions with corresponding prophetic readings (*haftarot*).[47] Other codices include one of the three major subdivisions of the Bible: the Pentateuch (Torah), the Prophets (*Nevi'im*) or the Hagiographa (*Ketuvim*), or some other choice of the books. A number of medieval codices include all twenty-four biblical books in one volume, others constitute a 'cycle' – a complete Bible bound in several volumes conceived as a whole. A large proportion of existing

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45 Firkovitch EBP. II. C.1. See Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer, *Codices hebraicis litteris exarati*, vol. III, no. 60.

46 For example, Jerusalem, Jewish National Library, Heb. 8° 2238, copied by Isḥaq ben ʿAmram ha-Levi in Egypt, in 1106.

47 For example, Oxford, BodL, Heb. e. 77. 38 n° 14, with Palestinian triennial cycle divisions.

books from medieval Ashkenaz contain the Pentateuch with the Aramaic Targum in a verse-by-verse arrangement, followed by the Five Scrolls and Haphtarot, while the fifteenth-century Bibles from Yemen were commonly copied in three volumes, corresponding with the three divisions of scripture, often followed by grammatical or masoretic compositions.

As we have seen, the twenty-four books of the Hebrew canon were in the past independent works that could be written on separate scrolls. Early on, it was established that the Pentateuch used in the liturgy should be written on one scroll. The collective name of 'the Twelve Prophets' given to the Minor Prophets in the extra-canonical book of Ben Sira (i.e. Sir. 49:10) and the mention of only twenty-four books of the Bible in the apocryphal 4 Esdras 14:45 (first century CE) suggest that these twelve short works were copied together, on one scroll, at an early stage. The talmudic literature mentions both independent books copied separately and the possibility of copying several books in one scroll. The Babylonian Talmud lists a prescribed order of the biblical books: 'Our Rabbis taught: The order of the Prophets is: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah and Twelve Minor Prophets . . . The order of the Hagiographa is: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, the Scroll of Esther, Ezra and Chronicles'.[48] This order, which follows the talmudic chronology of the redaction of individual books, shows that more than one book could be written on the same scroll (as with the Pentateuch). It does not necessarily indicate the existence of a scroll containing the entire Bible – such a 'scroll-pandect' would be of an impractical size and weight – or a 'catalogue' referring to the arrangement of the individual scrolls in the early Jewish libraries.[49]

The production of the complete Bible in a single volume became much easier with the adoption of the codex. Among the earliest known eastern codices there were several pandects, some preserved in fragments, others almost complete – such as the Aleppo Codex and the Leningrad Codex.[50]

Besides the biblical text and its masoretic apparatus, a number of medieval Bibles include various translations and commentaries. In some eastern codices and Genizah fragments an Arabic translation in Hebrew characters, often the

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48 Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Batra*, fol. 14a.   49 Sarna, 'Ancient Libraries', pp. 53–66.
50 For a detailed description of the former, see Glatzer, 'The Aleppo Codex', pp. 167–276, and on its identification with Maimonides' exemplar, see esp. M. Goshen-Gottstein, 'The Authenticity of the Aleppo Codex', *Textus. Studies of the Hebrew University Bible Project* 1 (1960), 17–58, and J. S. Penkower, 'Maimonides and the Aleppo Codex', *Textus: Studies of the Hebrew University Bible Project* 9 (1981), 40–3. For the Leningrad Codex, see above, note 17.

translation of Saʿadya ben Joseph al-Fayyûmî, Gaon of Sura (882–942), was copied after each Hebrew verse.[51] Some manuscripts, mostly of Karaite origin, have a tripartite structure: a biblical verse is translated into Arabic and followed by a detailed commentary by one of the Karaite sages, such as Yefet ben ʿEli (tenth century) or Yeshuʿa ben Judah (eleventh century). Some Karaite Bibles are written in Arabic script.[52] With the growth in importance of Arabic both as a vernacular and as the literary language of the eastern Jewish communities, Arabic translations progressively replaced the ancient vernacular translation – the Aramaic Targum. A special case are Yemenite Bible manuscripts, in which both the Targum and the Arabic translation (most frequently Saʿadya Gaon's *Tafsîr*) are copied verse by verse.[53] Vernacular translations copied in Hebrew characters were also in use among Greek-speaking Jews,[54] while bilingual Hebrew–Judaeo–Persian Bibles were still produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Iran.

Hebrew Bibles produced in the Latin West were often copied with the Aramaic Targum.[55] In the majority of these bilingual Bibles from Ashkenaz, the Aramaic translation follows the Hebrew verse by verse. From the end of the thirteenth century, a new page layout appears: the Aramaic Targum may be copied in a parallel column. Such a layout for multilingual Bibles is found at an earlier date in the medieval Christian polyglot Bibles, which included Hebrew. One of the earliest examples of such a book in parallel columns is a twelfth-century *psalterium quadruplex* in the University Library in Leiden (manuscript BPG 49a), containing the Hebrew text (copied in Hebrew characters by a non-Jewish scribe), the Latin *Hebraicum* of Jerome, the Greek Septuagint and the Latin *Gallicanum*.[56] A number of bilingual Hebrew–Latin Bibles in parallel columns were copied in thirteenth-century England by Jewish

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51 For example, Firkovitch EBP. II. C.1; see Yeivin, *The Biblical Masorah*, p. 24.

52 See esp. G. Khan, *Karaite Bible Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah* (Cambridge University Press, 1990); M. Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation. A Linguistic and Exegetical Study of Karaite Translations of the Pentateuch from the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries CE*, Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

53 For example, a fifteenth-century codex of Isaiah, Paris, BNF, hébr. 1325. See also Griffith in this volume, p. 124.

54 See de Lange in this volume, pp. 63–5.

55 No vernacular Judaeo-French Bible versions are known today, but their possible existence has been argued from preserved bilingual Hebrew–French biblical glossaries; see M. Banitt, 'L'étude des glossaires bibliques des Juifs de France au moyen âge. Méthode et application', *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* II / 10 (1967), 188–210, and 'Le renouvellement lexical de la Version vulgate des Juifs de France', *Romania* 102 (1981), 433–55.

56 A. Van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts of Leiden University Library* (Leiden University Press, 1977), p. 115; and J. Olszowy-Schlanger and P. Stirnemann, 'The Twelfth-Century Trilingual Psalter in Leiden', *Scripta* 1 (2008), 103–12.

and Christian scribes probably working in close collaboration.[57] In Christian tradition, a multicolumn layout for different versions of the biblical text goes back to the famous *Hexapla* of Origen (early third century, Alexandria) and the description of them by Jerome in his *Commentarius in Titum* (3.9);[58] it is attested in a number of Greek–Latin manuscripts or psalters with Jerome's different versions in parallel columns.[59] A Christian influence may be also argued for the Hebrew manuscripts where the text of the Bible is surrounded by the corresponding commentaries written in a different size and/or style of script in generous side and upper and lower margins, just like the Latin *Glossa ordinaria*.

To go back to the arrangement of Jewish Bibles, some of the volumes follow the order of liturgical reading. Many Ashkenazi Bibles contain the Pentateuch followed by the Five Scrolls (*ḥamesh megillot*), read at certain festivals, and by the prophetic readings (*haftarot*). References to the reading cycle, such as decorated signs to indicate a *parashah* – a weekly portion according to the one-year Babylonian reading cycle – or a Palestinian *sidra*, are present in the majority of good-quality masoretic Bibles.

The text of medieval codices reproduces the ancient division into paragraphs, similar to that of the scrolls. In his *Hilkhot Sefer Torah* (8:1–2), Maimonides described the two types of paragraphs, called open and closed sections. For an open section (*parashah petuḥah*), the text begins at the beginning of a line, after a blank line or a space of at least nine letters at the end of the previous line. For a closed section, the text begins in the middle of a line, after a space in this line. Sometimes the open and closed sections are indicated respectively by the letters *pe* and *samekh*.[60] There are variations in the location and nature of the section divisions in manuscripts, and some of them have been described as characteristic of a specific grouping or type of manuscripts.

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57 B. Smalley, 'Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in 13th-Century England as Illustrated by Some Hebrew–Latin Psalters', in *Lectiones in Vetere Testamento et in Rebus Iudaicis* 6 (London: Shapiro, Vallentine, 1939), and *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), esp. pp. 341–52; and J. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux dans l'Angleterre médiévale. Étude historique et paléographique*, Collection de la Revue des Études Juives 29 (Paris and Leuven: Peeters, 2003), esp. pp. 48–58.
58 Ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 26, cols. 630–1.
59 See esp. G. de Gregorio, 'Per uno studio della cultura scritta a Creta sotto il dominio veneziano: i codici greco-latini del secolo XIV', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 17 (1993), 103–201.
60 For a detailed analysis of the division of the text in ancient Hebrew manuscripts, and in particular on open and closed sections, see J. M. Oesch, *Petucha und Setuma. Untersuchungen zu einer überlieferten Gliederung im hebräischen Text des Alten Testaments* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1979).

For instance, the frequent replacing of an open section as found in eastern manuscripts by a closed section is characteristic of Ashkenazi tradition.[61]

The division into chapters commonly used today is not original, but was introduced at the end of the medieval period following Christian models. Isaac ben Nathan ben Kalonymus (Mordekhai Nathan), from Arles, introduced the divisions into chapters in his Hebrew Bible concordance, entitled *Me'ir Nativ* (The Lightening of the Path), written between 1437 and 1448.[62] This concordance was modelled on the concordance of the Latin Bible written by the Franciscan Arlottus of Prato in 1290. The use of the Christian division into chapters (introduced into Vulgate manuscripts by the early thirteenth century) and the adoption of the Vulgate order of the biblical books were motivated by the need for efficient reference in polemics against Christians. The division into chapters according to Isaac ben Nathan was used (together with the traditional *parashiyot*) in Jacob ben Ḥayyim's edition of the *Biblia Rabbinica*, printed in 1524, and became thereafter the standard division system in most editions of the Hebrew Bible.

Size and shape

The book formats and dimensions of the Hebrew Bible varied not only according to the amount of text copied but also according to local traditions and fashions. Pandects are by definition large codices, but, monumental as they are, the eastern complete Bibles are not necessarily the largest. For example, Firkovitch EBP. II. B.39, copied and vocalised in 988/9, probably in Jerusalem by Joseph ben Jacob ha-Maʿaravi, measures *c*. 465 × 370 mm and its 156 folios contain only four Former Prophets and a masoretic tract by Aaron ben Asher, while known contemporary pandects contain more folios but are smaller: the Aleppo Codex measures *c*. 325 × 270 mm and the Leningrad Codex *c*. 335 × 295 mm.[63]

In later periods in Europe the dimensions of monumental Bibles are more impressive. From the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries biblical

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61 See J. S. Penkower, 'A Sheet of Parchment from a 10th- or 11th-century Torah Scroll. Determining its Type among Four Traditions (Oriental, Sefardi, Ashkenazi, Yemenite)', *Textus. Studies of the Hebrew University Bible Project* 21 (2002), 248–54.

62 *Editio princeps*, Venice, 1523; later Venice, 1564, and Basel 1556 (by Johannes Buxtorf) and 1581. See M. J. Heller, *The Sixteenth-Century Hebrew Book. An Abridged Thesaurus*, 2 vols. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), vol. II, p. 707.

63 The dimensions are quoted after Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer, *Codices hebraicis litteris exarati*, vol. I, and M. Dukan and C. Sirat, 'Les codex de la Bible hébraïque en pays d'Islam jusqu'à 1200: formes et formats', in F. Déroche and F. Richard (eds.), *Scribes et Manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* (Paris: BNF, 1997), pp. 35–56.

codices with heights exceeding 500 mm were produced in France and Germany. The production of these large volumes perhaps echoed the eleventh- and twelfth-century Latin 'Atlantic Bibles'.[64] The most impressive example is the Giant Erfurt Bible, copied in 1343, probably in one of the Jewish settlements in Thuringia; it contains the Hebrew text with interlinear Aramaic translation in two enormous volumes. This exceptional codex, which was studied recently in some detail, measures *c*. 630 × 470 mm, and each one of its 1,130 folios corresponds to one animal hide attached to another by a stub, allowing the formation of artificial double sheets.[65] A similar tendency of Jewish craftsmen to make works of great size is evident in Hebrew scrolls produced in medieval Europe: more than 700 mm was the estimated original height of one of the earliest Torah scrolls of European origin (probably from south Italy), dated to *c*. 1000 and preserved as a palimpsest underlying a Greek medical text. It is today in the Biblioteca Laurentiana in Florence.[66]

The monumental codices were destined either for public use – for collective reading or as models for the copy and correction of scrolls and other codices – or as luxurious display copies produced to embellish the private library of a patron. The majority of the extant medieval Bibles, regardless of their place of origin, are smaller volumes. They include some 'portable' Bibles, small books often in a less formal script and without vowels or detailed masoretic notes. An example is a pocket Bible with a prayer book (Paris, BNF, hébr. 33), produced in France in the thirteenth century, which measures only 100 × 75 mm, but contains no fewer than thirty-eight lines of diminutive cursive writing per page.

The shape of the book was also a matter of local preferences: the Bibles copied in Europe are mostly rectangular, their height considerably exceeding their width, but the early eastern Bibles are almost square. A nearly square format was also frequent in Hebrew Bibles from Spain, such as Paris, BNF, hébr. 82, measuring *c*. 300 × 280 mm, copied in Burgos in 1207 by Moses ben Salomon ha-Cohen for the leader of the community, Todros ben Meir ha-Levi (the father of the famous talmudist, Meir ha-Levi Abulafia). From the thirteenth century onwards in North Africa, horizontally elongated Bibles were produced, codices whose width exceeds their height.[67]

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64 For the Atlantic Bibles, see M. Maniaci and G. Orofino (eds.), *Le Bibblie atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e reppresentazione* (Milan: Centro Tibaldi, 2000).
65 O. Hahn, H.-O. Feistel, I. Rabin and M. Beit-Arié, 'The Erfurt Hebrew Giant Bible and the Experimental XRF Analysis of Ink and Plummet Composition', *Gazette du Livre Médiéval* 51 (Autumn 2007), pp. 16–29.
66 Sirat, Dukan and Yardeni, 'Rouleaux de la Tora antérieurs à l'an mille', pp. 861–87.
67 Dukan and Sirat, 'Les codex', p. 49.

Decoration

Unlike scrolls, high-quality medieval codices are often illuminated. Although illuminations in Hebrew Bibles share some traditional motifs, in general their style is influenced by local non-Jewish decorative traditions.[68] The earliest school of Hebrew illuminations is the eastern school, attested since the ninth century in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and later, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in Yemen. With its geometrical interlacing interwoven with a floral design, and geometric 'carpet page' decoration in red, gold, green and blue, it is reminiscent of early Arabic Qur'ān illumination. However, some of the decorative elements are typically Jewish, such as a full-page representation of the Tabernacle implements: the Ark of the Convenant, the tables of the Law, the jar of manna, the tripartite gate of the Temple and the seven-branched menorah (e.g., Firkovitch EBP. II. B.17, written in 929). Another typical element of Jewish illumination is micrography, that is, the use of diminutive letters to draw the decorative patterns. Micrography composed of lines of biblical verses was used to create the 'carpet pages' of the eastern Bibles.

The eastern tradition was one of the sources of inspiration for the illuminated Spanish Bibles, especially in the earlier thirteenth-century examples from Castile.[69] Some contain full-page decoration with the Tabernacle implements and micrography for the 'carpet pages'. However, in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Bibles local elements, such as the filigree ornament of thin floral scrolls reminiscent of the *mudejar* style (inspired by Arabic book illumination), are predominant (e.g. Paris, BNF, hébr. 1314). The Spanish Bibles also contain plans of the Temple, zodiacs and the masoretic and grammatical works copied in parallel columns decorated with a design of architectural arcades similar to those used for the canon tables in Christian manuscripts (e.g., the Cervera Bible of 1300, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Hebr. 72).

The decoration of the Ashkenazi Bibles after the thirteenth century focused on the calligraphic initial words of biblical books and on the notes of the masorah, copied in the shape of micrographic representations, often containing anthropomorphic scenes depicting the biblical stories. The micrographic masorah took on an aesthetic function rather than that of an aid to the study of the biblical text: the small size of the characters, their varying alignments

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68 For a general introduction, see, for example, B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: Encyclopedia Judaica / New York: Macmillan, 1969).
69 For a recent comprehensive study of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts from Spain and their various models, see K. Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art between Islam and Christianity. The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004).

and the increasing disregard for the correspondence between the biblical text and the masoretic notes show that the masorah was scarcely even understood.

Concluding remarks

As we have seen, the Hebrew Bible underwent major developments during the Middle Ages. The importance of the written text and also of the physical object, the book carrying this text, was firmly established as an intellectual and religious priority for the Jews. The role played by the Bibles, not only in the liturgy, but also as objects of study or even as luxury collectors' items, illustrated the new intellectual and social trends and fully reflected increasing levels of literacy and a growing critical readership. The consonantal text itself had been fixed for several centuries, but the introduction of the graphical notation of the vowels and accents, which had hitherto been transmitted orally, and the birth of the masoretic text had a great impact on the standardisation and interpretation of the Bible. Although the medieval biblical manuscripts considerably post-date the time of its composition, the Hebrew Bible as it was later made popular through printed editions, and as we know and study it today, is to a large extent a medieval creation.[70]

70 The book of Psalms was first printed in Bologna in 1477, the Soncino *editio princeps* of the entire Bible in 1488, and the text with commentaries of the *Biblia Rabbinica*, edited by Jacob ben Ḥayyim, in Venice in 1524–5. For the early printed editions, see Ginsburg, *Introduction*, pp. 780–94; G. Tamani, *Tipografia ebraica a Soncino (1483–1490): Catalogo della mostra* (Soncino: Edizioni dei Soncino, 1988).

The Greek Christian Bible

BARBARA CROSTINI

Biblical revolutions

Greek Bibles from Late Antiquity have rightly dominated scholarly interest. Pandects such as the Codex Vaticanus, perhaps a creation sponsored by the emperor Constantine from the Eusebian scriptorium of Caesarea,[1] or the newly reunited – in virtual form – Codex Sinaiticus,[2] stand like milestones in the history of the transmission of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, first accomplished at Alexandria and known as the Septuagint.[3] These ancient manuscripts of the complete Old and New Testaments stood at the forefront of innovation in the history of the book, themselves marking, or at least greatly contributing to, the transition from scroll to codex.[4] While the practical advantages played a part in the transition, it has been suggested that the particularly Christian interest in making use of the codex from an early period also reflected an ideological stance, aimed at visibly underlining the independence acquired by the Greek Christian scriptures with respect to their Jewish antecedents, which were traditionally written on parchment scrolls.[5]

1 Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1209. See *Vita Constantini*, IV, 36, in *Eusebius, Life of Constantine*, ed. and trans. A. Cameron and S. G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), pp. 166–7 (translation), pp. 326–7 (commentary).
2 London, BL, Add. 43725. www.british-library.uk/onlinegallery/sacredtexts/codexsinai.html (consulted 23 August 2011).
3 M. Bassetti, 'Le Bibbie imperiali dell'età carolingia ed ottoniana', in P.Cherubini (ed.), *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, Littera Antiqua 13 (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2005), pp. 175–265.
4 C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London and New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1983); J. van Haelst, 'Les Origines du codex', in A. Blanchard, *Les débuts du codex* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), pp. 13–35; E. Crisci, 'I più antichi manoscritti greci della Bibbia. Fattori materiali, bibliologici, grafici', in Cherubini (ed.), *Forme e modelli*, pp. 1–31.
5 I. M. Resnick, 'The Codex in Early Jewish and Christian Communities', *Journal of Religious History* 17 (1992), 1–17.

The relation to its Jewish urtext, culturally part of an ongoing 'dialogue with Judaism', in Pelikan's phrase,[6] remained a key aspect of the history of the Greek Bible in the Middle Ages. At the same time, the imperial patronage presumed for the early Bibles has been read symbolically as preparing the way for the extraordinary sponsorship of 'imperial' Bibles during the period.[7]

Between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century – the chronological starting point for this survey – a second revolution took place in book production, namely the passage from majuscule to minuscule scripts. The transliteration process constituted a truly editorial enterprise both for the pagan classics and for the Christian staples of biblical and patristic writings. Once more, Christians were quick to ride the current of innovation: a copy of the Gospels in an elegant archaic minuscule, signed by the monk Nicholas at the monastery of St John Stoudios at Constantinople, is dated as early as 835.[8] This copy bears some early additions to the gospel texts, in the form of appended chronologies, which gradually expanded into a corpus of prefaces added to the more ancient system of Eusebian canon tables. Since the new writing style enabled the scribe to save much space on the written surface, more text could be fitted in easily and less expensively. Few Bibles remained written in uncial: the liturgical majuscule, an ornate, large script, took over from the hieratic biblical uncial, but this by now exceptional practice did not continue beyond the eleventh century.[9]

In this second revolution also, the Christian interest in adopting and promoting a new book form may have been spurred by two main ideological factors: the emergence of Islam as another monotheistic religion of the book;[10] and the particularly eastern catastrophe of Iconoclasm.[11] These factors required urgent scholarly and theological reflection on Christianity's central texts, acting like a funnel in the history of their transmission. Thus the history of Greek biblical transmission is not one of static preservation of the same: it is punctuated by technical revolutions and reveals the daring struggle of

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6 J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine*. Vol. I: *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 12–27; J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine*. Vol. II: *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 200–15.

7 Bassetti, 'Le Bibbie imperiali'.

8 Tetraevangelon Uspenski (St Petersburg, Public Library, gr. 219): R. S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York University Press, 1980), p. 96.

9 G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967), pp. 117–24.

10 C. Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1996), esp. pp. 223–48.

11 Pelikan, *Spirit of Eastern Christendom*, pp. 106–8. See also Chapter 42 in this volume.

exegetes (verbal or pictorial, and including translators) to make sense of the sacred text in their contemporary context.

Medieval reception of the Bible: Old Testament

The 'Letter of Aristeas', a fundamental text detailing the origins of the Greek version of the Bible,[12] commanded a special interest in medieval Constantinople. Its transmission was embedded in a new programme of eleventh-century Octateuchs with commentary, and then also illustrations, and may be related to the etiological interests of the monks of the monastery of Stoudios in the early origins, and the Jewish roots, of the Old Testament. It is exceptional to find a prefatory text illuminated by a full illustrative cycle.[13] In the Seraglio Octateuch (Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi, Gr. 8), a paraphrase of the letter is attributed to Isaak Comnenos, patron of the Kosmosoteira monastery (founded in 1152), claiming to be 'shorter and clearer' than the original. Another famous citation of the letter is found in the scholia by John Tzetzes (c. 1110–80).[14] Thus, going back to the first account of the origins of the Septuagint, purified of its patristic accretions and of the interpretative baggage that went with it, allowed the medieval Byzantines to revisit the old debate on the status of scriptures in their Greek translation. The confidence with which Gilles Dorival speaks of the Septuagint as the 'Bible des Pères [grecs]' may not be extended in an unqualified manner to the medieval period.[15] At the same time, the widespread belief that the progressive Christianisation of the Middle Ages brought about a greater neglect of the Old Testament appears misguided.[16]

At one end of the spectrum, it has increasingly been argued that the liturgical arrangement of select passages from the Old Testament books, called the Prophetologion, basically provided the Byzantine everyman with as much acquaintance with this text as was ever possible. This knowledge was, in

12 *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, index complet des mots grecs*, ed. and trans. A. Pelletier, SC 89 (Paris: Cerf, 1962).

13 K. Weitzmann and M. Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, 2 vols., The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint 2 (Princeton University Press, 1999), vol. i, pp. 11–14, and vol. ii, figs. 6–15.

14 N. L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek*, Vetus Testamentum Supplements 82 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), pp. 60–1, 99–102.

15 This is the premiss to *La Bible d'Alexandrie*: http://septante.editionsducerf.fr/ (consulted 23 August 2011).

16 In the patristic period, the proportion of biblical citations between Old and New Testaments is nearly equal: J. Allenbach (ed.), *Biblia patristica. Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*, 7 vols. (Paris: CNRS, 1975–2000).

substance, orally transmitted, as the book was there only for liturgical use.[17] At the other end, textual scholars struggle with transmission theories formulated in the twentieth century – for example, that upholding the 'Constantinopolitan' recension as the medieval text of the Septuagint, in turn derived from the 'Lucianic'.[18] While it is safer to refer to the understanding of the textual fate of individual books as set out in the introduction and apparatus to the ongoing critical editions of the Göttingen Septuaginta Unternehmens,[19] there are signs from the manuscript evidence that the medieval editions were themselves concerned with the reading of their texts.

The model of the early codex, the pandect, did not endure into the Middle Ages, despite the calligraphic changes that might have actually facilitated the copying of one-volume complete bibles. Among the exceptions, a ninth- or early tenth-century fragment, extant in two portions, has been reconstructed as entailing in origin a complete Bible.[20] While this 'Anachronismus' offers a solid, compact text most likely used for private study, the contemporary two-volume edition, the famous 'Leo Bible',[21] was a luxury product sponsored by a wealthy patron, and its oversized measurements and full-page miniatures with a particular emphasis on the liturgy suggest some form of display.[22] It would seem that another ninth-century luxury production, the Bible of Abbot Basil, could have been in origin complete in one volume, as its present ending with the Eusebian canon tables suggests the loss of the Gospels.[23] To the fourteenth century can be dated a complete codex now in Ferrara, at one time associated with the presence of Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72) at the council held there. The marginal notes therein compared the text with the Hebrew and Vulgate.[24]

17 J. Miller, 'The Prophetologion. The Old Testament of Byzantine Christianity?', in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), pp. 55–76.
18 W. W. Combs, 'The Transmission-History of the Septuagint', *Bibliotheca Sacra* 146 (1989), pp. 255–69; and N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne: Brill, 2000), pp. 223–36.
19 www.septuaginta-unternehmen.gwdg.de/ (consulted 23 August 2011); project outlined in G. Dorival et al., *La Bible grecque des Septante. Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), pp. 198–200.
20 I. Hutter, 'Eine verspätete Bibelhandschrift (Paris, BNF, gr. 14)', *Palaeoslavica* 10 (2002), 159–74.
21 Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 1–1B; in facsimile, *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo. Codex Reginensis Graecus 1B*, ed. P. Canart and S. Dufrenne, Codices e Vaticanis Selecti 75 (Zürich: Belser, 1988).
22 T. F. Mathews, 'The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarius and an Exegetical Approach to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. Gr. 1', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 43 (1977), 94–133.
23 Now Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2106 + Venice, San Marco, Marc. gr. 1. See G. Cavallo (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria scritta. Manoscritti, incunaboli, libri a stampa di Biblioteche Statali Italiane* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1994), pp. 446–8, cat. 51.
24 Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Cl. II, 187, no. 106 in A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2004–).

More common were Bibles made of separate volumes, with a preponderance of extant single-volume psalters,[25] and self-standing New Testaments, which clearly do not entail the existence of as many complete Bibles.

It is a rare chance to be able to assemble once more the *disiecta membra* of biblical editions, a task achieved by the concerted codicological and art-historical work of Cavallo and Belting for the 'Bible of Niketas', reconstructed from three large-format volumes preserved in different modern libraries.[26] These three manuscripts complement each other, sequencing the books from the Minor and the Major Prophets to the sapiential books, accompanied by a catena to Jeremiah, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs. The commentary is strikingly arranged in the margins, the text-blocks delineating precise shapes, such as classical pillars, crosses or even birds. These *marginalia decorata*, framing the central biblical text, deploy the script's decorative potential ('Figurengedichte') to produce an un-iconic adornment marking a high-quality production, suggestive of the similar use of calligraphy for sacred embellishment in neighbouring Iconoclast cultures.

We may contrast this delicacy of touch in the Bible of Niketas, which decorates the Old Testament books with oblique shapes built by letters, with the overwhelmingly figurative strip-narrative of the famous Joshua Scroll (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 431), equally a product of the tenth century. This parchment scroll, over 10 m long, written with select passages from the book of Joshua and illustrated horizontally by a continuous frieze – the only surviving Christian biblical scroll – still astonishes by the narrative boldness of its outlined figures. Did the choice of format, turning backwards from codex to scroll, carry a symbolic meaning? Are we before a unique creation, or a copy,[27] perhaps one of many? Did the Joshua narrative actually allude to contemporary events, such as the campaigns of Nikephoros Phokas (963–9) for the reconquest of Palestine from the Muslims?[28]

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25 A. Pietersma, 'Septuagintal Exegesis and the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter', in P. W. Flint and P. D. Miller (eds.), *The Book of Psalms. Composition and Reception* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 443–75; G. R. Parpulov, 'Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium', in Magdalino and Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, pp. 77–105.

26 H. Belting and G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas. Ein Werk der hofischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und sein antikes Vorbild* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979).

27 O. Kresten, 'Giosuè, rotulo di', *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, 12 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991–2002), vol. VI, pp. 643–5.

28 J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp. 105–19; O. Kresten, 'Oktateuch-Probleme. Bemerkungen zu einer Neuerscheinung', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84–5 (1991–2), pp. 501–11, at pp. 502–3 and n. 8.

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The relevance of the multifaith *Sitz im Leben* and of the multicultural environment characteristic of the Byzantine world has been highlighted by Kathleen Corrigan as contributing to the choice of iconography for the most ancient psalter with marginal picture-commentary, the Chludov Psalter (Moscow, State Historical Museum, D. 29).[29] Going back to earlier texts of Jewish–Christian polemics, Corrigan has highlighted their impact on the exegetical choices and even on the aesthetic presentation of the characters flanking the psalm texts, especially Jews. This creation was reinterpreted in a later series of marginal psalters produced at the monastery of Stoudios in the second half of the eleventh century. Here, too, the 'dialogue with the Jews' gains prominence through a punctual revisiting of the Davidic text in the light of Christian exegesis. The 'irruption des saints'[30] in the iconography served to bridge a gap between the Old Testament patriarchs, always haloed in the depictions, and the Christian continuation of sacred history. At the same time, in a series of symbolic images, such as that of Christ handing down the tables of the Law to Moses in the Theodore Psalter (1066),[31] the Jewish people were drawn into Christian revelation.

It may be objected that the very Jewish roots of the biblical text compelled the Christian exegete to take that route. In fact, the more usual typological exegesis, based upon the Messianic interpretation of the prophecies of the Old Testament,[32] was intentionally set aside in favour of other exegetical directions. For example, there are instances in which images can be explained only in terms of Jewish exegesis, revealing a cultural and theological interaction behind the creation even of largely narrative illustrations.[33] Moreover, the recourse to arcane pseudo-epigraphical sources, such as the *Paraleipomena Ieremiou*, reveals a recherché attitude to the pictorial choices that is not easily explained away. The relationship between the various narrative cycles is clearly complex, as the study of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Octateuchs

29 K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).
30 L. Mariès, 'L'irruption des saints dans l'illustration du psautier byzantin', *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), 153–62.
31 S. Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge. vol. II: Londres, Add. 19.352*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 5 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970), fig. 75; *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile*, ed. C. Barber (Champaign, IL : University of Illinois Press, 2000), fol. 44r.
32 The contributions in M. Knibb (ed.), *The Septuagint and Messianism*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 195 (Leuven University Press, 2006), downplay the difference in Messianic potential between the Hebrew *Vorlage* (original version) and the versions of the Greek Bible.
33 K. Weitzmann, 'The Question of the Influence of Jewish Pictorial Sources on Old Testament Illustration', in his *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscripts* (University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 77–95.

and their later copies has proved.[34] Nevertheless, the theological points made by these complex interrelations, as well as by the more surprising images, cannot be neglected, however difficult the key to their interpretation is from the modern viewpoint. For example, the richly illustrated book of Kings/Samuel, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 333 warrants a deeper analysis than the one it has so far received.[35]

The psalter Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 752, dated by its Easter tables to 1059, and perhaps also of Stoudite origin (connected with the production of the monastery of Stoudios), bears witness to a specific interest in the language used by the Jewish–Greek translation of scriptures.[36] The particularity of this codex is that it relates illustrations directly to the commentary, rather than to the scriptural text, and anachronistically juxtaposes biblical and historical players to jolt the beholder into a symbolic, contemporary understanding of the subjects represented.[37] The second-century translator of the Jewish Bible into Greek, Aquila, is here depicted three times: once with the Emperor Hadrian; next standing with the other famous translator (or reviser), Symmachus the Ebionite; but in the third instance teaching the scriptures to the biblical Sons of Korah, celebrated authors of the Psalms. It is striking that Aquila should be depicted with a halo. Both his presence and his celebration are curious for more than one reason. To begin with, his translation is thought to have been lost at an early stage of Jewish Hellenism, probably as a consequence of the Christian enforcement of the Septuagint version on Jewish congregations through Justinian's Novel 146 in 553;[38] moreover, Aquila's literal translation was considered to have been written in a spirit of controversy with respect to the Septuagint.[39] In contrast, Vat. gr. 752 reflected a respect and regard for

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34 Lowden, *Octateuchs*, and Kresten, 'Oktateuch-Probleme'. The corpus of illuminated Octateuchs had been published posthumously from Weitzmann's work by Bernabò (see n. 13).

35 J. B. A. Lassus, *L'illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois, Vaticanus Graecus 333*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 9 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973).

36 E. de Wald, *The Illustrations in the MSS. of the Septuagint. vol. II: Vaticanus graecus 752* (Princeton University Press, 1942).

37 I. Kalavrezou et al., 'Critique of the Emperor in the Vatican Psalter gr. 752', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), 195–219, emphasise the contemporary relevance of the images of David.

38 See G. Veltri, 'Die Novelle 146 περί Ἑβραίων. Das Verbot des Targumvortrags in Justinians Politik', in M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer (eds.), *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1994), pp. 116–30. But cf. the new evidence for the continued use of Aquila in Jewish medieval communities: de Lange in this volume, pp. 62–5.

39 On this problematic, see R. Kraft, 'Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures: A Methodological Probe', in A. Benoît, M. Philonenko and C. Vogel (eds.), *Paganisme, judaisme, christianisme. Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique. Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon* (Paris: De Boccard, 1978), pp. 207–26.

Aquila similar to that found in Origen's *Hexapla*.[40] Hexaplaric readings are indeed part of the interest of this manuscript of Psalms.[41]

There are further signs of interest in Hexaplaric readings and in Jewish exegetical traditions in the eleventh-century scholia written in the margins of a fifth-century codex now in Milan (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A. 147 inf.).[42] In this case, as in the later full-scale retranslation of the Old Testament into Greek witnessed in the parallel Greek and Hebrew pages of the 'Graecus Venetus' (Venice, San Marco, Marc. gr. 7), the grey area between Christian and Jewish exegesis is exposed, and the attribution to one or other group remains suspended. Aslanov argued that the author of this new Hebrew-based translation, the bishop Simon Atumanus, was a convert from Judaism.[43] Although the setting for the new translation is no longer Constantinople, it is remarkable that its presumed author – whether a Jew or a Christian in origin – received his early education and fulfilled his monastic vocation at the monastery of Stoudios.[44]

Medieval reception of the Bible: New Testament

With the Greek New Testament, clearly no issues arise concerning a translation. Yet despite its original form, the multiformity of the text – whether due to accidents of transmission, theological modifications, regional peculiarities or liturgical adaptations – cannot be escaped here either: 'The notion that the Byzantine Text has exclusive characteristics is coming under greater criticism'.[45] The results of Birdsall's probing into the gospel text of Photius,

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40 On Aquila, see A. Paul, 'La Bible grecque d'Aquila et l'ideologie du Judaïsme ancien', in H. Temporini (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II*, vol. 20.1: *Religion (Hellenistisches Judentum in römischer Zeit, ausgenommen Philon und Josephus)* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1987), pp. 221–45; G. Veltri, *The Septuagint, Aquila and Ben Sira in the Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 163–89.

41 A. Shenker, *Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke. Die hexaplarischen Psalmenfragmente der Handschriften Vaticanus graecus 752 und Canonicianus graecus 62* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975).

42 M. Fincati, 'Per la storia dell'Esateuco Ambrosiano A147 inf.', *Aevum* 2 (2009), pp. 299–339; Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, pp. 175–6.

43 C. Aslanov, 'La Place du Venetus Graecus dans l'histoire des traductions grecques de la Bible', *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes* 73 (1999), 155–74.

44 G. Fedalto, *Simone Atumano, monaco di Studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe, secolo XIV* (Brescia: Paideia, 1968), pp. 11–14.

45 J. van Bruggen, 'The Majority Text. Why not Reconsider its Exile?', in S. McKendrick and O. O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Bible as Book. The Transmission of the Greek Text* (London: BL / New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2003), pp. 147–53; M. W. Holmes, 'From Nestle to the *Editio Critica Maior*: A Century's Perspective on the New Testament Minuscule Tradition', in McKendrick

however hampered by the state of the editions, are disconcerting. In ninth-century Constantinople, at the highest level of ecclesiastical authority, a wide range of variations were observed, attesting either to a version akin to the Caesarean that is not extant in any of the collated surviving manuscripts, or bearing witness to the prelate's idiosyncratic practice of using different gospel manuscripts at different times. Birdsall concluded that '[i]n Photius' time, the Byzantine text was not the dominant type in Greek Christendom, and it was either unknown to him or not approved by him'.[46] The point at which it later became the universal *textus receptus* has yet to be established.[47] Further research on the gospel text of medieval authors ought to be undertaken with this aim. However, surveying the biblical citations in, for example, the critically edited *Catecheses* of Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022),[48] would still be a challenge, partly because of the absence of a critical biblical apparatus and partly because of the methodological problems in the spiritual authors' manner of citation.[49]

In some cases, such as the 'Ferrar group', a connection between textual variants and localisation has been successfully established through a synergy of editorial and palaeographical studies.[50] It was hoped that further information on the historical contextualisation and geographical distribution of the variants in which the gospel text was read out would arise from the study of lectionaries.[51] Though research has progressed in this field, and the variants

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and O'Sullivan (eds.), *Bible as Book*, pp. 123–37, pointing to two 'efforts to publish the Byzantine text': *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text*, ed. Z. C. Hodges and A. L. Farstad, 2nd edn (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 1985), and *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Byzantine Majority Text Form*, ed. M. A. Robinson and W. G. Pierpoint (Atlanta, GA: Original Word, 1991).

46 J. N. Birdsall, 'The Text of the Gospels in Photius', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 7 (1956), pp. 42–55 and 190–8.

47 Details of its evolution are in B. M. Metzger and B. D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th edn (Oxford University Press, 2005), esp. pp. 137–94.

48 B. Krivochéine (ed.), *Syméon le nouveau théologien. Catéchèses*, trans. J. Paramelle 3 vols., SC 96, 104, 113 (Paris: Cerf, 1963–5; 2nd edn 2006–).

49 G. D. Fee, 'The Use of Patristic Citations in New Testament Textual Criticism. The State of the Question', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, vol. 26.1: *Religion (Vorkonstantinisches Christentum. Neues Testament)* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1992), pp. 246–65.

50 K. and S. Lake, 'Family 13 (The Ferrar Group). The Text According to Mark', *Studies and Documents* II (1941), 1–128, developed in M. D'Agostino, 'Osservazioni codicologiche, paleografiche e storico-artistiche su alcuni manoscritti del "gruppo Ferrar"', *Rudiae. Ricerche sul Mondo Classico* 7 (1995), 3–22.

51 B. M. Metzger, 'Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament', in K. Aland (ed.), *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neues Testaments, die Kirchenvaterzitate und Lektionare*, Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 5 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1972), pp. 479–97.

from a wide sample of lectionaries have been included in the latest critical edition of the Gospels,[52] the appreciation of their significance is still far from clear. One conclusion, perhaps unsurprising given the quick spread of Christianity over a wide area, was that the variants are such as to support a theory of lectionary formation that envisages the gradual fusion of different local traditions into an 'official' text that was then commonly used and carefully copied. Even so, not one but two families of lectionaries can be identified, each transmitting at least some ancient readings.[53]

Paul Canart accurately describes the two-fold form of manuscript presentation of the vast number of gospelbooks produced across the centuries: that in a continuous text (Tetraevangelon) and that broken up into liturgical pericopes (lectionary).[54] The order of the texts varies from that of the current printed editions, so that the Pauline Epistles precede Acts. In Byzantium, the Apocalypse was not normally appended to the New Testament until the fourteenth century.

Perria and Iacobini present perhaps the earliest extant illuminated post-Iconoclast gospelbook: an elegant, diminutive copy of the Tetraevangelon, dedicated to a certain Dionysios, perhaps a high functionary of the imperial administration in the tenth century, whose name emerges from the dedicatory verses composed for each gospel, written in gold ink over purple-dyed parchment (Messina, University Library, F. V. 18). Besides some seventeen illuminated arcades framing the Eusebian tables as well as originally featuring the portraits of the evangelists, only one of which is extant, it represents in its full-page frontispiece the stylised edicule (shrine) of the Holy Sepulchre. Its editors consider the specimen as marking the completed transition to the new form of codex confection, with its fine combination of uncial and minuscule scripts and as a first, firm manifestation of truly Byzantine (as opposed to Late Antique) art. By their study, they have restored its provenance to

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52 *The Greek New Testament*, 4th rev. edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft / [no pl.]: United Bible Societies, 2001).

53 K. Wachtel, 'Early Variants in the Byzantine Text of the Gospels', in J. W. Childers and D. C. Parker (eds.), *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006), pp. 28–47, at p. 40; C. D. Osburn, 'The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament', in B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), pp. 61–74.

54 P. Canart, 'Il libro dei Vangeli nell'Impero bizantino', in F. D'Aiuto, G. Morello and A. M. Piazzoni (eds.), *I Vangeli dei popoli. La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia* (Rome: Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo / Vatican City: BAV, 2000), pp. 77–92. A hands-on guide is D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

the Byzantine capital.[55] Otherwise, conclusions about dating and provenance remain on shakier ground – a total lack of secure comparative evidence from the production of Greek codices in central and northern Italy leaves the gospelbook, Basle, Universitätsbibliothek, Gr. A.N. III. 12, written in a late biblical majuscule, to stand out on its own.[56] Among its peculiarities is the presence of a 'marginal harmony' of the Gospels, that is, a concordance of the Gospels written in the lower margin of each page, rather than concentrated in a table at the beginning of the book. This relatively rare characteristic in Greek manuscripts is the norm for Syriac, Georgian and Armenian gospelbooks, and may have originated in one of the provinces of Byzantium, spreading later towards its centre.[57]

The continuity between Old and New Testaments is demonstrated through iconography and poems that set a parallel between Christ and Moses, juxtaposed in the opening of the lectionary Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1522, in the gospelbook Paris, BNF, suppl. gr. 1335 (end of twelfth century), and in Athos, Dionysiou 4.[58] To the eleventh century belong two fully illustrated gospelbooks: the Stoudite Tetraevangelon in Paris, BNF, gr. 74,[59] that had later imitations in the Slavic milieu,[60] and the Tetraevangelon in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, gr. VI. 23.[61]

Besides these internal clues as to the importance and the meaning of the gospelbook in medieval Byzantium, one may look for the value attributed to it in poetry. Daniele Bianconi surveyed the collection by John Mauropous, metropolitan of Euchaita (c. 1050–70?), where the concept of Christ's incarnation is represented through the materiality of the book in an intricate wordplay between Christ as 'logos' and the words written on the parchment, so that the

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55 L. Perria and A. Iacobini, *Il Vangelo di Dionisio. Un manoscritto bizantino da Costantinopoli a Messina* (Rome: Argos, 1994), and 'Il Vangelo di Dionisio. Il codice F. V. 18 di Messina', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 31 (1994), 81–163.

56 A. Cataldi Palau, 'A Little-Known Manuscript of the Gospels in "Maiuscola Biblica": Basil. gr. A.N. III. 12', *Byzantion* 74 (2004), 463–516.

57 F. D'Aiuto, 'Il libro dei Vangeli tra Bisanzio e l'Oriente. Riflessioni per l'età medio-bizantina', in Cherubini, (ed.), *Forme e modelli*, pp. 309–45, at pp. 334, 338–41.

58 Nelson, *Iconography of Preface*, pp. 66–7.

59 H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe s. Reproduction des 361 miniatures du manuscrit grec 74 de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 2 vols. (Paris: Berthaud Frères, 1908); S. Der Nersessian, 'Recherches sur les miniatures du Parisinus graecus 74', *Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 70. Geburtstag*, special issue, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972), 109–17; S. Dufrenne, 'Deux chefs-d'œuvre de la miniature du XIe siècle', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 17 (1967), pp. 177–91.

60 S. Der Nersessian, 'Two Slavonic Parallels of the Greek Tetraevangelion: Paris 74', in her *Études byzantines et arméniennes / Byzantine and Armenian Studies*, 2 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 231–78.

61 T. Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne. Florence, Laur. VI. 23*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 6 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971).

gospelbook is celebrated in his verses (Carm. 31) as 'dead skin bearing living words' (ὡς δέρμα νεκροῦ ζωτικοὺς φέρον λόγους).[62] The gospelbook is the ideal place for developing the theology of 'the Word made flesh'.[63] The outward appearance of the gospelbook, with its precious binding, often decorated in silver and/or gold with a crucifixion scene, was also remembered in Byzantine poems, its important theological statement displayed in the liturgical processions. One may wonder whether the opulence of the handicraft, which Chrysostom criticised as vain, really was such a 'status symbol' in the Middle Ages as in the early period.[64] The impact of centuries of theological reflection, and the heavily monasticised milieu in which books were produced – however close to the circles of the imperial court – suggest a more pointedly spiritual significance to the beautiful artistic creations of the middle Byzantine period.

Bilingual or plurilingual Bibles

The bilingual Greek–Latin Bibles consisted of psalters, gospelbooks and, occasionally, Pauline Epistles with or without the Apocalypse. The most famous group was produced at the abbey of St Gall in Switzerland in the ninth century, responding to the scholarly interest of a group of learned monks, mainly Irish immigrants, perhaps with some genuine Greeks among them (the 'ellenici fratres'). These manuscripts present a frozen Greek calligraphy, the so-called western biblical majuscule, yet display the Greek text as the prominent one while the Latin translation was added between the lines as a kind of commentary or reading aid to the main text. The most famous enterprise was that of Solomon III, bishop of Constance, who in 909 devised a 'quadruplex' psalter where, to two Latin versions (*Romanus* and *Gallicanus*), were added two Greek columns with the Septuagint psalter, one of which was transliterated into Latin characters (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 44 (A. I. 14)).[65] Besides St Gall, interest in Greek was manifest in Reichenau and in some French

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62 D. Bianconi, 'Et le livre s'est fait poésie', in P. Odorico, P. Agapitos and M. Hinterberger (eds.), *'Doux remède . . . '. Poésie et poétique à Byzance. Actes du IVe Colloque international EPMHNEIA. Paris, 23–25 février 2006* (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), pp. 15–35.
63 A. Louth, 'The Theology of the Word Made Flesh', in J. L. Sharpe and K. van Kampen (eds.), *The Bible as Book. The Manuscript Tradition* (London: BL / New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 1998), pp. 223–8.
64 G. Cavallo, 'Libri in scena', in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies. London, 21–26 August 2006. Vol. 1: Plenary Papers* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 345–64.
65 P. Radiciotti, 'Manoscritti digrafici grecolatini e latinogreci nell'Alto Medioevo', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 40 (1998), 49–118.

centres, and spread also to some Ottonian scriptoria, extending to the adoption of Greek liturgical formulae. At Reichenau, a precious seventh-century copy of the psalter, which had travelled there from Byzantium via Rome, was adapted in the tenth century for liturgical use through marginal annotations and a partial translation into Latin (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, RP 1). In the twelfth century, a *Psalterium quintuplex* envisaged five columns of text, one of which was a transliteration of the Greek (Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, 467 BB).

Despite the high regard for the Greek text these erudite exemplars exude an air of self-conscious rigidity, which is absent from the examples copied in genuine bilingual areas of the Byzantine empire. Although localisation cannot always be certain, manuscripts from crusading territories such as Palestine (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 81, psalter, twelfth century; London, BL, Add. 47674, psalter, thirteenth century), Cyprus, Crete and Constantinople itself (Paris, BNF, gr. 54, 'Hamilton Psalter', thirteenth to fourteenth century)[66] have attracted scholarly attention.[67] A privileged area remains southern Italy,[68] where the use of the two languages for this type of bilingual biblical document acquired the typical facing page layout, with the Greek text occupying the primary position on the left-hand side of the manuscript opening, while both sides were written in ordinary minuscule scripts. Textual analysis helps to reveal which language is in fact the leading one for each manufact, especially regarding those texts for which a Latin version is ordinarily absent, such as Psalm 151 and the odes appended to the Greek psalter. The production of these bilingual codices in every area seems to have been due mainly to ad hoc commissions or fortuitous combinations of scribal manpower of both linguistic extractions, resulting in occasional productions each with its own characteristics. A good example is the thirteenth-century bilingual psalter, London, BL, Add. 11752, probably copied in Terra d'Otranto, with a prevalence of Latin over Greek. Its sumptuous appearance has led to an attribution to the D'Angiò court.

66 K. Maxwell, 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Codex Grec 54. Modus Operandi of Scribes and Artists in a Palaiologan Scriptorium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 117–38.

67 G. de Gregorio, 'Tardo medioevo greco-latino. Manoscritti bilingui d'Oriente e d'Occidente', in F. Magistrale, C. Drago and P. Fioretti (eds.), *Libri, documenti, epigrafi medievali. Possibilità di studi comparativi. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Bari (2–5 ottobre 2000)* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2002), pp. 17–135.

68 A. Cataldi Palau, 'Manoscritti greco-latini dell'Italia meridionale. Un nuovo Salterio vergato da Romano di Ullano', in her *Studies in Greek Manuscripts* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2008), pp. 411–42, and 10 pls.

The region of the eastern Mediterranean has also proved fertile ground for bilingual productions, although the Arab conquest soon caused the replacement of Greek by Arabic, since this also functioned as the liturgical language of the Melkites.[69] It is interesting to note that the polyglot productions in these areas eventually did not even contemplate Greek appearing in any of the parallel columns.[70] However, fragments of Greek and Arabic gospelbooks are preserved, dating to the ninth or tenth century.[71] Other fragments of a Greek–Arabic text of the odes have been retrieved by digital techniques from the palimpsest Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L. 120 sup., and have been dated to the end of the ninth century.[72] The quick reuse of this bilingual witness demonstrates how Greek had soon become obsolete. On the other hand, the multiethnic composition of the southern Italian population, including the presence of converted Muslims and of immigrants from the Sinai region, who took refuge in Calabrian monasteries, gave rise to an autochthonous production of Greek–Arabic scriptural manuscripts, especially concentrated in Norman Sicily in the twelfth century.[73]

Conclusions

It is often assumed, particularly in the case of art-historical methodology in the school of Kurt Weitzmann, that the Late Antique Bibles produced between the fourth and sixth centuries remained authoritative models for later productions, so that the extant medieval bibles are often described in terms of their lost predecessors.[74] When we look back from the Byzantine Middle Ages, however, the presumed mirror-images shock us by their lack of

69 L.-A. Hunt, 'Cultural Transmission. Illustrated Biblical Manuscripts from the Medieval Eastern Christian and Arab Worlds', in Sharpe and van Kampen (eds.), *Bible as Book*, pp. 123–35.
70 Radiciotti, 'Manoscritti digrafici', p. 105 (on Vatican City, BAV, Barb. or. 2); J. B. Chabot, 'Note sur la polyglotte de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne de Milan', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (1947), 451–3 (on Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B. 20, 1–2 inf.). The languages used are Ethiopian, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Armenian, proceeding in this order from the inner margin.
71 G. Bardy, 'Simples remarques sur les ouvrages et les manuscrits bilingues', *Vivre et penser. Recherches d'exegèse et d'histoire*, 3rd ser. (1943–4), 242–67. Nos. 0136 and 0137 in K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994).
72 C. Pasini, 'Un frammento greco-arabo delle Odi bibliche del palinsesto Ambrosiano L. 120 sup.', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 39 (2002), 33–53, and 16 pls.
73 A. M. Piemontese, 'Codici greco-latino-arabi in Italia fra XI e XV secolo', in Magistrale, Drago and Fioretti (eds.), *Libri, documenti, epigrafi medievali*, pp. 445–66, and 6 pls.
74 M. Bernabò, 'Una rivoluzione nello studio della miniatura medievale: Kurt Weitzmann e *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*', and H. L. Kessler, 'Il contributo di Kurt Weitzmann alla storia della miniatura medievale', *Miniatura* 3–4 (1990–1), 109–12 and 113–16, respectively.

uniformity.[75] Almost paradoxically, in spite of the great value of tradition and the determinant cultural weight of the patristic centuries, and notwithstanding the relevance of preserving a sacred text in its purest, most reliable form, each Bible that has come down to us is an idiosyncratic, creative *unicum*. This phenomenon is only partially explained by the vagaries of scribal practices in the craft of manuscript confection. More pointedly, both the text and its exegesis, in words or images, reveal an active involvement of each generation of scribes, monks and scholars in grappling with the sacred text, as well as their efforts to satisfy the specific requirements of the patrons and recipients of their commissions.[76] Further work remains to be done in delving into the biblical and para-biblical texts and situating them in their medieval context across the Byzantine commonwealth.

75 G. Peers, *Sacred Shock. Framing Visual Experience in Byzantine Art* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), esp. pp. 35–58 on the Chludov Psalter.
76 G. Cavallo, 'Forme e ideologia della committenza libraria tra Oriente e Occidente', in *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale* (Spoleto: CISAM, 1992), pp. 617–43, esp. pp. 618–21, 627–8.

Jewish Greek Bible versions

NICHOLAS DE LANGE

The story of the Jewish transmission of Greek Bible versions has never been fully told. An acute shortage of source materials, not only by comparison with the very rich Christian manuscript tradition but in absolute terms, can only be part of the explanation for this relative silence, since some of the sources in question have been known for a long time (at least since the later nineteenth century). The convergence of certain governing attitudes in the historiography of both Christianity and Judaism must also be held partly responsible.

Older scholarship

It has long been held a commonplace that the Greek-speaking, primarily Alexandrian, Jewish cultural milieu out of which the Greek translations of the Hebrew scriptures first arose effectively came to an end early in the second Christian century. General works on the Greek Bible, while freely admitting that – with the exception of one or two (such as the Wisdom of Solomon) that were originally composed in Greek – the books constituting the Christian Old Testament in Greek (collectively designated in Christian usage as 'the Septuagint') were translated by Jews for Jewish use, have tended until recently to assert that from the early second century they were abandoned by the Jews and subsequently became the exclusive possession of the Christian church. This abandonment is often associated specifically with their adoption by the church, and more particularly with their use by Christians in polemic against Judaism.

We may take as an example of the older attitude the highly respected *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* published in 1900 by Henry Barclay Swete, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Such was the success of Swete's *Introduction* that it was reissued with revisions in 1902

and again with further revisions by R. S. Ottley in 1914[1] and quickly achieved the status of a classic. We shall consequently consider it at some length. Swete wrote (pp. 29–30) of the 'Alexandrian version' (the Septuagint):

> It was the Bible of the Egyptian Jews, even of those who belonged to the educated and literary class. The feeling was shared by the rest of the Hellenistic world. In Palestine indeed the version seems to have been received with less enthusiasm, and whether it was used in the synagogues is still uncertain. But elsewhere its acceptance by Greek-speaking Jews was universal during the Apostolic age and in the next generation . . .
>
> When the Lxx. passed into the hands of the Church and was used in controversy with Jewish antagonists, the Jews not unnaturally began to doubt the accuracy of the Alexandrian version . . . But the dissatisfaction with which the Lxx. was regarded by the Jewish leaders of the second century was perhaps not altogether due to polemical causes . . . An official text [of the Hebrew] differing considerably from the text accepted in earlier times had received the approval of the Rabbis, and the Alexandrian version, which represented the older text, began to be suspected and to pass into disuse. Attempts were made to provide something better for Greek-speaking Israelites.

Among these newer translations Swete singled out for special mention those of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, which were later, in the first half of the third century, incorporated by Origen in his collation known as the *Hexapla*.[2] He proceeded to devote several pages to Aquila: 'The purpose of his translation was to set aside the interpretation of the Lxx., in so far as it appeared to support the views of the Christian Church' (p. 31). Swete cited Christian testimonies, dating from the third to the sixth century, to the favour in which this translation was held by Jews; and while he averred that it was distrusted by Christians, 'who saw in it the work of a champion of Rabbinism as well as a bold attempt to displace the Septuagint', he was honest enough to admit that 'the few Christian writers who were students of the Hebrew Bible learnt to recognise the fidelity of Aquila's work' (p. 33). He went on to mention some fairly extensive fragments of Aquila's version (otherwise known only from tantalising brief quotations) recovered very recently from the Cairo Genizah (p. 34),[3] ascribed to the sixth century and described as 'emanating from a Jewish

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1 All three editions were published by Cambridge University Press, and all have the same page numbers.

2 K. de Troyer, 'The Septuagint', in J. Schaper and J. Carleton Paget (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible – Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to c. 600* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), ch. 12.

3 On the Cairo Genizah, its history and contents, see S. C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo. The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000).

source'. The other two named translators, Theodotion and Symmachus, were said to have been converts from Judaism to Ebionite Christianity.

All the sources mentioned so far antedate the beginning of our period. However, Swete then mentioned a medieval translation of the Pentateuch with some other books of the Hebrew Bible, preserved in a unique fourteenth-century manuscript in Venice and hence known as the 'Graecus Venetus'. This was a new translation made from the Hebrew but influenced by the Septuagint and the three other translations mentioned above; Swete insisted (against a contrary opinion which he mentions) that the translator was a Jew, who 'may have been moved by a desire to place before the dominant Orthodox Church a better rendering of the Old Testament than the Lxx.' (p. 57).[4] Finally, Swete mentioned very briefly a manuscript translation of Psalms dated 22 April 1450 (in fact, although he did not say so, this is a Christian manuscript) and a version of the Pentateuch in 'modern Greek' printed in Hebrew characters in Constantinople in 1547.[5]

If I have cited Swete at some length it is mainly because (fine scholar as he undoubtedly was) he is a very good representative of an approach that for a long time dominated virtually all discussion of the Greek Bible versions. This approach characteristically engaged openly and indeed enthusiastically with the study of Judaism down to the advent of Christianity, seeing the older religion as an important element in the prehistory of the younger but allowing it little in the way of an independent existence, and certainly evincing no interest in its internal life and culture once Christianity came on the scene. As part of this complex of attitudes, the Jews were considered to have turned their backs collectively on Hellenic culture once it was adopted by the Christians, and even (implausibly) to have abandoned their own sacred scriptures on discovering that they were also being used by Christians and indeed cited in polemic against Judaism. Such views were widespread in the circles in which Swete was brought up, and to draw attention to them is in no

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4 For an argument that the translation (which covers the Pentateuch and several of the Hagiographa) was made by a Christian, not a Jew, see G. Mercati, *Se la versione dall'ebraico del codice veneto greco VII sia di Simone Atumano arcivescovo di Tebe* (Vatican City: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1916). C. Aslanov, 'La Place du Venetus Graecus dans l'histoire des traductions grecques de la Bible', *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes* 73 (1999), 155–74, explains the Jewish elements by suggesting that he was a convert to Christianity from Judaism. The translator made use of earlier versions and was familiar with rabbinic scholarship but, Aquila aside, this version has few if any points of contact with the living Byzantine Jewish tradition, and it will therefore not be considered in what follows as a witness to Jewish usage.

5 We shall have occasion to refer later to this important text, which was transcribed from Hebrew into Greek characters by D. C. Hesseling, *Les cinq livres de la Loi (le Pentateuque)* . . . , ed. D. C. Hesseling (Leiden: Von Doesburgh / Leipzig: Harrasowitz, 1897).

way to accuse him of anti-Semitism or anything of the sort. Yet it is hard not to notice a certain discomfort when he speaks of Jews (as evinced for instance in the use of the biblical term 'Israelites' to refer to Jews of the later Roman period). An extreme example of this unease is the title he gives to a chapter in his book entirely devoted to Jewish authors writing in Greek: 'Literary use of the Septuagint by non-Christian Hellenists'.

It is in keeping with this approach that Swete asserted, without citing any evidence whatsoever, that the Jews came to distrust the older Greek version because it was used by Christians and gradually abandoned it, that the translation ascribed to Aquila was motivated by anti-Christian polemical ends, and that it was in its turn distrusted by Christians because it was too rabbinic in character and was intended to displace the Septuagint. All these assertions have been questioned by subsequent scholarship and shown to be ill founded. Indeed, Swete himself was compelled to admit that Aquila's version was highly regarded for its accuracy by Origen and Jerome, whom he described (p. 34) as 'the two most competent witnesses in the ancient Church'. As for the supposed Jewish abandonment of the Septuagint, it is curious that he apparently saw no inconsistency in asserting that the supposed medieval Jewish translator of the 'Graecus Venetus' made use of it, along with Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion (pp. 56–7). Incidentally, it is entirely congruent with his general approach that, as we have seen, he attributed a polemical motive to this translator too.

Given this background it is perhaps hardly surprising that in his account of the medieval and early modern Jewish versions he evinced no interest whatever in their cultural context within Judaism, or in their relationships to each other and to the earlier Greek versions. With the exception of the 'Graecus Venetus', these were mentioned summarily, in a paragraph set in small type (p. 58).

And yet Swete was writing at a time of unprecedented interest in these testimonies to Jewish use of Greek Bible translations. He himself mentioned the new edition of the 'Graecus Venetus' with valuable prolegomena by O. Gebhardt and a preface by F. Delitsch (1875), the description of the 1547 Constantinople Pentateuch by L. Belléli (1897) and the transcription of the Greek text into Greek characters published in the same year with an introduction and glossary by D. C. Hesseling.[6] In 1902 he added a reference to an

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6 *Graecus Venetus. Pentateuchi, Proverbiorum, Ruth, Cantici, Ecclesiastae, Threnorum, Danielis Version Graeca; ex unico Bibliothecase S. Marci Venetae codice*, ed. O. Gebhardt; pref. by Francisus Delitzsch (Leipzig: [no publ.], 1875); L. Belleli, *La version néo-grecque du Pentateuque polyglotte imprimé á Constantinople en 1547* (Paris: [no publ.], 1897); *Les cinq livres de la Loi . . .* , ed. Hesseling.

essay by A. Neubauer on non-Hebrew languages used by the Jews, in which a translation of Job dated 1576 was mentioned (1892).[7] He also mentioned the publication of the Genizah palimpsests of Aquila by F. C. Burkitt (1897), and in the 1902 revision he added the publication of further palimpsest fragments by C. Taylor (1900).[8] But while the mention of these important publications on aspects of Jewish use of Greek Bible translations testifies to the breadth and thoroughness of Swete's erudition, the absence of other recent publications that could have helped to flesh out the cultural context, and specifically the continuing use of Greek language in Jewish synagogues and academies, may be thought to betray a lack of curiosity or imagination on his part. We could mention for example research on Greek words embedded within the rabbinic literature, bearing fruit in S. Krauss's monumental two-volume study;[9] the discovery that some Jews in Corfu still chanted hymns in Greek in their synagogues, presented first to the fifth Congress of Orientalists in Berlin by S. Papageorgios (the proceedings were published in 1882);[10] and, most suggestive of all perhaps, the pioneering study by J. Perles of Byzantine Judaism and its written culture.[11]

New approaches

It has to be said, however, that Swete was by no means alone in his lack of interest: the publications just mentioned raised very few echoes even in the burgeoning world of Jewish scholarship (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*). The only scholar in the generations following the publication of Swete's *Introduction* to pursue the question of Jewish use of Greek Bible translations was D. S. Blondheim (1884–1934, Professor of Romance Philology at Johns Hopkins University), who published a remarkable article entitled 'Échos du judéo-hellénisme (étude sur l'influence de la Septante et d'Aquila sur les versions

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7 A. Neubauer, 'On Non-Hebrew Langauges Used by the Jews', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 4 (1891–2), 9–19.
8 *Fragments of the Books of Kings According to the Translation of Aquila*, ed. F. C. Burkitt (Cambridge University Press, 1897); *Hebrew–Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests*, ed. C. Taylor (Cambridge University Press, 1900).
9 S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwoerter in Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Calvary, 1898–9; repr. in 1 vol. Hildesheim: Olms, 1987).
10 S. Papageorgios, *Merkwürdige in den Synagogen von Corfu in Gebrauch befindlichen Hymnen*, Verhandlungen des fünften Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses (Berlin: Asher, 1882), pp. 227–32.
11 J. Perles, 'Jüdisch-byzantinische Beziehungen', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 2 (1893), 569–84.

néo-grecques des juifs)'.[12] Blondheim not only appreciated the importance of the sparse remains of Jewish Greek Bible translations, but went much further in noticing the continuing influence in them of the ancient translations, notably that of Aquila. Taking issue with a remark by an earlier scholar, P. F. Frankl (1848–87), concerning the 'Graecus Venetus' that 'between the Greek Jewish literature [of antiquity] and the work of a Greek Jew of the fourteenth or fifteenth century one cannot recognise or even posit the existence of an uninterrupted tradition', Blondheim observed that the remains of the Greek Bible versions in fact show the opposite. 'It is clear,' he wrote, 'that Jewish scholars continued, from antiquity to our own time, in translating the Bible orally, to use expressions borrowed from the Septuagint and above all Aquila.' He then proceeded to prove his point by means of examples drawn from a number of sources. Two of these had been mentioned already by Swete, namely the 'Graecus Venetus' and the Constantinople Pentateuch of 1547. Blondheim went far beyond Swete, however, in the range of the texts he made use of. The additional texts cited included a fragment of a translation of Ecclesiastes recovered from the Cairo Genizah;[13] a translation of the entire book of Jonah included in two late-medieval prayer books;[14] and copious marginal annotations added in cursive Greek script in the margin of an uncial codex of the Octateuch, the Codex Ambrosianus (F).[15] Taken together, these examples demonstrate beyond all doubt the persistent influence of Aquila's version, and perhaps less securely that of the Septuagint, on the medieval and early modern Jewish versions. This demonstration, revealing an unparalleled command of the sources and providing as it does the missing link between ancient and medieval Greek Jewish culture, is of great importance. Sadly, no notice was taken of it either by historians of Judaism or by historians of the Greek Bible for more than half a century.

12 I. e., 'Echoes of Jewish Hellenism: A Study of the Influence of the Septuagint and Aquila on the Jewish Neo-Greek Versions', *Revue des Études Juives* 78 (1924), 1–14. The article was reprinted as an appendix to his book *Les Parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina* (Paris: Champion, 1925). Translations from this article given here are mine.

13 Frankl's comment is in his review of Gebhardt's edition of the Graecus Venetus, *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 24, 513–19, at p. 516. Blondheim gives a transcription from Hebrew letters into Greek characters, the first publication of this fragment. Full edition by N. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 51 (Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1996), pp. 71–8.

14 'Le livre de Jonas', ed. D. C. Hesseling, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10 (1901), 208–17.

15 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A. 147 inf. These notes were available to Blondheim in *The Old Testament in Greek. According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts*, ed. A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, 3 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1906–40); they were also given by J. W. Wevers in his edition of the Greek Pentateuch, *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum. Graecum. Vols. I–III* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1974–91).

In 1979 the Spanish scholar Natalio Fernández Marcos published his *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia*, an original feature of which is that, for the first time in a work of this kind, it traces the Jewish and the Christian transmission of the Greek Bible in separate, parallel sections. An entire chapter is devoted to Jewish versions into medieval and modern Greek. After listing the witnesses, Fernández Marcos argued strongly that the Constantinople Pentateuch did not represent a new departure but depended on earlier Jewish translations, which in turn derived from the ancient versions, and consequently 'there is – following Blondheim – no total rupture between the Jewish Hellenism that produced the translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion and that which produced the neo-Greek translation of the Constantinople Pentateuch'.[16]

New manuscript evidence

Around the time that Fernández Marcos's book was published, new discoveries began to be made among the enormous hoard of manuscript fragments known as the Cairo Genizah that were to shed fresh light on the subject and fill in some of the gaps in the puzzle. In presenting this evidence we should begin by clarifying certain basic features of the Cairo Genizah manuscripts.[17] In the first place, the Genizah was in no sense (as is sometimes implied) a library or archive: it was a rubbish dump. Hence there was no principle of selection – the written materials consigned to it were of every conceivable character and origin. (Most but not all of them are of Jewish origin; most but not all are written in Hebrew characters, whatever the language used.) Often they were damaged before being thrown into the Genizah, and it is common to find stray leaves or bifolios from much longer works. Most of the texts were written in Egypt and the neighbouring regions, but many originated further afield, including the Byzantine empire. From an abundant series of dated documents we can see that a substantial number of the fragments date from the first quarter of the second millennium, though some are earlier and

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16 N. Fernández Marcos, *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia*, Textos y Estudios 'Cardenal Cisneros' 64 (Madrid: CSIC, 1979), p. 168 (my translation). The second edition (1998) of this essential introduction to the Greek Bible incorporates most of the Cairo Genizah discoveries noted below.

17 See also N. de Lange, 'The Greek Bible Translations of the Byzantine Jews', in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), pp. 39–54, and 'The Greek Bible in the Medieval Synagogue', in R. Bonfil, O. Irshai, G. G. Stroumsa and R. Talgam (eds.), *Jews of Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 371–84.

many are later. While the great majority of the manuscripts are now in the University Library in Cambridge, the rest are scattered among many other libraries in Britain and elsewhere. There is no catalogue of the whole hoard.

The earliest Genizah manuscripts are palimpsests, or manuscripts that have been reused for writing a second text over the first. Some fragments of palimpsests in majuscule Greek writing, and containing a version identified as that of Aquila, have already been mentioned, as they were referred to by Swete. They contain parts of the book of Kings and Psalms, and have been dated by the Greek script to the sixth century.[18] As it happens, we have independent evidence for the use of Aquila by Jews in that century: a novel (i.e., a new law) of emperor Justinian I dated 8 February 553, although expressing a strong preference for the Septuagint, adds that 'we give [the Jews] permission to use also Aquila's translation, although he was a gentile and in some readings differs not a little from the Septuagint'.[19] Clearly the emperor would not have licensed Aquila's version had he not known it to be popular among Jews.

Another palimpsest from the Genizah has been assigned a somewhat later date, in the ninth century or perhaps earlier.[20] It is part of a glossary listing in parallel columns Hebrew words (from Exodus, Jeremiah and Isaiah) with their Greek translations, the Greek words being written in Greek characters. This is probably the oldest bilingual glossary to the Hebrew Bible in existence.

Moving away from palimpsests, we come into what has been called the classical period of the Genizah, from the late tenth to the early thirteenth century. The witnesses from this period are written in Hebrew characters, including the Greek words.[21] They mainly come from study aids, such as glossaries and scholia. Only one is from a continuous translation: the fragment of the book of Ecclesiastes in Greek, already mentioned, which was transcribed into Greek characters and published by Blondheim in his 1924 article. This has some very striking similarities to the translation of Ecclesiastes found in Christian Bibles, which has been ascribed by some scholars to Aquila. The most noteworthy of these similarities is the use in both of the Greek

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18 For the latest discussion see N. Tchernetska, 'Greek-Oriental Palimpsests in Cambridge. Problems and Prospects', in C. Holmes and J. Waring (eds.), *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 243–56.

19 Justinian, Novel 146, in *Corpus iuris civilis. Vol. iii: Novellae*, ed. F. Schöll and G. Kroll (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), pp. 714–18; English trans. in A. Linder, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press / Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1987), pp. 408–10.

20 N. Tchernetska, J. Olszowy-Schlanger and N. de Lange, 'An Early Hebrew–Greek Biblical Glossary from the Cairo Geniza', *Revue des Études Juives* 166 (2007), 91–128.

21 Greek characters are occasionally used for interlinear glosses in texts written in Hebrew.

preposition *syn* to render the Hebrew particle that indicates the definite direct object, *et*. The use of *syn* as a particle rather than a preposition is not attested anywhere in the whole of Greek literature except the version of Aquila. What makes the usage in the medieval fragment even more remarkable is that the preposition *syn* was no longer in general use in the Middle Ages. This is one of the clearest indications we have of the close connection between the medieval versions and the ancient ones, and specifically Aquila.

Occasionally in the Genizah we find fragments of Hebrew Bible texts with a Greek gloss (in Hebrew characters) inserted between the lines or in the margin. Once again, the influence of earlier versions such as Aquila can be detected.[22] Similar annotations have been found outside the Genizah.[23]

The simplest form of glossary lists Hebrew words with their Greek translations in parallel columns, like the palimpsest just mentioned. A fragment of a glossary with a similar layout lists words from Malachi and Job with their translations.[24] A more developed form of glossary combines Hebrew lemmata, Greek translations and occasional short Hebrew comments. Sometimes two alternative Greek renderings are given, pointing to the existence of different translations.[25]

A more elaborate type of composition, somewhere between the glossary and the commentary, consists of short notes or scholia in Hebrew, interspersed with Greek glosses. A couple of examples have been found in the Genizah, relating to Genesis (two different works), Exodus and Joshua.[26]

The Genizah has also given us some fragments of previously unknown commentaries written in Hebrew but incorporating Greek glosses.[27] It is not clear whether these works were prepared for private use or intended for publication. They serve as a reminder that it was quite common for Byzantine biblical commentaries written in Hebrew to contain Greek glosses. Generally these make some point (whether lexical or syntactic) that is hard to make in Hebrew alone. While they often seem to be improvised translations, many of these glosses show striking similarities to the rest of the tradition we are

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22 See for example H. P. Rüger, 'Vier Aquila-Glossen in einem hebräischen Proverbien-Fragment aus der Kairo-Geniza', *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 50 (1959), 275–77.
23 See N. de Lange, 'The Greek Glosses of the Fitzwilliam Museum Bible', in S. Berger, M. Brocke and I. Zwiep (eds.), *Zutot 2002* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2003), pp. 138–47.
24 De Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts*, pp. 79–84.   25 Ibid., pp. 155–63.   26 Ibid., pp. 85–125.
27 Ibid., pp. 127–54, 165–294. See R. C. Steiner, 'The Byzantine Biblical Commentaries from the Genizah: Rabbanite vs. Karaite', in M. Bar-Asher, D. Rom-Shiloni, E. Tov and N. Wazana (eds.), *Shai le-Sara Japhet. Studies in the Bible, its Exegesis and its Language* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), pp. 243–62.

discussing, including the ancient versions. Thus these too should be seen as witnesses to the lost Greek translations.[28]

Concluding remarks

The importance of the Cairo Genizah discoveries cannot be exaggerated, even if the use of Greek versions by Byzantine Jews could have been deduced from other survivals, such as the book of Jonah or the Constantinople Pentateuch. For whereas these are relatively late texts, deriving from the latest phase of Byzantine Jewry, in the last century or so before the Ottoman conquest, the Genizah fragments are mainly from its heyday before the Fourth Crusade, while the palimpsests take us back to the age of Justinian in the sixth century.[29] The use of Greek versions was thus very long established among Jews. More-over, unlike the codices preserved in western libraries, the Genizah fragments often preserve work in progress and informal compilations made for personal use, and they thus allow us a rare glimpse into the ways that Greek was used by medieval Greek-speaking Jews.[30]

In tracing the history of these versions as it emerges from the sources we have mentioned, a distinction must be drawn between the Genizah fragments of Aquila and the later texts. The Aquila fragments were carefully written by scribes trained to write Greek, and the text, where we can compare it, is very similar to the text of Aquila preserved in fragments of Origen's *Hexapla* made some three centuries earlier. They are probably fragments of lectern Bibles used in synagogues where the biblical readings were performed in Greek and where in all probability the Hebrew Bible was unknown, or occupied a secondary role. Between these fragments and our next witness, the Genizah glossary of Exodus and Jeremiah, a radical cultural change took place – this glossary is set out in the Hebrew manner, from right to left, and the Greek writing is distinctively Jewish, quite unlike the minuscule Greek hand practised by Christians at this time. We cannot date this change precisely, but its main

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28 Very little information is available to non-Hebrew-readers about these commentaries. Some information may be gleaned from J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204* (Athens: Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher, 1939), and Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium. The Formative Years, 970–1100* (New York: Columbia University Press / Jerusalem: Weizmann, 1959). Hebrew-readers may refer to the essays collected in I. Ta-Shma, *Studies in Medieval Rabbinic Literature. Vol. III. Italy and Byzantium* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2005).
29 On which see N. de Lange, 'Jews in the Age of Justinian', in M. Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 401–26.
30 We do exceptionally have such glimpses in library codices too. See, for example, de Lange, 'The Greek Glosses'.

lines are evident. Whether because of external or internal pressures, or a combination of the two, the Jews who made this glossary had been cut off from direct access to Greek education, and their written culture was now based on the Hebrew language. Greek was still a living spoken language for them, and they had some familiarity with the earlier versions – whether the Septuagint or Aquila or some other, lost version that had some characteristics of both – but they did not apparently have any formal training in Greek grammar or in the writing of Greek manuscripts. Even when the Greek glosses follow the older versions verbally, the words are spelt idiosyncratically or give way to current colloquial forms. This development continues as we move on to the later Genizah fragments, with Greek writing almost entirely disappearing and the language becoming more and more colloquial until we reach late texts such as the Greek Jonah or the Constantinople Pentateuch, which are mined today by medieval Greek linguists as all-too-rare witnesses to the development of spoken Greek. Yet they were not entirely composed in the spoken languages, because they do contain elements that come directly from the Hebrew masoretic text or from the earlier and highly artificial Greek versions based on it, particularly that of Aquila.

Thus we can see that when Byzantine Jews studied the Hebrew Bible, whether as children or as adults, they did not simply translate freely into their spoken Greek, but used actual translations with which they were familiar and which employed many words or forms that no longer existed in the spoken Greek language. Since there is no indication that Jews had any formal education in Greek, we must suppose that they were taught to understand the Greek of the Bible versions. Thus in Jewish education the study of Hebrew was the primary object, but the Greek versions played a key role.[31]

An intriguing question about which it is not easy to reach a conclusion is whether they learnt the Greek version by heart. This is an attractive hypothesis for a number of reasons. First, it would help to explain the facility with which annotators and commentators quote it. Second, it would help to explain why we do not find more actual manuscripts of the Greek version, but only fragmentary quotations: if Byzantine Jews learnt the Greek by heart in the course of their education they would not need written copies. To say this is to evoke a real oral tradition, possibly even a prejudice against writing the Greek down. It is by no means impossible that in Byzantine synagogues when the

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31 On Jewish education in Byzantium see N. de Lange, 'Jewish Education in the Byzantine Empire in the Twelfth Century', in G. Abramson and T. Parfitt (eds.), *Jewish Education and Learning* (Chur: Harwood Academic, 1994), pp. 115–28.

Bible was read aloud in Hebrew each verse was followed by the translation, recited from memory. This would have the effect of fixing it in people's minds, reinforcing their childhood learning. This is pure speculation, but the presence in the continuous translations we have mentioned (Ecclesiastes, Jonah, Constantinople Pentateuch) of the first word of the Hebrew at the beginning of each Greek verse at least hints at something of the kind. However, of the two prayer books in which the Greek Jonah is preserved as the prophetic reading for the afternoon service of the Day of Atonement one, now in Bologna, gives both the Hebrew and the Greek, while the other, currently in Oxford, gives only the first and last verses of the reading in Hebrew, suggesting that in some congregations only the Greek translation was read out in full. As we have seen, this was the ancient practice of the Greek-speaking synagogue, but we do not have the means to determine whether this is an instance of the survival of an old custom or its reintroduction.

As for the occurrence of Greek glosses in glossaries, scholia and commentaries, as well as in annotations in manuscripts, these all testify to an easy familiarity with the Greek, even among Jews whose primary concern was to understand the Hebrew.

The rediscovery of these lost Greek translations is of immense importance for the study of medieval Judaism, but it also has a bearing on our understanding of the Christian use of Greek Bible versions. In the first place, the Jewish translation (in written or oral form) was used in disputations between Jews and Christians, as we can see from some Christian dialogues *adversus Judaeos*. Christian interlocutors in such dialogues will thus have acquired some familiarity with it, and may even have had to study it for polemical purposes, as happened in the early church. We have also noted the presence of 'Jewish' annotations in the margins of some Christian Bibles (such as the Codex Ambrosianus), evidently put there by Christian scholars (since they are inscribed in cursive hands, a form of Greek writing that was never practised by Jews in the Middle Ages). How did these 'Jewish' renderings make their way into a Christian manuscript? The simplest explanation is that they were put there by a Jewish convert to Christianity. However, there are hints of the use of a written text, and most likely one written in Greek characters. Such a text must have been very old, as we do not find any continuous texts written by Jews in Greek characters after the sixth century, and even occasional use of Greek characters by Jews is, as we have seen, very rare after that.

To sum up, there are abundant (if tantalisingly fragmentary) indications that Greek-speaking Jews in the Middle Ages possessed Greek Bible translations,

which they transmitted orally or in written form. These differed from those current in the Christian Church, being derived from revisions of the Septuagint made by Jews in the Roman period while freely admitting vernacular elements. This tradition continued long after the period with which we are concerned; indeed, similar translations are attested as late as the nineteenth century.[32]

The Latin Bible, *c.* 600 to *c.* 900

PIERRE-MAURICE BOGAERT

Terminology

Vulgate

For the period under review, the word 'Vulgate' (*vulgata*) is not the most appropriate way to refer to the translations of the Bible by Jerome. First, the term is anachronistic. Only from the beginning of the sixteenth century was it used to designate the commonly encountered content of Latin Bibles, which had been more or less stable since the first printing (at Mainz, *c.* 1450) and even before.[1] To identify this uniform text, the Council of Trent, in 1546, used the expression *vetus et vulgata editio*. Second, it is ambiguous. When Jerome and Augustine used the word *vulgata*, they meant something different – namely, the common, unrevised, Greek Bible, or the Latin translation of this, more or less what we now call Old Latin or *Vetus Latina*. Third, the term is misleading in that it gives us to understand that the content of a Bible – let us say under Alcuin in 800 – was that of a Bible established already before that date, which is not the case; in fact, Alcuin's Bibles were not yet 'vulgate' in the sense of being in common use. Our task here will be to show how one translation rather than another, or one revision rather than another, became sufficiently widespread and privileged to achieve the position of becoming the commonly used one and thus, in a new meaning, 'vulgate'. In fact, from *c.* 850 the victory of this new common text was assured, thanks especially, though not exclusively, to the wide diffusion of the Bibles of Tours.

Psalters: Romanum, Gallicanum, Hebraicum

In the case of the psalter, some anachronism may be allowed, because there is no danger of misunderstanding. The old psalter used in central Italy and

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1 E. F. Sutcliffe, 'The Name "Vulgate"', *Biblica* 29 (1948), 345–52; A. Allgeier, 'Haec vetus et vulgata editio. Neue wort- und begriffgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Bibel aus dem Tridentinum', *Biblica* 29 (1948), 353–91.

in England (until the tenth century) is called *Romanum*. That revised by Jerome according to the Origenian (or Hexaplaric) form of the Septuagint is called *Gallicanum*, and is the most widespread form of the Latin psalter. That translated by Jerome according to the Hebrew, *iuxta Hebraeos*, is called *Hebraicum*.[2]

Canonical, ecclesiastical, apocryphal, deuterocanonical

The preferred terms in our period were 'canonical' and 'ecclesiastical'; 'apocryphal' was derogatory. 'Canonical' simply indicated books or parts of books accepted in a particular received list or 'canon' of scripture; the contents of the canon varied (see below, *passim*), though for the Old Testament it commonly meant at least the books of the masoretic Hebrew Bible. Books and parts of books that were not in that Bible and not in our New Testament are sometimes called *libri ecclesiastici* – 'ecclesiastical books' – to signify books that were accepted for reading in church. They may be divided into three groups. In the first group were those books or parts of a book translated from the Greek Septuagint and commonly found in the Latin Bibles: Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sirach), Tobit and Judith, 1–2 Maccabees, Baruch (1–5) and the Letter of Jeremiah (Baruch 6), and supplements to Daniel and to Esther. Today they may be called 'apocryphal' (along with 3 Esdras and the *Oratio Manasse* of the following group) or 'deuterocanonical'. Of the Greek texts, Jerome translated only Tobit, Judith and the supplements to Daniel and Esther. The second group contains those books or parts of books translated from the Greek and occasionally found in Latin Bibles during our period: 3 Esdras (Esdras A in the Septuagint), 4 Esdras, the *Confessio Esdrae*, the *Passio Maccabaeorum* (4 Maccabees in the Septuagint), the *Oratio Manasse* and Psalm 151. Third, attached to the New Testament during our period were sometimes the Epistle to the Laodiceans and, rarely, the Shepherd of Hermas and the Third Epistle to the Corinthians.

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2 As edited in *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens Psautiers latins*, ed. R. Weber, Collectanea Biblica Latina 10 (Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme / Vatican City: Libreria Vaticana, 1953); *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem . . . cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in urbe O.S.B. edita*, ed. H. Quentin et al., 18 vols. (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis and Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1926–95), vol. x; and *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, ed. H. de Sainte-Marie, Collectanea Biblica Latina 11 (Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme / Vatican City: Libreria Vaticana, 1954).

Overview

The history of the diffusion of the Latin Bible between 600 and 900 may be divided into two periods.[3] The first, from 600 to *c.* 750, was characterised by the hegemony of the Longobardic kingdom in Italy, the Arab conquest of North Africa (Kairouan, now in Tunisia, was founded *c.* 669) and of Spain (711–13), the Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (starting with the missions of Augustine to Kent in 597 – and the conversion of King Æthelbert – and of Aidan to Northumbria from 635) and the missions of Irish monks to the Continent (Luxeuil was founded in 590, Bobbio in 612, St Gall in 612). The second period, from *c.* 750 to *c.* 900, was characterised by the covenant between the Frankish monarchy and the papacy (with the coronation of Pepin by Stephen II in 754), the retreat of the Visigoths in flight from the Arabs, the influence of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries competing with the Irish monks on the Continent and the expansion of the Carolingians, with their policy of political, cultural and religious centralisation. Two associates of Charlemagne, Theodulf, a refugee (*c.* 785) from Septimanie (the Languedoc-Roussillon region of France), and Alcuin, who had been invited from York in England (*c.* 781), were of decisive importance. The Norman invasions put an end to Carolingian ambitions during the second half of the ninth century. At the end of this combined period of 300 years, two facts were clear: the success of Bibles conceived as a whole, in one volume, and the victory of the translations of Jerome.

By 600, the active period of translating the Bible into Latin had come to an end. Occasionally reference was still made to the Greek and even the Hebrew (in the circle of Theodulf), but this was usually in order to choose between variant readings rather than to introduce new ones. The deterioration of the Latin text in successive copies, along with a sometimes 'barbaric' orthography, was balanced by revisions based on other exemplars, which in turn introduced contamination on a large scale. This process was operative both within the translations (and commentaries) of Jerome and between his translations and the Old Latin versions, as well as, above all, among the various available forms of the biblical books that Jerome did not touch or (in the case of the gospels) only slightly revised.

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3 B. Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*, VLB 11 (Freiburg: Herder, 1985), is fundamental; see also P.-M. Bogaert, 'La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions', *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19 (1988) 137–59, 276–314.

As for the books considered canonical, and their ordering within Bibles, the lists extant from our period were for liturgical use and were not entirely explicit. They were not intended to replace older lists, but were nevertheless significant. Early *Ordines Romani* included an *ordo lectionum per circulum anni*, proposing the order to be followed in the integral reading of scripture during the Divine Office in the course of the liturgical year.[4] The *Ordo XIV* is thought to have represented the use of the monasteries serving St Peter's in the Vatican during the second half of the seventh century. The list is found also in the *Ordo XIIIA*, in other *Ordines* and in the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*, along with the list of the African councils, a fact that enhanced its canonical status in the Frankish church. Later on we shall meet Bibles (in one or more volumes) ordering the biblical books accordingly. The Bobbio Missal gives a related list: as in the *Ordo XIV*, Ruth, Esther and Judith are grouped under the title *libri mulierum* (books of the women). A new element was the success of the Bibles in one volume (pandects) during the Carolingian era. The consequence of this was that every scriptorium engaged in making such copies had to decide not only the order of the books but also their definitive list – and therefore a canon. In Bibles that were copied in a dozen or so separate codices, the notion of a canon was not apparent, since the sets of books were often incomplete or heterogeneous in origin.

Before 780, the manuscript evidence for the Bible is scanty, and difficult to localise and to date, although we have a rather large number of gospelbooks for the seventh and the eighth centuries. After 780, the evidence is abundant. It goes without saying that most of the Old Latin texts which we encounter in manuscripts dating often from much later (in the thirteenth or even fourteenth century) were in fact being copied during our period, though without leaving traces.

From *c.* 600 to *c.* 750

Gregory and Isidore

The earlier period opened with two great figures: Gregory the Great (d. 604) and Isidore, bishop of Seville (d. 636). Their testimony is interesting in respect of several questions. Did they already use the translations of Jerome according

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4 *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, ed. M. Andrieu, 5 vols., Études et Documents 11, 23–4, 28, 29 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931–61), vol. III, pp. 25–41; H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Kirchenreform im Frankenreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter), 1975, p. 365; *The Bobbio Missal. A Gallican Mass-Book (Ms. Paris lat. 13246). Facsimile*, Henry Bradshaw Society 53 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1917), fols. 229r–v.

to the Hebrew, and if so, to what extent? What recognition did they give to the books of the Old Testament transmitted only in Greek (those classified today as apocryphal or deuterocanonical)?

At the beginning of the *Moralia in Iob*, dedicated to Leander, brother of Isidore, Gregory wrote: 'I comment on the new translation [i.e. of Job]. But when argumentation is necessary, I use the evidence sometimes of the new translation, sometimes of the old one, since the Apostolic See, over which by God's grace I preside, uses both'.[5] J. Gribomont actually noted only seven places where Gregory appealed to the Old Latin.[6] Thus, overwhelmingly, Gregory used what was for him still the 'new' translation, without mentioning the name of Jerome. In his commentary on Song of Songs, he cited the latter's translation in a text contaminated by the old version. Clearly, therefore, the translations of Jerome did not owe their dominant status to any papal decision, either by Gregory or by his successors, for a long time thereafter.

Isidore, too, used the 'new' translation frequently. J. Fontaine estimates that in the *De natura rerum* (613–21) two thirds of the citations were borrowed from the Vulgate.[7] His *Prooemia* to the biblical books may be taken as evidence that he issued a Bible where the translations of Jerome had the main place, but the reconstruction of this Bible cannot be attempted with precision on the basis of such Spanish Bibles as are preserved.

Both Gregory and Isidore maintained the distinction between the canonical books of the Old Testament – those originating in the Hebrew – and those which, though in the Septuagint, were not in the Hebrew. Isidore was more clearly in favour of the latter, and he placed them in the same rank as the canonical books.[8] Gregory, in his *Moralia in Iob* (19. 21), followed a median line, at least for 1–2 Maccabees: they were written for the edification of the church, but they were not canonical.[9]

Reception of the translations of Jerome

The penetration of the translations of Jerome is to be seen in lectionaries and in other liturgical books. The surviving Merovingian manuscripts, in particular those of Wolfenbüttel, Sélestat and Luxeuil, and the Bobbio Missal were examined by P. Salmon. They all show acquaintance with the new translation

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5 Gregory the Great, *Moralia sive expositio in Iob*, 3 vols., ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143, 143A and 143B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979–85), vol. i, p. 7.
6 J. Gribomont, 'Le texte biblique de Grégoire', in J. Fontaine (ed.), *Grégoire le Grand (Colloque de Chantilly, 1982)* (Paris: CNRS, 1986), pp. 467–75.
7 Isidore of Séville, *Traité de la Nature*, ed. J. Fontaine (Bordeaux: Féret, 1960), pp. 13–15.
8 *PL* 83, cols. 157–8.   9 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, vol. ii (CCSL 143A), p. 983.

and use it more frequently for the Old Testament, with the exception of the biblical canticles, for which the Old Latin continues to prevail. In the New Testament, including the Gospels, the text is either mixed or completely Old Latin (as in VL 18 and 24).[10] We must remember that for the books translated from the Greek (i.e., the non-Hebrew books not tackled by Jerome), it was impossible for copyists at that time to distinguish the text that would eventually become 'vulgate' from the various forms of the Old Latin.

The revision of the Latin gospels made by Jerome was easier to recognise, because of its preface (*Novum opus*) and the Eusebian canons which followed it. Its prevalence became overwhelming: from the period between 600 and 750, six Old Latin gospelbooks have been preserved against thirty-four Hieronymian (that is, those made by Jerome) examples. Following the geographical distribution proposed by Bonifatius Fischer, we may be more precise.[11] On the Old Latin side, there is one Irish, one Illyrian, one from Verona, one from Aquileia, one from Corbie; the sixth cannot be localised. On the Hieronymian side, six copies came from Italy, seven from Northumbria (textually connected with the Codex Amiatinus) and nine from elsewhere in England, two from Ireland, five in Anglo-Saxon script originating either in England or at Echternach, and five are of Frankish origin.

All the Latin palimpsests from before 800 were examined by the great palaeographer Elias Avery Lowe, who observed, on the one hand, that some biblical manuscripts, whether Old Latin or 'vulgate', had undergone erasure and rewriting, and on the other hand, that the replacement text, if biblical, was always 'vulgate'.[12] This observation remains true for the period after 750, and the success of the translations of Jerome is thus obvious.

This victory of Jerome, visible in copies of part-Bibles, is manifest also in two complete pandect Bibles, both witnessing the vitality of countries that were soon to be devastated by invasion – Spain and Northumbria.

In the first case, Fischer was able to decipher 185 palimpsest folios of a Bible copied in the seventh century, possibly in Toledo (León, Archivo Catedralicio 15). Hieronymian translations or revisions were privileged, but 1–2 Maccabees were given in a distinctive text which would not go on to

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10 'VL' numbers refer to the classification of Old Latin manuscripts given in R. Gryson (ed.), *Altlateinische Handschriften. Manuscrits vieux latins*, 2 vols., VL 1/2A–B (Freiburg: Herder, 1999–2006), where details will be found. See P. Salmon, 'Le texte biblique des lectionnaires mérovingiens', in *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane 10 (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1963), pp. 491–517.
11 B. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols., VLB 13 (Freiburg: Herder, 1988), pp. 11*–48*.
12 E. A. Lowe, 'Codices rescripti', in L. Bieler (ed.), *Palaeographical Papers 1907–1965*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), vol. II, pp. 480–519, at pp. 482–3.

become 'vulgate'; Acts were alternately 'vulgate' and Old Latin; 4 Esdras was inserted after 1–2 Ezra. The order of the books may tentatively be reconstructed: Octateuch, 1–4 Kings, Prophets (without Baruch), Job, Psalms (*iuxta Hebraeos*?), Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Chronicles (Paralipomenon), 1–2 Ezra, 4 Esdras, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), Esther, Judith, Tobit, 1–2 Maccabees, Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, Acts, Apocalypse. Such pandects, with a majority of Hieronymian material, were not exceptional in Spain at the time. Isidore probably issued such an edition, as has been noted above. Later pandects, such as the Codex Cavensis (ninth century), the Codex Toletanus and the Bible of Cardeña (both tenth century) may go back to archetypes of the seventh century. Braulio of Saragossa (d. 651) was probably a participant in the process of transmission.

Like all erudite pilgrims, Benedict Biscop, the founder of the twin monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow in Northumbria, brought back with him many books from his several visits to Italy.[13] On at least one occasion he was accompanied by Ceolfrith and it was the latter who, as the abbot of Wearmouth–Jarrow from 689 to 716, ordered the copying of three pandects, the third of which was to be offered to Pope Gregory II in Rome (the Codex Amiatinus, now Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1). The other two were for the use of the communities of Wearmouth and Jarrow, in their separate churches. One of them ended up in Worcester at the end of the eighth century and survived until the sixteenth century; twelve folios and fragments from it are now kept in the British Library (Add. 37777 and 45025, and Loan 81). From the *mise-en-page* it may be deduced that the Worcester copy was somewhat less bulky than the Amiatinus. A fragment of the model used for the text of Maccabees in these pandects was identified by E. A. Lowe. It was written in Italy in the sixth century and is now in Durham (Cathedral Library, B. IV. 6, fol. 169*).[14] Its script, a careful uncial, may have been the model for the splendid uncial of the Northumbrian scriptorium; this dependence is certain for the text, on the evidence of two unique shared errors.

The Codex Amiatinus is still more homogeneous than the palimpsest of León (above) in the choice of Hieronymian translations made from the Hebrew, even including Psalms. For the non-Hebrew books, the chosen texts were always those which eventually became 'vulgate', though the quality of the Latin text, both of these and the other books, was not always very

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13 For an account of biblical activity in early Northumbria, see R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 15 (Cambridge University Press, 1995), chs. 3 and 4.
14 E. A. Lowe, 'A Sixth-Century Italian Uncial Fragment of Maccabees and its Eighth-Century Northumbrian Copy', *Scriptorium* 16 (1962), 84–5.

good. The order of the books is as follows: Octateuch, 1–4 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Psalms (*iuxta Hebraeos*), Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Prophets (without Baruch), Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Ezra (with Nehemiah), 1–2 Maccabees, Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles (Philippians, Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians), Catholic Epistles (James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude), Apocalypse. The connection of the Codex Amiatinus with Cassiodorus, though disputed, has been well argued. We know that Ceolfrith brought from Rome a pandect of the old translation (*vetustae translationis*), and solid evidence permits us to identify this with the *Codex grandior* described by Cassiodorus in his *Institutiones* (I. XIV. 2). It may have served as a model, not for the text of the pandects (which, as noted, was Hieronymian), but for their external appearance, and especially for the painted pages and the diagrams of the first quire of the Codex Amiatinus. The famous portrait of a scribe, identified by a distich as Esdras, goes back to the putative model, where it may have represented Cassiodorus himself with the three copies of the Bible he describes in the *Institutiones*: one at his feet, one in nine volumes in the *armarium*, one on his desk. But in Wearmouth–Jarrow nobody knew of the Cassiodorean origin of the pandect. The distich may be by Bede, as it echoes other passages in his works.[15] Two witnesses to the survival and use of the text of Ceolfrith's Bibles in England are extant: the florilegium *De laude Dei* of Alcuin, possibly written at York during his second return to his native land (790–3), at least for the text of Tobit, and the same book in a mid-tenth-century manuscript from south-west England (Oxford, BodL, Bodley 572).[16]

The Venerable Bede in his milieu

Bede (*c.* 673–735) spent all his life in the twin monastery of Wearmouth–Jarrow. As a grammatical, historical, scientific and exegetical writer, he was the foremost scholar of his time, and the issues of whether he had a part in the preparation of Ceolfrith's three pandects and whether he used their biblical text in his own works are inescapable. On the first point, we are ignorant, though it is surely likely. On the second, the answer is not simple. The exemplary work of M. L. W. Laistner on Acts and of R. Marsden on the Old Testament reveals complicated evidence. Bede certainly made use of the text of the pandects,

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15 P. Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 827–83 and 'The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and his Image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 80 (2005), 1089–133.

16 R. Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 222–35, and 'The Survival of Ceolfrith's Tobit in a Tenth-Century Insular Manuscript', *JTS*, NS 45 (1994), 1–23.

as some instances show, and he may even have annotated one of them,[17] but he did not feel himself bound to it and quoted sometimes a competing variant of Jerome and sometimes one from the Old Latin – and not only when he cited a father of the church or a biblical canticle. In his commentary on Acts, he used a Latin text identical to that of the Codex Laudianus (Oxford, BodL, Laud gr. 35; VL 50), a bilingual Latin–Greek manuscript which he probably had within reach.[18] P. Meyvaert has identified in some later biblical manuscripts various series of *capitula lectionum* written by Bede, but not for the most part transmitted in the Codex Amiatinus, and apparently not connected with any planned edition of a Latin Bible.[19] In the shadow of Bede, in Northumbria, the authors of the *Vita S. Cuthberti* (at Lindisfarne?), of the *Vita S. Gregorii* (at Whitby) and of the *Vita S. Wilfrithi* (attributed to Stephen of Ripon) cited a 'Vulgate' which is sometimes mixed with Old Latin variants.[20]

The non-Hieronymian inheritance

For Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, as well as for 1–2 Maccabees, it seems that Roman or Italian booksellers, in order to complete the Old Testament of Jerome according to the ecclesiastical canon, simply had the texts of these books copied in the forms which happened to be at hand. Thus we are able to explain why identical texts (with minor variants of course), clearly distinguishable from other available ones, were soon found in Northumbria, Spain, Gaul and Germany. The choice made by those booksellers was not a happy one. Recent editors have recognised that for both 1–2 Maccabees and Wisdom the chosen text was the worst of those then accessible.[21] As for what we call today the book of Baruch (Baruch 1–5, plus the Epistle of Jeremiah or Baruch 6), it was preserved during the centuries in question only in Old Latin copies of Jeremiah, following on from Jeremiah 52 without a separate title. In the Roman, Milanese and Visigothic liturgies, Baruch was cited under the name of Jeremiah.[22]

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17 R. Marsden, 'Manus Bedae. Bede's Contribution to Ceolfrith's Bibles', *ASE* 27 (1998), 65–85, with two plates.
18 M. L. W. Laistner, 'The Latin Versions of Acts Known to the Venerable Bede', *HTR* 30 (1937), 37–50.
19 P. Meyvaert, 'Bede's *Capitula lectionum* for the Old and New Testament', *RB* 105 (1995), 348–80.
20 Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, chs. 5 and 6.
21 P.-M. Bogaert, 'Les livres des Maccabées dans la Bible latine. Contribution à l'histoire de la Vulgate', *RB* 118 (2008), 201–38.
22 P.-M. Bogaert, 'Le livre de Baruch dans les manuscrits de la Bible latine. Disparition et réintégration', *RB* 115 (2005), 286–342.

The case is better for the New Testament (excluding the Gospels, which had been revised by Jerome). The text that became standard was a careful revision probably made by Rufinus the Syrian and spread by the Roman friends of Jerome. It did suffer contamination in transmission, however, as the competing forms of the Old Latin were not easily distinguishable from the revision. Long familiarity with these forms, particularly in liturgical usage (always conservative) and, more rarely, reference to Greek texts, was enough to ensure continuing variation.

There is no space here to present an inventory or even a typology of the considerable number of Old Latin biblical texts which survive from our period, often in bad condition. It is enough to send the reader to the lists published by the Vetus Latina Institut.[23] But a typical example of survival is given by the manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 66 (siglum O; VL 102), the Codex Ottobonianus. When complete, it was an Octateuch (Genesis–Ruth) in the translation of Jerome, written *c.* 700 in northern Italy, by a scribe named Dominicus. Because his exemplar was no longer legible in some places, he had to use another. He completed Genesis and Exodus with an Old Latin text, but he left a blank space in Leviticus. The defects in the text of the principal exemplar at so early a date are significant in themselves, but even more so is the apparent unavailability of another exemplar of the translation of Jerome which might have been used to make good the deficiencies.

Although all the psalters[24] used in the liturgy between 600 and 750 were sufficiently similar in their texts to make it hard sometimes, in short extracts, to distinguish between them, in fact variety prevailed. Let us give some tentative descriptions.

The *Romanum* is attested from the end of the eighth century solely in English manuscripts (including those having influence on the Continent, such as the Psalter of Mondsee, Montpellier, Bibliothèque Municipale, 409), and only from the eleventh century in Italy. It is nevertheless certain that its use went back to an early date and continued, especially in Rome itself, without interruption. Apocryphal letters between Pope Damasus and Jerome

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23 Gryson (ed.), *Altlateinische Handschriften* (VL 1/2A–B). A multi-volume edition of the Old Latin Bible is in preparation at the Vetus Latina Institut, Beuron: *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron* (Freiburg: Herder, 1949–). Currently available volumes are listed on the Institut's website, www.vetus-latina.de.

24 P.-M. Bogaert, 'Le psautier latin des origines au xiiᵉ siècle. Essai d'histoire', in A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast (eds.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*, Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 51–81.

aimed to establish its authority. The missionaries sent by Gregory the Great introduced it into England. In northern Italy, the psalter which Augustine took to Africa, and which dominated there, continued to be used. The Psalter of Verona (Biblioteca Capitolare I [1]), written in northern Italy *c.* 600, is a good example. There is kinship but not identity between the psalter of Ambrose and the Milanese liturgical psalters known in later manuscripts. Other fragmentary psalters of northern Italy are not easily classified (see those given the sigla ζ, ν and σ in the edition of R. Weber).[25] Some witnesses were grouped around Lyon (sigla γ, δ, κ); others (ε, which is a bilingual, and λ) in Narbonese. In Spain, the Visigothic psalter used before the Arab hegemony is to be distinguished from both forms of the Mozarabic psalter witnessed later. Both translations of Jerome gained ground. The *Hebraicum* was common in the pandects (as in the Codex Amiatinus). The *Gallicanum* appeared in Ireland in the recently discovered tablets of Springmount Bog, County Antrim (sixth or seventh century) and, with added critical signs, asterisks and obeli, in the Cathach of St Columba (probably from nearer 630 than 600).[26]

The presence of Psalm 151 was normal in the *Romanum*, occasional in the *Gallicanum*, exceptional in the *Hebraicum* (it is present in the Amiatinus).

Conclusion (600–750)

In Merovingian Gaul, the Latin language was 'in the hands of the barbarians'.[27] Four manuscripts of the translation of the Prophets by Jerome, written in the eighth century, go back to a common ancestor (a sub-archetype) and to a Merovingian edition, the 'barbarous' Latin of which reveals its evolution towards the Romance languages. The Carolingian Renaissance put an end to that process by enforcing a clear distinction between Latin written according to classical grammar and the nascent Romance tongues.

An inscription may be used to illustrate the transition to the following period.[28] Under Pope Zacharias (741–52), a certain Gregory, 'first priest' of the Apostolic See and in charge of the church of St Clement, presented to the church the following biblical books: Octateuch, Kings, Psalter, Prophets, Solomon (i.e., at least Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes and perhaps Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus), Esdras, Histories (*storiarum*) and the New Testament.

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25 *Le Psautier Romain*, ed. Weber.
26 M. McNamara, 'Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (A.D. 600–1200)', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73, Section C, no. 7 (Dublin, 1973), pp. 201–98.
27 J. Gribomont and J. Mallet, 'Le latin biblique aux mains des barbares. Les manuscrits UEST des Prophètes', *Romanobarbarica* 4 (1979), 31–106.
28 E. Smiraglia, 'Donazione di libri sacri alla chiesa di S. Clemente', *Vetera Christianorum* 26 (1989), 351–60.

Those were his most precious property, he explained, with a quotation from Gregory the Great: 'the price of the Kingdom of God is all that belongs to you'. His Bible was still divided into several codices and some were certainly, to judge from their titles, in the new translation of Jerome: thus Octateuch (with Ruth included as the eighth book), not the earlier Heptateuch (*Eptaticus*, with Ruth excluded) and Kings (*Regum*, i.e. 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings), not Reigns or Kingdoms (*Regnorum*).

From *c.* 750 to *c.* 900

Format

As far as the complete text of the Bible is concerned, there were two methods of copying between *c.* 750 and *c.* 900, both rooted in tradition. Complete Bibles could be copied in a dozen or so codices or they could be conceived of as a single unit and copied in one volume (though sometimes bound in two or three parts). Psalters and gospelbooks, copies of which were numerous and often sumptuous, also had their part to play in the transmission of the text, along with small codices containing a selection of a few books of either the Old or the New Testament.

Charlemagne had the firm intention of providing his empire with official and authorised texts, and Louis the Pious (d. 840) followed him in this. That is certainly the case with the sacramentary for the Mass (*Hadrianum*), a canonical collection (*Hadriana*), and the Rule of St Benedict for monks. Charlemagne wished also that the biblical text used in the liturgy should be as correct as possible, as is apparent from the capitulary through which he encouraged use of the homiliary of Paul the Deacon. It is well known, too, that he was concerned with grammar and orthography, and this trend is visible in the careful copying of the codices of the Bible of Maurdramnus (before 781, described below). However, contrary to common opinion, Charlemagne did not entrust Alcuin with the task of editing a normative Latin Bible for the whole empire. Rather, he commissioned from him a Bible in one volume, which Alcuin corrected carefully and offered to the emperor in Aachen at Christmas 801 (a copy now lost). Nevertheless, it may be taken for certain that the work of the scribes both of Tours and of Orléans, under the supervision of Alcuin and Theodulf respectively, is to be ascribed to a general movement of centralisation and unification. Beyond the orbit of the Carolingian empire at this time, Italy kept strong ties with the past, while Spain and England were enduring difficult political conditions. The best example of a Bible in multiple codices is

the Bible of Maurdramnus, written in Corbie before 781 in a perfect caroline minuscule script. Of the ten to thirteen original codices, five survive (Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale 6, 7, 9, 11 and 12) and there are fragments of a sixth (Paris, BNF, lat. 13174, fols. 136 and 138). Similarly in St Gall, but only after the time of Winithar (760–80), complete Bibles were planned in small codices. According to a catalogue of the library from the middle of the ninth century, the abbey of Lorsch did not yet have a pandect Bible. Other examples are less easy to demonstrate, on account of the loss or dispersal of the witnesses, but some leaves in eighth-century Anglo-Saxon majuscule in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale, II. 1052, fols. 137–140; *CLA*, vol. x,1550) may belong to such a series of codices. Some series of this kind follow the order of the books according to the annual liturgical readings, at least in Italy (Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, i-2/g, second half of the ninth century) and Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 18036, earlier ninth century, later in Tegernsee). The inventory of the books in the library of Saint-Riquier (Centula, in France), written in 831 on the order of Louis the Pious, shows the coexistence of both possibilities: *De libris canonicis. 1. Biblia integra ubi continenetur libri LXXII in uno uolumine. 2. Bibliotheca dispersa in uoluminibus quatuordecim* ('Canonical books. 1. Complete Bible in one volume, containing the seventy-two books. 2. Bible divided into fourteen volumes'). Part-Bibles from the eighth and ninth centuries in England are too rare to allow any opinion.[29] In Spain no exemplar is extant.

The Latin Bible could be copied in one volume at least from the time of Cassiodorus (who died *c.* 585), and perhaps since the middle of the fifth century. After 800, this format became more usual.

In Spain, the single copy that may unquestionably be dated within our period is the Codex Cavensis (La Cava dei Tirreni, Archivio della Badia, 1 (14)), a luxurious pandect written after 850, in the view of many, but perhaps as early as 810. The Codex Toletanus (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 13–1 (Tol. 2–1)) and other connected fragments were dated by E. A. Lowe to around 800 (*CLA*, vol. xi, 1654), but scholars are now in favour of a later date, in the tenth century. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume continuity in the preference for pandects, which were common in tenth-century Spain.

The tradition initiated in England at Wearmouth–Jarrow did not disappear. The surviving part (New Testament) of a luxurious pandect copied at St Augustine's, Canterbury (London, BL, Royal 1. E. VI), is no longer dated

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29 Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 236–61, 262–306.

to the end of the eighth century, as Lowe had it, but to the first half of the ninth.[30] No other pandect is known before the late tenth-century Bible also in the Royal collection (London, BL, Royal 1. E. VII + VIII), bound in two volumes, later associated with Christ Church, Canterbury, but probably not copied there.[31]

The first great Carolingian Bible known to us is the Bible of Angilram, the second part of which alone survived until its destruction in 1944 (Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale 7; photographs exist). Angilram, bishop of Metz (d. 791), was also chaplain at the court of Charlemagne. In this Bible, Tobit and Judith had an Old Latin text, while the rest was 'vulgate', in a special textual type (siglum Z) which continued to be transmitted locally until the thirteenth century.

Not long afterwards, in a short space of time around 800, the scriptorium of Orléans, under Bishop Theodulf (d. 821), undertook the copying of some ten Bibles. They are recognisable by their format, the plainness of their presentation and the lack of decoration (including aniconism, the avoidance of human figures), and, especially, by the organisation of the contents:

Vetus Testamentum:

Ordo Legis (Pentateuch);

Ordo Prophetarum (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah + Baruch 1–5 + Epistle of Jeremiah (Baruch 6), Lamentations, Ezekiel, Minor Prophets);

Ordo Agiographorum (Job, Psalms *iuxta Hebraeos*, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Daniel, 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra (Ezra–Nehemiah), Esther);

Ordo librorum qui in canone non habentur (Wisdom, Sirach, Tobit, Judith, 1–2 Maccabees).

Novum Testamentum:

Ordo Euangelicus;

Ordo Apostolicus (Paul (Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians, 1–2 Timothy, Titus, Hebrews), Catholic Epistles (James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude), Acts, Apocalypse).

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30 *CLA*, vol. ii (2nd edn), pp. 214 and 244; M. O. Budny, 'London, British Library MS Royal 1. E. VI. The Anatomy of an Anglo-Saxon Bible Fragment', unpubl. PhD thesis, University of London (1985).

31 Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 321–78.

This order was clearly influenced by the rabbinical tradition, although Ruth and Lamentations were not here included in the third division of the books (the Hagiographa or *Ketuvim*), Daniel was not placed among the Prophets, and Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) were separated from the Solomonic books. The influence of a Hebrew reviser is also to be recognised in the marginal notes in the two latest of the surviving Bibles, which were part of the continuous process of revision to which Theodulf submitted his text. The Bibles were usually completed by two reading tools, the *Chronica* of Isidore and the *Clavis Melitonis*. In the following centuries, Theodulf's Bibles (siglum Θ in the critical editions) gave rise to local derivatives (θ). For example, the Theodulfian Bible of St Hubert, in Ardenne (London, BL, Add. 24142), was copied in-house around 1100 in three parts, two of which have survived (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale II, 1639 + Namur, Musée Archéologique, Fonds de la Ville 4). Between 800 and 900, only these Theodulfian Bibles, along with the Codex Cavensis, include the text of Baruch (placed immediately after Jeremiah). Like the Codex Amiatinus and most other early pandects, the Bibles of Theodulf have Psalms in the *Hebraicum*, not the *Gallicanum*, and in this they are distinguished from the Alcuinian Bibles.

From 796 onwards, Alcuin organised in Tours the production of pandects (Φ), which continued after his death (804) on an almost industrial scale (in spite of the eventful history of his monastery) until the middle of the century, and then proceeded more slowly because of the Norman invasions. Bonifatius Fischer described the practical considerations for such an industry, which produced two Bibles a year. These included the breeding of sheep even during winter, in order that the skins should be large enough, as well as the various stages of preparation of the parchment.[32] The work of writing was distributed among several scribes, copying from exemplars in loose booklets, in order to hasten the completion of each volume. Let us note some of the features of such Bibles. The order of the books was: Octateuch, 1–4 Kings (= 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings), Prophets (without Baruch), Job, Psalms (*Gallicanum*), Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Sirach, 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra (= Ezra–Nehemiah), Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1–2 Maccabees, Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Paul (sometimes with Laodiceans), Apocalypse (Job was sometimes placed after the Octateuch, and the positions of Esther, Paul and Apocalypse were subject to variation). Jerome's Epistle 53 to Paulinus of

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32 Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 271–2, n. 182.

Nola (beginning *Frater Ambrosius*), written in 394, was often placed at the head of medieval manuscript and printed Bibles – a custom going back to Alcuin and the scriptorium of Tours. Although the letter was clearly not intended for such a use, its inventory of biblical books according to Jerome and its theme, 'On the study of scriptures' (*De studio scripturarum*), made it very suitable in this place. As a result, it extended the authority of Jerome to the entire Latin Bible, rendering explicit a process of attribution already well advanced.

A comparison between the Bibles of Theodulf (from Orléans) and Alcuin (from Tours) is instructive. The former were copied in three columns in the early models, afterwards in two columns. They were very compact (*c*. 330 × 240 mm) and not so monumental as those of Tours; even the luxurious exemplars, on purple parchment, were not illuminated. The Bibles of Tours were large, with a comparatively stable format: a page size of *c*. 500 × 380 mm, with two columns of 50 or 52 lines, and about 420 folios. Illumination could be sumptuous, but did not become figurative before *c*. 830.

The wide diffusion of both types of Bible did not eliminate other local textual traditions, even long after 900. The certain Visigothic influence on Theodulf, and the possible Anglo-Saxon influence on Alcuin (did he know or see one of Ceolfrith's pandects?), as well as some lost Italian models, also played their parts in the success of the pandect Bibles. A single folio in uncial (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, F. IV. 1, fasc. 17; *CLA*, vol. IV, 456) from the eighth century and another from Verona (Breslau, Universitätsbibliothek, I. F. 118f; VL 196) are vestiges of pandects, and the texts serving as models, even at Orléans, often came from Italy. In Paris, Reichenau, St Gall, Freising, Lyon, Rheims, Saint-Amand and northern France many pandects were copied during the ninth century. The impulse and the fashion emanated from Tours. Even taking account of the vagaries of preservation, the number of Alcuinian Bibles considerably exceeded the number of those copied elsewhere in the same period, including those at Orléans. In order to visualise the preponderance of gospelbooks before 750 and the growth of complete Bibles after 750, it is helpful to examine a limited sample, even if it cannot be totally representative. From the list of manuscripts written or owned in England until 1100, we can select the biblical ones antedating 750 and those dating from 750 to 900:[33]

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33 H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001). See also R. Marsden, 'Anglo-Saxon Biblical Manuscripts', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 406–35.

	Before *c.* 750	*c.* 750 to *c.* 900
Bibles and Old Testament	5 + 1[34]	4
Psalters	5	3
Gospelbooks	25	15
Epistles of Paul	2	0

The gospelbook (to be distinguished from the lectionary of the gospels, which gives only the pericopes of the liturgy) was very common. It was often a luxurious production, with illuminated pages (decorated initials, painted evangelists, the Eusebian canons), on purple parchment with gold or silver letters and bound with silver or ivory boards, in which respect it may be compared with many richly produced psalters. On the other hand there were also relatively small and plain 'pocket' gospelbooks.[35] During both periods, the gospelbook was the most prominent of the biblical volumes (25 and 15 copies in the above table for England), as it had a central position on the altar during the Mass, and in church councils and the administering of oaths. The Bible in one volume, not easy to handle, would be – perhaps was already – placed in the middle of the choir for public reading in the Office.

Anyone wishing to study the transmission of the text of the Gospels up to the tenth century must use the collations of 450 manuscripts made by Bonifatius Fischer, based on four long sections from each Gospel and classified according to geographical distribution.[36] It is clear that only the revision of Jerome was now available, but it was often contaminated to a greater or lesser extent by Old Latin variants. The manuscripts were corrected and revised among themselves, not always according to any clear criteria. The gospelbook had a frequent companion, the *capitulare evangeliorum*, which indicated the readings for Sundays and feast days. Sometimes, following earlier practice, notes were put in the margins to the same effect.

The psalter was often copied independently and consequently was sometimes omitted from Bibles (as may be the case for the Gospels also). It was a liturgical book but was also used for private devotion by kings and queens, as numerous luxurious exemplars reveal. It was also a book for study. The text

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34 The added manuscript is St Petersburg, Public Library, F. v. I. 3, which contains a glossed copy of Job; see Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 256–61.
35 P. McGurk, 'The Irish Pocket Gospel Book', *Sacris Erudiri* 8 (1956), 249–70.
36 B. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien*, VLB 13, 15, 17 and 18.

used in the liturgy or in the commentaries was not uniform. The *Romanum* continued to be used in Rome and in southern Italy. It remained, too, the only psalter in England until the last decades of the tenth century and was not completely superseded by the *Gallicanum* until after the Norman conquest of 1066.[37] Milan preserves a psalter of its own, which was twice revised in a scholarly way during the ninth century, by a Scottus living in Milan (who added diacritics) and by Symeon. Spain used the Mozarabic psalter, which was not identical with the Hispanic one in use before the Arab conquest. The Codex Cavensis has a slightly revised form of the Mozarabic psalter. The main feature now, however, was the preponderance of the *Gallicanum*, which had been used before in competition with other versions. It was preferred in Ireland (see above), and the importance of the Irish missionaries on the Continent is well known. Such factors helped its final victory. Alcuin, although coming from England where the *Romanum* was in use, introduced the *Gallicanum* in the influential Bibles of Tours and thus gave it authority in the Carolingian empire. The apocryphal letters between Pope Damasus and Jerome, initially intended to give official status to the *Romanum*, were then used in favour of the *Gallicanum*.

Carolingian scholars were conscious of the variations in the text of the psalter. Their interest in the matter is evident in the composition of bilingual Greek–Latin copies and of double, triple and even quadruple psalters. The triple psalters are of particular interest here. After a first experiment at Corbie before 800 (St Petersburg, Public Library, F. v. I, N. 5; VL 325), the triple psalter of Reichenau (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. XXXVIII, copied in the second quarter of the ninth century) gives, in a three-column synopsis, the three main psalters with their henceforth received names, in the order *Gallicanum*, *Romanum*, *Hebraicum*. In 909, Salomo III, abbot of St Gall and bishop of Constance, had a quadruple psalter made by the addition of Greek (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek 44 [A. I. 14]; VL 311). These triple and quadruple psalters gave rise to many more copies and fixed the names of the three dominant texts, which were given at the head of the columns. The terms *Gallicanum* and *Romanum* represented the geographical diffusion of the respective texts, as perceived from Reichenau. The *Hebraicum* remained a reference psalter for scholars and soon disappeared even from pandects.

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37 M. Gretsch, 'The Roman Psalter, its Old English Glosses and the English Benedictine Reform', in H. Gittos and M. B. Bedingfield (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 13–28.

Psalm 151 is present in a double psalter (*Hebraicum* and *Gallicanum*) of the second half of the eighth century (Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 11). It stands also after the *Gallicanum* in the Bibles of Tours, introduced with a disparaging note, and in many other psalters.

In the psalter, the psalms were usually followed by a series of biblical canticles, which were used in the liturgy on the same level as the psalms.[38] The *Oratio Manasse*, which was not biblical, was sometimes found among them. Later on (after 900), it came to be placed after Chronicles in some manuscript, and then printed, Bibles. The *Confessio Esdrae* (4 Esdras 8:20–36) followed the same path, but earlier (see below under 4 Esdras).

Let us consider now briefly the beginnings of glossed biblical manuscripts. Considered here are only those manuscripts which were ruled in advance, most often in three columns, to receive the biblical text in the middle and 'glosses' (Latin *glossae*, an extended commentary on the text) on both sides, written in another type of script.[39] Two leaves from an Irish prototype, datable to *c.* 800, with a gloss on Ezekiel, have survived (Zurich, Stadtsarchiv, A. G. 19, no. xii). To begin with, the system was applied almost uniquely to the psalter. The most ancient copy, a *Romanum*, was written in Fulda *c.* 800. Around the middle of the century, three copies of the *Gallicanum* are known from St Gall. Among the nine copies before 900 listed by Margaret Gibson, one was written in Salzburg, two in Italy, and two in France.[40] From *c.* 860, the scriptorium of Wissembourg (Alsace) produced glossed copies of other books utilising the same page layout.

Content

A glance at the recently published lists of the Old Latin manuscripts reveals the crucial contribution of the witnesses of the eighth and ninth centuries to our knowledge of the Old Latin text.[41] It is no surprise to find among them many liturgical books with biblical canticles, readings, anthems and other material preserved by use. More surprisingly, Tobit and Judith appear widely in several Old Latin recensions, sometimes preceded by the preface

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38 J. Mearns, *The Canticles of the Christian Church, Eastern and Western, in Early Medieval Times* (Cambridge University Press, 1914); A. W. S. Porter, 'Cantica mozarabici officii', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 49 (NS 9) (1935), 126–45.

39 In this volume, see further Smith, ch. 20, 'The Glossed Bible'.

40 M. T. Gibson, 'Carolingian Glossed Psalters', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration and Use*, Cambridge Studies in Codicology and Palaeography 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 78–100.

41 Gryson (ed.), *Altlateinische Handschriften* (VL 1/2A–B).

of Jerome, presumably through a copyist's error, which in turn misleads the reader. With regard to 1–2 Maccabees, not touched by Jerome, several recensions are to be found in the manuscripts. One of them, not the best, was copied in the majority of the witnesses and became 'vulgate'. Nevertheless, it was the swansong for Old Latin and its traces thereafter became rarer and rarer. Locally, however, survival was possible. The later sixth-century Lyon Heptateuch (Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville 403 + 1964; VL 100), with an Old Latin text, remained in liturgical use until the ninth century, as appears from marginal notes. Signs of the new times are there, however, for some of these notes refer to the translation of Jerome.[42] The order of the books in handwritten Bibles varied greatly – a situation that resulted from a combination of theoretical principles and the hazards of copying. Samuel Berger, considering the Old Testament alone, enumerated 212 different orders and he proposed a useful rule-of-thumb classification, based on the opening books. His list could easily be lengthened and, with New Testament included, would be almost infinite. Here follows a short guide to Berger's list.[43]

Order I (Octateuch, 1–4 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Minor Prophets) was affected by the Hebrew canon in two ways: Daniel is not among the Prophets, and the main deuterocanonical books (i.e., those translated from the Greek, and received by the early church, but not deriving from the Hebrew Bible) are grouped before the New Testament. When this second characteristic appears alone, it perhaps harks back to the list of the *libri ecclesiastici* given by Rufinus of Aquileia and by the Colophon of Esther in an early pandect. When these two appear together, the influence of the Hebrew canon on the ordering is certain. From Spain, the tenth-century Codex Toletanus (see Isidore's *Etymologiae*, VI, 1, for a list with a similar order) is an example, as the Bibles of Theodulf and their descendants are in the case of Gaul.

Order II (Octateuch, 1–4 Kings, 16 Prophets) was frequent, as it was the order of the Tours (Alcuinian) Bibles.

Order III (Octateuch, 1–4 Kings, Chronicles, Psalms) was more traditional. It agrees with the canonical lists of Damasus, the African Councils, and Innocent I, representing the 'long' canon, without Hebrew influence. It is found in the

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42 See ibid. (VL 1/2A), pp. 159–160.
43 S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1893; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1976), pp. 331–42.

seventh-century Codex Amiatinus (Northumbria), in the Codex Cavensis (Spain, ninth century), and in the Bible of Corbie (Paris, BNF, lat. 11532–11533; Corbie, 830/850).

Order IV, which began with nearly all the historical books, except for 1–2 Maccabees (which close the Old Testament), was that of the Paris Bible of the thirteenth century. To my knowledge it is not witnessed before 900. (Order V cannot be categorised.)

Order VI (Octateuch, Job) resulted from the occasional influence of Epistle 53 of Jerome, often given at the beginning of Bibles. Alcuin used it in his poems, but not in his Bibles. It was found later in Spain.

Order VII (Isaiah, Paul) was that of the integral reading of the Bibles in the choir by monks and canons, which began with Isaiah at the start of the liturgical year. This order was found in northern Italy and in northern France, at least from the beginning of the ninth century.

In the New Testament, variations in the order of the sets of books, other than the Gospels (i.e., Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, Acts, Apocalypse), and of the books within each set, were countless.[44] In addition to these variations in order, there was variety in content – a number of writings were found in some, but not all, Latin Bibles. 3 Esdras was the received title in Latin of the Greek Esdras A in the Septuagint. Although it was more commonly cited by the Latin Fathers than its canonical counterpart, Ezra and Nehemiah (which formed Esdras B), few direct witnesses have survived that antedate 900. These include Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale 10 (a part-Bible; Corbie, ninth century), with what became the common recension, and a pandect (Paris, BNF, lat. 11505; Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 822) which begins with the common recension but continues with the 'Competition of the three bodyguards' (3:1–5:3) in another recension, as published by Pierre Sabatier according to later and complete manuscripts.[45]

Two forms of 4 Esdras (Apocalypse of Esdras) were found in Latin Bibles – one principally in Spain (with the chapters in the order 3–14, 15–16, 1–2) and the other in France (with chapters 1–16). In the French group, two witnesses post-date 900, both of them cited above in connection with Esdras. A folio torn out of the manuscript Paris, BNF, lat. 11505, is the source of a gap in

44 See also *Sapientia Salomonis*, ed. W. Thiele, VL 11/1 (1977–85), pp. 222–32; *Epistulae Catholicae*, ed. Thiele, VL 26/1 (1956–69), pp. 2 and 435; and *Epistula ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses*, ed. H. J. Frede, VL 24/2, (1966–71), pp. 290–303.
45 P.-M. Bogaert, 'Les livres d'Esdras et leur numérotation dans l'histoire du canon de la Bible latine', *RB* 110 (2000), 5–26; and see *Esra*, ed. B. Gesche, VL 6/2 (2008–).

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nearly all the handwritten and printed Bibles. The *Confessio Esdrae* (4 Esd. 8:20–36), which had an independent transmission among the biblical canticles (see above), appeared only rarely following Ezra–Nehemiah, before 900 (as in Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville 430 (356) and Paris, BNF, lat. 4). Later on, it became more common.

During the eighth century an abridged form of the Latin translation of 4 Maccabees (*Passio Maccabaeorum*) was introduced into biblical manuscripts, either after 1–2 Maccabees, as in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 9668 (written in France at the beginning of the ninth century but soon taken to Germany), or after 2 Esdras (= Nehemiah), as in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 12 (written in St Gall at the end of the eighth century). It is found also in the Bible, Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa 10–11 (Reichenau, first half of the ninth century). From the eleventh century onwards, this abridgement was copied in numerous Bibles of northern France and elsewhere.

The short Epistle to the Laodiceans, a cento of Pauline sentences, may have originated in the writings of the followers of the second-century heretic Marcion, although this is not clear. Gregory the Great admitted that Paul wrote fifteen epistles, but he held only fourteen to be canonical (*Moralia in Iob* 35.20.48). Thus he read Laodiceans in his codex of the Pauline Epistles. In fact, Laodiceans stands among the Pauline Epistles in the New Testament of Victor of Capua (547), in the Codex Cavensis (Spain, ninth century), and in many manuscripts of the period. It is however, absent from other good early witnesses (including the Codex Amiatinus) and from influential groups of Bibles of the ninth century, such as those of Metz, St Gall, Tours (where Laodiceans appears, however, subsequently) and Orléans.

The marginal position of The Shepherd of Hermas, a treatise based on a series of visions given to Hermas by an angel (the 'shepherd'), did not prevent it from being copied at the beginning of the ninth century in one Bible in Paris, following the New Testament (Paris, BNF, lat. 11553). It is mentioned in the Colophon of Esther among the non-canonical 'ecclesiastical' books. The model for the Paris Bible may go back to the middle of the fifth century.

The Third Epistle to the Corinthians (actually the correspondence carried out between the Corinthians and Paul, extracted from the Acts of Paul) nearly became part of the Latin Bible. It is found in the Bible of Monza (Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, i-2/9; second half of the ninth century; VL 86) and also in the Bible of Biasca (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 53 inf; tenth century). Two other witnesses are leaves torn out of lost Bibles, a sign of its rejection. A fifth witness dates from the thirteenth century.

Some further observations on the period 600–900

Bilingual manuscripts

The bilingual Coislin Psalter (Paris, BNF, Coislin 186; ε;VL 333), written during the seventh century in the West by a scribe trained in Greek, had already arrived in France in the eighth century, and the Codex Laudianus of Acts, written *c.* 600 in Rome or in Sardinia (*e*; VL 50), was used by Bede in Wearmouth–Jarrow and taken not much later (during the eighth century) to Germany. Both are in Old Latin and Greek. From the eighth century, Greek in bilingual manuscripts was written by unskilled hands. St Gall had a prominent place through the sheer number of its manuscripts, in some of which the Latin is written between the Greek lines: examples are a gospelbook (VL 27), a copy of Paul (VL 77) and a psalter (VL 334), which together form a fine set (see also VL 338 and 339). In other manuscripts the Latin and the Greek are presented in two columns, for example a psalter (VL 335) and a copy of Paul (VL 78). In 909, Salomon III of St Gall ordered a quadruple psalter, with the *Gallicanum*, the *Romanum*, the *Hebraicum* and the transliterated Greek (VL 311).[46] At Fulda, *c.* 900, a bilingual psalter goes back to an early form of presentation, with the Greek on the left page and the Latin on the right. There remain, too, an Easter lectionary written in Wales by a certain Commoneus, *c.* 817 (VL 111), the mid-ninth-century psalter of Sedulius Scottus, with bilingual biblical canticles (Liège; VL 250), and the bilingual Psalter of Symeon, copied at Milan in the second half of the ninth century (VL 408).

Prologues and capitula

To the early prologues (often biographical) and the prefaces of Jerome (mostly apologetic) were added new pieces of various kinds.[47] The poems of Eugenius of Toledo, Theodulf, Alcuin and Florus were dedications written in luxury volumes presented to noble persons. Sometimes they were copied into other Bibles also. More often a choice of patristic texts (prefaces of Jerome to his commentaries, extracts from Eusebius of Caesarea, Hilarius, Cassiodorus or Isidore), as well as other tools, was intended to be a help for the reader. The prologues (*prooemia*) of Isidore, perhaps composed for a complete Bible, were diffused widely, even in Bibles that had no apparent ties with Spain. The *capitula* were intended to aid the consultation of the works of ancient

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46 W. Berschin, 'Griechisches in der Klosterschule des alten St. Gallen', in his *Mittellateinische Studien* (Heidelberg: Mattes, 2005), pp. 179–92, pls. 15–17.
47 See Bogaert, 'La Bible latine', pp. 286–9.

authors. Each book (*liber*) was divided into sections (*capitula*), which received a number and a title (*titulus, brevis* or *capitulum*). The number was written in the margin; the title could be copied within the text in red (*rubrica*). Usually, the complete list of the titles with their numbers was given before the start of each book. The series of titles and their numbering were very varied, and they were consequently of little use outside a given manuscript. A unified system of scriptural reference was not developed until the thirteenth century. As Jerome and his early successors did not make use of the system of *capitula*, some Old Latin series of divisions were still commonly found in the period 600–900 applied to Jerome's translation. This is the case in the Codex Amiatinus. Bede was among those who created new series, as did Cassiodorus before him.[48]

General conclusion

At the end of these three centuries, 600–900, some characteristics of the Latin Bible in the West had become clearly defined. The success of the Bibles in one volume (pandects) was the most obvious, though of course many part-Bibles were also in use. This success is all the more noticeable since in the Greek Church nothing similar happened. The victory of the translations of Jerome according to the Hebrew was also definitive, except in the psalter, for which the *Gallicanum* (the translation of Jerome based on the Greek of Origen) began to become dominant. The authority of Jerome was extended to the complete Bible, even including the books he did not touch, especially through the positioning of his Epistle 53 at the beginning of many manuscripts. But uniformity was still far away. There were hesitations about the list of books to be copied, and their order was not fixed at all. Textual variants were numerous, and local traditions survived. Some books and parts of books (the biblical canticles in the psalter, for example) were still often in an Old Latin form. In the absence of any received chapter division, references remained vague – the various systems called for unification. Some signs presaged the future: psalters could be glossed, and pocket gospelbooks paved the way for pocket Bibles.

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48 See Meyvaert, 'Bede's *Capitula lectionum*'.

The Latin Bible, *c.* 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546

FRANS VAN LIERE

Modern scholars know a good deal more about the state of the Vulgate Bible text before and during the Carolingian renaissance than in the five centuries after 900. In an essay published in 1984, Laura Light pointed out that very little systematic study had been done on manuscripts of the Bible dating from after the tenth century, and the little work that had been done either dealt mainly with art-historical questions of manuscript production and illumination, or treated the texts primarily as witnesses to pre-900 traditions, rather than placing them within their own historical context.[1] Despite progress in some fields, such as the study of the so-called 'Paris' Bible and the biblical *correctoria* of the thirteenth century, this state of affairs has not fundamentally changed over two decades later. This chapter will give an overview of the textual history of the Latin Bible (in the version which became known later, in the sixteenth century, as the *Vulgata*) after the Carolingian renaissance, tracing it through the periods of ecclesiastical and monastic reform, the rise of scholasticism and the first printed Vulgate edition in 1452/1456, until the first critical editions that were brought about by the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation. The latter led to the text as it would be printed, with modifications, in the Sixto-Clementine edition in 1592, which would remain the standard text of the Latin Bible for centuries.

The state of modern research

Most of the modern research into the textual transmission of the Vulgate was inspired by the monumental editing project that was undertaken to

1 L. Light, 'Versions et révisions du texte biblique', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de Tous les Temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 55–93, at p. 56. See also P.-M. Bogaert, 'La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions', *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 19 (1988), 137–59, 276–314, and P. Cherubini (ed.), *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, Littera Antiqua 13 (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2005).

replace the Sixto-Clementine edition of 1592. Between 1889 and 1954, John Wordsworth and Henry White published their critical edition of the Vulgate New Testament, based on the oldest extant gospel manuscripts, most of which dated from the ninth century.[2] In 1907, Pope Leo VIII commissioned the complete critical edition of the Vulgate Old Testament, and entrusted the project to the Benedictine order; the first volume was issued from the abbey of S Girolamo in Rome in 1926 and the project was completed in 1994.[3] The editing principles of the project were set out by Dom Henri Quentin in his *Mémoire* of 1922.[4] The main aim was to establish the text of the Vulgate as Jerome had conceived it in the fifth century. Thus manuscripts written after *c.* 900 were considered unreliable witnesses, and for this reason, the more recent manuscript tradition of the Vulgate received only scant attention.

Quentin's study (which was flawed in many respects and was limited to the Octateuch manuscripts) distinguished three main manuscript traditions: the Alcuinan (designated by siglum Φ), Theodulfian (Θ) and Spanish traditions (Σ), ranging from the tenth to the twelfth century, and he regarded the codices Amiatinus, Ottobonianus and Turonensis (sigla A, O and G) as their respective ancestral manuscripts.[5] In addition to these three manuscript traditions, Quentin distinguished two more families of a later date: the Italian family of the giant, or 'Atlantic', Bibles (designated by siglum ψ, all dating from the twelfth century: see below); and the Beneventan manuscripts of the abbey of Monte Cassino (siglum π, ranging from the tenth to the eleventh century). These Italian and Cassinian families were of less importance to the establishment of the critical Vulgate text, because, according to Quentin, the Cassino manuscripts derived from the Spanish family, while the Italian group was a conflation of all three aforementioned traditions. Manuscripts of a later date than the ninth century could occasionally be regarded as witnesses to earlier traditions, but generally, Quentin seemed to agree with Samuel Berger's assessment, offered in his seminal study on the history of the Vulgate text in 1893: 'From the tenth to the twelfth century, everything is disorder in this

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2 *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi*, ed. J. Wordsworth and H. J. White, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889–1954).
3 *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem, ad codicum fidem . . . cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in urbe O.S.B. edita*, ed. H. Quentin et al., 18 vols. (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis and Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1926–95).
4 H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*, Collectanea Biblica Latina 6 (Rome: Desclée / Paris: Gabalda, 1922).
5 Quentin's stemmatological analysis was criticised almost immediately after the publication of his *Mémoire*; see E. K. Rand, 'Dom Quentin's Memoir on the Text of the Vulgate', *HTR* 17 (1924), 197–264, and J. Gribomont, 'Les éditions critiques de la Vulgate', *Studi Medievali* 2 (1961), 363–77. For the early history of the Vulgate, see Bogaert in this volume, pp. 69–92.

history. It is an epoch of texts copied without overview or rule, and at the same time a period of mediocre and second-hand texts.'[6]

When it comes to the history of the Vulgate in the period 900–1500, art historians have looked at illuminated manuscripts,[7] and some ateliers and centres of Bible production (especially Paris) are now fairly well studied,[8] but much less is known about the transmission of the actual biblical text of the Vulgate. A path-breaking study on this, though restricted to the text of the gospels, was undertaken by Hans Hermann Glunz.[9] His main point was that the Vulgate text of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries looked much more like the printed editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than the critical editions based on the early manuscript evidence. This makes the period 900–1500 of special interest for the establishment of the *textus receptus* of the Vulgate.

The formation of a *textus receptus*

The study of the textual history of a *textus receptus* poses some particular challenges to the philologist. Medieval texts are generally subject to deterioration after their initial publication, as copyists' mistakes and textual alterations gradually creep into the text. While this process of scribal error certainly influenced the quality of the Vulgate text, the opposite also happened. Because the text was believed to be divinely inspired, scribes took great care to correct it, and to establish a carefully prepared copy of their Bible by weeding out textual anomalies, by comparing their *Vorlage* (original version) with other copies of the same text, or by establishing the 'correct' reading through comparison with patristic sources or even the Hebrew or Greek original. Thus the initial textual divergence, the main tool which the modern philologist uses to establish a genealogy among the various textual families, was gradually obscured by generations of scribes. Also, because scribes often compared their text to

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6 S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1893; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1976), p. 329.
7 R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration, and Use*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1994); M. Maniaci and G. Orofino (eds.), *Le Bibbie atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione* (Milan: Centro Tibaldi, 2000).
8 R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis. A Study of Styles*, California Studies in the History of Art 18 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1977); C. F. R. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1984).
9 H. H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon, Being an Inquiry into the Text of some English Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels* (Cambridge University Press, 1933).

that of other codices, the transmission of the biblical text was by definition a contaminated tradition. Any attempt at a the formation of a stemma, such as the one presented by Loewe in the second volume of the original *Cambridge History of the Bible*, is bound to be confusing and purely hypothetical at best.[10] Besides, it is hard to draw a stemma for the complete text of the Vulgate when one considers that only some Bibles were pandects (a full collection of all Bible books in one codex). Most medieval biblical codices consist of partial Bibles (such as gospelbooks or Octateuchs) or individual Bible books, whose text could, of course, be copied from pandects, or, in return, into pandects. This situation makes the textual transmission of each Bible book an individual case to consider. With Glunz, we can rightly conclude that for the period 900–1500 we should no longer speak about the transmission of the text of the Vulgate, but rather the formation of a new text, which Glunz called the 'scholastic' Vulgate.[11]

Several sources attest to the fact that the production of biblical texts in this period was not a mere copying of texts, but that scribes (or the overseers of the scribal activity) took an active part in evaluating and improving the text, often by comparing various codices. Sigebert of Gembloux, for instance, described how Abbot Olbert of Gembloux (d. 1048) had one copy of the entire holy scripture made into a pandect, after allegedly gathering no fewer than 100 copies of sacred books.[12] And the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc of Bec (d. 1089), according to his biographer,

> because scripture was corrupted by the vice of many scribes, I took care to correct all the books of the Old and New Testament, as well as the writings of the fathers, according to the orthodox faith. And thus he emended with great exactitude many writings we now use day and night in the service of the church, and he not only did this himself, but also had it done by his students.[13]

While Lanfranc established his Bible text by comparing different codices, he was also correcting the text 'according to the orthodox faith'. Apparently it was the orthodoxy of a certain reading, or perhaps its concordance with the church fathers, that led him decide on its correctness. Lanfranc's editorial activity did not leave a clear mark on the history of the Vulgate text. Indeed, there is no clear manuscript evidence for any of these alleged Bible revisions.

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10 R. Loewe, 'The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate', in *CHB II*, pp. 102–54, at pp. 104–5.
11 Glunz, *History of the Vulgate*, pp. 3–4, 197.
12 Sigebert of Gembloux, *Gesta abbatium Gemblacensium et vita Wicberti*, *PL* 160, col. 625B.
13 Milo Crispin, *Vita Lanfranci*, *PL* 150, col. 55BC. See also M. M. Tischler, 'Dal Bec a San Vittore. L'aspetto delle Bibbie "neomonastiche" e "vittorine"', in Cherubini, *Forme e modelli*, pp. 373–406.

Light cautiously calls them 'rumors of revisions'.[14] We should, therefore, not see these tenth- to twelfth-century examples of emendatory activity as endeavours to establish a new critical edition or recension of the Vulgate text, but rather as the common practice of biblical scribes to compare different texts and weed out singular readings. This practice led to the contamination of the textual tradition of the Vulgate described in the paragraph above, and even the contamination of that textual tradition with outside sources, such as the Hebrew Bible, the church fathers, liturgy and the *Vetus Latina*. It was this process of contamination that eventually produced the *textus receptus* of the scholastic Vulgate.

The Vulgate in an age of reform

Much of the copying and dispersing of Bible manuscripts was connected with the movement for monastic reform. Many of the Bibles that were produced in this period were intended to serve as exemplars for communal use within a specific monastery, and the text often spread through the connections that monasteries maintained among themselves. A good example of this, within the Cistercian order, is the four-volume Bible that was produced under the supervision of Stephen Harding, who was abbot of Cîteaux from 1109 until 1134. In his *monitum*, attached to one of the volumes of this Bible, he described how he collected several volumes of the biblical text from various churches, in order 'to follow the most truthful text'. He was dismayed at the diversity of the readings he found in these volumes, especially at the interpolations in the Book of Samuel that were in some, but not in other, Latin Bibles – interpolations that, as Robert Weber has shown, were ultimately derived from contamination of the Vulgate text with that of the *Vetus Latina*.[15] Stephen set out to correct the text, sometimes relying on the supposed antiquity of the manuscripts he used, and sometimes with the help of Jews who were 'experts in their own scriptures'.[16] The text that Harding established was thus a mix of various textual traditions, with corrections that were unique to his particular text. Recourse to the Hebrew text was to become a frequent way of correcting the Vulgate. Around 1140, the Cistercian Nicholas of Maniacoria, monk of S Anastasio alle Tre Fontane in Rome, wrote a treatise on the correction

14 Light, 'Versions et révisions du texte biblique', p. 73.
15 R. Weber, 'Les interpolations du livre de Samuel dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*. Vol. 1: *Bibbia-letteratura cristiana antica*, Studi e Testi 121 (Vatican City: BAV, 1946), pp. 19–39.
16 Stephen Harding, *Censura de aliquot locis bibliorum*, PL 166, cols. 1373–6.

of the Hebrew psalter.[17] What makes Maniacoria's treatise stand out from the other textual revisions of his time is his expert knowledge of Hebrew and the sophistication of his emendatory activity. It is much less clear, however, how far Harding's Bible was intended to serve as an exemplar for the entire order. According to Karl Lang, while it was likely that the codex functioned as an exemplar for use in the abbey of Cîteaux, its text does not seem to have been widely copied outside this place.[18] Neither does Maniacoria's corrected Hebrew psalter seem to have been very influential.

One of the post-ninth-century groups of manuscripts discussed by Quentin was the so-called Italian group of 'giant' Bibles (siglum Ψ), which he dismissed as a conflation of the three main Vulgate traditions and therefore of little use as a witness to its original text.[19] However, it may have had an important influence on the development of the text of Continental Bibles, because it was connected to one of the most influential ecclesiastical movements of the eleventh century: the Gregorian reform. The manufacturing and distribution of monumental one-volume Bibles was a deliberate part of this reform; it often strengthened the bonds with episcopal sees and monasteries and symbolised the commitment to a mutually respected religious ideal. The preferred format of these Bibles, the large-size pandect, was probably inspired by the model of the Carolingian Bibles from Tours. The large format, which has given them also the name 'Atlantic Bibles', was chosen because they were to be used as choir books for communal reading. Rome (and for a short while probably Florence, where the popes resided briefly from 1059 to 1061) became a centre of Bible production in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with its texts spreading to episcopal or monastic centres of reform, such as Stavelot, Salzburg, Canterbury and Durham.[20] These pandects were remarkably uniform in appearance, which of course does not mean that they all reproduced the same text.

One of the concerns of the reformers was to establish a well-corrected exemplar for the copying and dissemination of these Bibles, a text that by its reliability underpinned the unity in faith of the one universal church, of

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17 R. Weber, 'Deux préfaces au psautier dues à Nicolas Maniacoria', *RB* 63 (1953), 3–17; V. Peri, '"Correctores immo corruptores", un saggio di critica testuale nella Roma del XII secolo', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 20 (1977), 19–125.

18 J. P. P. Martin, *Saint Étienne Harding et les premiers recenseurs de la Vulgate latine, Théodulfe et Alcuin* (Amiens: Rousseau-Leroy, 1887); K. P. A. Lang, *Die Bibel Stephan Hardings. ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der neutestamentlichen Vulgata* (Bonn: Neuendorff, 1939); M. Cauwe, 'Le Bible d'Étienne Harding', *RB* 103 (1993), 414–44.

19 Quentin, *Mémoire*, pp. 363–84.

20 L. M. Ayres, 'The Italian Giant Bibles: Aspects of their Touronian Ancestry and Early History', in Gameson (ed.), *Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 125–54.

which Rome was seen as the centre. Thus in a letter to a monastic friend, Peter Damian, one of the frontrunners of the reform movement, exhorted his brothers to the study of the church fathers and scripture, and described how he took care to 'emend the entire library of volumes of the Old and New Testament, albeit hastily and therefore not very precisely'.[21] Perhaps it was this haste that caused the work to be unfinished. In an analysis of the text of the Atlantic Bibles, Guy Lobrichon suggested that this textual revision was a work in progress, in which at least three distinct versions can be distinguished.[22] He concluded that the copyists compared a variety of codices for the establishment of the biblical text; he noted the influence of the Alcuinan (Rome, S Paolo fuori le mura, s.n., Φ^P, probably the copy that was most easily available for the reformers), Theodulfian and Spanish manuscript traditions in the text, and suggested that the scribes must even have had recourse to the Codex Amiatinus. The scriptural canon that these pandects followed was interesting in that the reformers generally eschewed the inclusion of apocryphal works. Their book order was no less remarkable, with the books of the Prophets (usually found at the end of the Old Testament) placed immediately after the Octateuch. Following the Alcuinan precedent they included the Gallican instead of the Roman or Hebrew psalter. Also, these Bibles included a number of extra-biblical texts that directed the interpretation of the reader; among them were *tituli* for the Psalms of David and rubrications for the Song of Songs that specified who was speaking, the bride or the bridegroom.

The twelfth-century schools

Not all the Bible production in this period was connected to monastic reform, however. Another important influence on the formation of the biblical text was the nascent scholastic movement. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, schools attached to monasteries and cathedrals grew in importance and influence, and one of the main texts studied here was the Bible. Bec, where Lanfranc produced his corrected biblical text, was one such centre; it would reach its highest fame under the direction of Lanfranc's successor Anselm (d. 1109), who, like Lanfranc, later became archbishop of Canterbury. Glunz listed other centres of nascent scholasticism, such as Rheims, Auxerre, Fleury

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21 Peter Damian, *De ordine eremitarum, PL* 145, cols. 334CD.
22 G. Lobrichon, 'La Bible de la Réforme ecclésiastique. Aspects textuels (XIe siècle)', in Maniaci and Orofino (eds.), *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, pp. 15–26.

and the cathedral school of Laon, as important centres of Bible production, and sometimes revision.

It was the latter school that stood at the cradle of the most influential Bible commentary of the Middle Ages, the *Glossa ordinaria*.[23] This commentary provided edited excerpts of patristic exegesis, written in the margins and between the lines of the biblical text. The initial conception of the Gloss (as the *Glossa ordinaria* is called in English) is credited to Anselm of Laon (d. 1117), who by the beginning of the twelfth century had already built a reputation for biblical exegesis that attracted great scholars such as Peter Abelard. Anselm was assisted by his brother Ralph of Laon (d. 1133), who continued to work on glossing biblical books after the former's death. They were probably the authors of the Gloss on the Gospels and Romans, while Gilbert of Auxerre (d. 1134, also nicknamed 'the Universal') was the likely author of the Gloss on Lamentations, the Twelve Prophets and possibly Samuel and Kings.[24] The glossing of the Bible took several decades; individual books were glossed at different dates, by different authors, and probably in different places. The Gloss on Psalms, for instance, went through no less than three successive redactions, by Anselm of Laon, Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154) and Peter Lombard (d. 1160). The latter was also the likely final redactor of the Gloss on the Letters of Paul. From the 1130s to the 1150s, Paris (and probably more specifically the collegiate abbey of St Victor) was a major centre for the copying of these glossed bibles. It is not clear whether any of the glosses were actually composed here, though.[25]

It was Glunz's contention that this scholastic glossing had a profound influence on the formation of the Vulgate text, greater than the movement of monastic reform, which he saw as inherently conservative and not prone to alter the text.[26] According to his interpretation of early scholastic hermeneutics, the text of the Bible was secondary to its intended meaning; in his opinion, this gave the masters of the sacred page the opportunity to adapt the text to the patristic readings of the text, or even its theological meaning. If Lanfranc's revision was already 'a revision in part of the biblical text, in order to make it agree with the true spiritual meaning of the Bible as contained in the patristic commentaries', the scholastic glossators went even further: 'If the Church,

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23 See also the chapter by Lesley Smith in this volume, pp. 363–79.
24 B. Smalley, 'Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128–34), and the Problem of the *Glossa ordinaria*', *RTAM* 7 (1935), 235–62; 8 (1936), 24–60.
25 M. T. Gibson, 'The Twelfth-Century Glossed Bible', in E. A. Livingstone (ed.), *Papers Presented to the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1987*, Studia Patristica 23 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), pp. 232–44; de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible*.
26 Glunz, *History of the Vulgate*, p. 35.

in the writings of the Fathers, possessed the true sense and meaning of the biblical text, she could not only do the text no harm by appropriate alterations, but she could even improve it by adapting it to its true sense.'[27] Thus many of the particular readings of the later printed editions of the Vulgate that are not found in the Codex Amiatinus, or in Alcuin's and Theodulf's recensions, are illustrative of the general adaptation of the Bible text in these early schools, most notably Bec, Rheims, Fleury and Laon, and especially the Paris 'schools of the Lombard', where, in the period between 1140 and 1160, Glunz located the composition of the *Glossa ordinaria*.[28] Although, Glunz said, the text used in these schools rested primarily on the Alcuinan recension, it was often modified in important ways to correspond with the exegesis of the church fathers, which were displayed in the margin of the text, and the early scholastic theology, as it was expressed in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

There is much to question in Glunz's thesis, especially his ideas on the origin and the late dating of the *Glossa ordinaria*, the limitation of his research on English gospel manuscripts and his assumption that the 'monastic' copyists did little to alter the text of the Bible. And he may have overestimated the extent to which the glossators modified the actual Bible text. Unfortunately, while the *Glossa ordinaria* itself has received considerable attention in recent scholarship,[29] comparatively little research has been done on the text of these glossed bibles. Was it altered by the glossators, to make it conform to the glosses, as Glunz assumed, or was the text already 'corrupt' when it was glossed? Or were some of the changes that Glunz said were characteristic of the 'scholastic Bible' actually introduced later than 1140, after the bulk of the glossing was already completed? Was the situation the same for the Gospels as it was, for instance, for Genesis? A small and not very representative sample I took of a glossed copy of Genesis revealed that only a few of the readings that Glunz would identify as 'scholastic' could be found in its Bible text.[30] Nevertheless, Glunz was probably correct in his assessment – and more recent research by Niels Haastrup has confirmed this – that the formative stage of the late medieval Vulgate text took place between 1100 and 1150, and that the biblical text of the *Glossa ordinaria* represented an important stage in this development.[31]

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27 Ibid., pp. 159, 253.   28 Ibid., pp. 213–17.

29 See also R. Berndt, 'Neue Forschungen zur Glossa der Bibel', *Archa Verbi* 2 (2005), 177–82.

30 Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 2. 19.

31 N. Haastrup, 'Zur frühen Pariser Bibel – auf Grund skandinavischer Handschriften', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 24 (1963), 242–69.

A test case for this hypothesis is the Bible in the school of St Victor. Recent investigations into the text and Bibles used in this school suggest two things: the preponderance of the glossed Bible, and the correlation of the text used here with that of the later Paris Bible (siglum Ω). The abbey of St Victor, founded in 1108 by William of Champeaux, had in the first half of the twelfth century developed into a prestigious centre of spiritual learning.[32] Exegesis of the scriptures had a prominent place here, with commentaries being written by masters such as Hugh (d. 1141), Richard (d. 1173), Peter Comestor (d. 1178) and, especially, Andrew of St Victor (d. 1175). The latter wrote commentaries on the literal sense of most books of the Old Testament in the 1140s and 1150s. There are strong indications that the glossed Bible was a standard work of reference in the school of St Victor.[33] But it was clearly not Andrew's only Bible text, and sometimes not even his 'preferred' one. He used other codices, as well as the Hebrew text and older Latin versions (the latter through the mediation of Jerome's commentaries), to suggest alternative readings to the common Vulgate text.[34] In fact, some of the textual variants that Andrew suggested were probably not derived from actual codices, but from the glosses of the *Glossa ordinaria*.[35] On the other hand, an analysis by Rainer Berndt of the Bible text that Andrew of St Victor used for his commentary on the books of Ecclesiastes and Proverbs showed the close relation of the text of this Bible at St Victor to that of the later thirteenth-century Paris copies, even though direct copying is unlikely.[36] A comparison of the first two chapters of a glossed Genesis[37] with Andrew's commentary on the same chapters confirms this correlation among the Bible texts of the *Glossa ordinaria*, Andrew, and the Paris and later printed editions. It also suggests, however, that the text that Andrew had at hand was not simply that of the *Glossa ordinaria*. If

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32 J. Châtillon, 'La culture de l'école de Saint-Victor du XIIe siècle', in M. de Gandillac and E. Jeauneau (eds.), *Entretiens sur la renaissance du XIIe siècle*, Decades du Centre Culturel International de Cerisy-la-Salle, NS 9 (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 147–60; Tischler, 'Dal Bec a San Vittore'.

33 F. A. van Liere, 'Andrew of St Victor and the Gloss on Samuel and Kings', in R. I. A. Nip and H. van Dijk (eds.), *Media Latinitas. A Collection of Essays to Mark the Occasion of the Retirement of L. J. Engels*, Instrumenta Patristica 28 (Steenbrugge and Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 249–53; Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio super Duodecim Prophetas*, ed. F. A. van Liere and M. A. Zier, CCCM 53G (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. xxi–xxvi.

34 Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio hystorica in librum Regum*, ed. F. A. van Liere, CCCM 53A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), p. 11, line 226; p. 39, line 1115; p. 71, lines 12–14; Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Super Duodecim Prophetas*, p. 9, lines 125–34.

35 Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Super Duodecim Prophetas*, p. 53, lines 1443–4.

36 Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositiones historicae in Libros Salomonis*, ed. R. Berndt, CCCM 53B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. xvii–xviii, xx.

37 Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 2.19, cited above.

anything can be concluded from this, it is that the matter deserves further research.

The thirteenth century and beyond

The latest manuscript group that Quentin took into consideration for his critical edition is that containing the scholastic text (siglum Ω), which he assumed went back to an 'exemplar Parisiense'. Following Jean Pierre Paulin Martin,[38] scholars have wanted to see in it an 'official' Bible selected by theologians at the University of Paris toward the end of the twelfth century, to be reproduced by the *stationarii* in Paris, who had a virtual monopoly on Bible production in the thirteenth century.[39] Martin based this assumption on a reading of Roger Bacon (1214–94), who in his *Opus minus* had stressed the need for correction of the Vulgate text, because

> some forty years ago, many theologians and an infinite number of booksellers in Paris, without much insight, proposed this [Bible text] as an exemplar. But because they were illiterate and married, and did not care to nor knew how to ponder the truth of the sacred text, they proposed very faulty exemplars, and infinite scribes added many changes to this corruption.[40]

Quentin saw in the Saint-Jacques Bible (siglum Ω^J)[41] a representative of the text these Paris theologians had selected, and he concluded that this text was essentially representative of the Alcuinian text, with occasional influences from the Italian and the Theodulfian tradition. Glunz questioned the idea that the text of the Paris Bible went back to an officially selected and corrected exemplar, and more recently scholars such as Laura Light and Richard and Mary Rouse have convincingly shown that the text that was commercially available from the Paris booksellers was not in any way an 'official' text, even less a corrected recension of the Vulgate. Rather, it was the text that had been commonly available in Paris at the end of the twelfth century, as it had emerged from the twelfth-century schools.[42]

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38 J. P. P. Martin, 'Le Vulgate latine au XIIIe siècle d'après Roger Bacon', *Le Muséon* 7 (1888), 88–107, 169–96, 278–91, 381–93; 'Le texte parisien de la Vulgate latine', *Le Muséon* 8 (1889), 444–66; 9 (1890), 55–70, 301–16.

39 Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, p. 10.

40 Roger Bacon, *Opus minus* in *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita. Vol. 1*, ed. J. S. Brewer, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 15 (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859; repr. London: Kraus, 1965), p. 333.

41 Paris, BNF, lat. 16719–16722.

42 R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers. Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller and Brepols, 2000); L. Light, 'French Bibles

The term 'Paris Bible' is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, scholars have used the term to refer to texts that are essentially representative of the hypothetical 'exemplar Parisiense', a codex that, as suggested above, probably never existed. More commonly it is used to describe the Bibles that were being produced in Paris by the middle of the thirteenth century and that had a number of common characteristics. They were pandects that included the apocryphal books, in an order that followed closely the historical chronology of biblical history. A new set of prologues, based on Jerome, accompanied the books, and at the end, these Bibles invariably included a dictionary with the interpretation of Hebrew names. While the *breves*, the chapter summaries that had characterised older Bibles, disappeared, the Paris Bibles had a new division into chapters that corresponds largely with the one we still use today; this division was attributed to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury in the early thirteenth century. Modern scholars have pointed out that this 'Langtonian' chapter division actually pre-dates Langton.[43] There was still no division into verses, however. By the end of the thirteenth century, Dominicans in Paris devised a system of dividing each chapter into alphabetical partitions, from *a* to *g* for longer chapters and *a* to *d* for shorter chapters, which corresponded to their concordances. Thus 'xii a' would point to the first quarter of chapter twelve, 'xii b' to the second quarter, and so on.[44]

These thirteenth-century Bibles were commercially produced texts and became widely popular among the newly founded and quickly expanding mendicant (depending on charity) orders. The success of the Paris Bible was due mainly to the demand among Dominican and Franciscan friars and Paris students for a one-volume portable Bible, and to the ability of the professional Paris scribes to produce one in great quantities.[45] The uniformity of the format of the thirteenth-century Paris Bible belied its textual pluriformity. Glunz cited the example of a one-volume thirteenth-century example in York Minster Library that looks in size and format exactly like a Paris Bible, but is

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c. 1200–30. A New Look at the Origins of the Paris Bible', in Gameson (ed.), *Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 155–76. See also Light in this volume, pp. 386–91.

43 O. Schmid, *Über verschiedene Eintheilungen der Heiligen Schrift insbesondere über die Capitel-Eintheilung Stephan Langtons im XIII. Jahrhunderte* (Graz: Leuschner and Lubensky, 1892); P. Saenger, 'The Anglo-Hebraic Origins of the Modern Chapter Division of the Latin Bible', in F. Javier Burguillo and L. Meier (eds.), *La fractura historiografica. Edad Media y Renacimento desde el tercer milenio* (Salamanca: Seminario de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2008), pp. 177–202.

44 R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, 'The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974), 5–30.

45 Light, 'French Bibles *c*. 1200–30', p. 490, and 'Roger Bacon and the Origin of the Paris Bible', *RB* 111 (2001), 483–507.

in fact a copy of a ninth-century text, rather than a representative of the Paris family.[46] And even within the latter text type, there could be variety. Until the advent of printing, textual instability and textual variance in the text of the Vulgate were inherent in the process of copying the text.

Despite the ubiquity of the Paris-type pocket-sized Bibles, there was in general still considerable variety in the size and format of thirteenth-century Bibles.[47] Two-volume Bibles were very common, with the second volume starting at Proverbs; in fact, codicological evidence, such as a more decorated page at the beginning of the book of Proverbs, suggests that many of the one-volume Bibles were in fact two-volume Bibles, bound together at a later date. Multivolume Bibles, especially glossed ones, were still common, while the first large-sized Bibles-with-gloss in one volume also started appearing.[48] Moreover, when looking at the development of Bibles from the twelfth to the thirteenth century, we can see diversity not just in the order of books but even in the canon. While some Atlantic Bibles of the twelfth century did not contain the apocrypha, the Paris Bibles as a rule included them, and also added some apocryphal chapters to existing books, such as Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah (additions to the book of Jeremiah), or the prayer of Manasseh at the end of Chronicles, which had been rare in the early Middle Ages.[49] Considerable variety can be found in the book of Psalms – three versions of the psalms text were circulating throughout the Middle Ages, and until the twelfth century some psalters displayed all three versions side by side.[50] Since the Alcuinan and Atlantic Bibles, the Gallican psalter had been the dominant text, but occasionally one could find Bibles that contained the Hebrew psalter. Some showed the Gallican and Hebrew psalms in parallel columns.[51] Sometimes manuscripts included the apocryphal Psalm 151.[52] In some cases, the book of Psalms was lacking entirely, especially in two-volume Bibles that were later bound together, which suggests that the reader had access to the psalter in a separate volume.[53]

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46 York, Minster Library, XVI. N. 6; Glunz, *History of the Vulgate*, p. 267.
47 L. Smith, 'What was the Bible in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries?', in R. Lerner and E. Müller-Luckner (eds.), *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 32 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), pp. 1–15.
48 For example: London, BL, Add. 15253.
49 Bogaert, 'La Bible latine', pp. 298–99; Bogaert, 'Le livre de Baruch dans les manuscrits de la Bible latine. Disparition et réintégration', *RB* 115 (2005), 286–342.
50 See Gross-Diaz in this volume, pp. 427–33.
51 For example, Oxford, BodL, Kennicot 15.
52 See, for instance, Oxford, BodL, Auct. D. 4. 10.
53 For instance, Oxford, BodL, Auct. D. 5. 8, and Chicago, Newberry Library, Case 203.

There does not seem to have been a systematic nomenclature for the various books that bear the name Ezra in the Middle Ages.[54] Not all bibles contained 3 and 4 Ezra, but even though the latter was officially deemed non-canonical at the Council of Trent, it could be commonly found in manuscript and even printed Vulgates throughout the sixteenth century. The letter to the Laodiceans was not usually included among the epistles of Paul, but one does sporadically find Bibles that include it.[55] The Paris Bibles made the 'Langtonian' chapter division the standard, and added a new set of introductions and prefaces to the biblical books; canon tables were not usually included in Bibles after the twelfth century. But there could still be some divergence in the extra-biblical apparatus of thirteenth-century Bibles as well. There was considerable variety in psalm *breves* and *capitula*, the brief explanatory chapter headings at the beginning of each psalm, and rubrications to the Song of Songs: some Bibles included allegorical rubrics for the latter (e.g., 'vox Christi ad sponsam'), while some excluded *breves* and *tituli* for these books altogether.

The commercial spread of the Paris text and the need for its correction seems to have spurred textual biblical scholarship to a new level. Building on the twelfth-century tradition of textual criticism, Franciscans and Dominicans in Paris set out to correct the text of the Vulgate, and to produce a critical apparatus that listed all corruptions of the text with their improved readings. We know of about five different such *correctoria* that were produced at the mendicant *studia* in thirteenth-century Paris. The *correctoria* usually took the form of lists of suggested alternative readings in the margin of the biblical text, but they could be simply a list of the readings by themselves, in biblical verse order.[56] However, as the criticism grew more learned, the actual influence on the text seems to have diminished, presumably because the circles of book-copiers and exegetes had grown separate. One of the most acute textual critics of the thirteenth century, the above-quoted Oxford Franciscan Roger Bacon (d. 1294), pointed out that the copying of Bibles in Paris was not done by expert schoolmen, but by laypeople, commercial book-copiers. The main purpose of the *correctoria*, like that of their twelfth-century predecessors, was to provide an apparatus to the biblical text rather than to change the text itself. In the

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54 P.-M. Bogaert, 'Les livres d'Esdras et leur numérotation dans l'histoire du canon de la Bible latine', *RB* 110 (2000), 5–26.

55 Chicago, Newberry Library, Case 203.

56 F. Ehrle, 'Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts', in H. Denifle and F. Ehrle (eds.), *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* (Freiburg: Herder, 1888), pp. 263–311; G. Dahan, 'La critique textuelle dans les correctoires de la Bible du XIIIe siècle', in A. De Libera et al. (eds.), *Langages et philosophie. Hommage à Jean Jolivet*, Études de Philosophie Médiévale 74 (Paris: Vrin, 1997) pp. 365–92.

production of the actual texts, we rarely find instances of real textual criticism, but rather the occasional correction of common scribal error. It was not until after the advent of printing that the corrections actually started to influence the transmitted text of the Vulgate.

Some religious orders also continued to correct and emend the Bible to establish a common text for use by their members. One such example is the correction that took place at Windesheim in the fifteenth century.[57] We know of this revision from its mention by Johannes Busch in his *Chronicon Windesheimense*, and the analysis of Nicolaas Greitemann showed that it became the Bible text that was commonly used among the Brethren of the Common Life. It was the outcome of a comparison of the Paris text with older, mainly Carolingian manuscripts (the 'antiqui' of the *correctoria)*, made in order to weed out the singularities of the Paris text. The result was the contamination of the Paris text with readings from the Alcuinan recension. Greitemann showed that these efforts were local and not very influential. He found no influence of this 'recension' on the later printed editions of the fifteenth century or the first attempts to establish a critical text of the sixteenth century.

The printed Vulgate

The first printed text of the Vulgate, the famous 42-line-per-page Bible printed by Johannes Gutenberg in Mainz in two volumes, which appeared in 1452–6 (siglum 𝔞), was printed to meet the growing late medieval demand for lay book possession. Gutenberg took a common two-volume Bible manuscript with 'Langtonian' chapter division for his model. Quentin showed that many of the fifteenth-century editions that were to follow, such as Mainz 1462, Basle 1474, Venice 1475, Basle 1479–89 (Johann von Amorbach) and Basle 1491–5 (Johannes Frobenius), traced their ancestry to this first Mainz edition and were not taken from older codices; they were largely representative of the family.[58]

The wide diffusion of this printed Vulgate text coincided with the burgeoning of the humanist movement, in which textual criticism was a central

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57 N. T. J. Greitemann, *De windesheimsche vulgaatrevisie in de vijftiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Brand, 1937).
58 Quentin, *Mémoire*, pp. 75–87; R. Weber, 'Der Text der Gutenbergbibel und seine Stellung in der Geschichte der Vulgata', in W. Schmidt and F. A. Schmidt-Künsemüller (eds.), *Johannes Gutenbergs zweiundvierzigzeilige Bibel. Faksimile-Ausgabe nach dem Exemplar der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin. Kommentarband* (Munich: Idion, 1979), pp. 9–31.

concern. An early fruit of the biblical humanist movement was the 1519 Greek New Testament edition of Desiderius Erasmus. Martin Luther's German translation of the New Testament, which appeared in 1522, was based on this Greek text, not on the Latin Vulgate. His translation of the Old Testament, based on the Hebrew, followed in 1532. The Hebrew Bible was first printed in the late fifteenth century, and the first edition of the *Biblia Rabbinica* (a Hebrew Bible with rabbinical commentary in its margin) appeared in Venice in 1516/17. This scholarly interest in the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible seemed to accentuate the deficiencies of the Vulgate, which was clearly not an adequate translation of these 'original' versions. In addition to some efforts to provide an entirely new Latin translation from the Hebrew and Greek,[59] the beginning of the sixteenth century saw several attempts to produce a Vulgate text that was truer to the existing Hebrew and Greek texts. The first step taken toward this end was the Complutensian polyglot Bible, a project under the direction of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, which printed in parallel columns the Hebrew, Aramaic, Septuagint and Vulgata versions of the Old Testament, and appeared in 1520. This edition did not, however (to the chagrin of some of the humanist scholars first enlisted for the project), entail a critical revision of the Vulgate text; it took the first Alcalá Bible (Complutensis I, siglum X) as its basis and changed it only occasionally, to make it conform to the *textus receptus*.[60]

One of the first critically revised Vulgate editions was that of Gobelinus Laridius (Cologne 1530). The most notable of the sixteenth-century attempts to work textual revision into the text of the Vulgate, however, were the editions of the Catholic humanist Robert Estienne (who later became a Protestant), the first of which appeared in 1528 (siglum ɼ). His edition was based on a collation of two ninth-century manuscripts from the monastery of Saint-Germain, now in the Bibliothèque National in Paris (the 'Codex Sangermanensis parvi', siglum Θ^G, and the 'Codex Sangermanensis oblongi', siglum P), corrected after comparison with the Hebrew text. His 1555 edition contained the verse division that is essentially still in place in modern Bible editions. The revision of Stephen Harding was, in turn, the basis for a renewed critical revision by Johannes Hentenius and Franciscus Lucas of Brugge, which first appeared in

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59 Most notably by Erasmus, in 1516; for a list, see J. O. Smit, *De Vulgaat. Geschiedenis en herziening van de latijnse bijbelvertaling*, Bijbelse Monographiën (Rome: Roermond and Maaseik, 1948), pp. 61–2.

60 J. H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 70–111.

Louvain, in 1547, and was reprinted many times, among others at the presses of Plantin in Antwerp in 1565.

For many reformers, however, this critical revision did not go far enough; with translations of the Greek and Hebrew text appearing, Jerome's Vulgate seemed to lose its status as the one and only scripture for western Christendom, to be just one translation among many, and a deficient one at that. In defence, on 8 April 1546, the Council of Trent declared the Vulgate the only authentic text of the Bible and vowed quickly to establish a new critically revised text. There were in fact long delays and several false starts, but eventually a commission set up by Sixtus V in 1585 produced this new text, taking a 1583 printing of the Louvain Bible as its point of reference. The edition they issued in 1590 (Sixtine edition, siglum 𝔰) was, however, so error-laden as a result of the pope's own interventions that it immediately met with heavy criticism. A revision was published in 1592 under Clement VIII (Sixto-Clementine, siglum 𝔠).[61] This was to remain the dominant text of the Vulgate for many centuries, and for medieval scholars interested in the text as it was read in, for instance, thirteenth-century Paris, this Sixto-Clementine Vulgate might actually be a better representation of the scholastic biblical text than the modern critical edition of the text in its pre-Carolingian form.

61 H. Höpfl, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sixto-Klementinischen Vulgata nach gedruckten und unge-druckten Quellen*, Biblische Studien 18.1–3 (Freiburg: Herder, 1913).

The Bible in Ethiopic

EPHRAIM ISAAC

Introduction

The translation of the *Masaheft Qeddusat* or *Qeddusat Masaheft* (holy scriptures) into the Ge'ez language – generally classified as a member of the southern branch of the family of ancient Semitic languages – was completed in early Christian times around the middle of the fourth century CE.[1] The Ge'ez canon includes the Hebrew Bible (the Christian Old Testament), late Second Temple (*c*. 538 BCE–70 CE) Jewish literature (known as Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha) and the Christian New Testament. The Ge'ez language, known among western scholars as Ethiopic, thus became one of the first seven languages of the ancient world to receive the holy scriptures. None of the European languages shares such a high distinction, with the exception of Greek and Latin. The translation of the holy scriptures was of paramount importance in Ethiopian history. It gave rise to an extensive body of ancient Ethiopic literature and the evolution of a distinct Ethiopian culture. Today, Ge'ez/Ethiopic literature represents an invaluable source not only for the understanding of African civilisation, but also for the study of the transmission of the biblical text, as well as the study of several of the major religions of the world: Judaism, Christianity, Islam and the traditional African religions.

Any glance at scholarly publications of the last 500 years will reveal the high position Ge'ez holds among ancient languages as an important repository and nurturer of many ancient literary works. The large body of venerated works, such as hagiographies, chronicles, homilies and calendaric and theological treatises, offers insight into the history of early Christianity. To cite two examples, the Dominican Wansleben in the late seventeenth century discovered the liturgical usage of the language when he came across the 'Apostolic

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1 About a dozen south Semitic languages are still spoken in Ethiopia: Amharic, Tigrinya, Tigre, Gurage (several dialects), Harari, Argobba, Gafat, etc.

Church order' of Hippolytus of Rome (early third century);[2] likewise, in his work on Ethiopian astronomy and calendars, the noted historian of mathematics Otto Neugebauer showed that the Judaeo-Hellenistic calendar that was the basis of the early Christian calendar is preserved only in the Ethiopic work known as *Bahra Hasab*.[3] Furthermore, the examination of Ethiopic literature may shed light not only on the history of early Christianity but also on the Jewish legacy. There is a wellspring of Ethiopic works connected to early Jewish literature and to the history of Jewish communities in Ethiopia and southern Arabia. In my own study of *Maṣhafa Berhan*, a fifteenth-century Sabbath homily, I have demonstrated the preservation of certain halachic gleanings in Ethiopic literature (that is, relating to legal parts of the Talmud).[4]

Finally, it is well known that Muḥammad's earliest followers sought refuge in Ethiopia. The scholarly works of the last century have in fact shown that numerous fundamental terms found in Islamic literature (*maṣhaf*, *menbar*, *tabot*, *taot*) were originally classical Ethiopic biblical expressions. It is indeed not unlikely that future investigations and studies of Ethiopic literature may shed new light on the Christian and Jewish components of early Islamic theology.

The translation of the holy scriptures into Ge'ez so early would not have been possible were it not for the development of writing in Ethiopia in ancient times, and especially alphabetic writing. Since the seventeenth century, scholars have deliberated on the origin of the Ethiopic alphabet. Theories include a foundation in Samaritan (Ludolphus, Silvestre), Syriac (Kopp), or Sabaean (Glaser).[5] We know that Ethiopic is a cursive form of monumental Sabaean and hence in the immediate southern branch of Proto-Sinaitic/Proto-Canaanite, the first known alphabet. In other words, it is the sister alphabet of the

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2 J. M. Wansleben, *Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypte . . . en 1672 et 1673* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1677). The original text of the order has yet to be found, but all indications suggest that it was in Greek. In 1691, H. Ludolf published fragments of the order with a Latin translation; more were published and translated in 1895 by F. X. von Fun. Other versions appeared in 1848 (H. Tattam) and 1883 (P. de Lagarde).
3 O. Neugebauer, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus* (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979).
4 E. Isaac, *A New Text-Critical Introduction to Mashafa Berhan* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).
5 See H. Ludolf, *A New History of Ethiopia. Being a Full and Accurate Description of the Kingdom of Abessinia, Vulgarly, though Erroneously called the Empire of Prester John* (London: Samuel Smith, 1682); A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoires d'histoire et de littérature orientales. Extraits des mémoires de l'institut. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1818–23); E. Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika* (Munich: Franz, 1895); and F. Hommel, *Süd-arabische Chrestomathie* (Munich: Franz, 1893). See also C. C. Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia* (Milan and Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1928) and H. V. Hilprecht (ed.), *Recent Research in Bible Lands. Its Progress and Results* (Philadephia, PA: Wattles, 1898).

Phoenician (Canaanite) script. Proto-Ethiopic inscriptions were read from right to left or from top to bottom as well as in the boustrophedon manner (i.e., alternately from right to left and left to right), but under Christian influences, the Ethiopians standardised the direction of reading and writing from left to right, as is still the rule today. They also vocalised the alphabet, making it one of the first Semitic scripts to be so treated. This enabled the priests and the ordinary person to read the Bible with facility. The order of the letters of the alphabet was probably like that of the Phoenician alphabet, but gradually, for reasons not yet fully known, a new order was created.

The Bible in Ethiopia

The holy scriptures of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo Christian church – the largest of the oriental Orthodox Christian churches; the name means 'being made one' or 'being one' – consist of eighty-one books: (a) the 'twenty-four' books of the Hebrew Bible, including the Torah, *Nevi'im* (the Prophets) and *Ketuvim* (the Hagiographa or Writings), excluding only Lamentations; (b) the twenty-seven books of the Christian New Testament; (c) the books known as apocryphal or deuterocanonical by the rest of Christendom; and (d) the *Maṣhafa Henoch* (the book of Enoch) and *Maṣhafa Kufale* (the Jubilees).[6] According to another tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo church, the holy scriptures consist of eighty-two books, adding the work known as the *Synodos*, a compilation of the decisions and documents of the early church councils, such as the Nicean Council with its explanation and interpretation of the Nicene Creed.

Today there are also numerous other versions of the *Maṣhaf Qeddus*, or the Holy Bible as it is known in the West, in modern Ethiopian vernaculars. Among these are the *Maṣhafa Qulqulu* in Afaan Oromo, the most widely spoken language of modern Ethiopia, the *Maṣhaf Qeddus* in Amharic, the Ethiopian official language, and the *Maṣhaf Qeddus* in Lisana Tigrinya, the important language of northern Ethiopia and the official language of the state of Eritrea. Parts of the Bible are also found in translation in many other languages of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

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6 Direct numerical comparison between the Ethiopian and other scriptural canons is difficult, owing to the varying systems of subdividing books or collections of books. Traditionally, the Hebrew Bible is said to consist of 24 books (5 of the Torah, 8 of the Prophets, 11 of the Writings), but these 'expand' to 39 when the subdivision of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra–Nehemiah and the Minor Prophets is taken into account.

Translation of the Bible into Ge'ez
(classical Ethiopic)

According to an accepted Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo church tradition, the Hebrew Bible had already been translated into Ge'ez shortly after the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem. The descendants of the Jews who came to Ethiopia with her son Menelik preserved the text faithfully for centuries. This is in accordance with the belief that Ethiopia 'became Christian' a thousand years before Jesus Christ! The accepted tradition claims that belief in 'One-God, the God of Israel' and in circumcision was introduced to Ethiopia by the Queen of Sheba, baptism and the Eucharist by 'the Ethiopian eunuch' (Acts 8:27). Subsequently, the New Testament was translated from the Greek language in early Christian times. However, another tradition of the Tawahedo church, regarded by scholars as closer to the truth, holds that the holy scriptures were translated by *tesa'tu qeddusat*, the Nine Saints, who came from Syria in the fifth century seeking refuge from persecution. The mid-fourth century was the time of Abuna Salama, the first Patriarch or Metropolitan of Ethiopia, who was credited with the conversion of Emperor Esana and the Christianisation of Ethiopia. Although Abuna Salama was of Syrian origin, the Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria installed him as bishop of Ethiopia.

My belief is that the first rendering of the holy scriptures into the Ethiopic/Ge'ez language began to be made sometime before the middle of the fourth century CE. Most scholars would agree that the translations and revisions were completed by the beginning of the sixth century. The period from the fourth to the sixth centuries was probably the most magnificent era of ancient Ethiopian culture, and the translation of the holy scriptures into what was then the official language was the major achievement of this African civilisation. Critical scholarly textual editions of the western Holy Bible generally include variant readings of the Ge'ez/Ethiopic holy scriptures, among less than a dozen early biblical versions.

Vorlage

During the last 500 years, many heated disputes and conflicting theories have developed among Ethiopic scholars regarding the *Vorlage* (original version) of the holy scriptures and the time and identity of the original translators. Prominent Ethiopists such as H. Ludolf (1624–1704), A. Dillmann (1823–94), T. Noldeke (1836–1930) and F. Praetorius (1847–1927), to mention but a few, have offered their own divergent theories. There is a general consensus, however, that the Ge'ez Bible was translated from the Greek Septuagint used

in Alexandria at the time of early Christianity. It is believed, too, that the New Testament was rendered from the Greek text about the same time. A spurious Ethiopic reference to an Arabic translation is found in the *Synaxarium* (a liturgical collection of saints' lives) for the twenty-first of the month of Nahese, but most likely this refers to a later revision from Arabic, probably under the influence of the Coptic Abuna Salama of the fourteenth century.

Hiob Ludolf suggested that the translation was completed over a span of time, not just at the beginning of the Christian period in the fourth century.[7] The distinguished Ethiopist scholar August Dillmann theorised that there existed at least three distinct groups of Ge'ez/Ethiopic manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible – those depending on the original translation from the Septuagint; those subject to revision based on Hebrew; and those with later texts revised according to the Septuagint.[8] He held that the translators' Greek was not very good, which was the reason for a second version, produced with the help of Hebrew and other Semitic scholars, to correct errors of translation. The Ge'ez biblical text, therefore, followed the Hebrew but the language was faithful to the Septuagint, even down to the word order. I have myself argued elsewhere that the translators were Jewish Christians who spoke Jewish Aramaic, but used the Septuagint as their *Vorlage*.[9] Consequently, they imported several important Jewish Aramaic religious expressions into Ge'ez/Ethiopic in their work. A doctoral thesis by Gebre-Yesus on the translation of holy scripture into Ethiopic also argued for a Septuagint *Vorlage*, but with the possible use of an additional Hebrew *Vorlage*.[10] A. Rahlfs, not an Ethiopist, assumed the influence of Alexandria on Ethiopia and held the Ethiopic version to be dependent on the Hesychian recension,[11] but this view is generally rejected. Regarding the New Testament, L. Hackspill, although also not an Ethiopist, rightly put forward the theory that the Greek *Vorlage* had a Syrian, not an Alexandrian, origin.[12] He also believed that several translators made

7 H. Ludolf, *Historia Aethiopica sive brevis et succincta descriptio regni Habessinorum* (Frankfurt, 1681), vol. III, ch. 4, pp. 2–7, and *Commentarius ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam* (Frankfurt: Zunnerus, 1691), pp. 295–7.

8 *Biblia Veteris Testamenti Aethiopica*, ed. A. Dillmann, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Vogel, 1853–94), vol. II.1, p. 3. See also J. J. Herzog, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 24 vols., 3rd edn (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896–1913), vol. III, pp. 87–9.

9 E. Isaac, 'An Obscure Component in Ethiopian Church History', *Le Muséon* 85 (1972), 225–58.

10 G.-M. Gebre-Yesus, 'The Basis of the Ge'ez Bible Translation', unpubl. PhD thesis [Hebrew], Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1978).

11 A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 3 vols., 2nd edn, enlarged by R. Hanhart (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1965), vol. I, p. 87, and vol. II, p. 235.

12 L. Hackspill, 'Die äthiopische Evangelienübersetzung (Math. I–X)', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 11 (1896), 117–96, 367–88.

the translation around the year 500. A. Vööbus, on the basis of quotations found in Ethiopic literature, favoured the Syriac *Vorlage* for the Ge'ez New Testament,[13] a view supported by F. C. Burkitt.[14]

Editions of the Ge'ez Bible

To date, there is no complete critical edition of the Ethiopic holy scriptures. Several printings of one part or another of them have appeared since the Renaissance, however. These include the first printing of an Ethiopic biblical text, the 1513 Psalter, by Johannes Potken, the Cologne German scholar and papal secretary.[15] This was followed in 1701 by the first more or less critical edition of Psalms, *Psalterium Davidis aethiopice et latine* by Ludolf.[16] Rather earlier, in 1548, three Ethiopian monks published the Ethiopic New Testament in Rome.[17] Among them was the influential Tasfa Seyon or 'Petrus Aethiopus', who left an indelible mark in Europe in respect of Ethiopian culture. In the late nineteenth century, A. Dillmann published the Octateuch, Samuel, Kings and the Apocrypha,[18] and was followed by Johann Bachmann, who published Isaiah, Lamentations, Obadiah and Malachi.[19] Early in the twentieth century, J. O. Boyd published Genesis to Leviticus.[20] A useful four-volume Ge'ez holy scriptures was published in 1926 by the Catholic Mission in Eritrea (under Coelestinus Catteneo, Apostolic Vicar to Eritrea) at the Franciscan Printing House. It is an eclectic edition, consisting of the Pentateuch (vol. I), Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah (vol. II), the Prophets and the Apocryphal books, 1–2 Maccabees (vol. III), and Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, the Psalms, and 'Solomon's books' – Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach (vol. IV). The Bible Society published a New Testament text in Leipzig in 1907 (reprinted 1957). The Ethiopian Orthodox

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13 See the two relevant works by A. Vööbus, *Die Spuren eines älteren äthiopischen Evangelientextes im Lichte der literarischen Monumente*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 2 (Stockholm: ETSE, 1951) and *Early Versions of the New Testament: Manuscript Studies*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 6 (Stockholm: ETSE / Leuven: Durbecq, 1954), pp. 173–210.
14 F. C. Burkitt, 'Text and Versions', in T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black (eds.), *Encyclopedia Biblica*, 4 vols. (London: Black / New York: Macmillan, 1899–1907), vol. IV, col. 5012.
15 *Alphabetum seu potius syllabarium literarum Chaldaearum. Psalterium Chaldaeum*, ed. J. Potken (Rome, 1513).
16 *Psalterium Davidis aethiopice et latine cum duobus impressis et tribus MSStis codicibus diligenter collatum et emendatum*, ed. H. Ludolf (Frankfurt: Zunner and Helwig, 1701).
17 *Testamentum Novum cum Epistola Pauli ad Hebraeos . . . quae omnia Frater Petrus Aethiops . . . imprimi curavit* (Rome, 1548).
18 *Biblia Veteris Testamenti Aethiopica*, ed. A. Dillmann.
19 *Der Prophet Jesaia nach der aethiopischen Bibelübersetzung*, ed. J. Bachmann (Berlin: Felber, 1893).
20 *The Octateuch in Ethiopic, According to the Text of the Paris Codex, with the Variants of Five Other MSS. In Bibliotheca Abessinica*, ed. J. O. Boyd, 2 vols. (Leiden and Princeton: Brill, 1909–11).

Tawahedo church has promised a critical edition of the whole Ge'ez holy scriptures, but to date it has put out only a general edition of the Octateuch, the book of Enoch and Jubilees. In 1966, Oscar Löfgren, who wrote a study of the book of Daniel, proposed a critical edition at the Third International Conference of Ethiopian studies at Addis Ababa. So far, such a work has not appeared.[21]

It may be noted that a large number of Ge'ez Ethiopic biblical manuscripts are in the British Library, the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, the Vatican Library, the Ethnological Museum in Berlin and other German collections in Munich, Leiden and Bonn, the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg, the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo church monastery, the Deir Sultan monastery in Jerusalem and the Princeton University Garrett Collection (catalogued by this author), among others. An important manuscript of the Ethiopic New Testament of the fourteenth century is in the Morgan Library in New York City. Nowadays we have large collections of microfilms of Ethiopian manuscripts worldwide, among which there are those in the Ethiopian Microfilm Manuscript Library (EMML), Addis Ababa, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and the Smithsonian in Washington, DC, along with smaller collections in other libraries.

The books of Enoch and Jubilees

In addition to keeping alive many of its own literary works, Ethiopic preserved many ancient writings that have been lost in the original languages. The most distinguished examples of these, without doubt, are the book of Enoch and the book of Jubilees of the late Second Temple period. These works exist today in their entirety only in Ethiopic, and are still the subject of richly deserved worldwide scholarly attention. In fact, in the eighteenth century, when James Bruce first brought some manuscripts of the book of Enoch to Europe, the impact it had on the scholarly world was like the excitement generated by the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls in the twentieth century. Like the scrolls, the book of Enoch offers valuable insight into the religious and cultural milieu of the time of Jesus and his first followers.

More than any other Ge'ez Bible books, the book of Enoch and the book of Jubilees are widely studied, edited and translated. Jubilees is an exposition

21 O. Löfgren, 'The Necessity of a Critical Edition of the Ethiopian Bible', in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa 1966* (Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 1969), pp. 161–7.

on *Bereshit* (Genesis), considered by scholars as the first written midrashic work, a precursor of the Temple Scroll of Qumran edited by Yigal Yadin. The book of Enoch, or as some scholars call it the 'Five Books of Enoch', is to a great extent an apocalyptic work containing Jewish religious and 'theological' thought of the late Second Temple period. It is named for Enoch, whom the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 5:18–24) describes as one who 'walked with God'; some later generations of Jews believed that Enoch ascended into heaven (the first to do so and the prototype of Elijah and Jesus), where he saw all the mysteries of time and space and recorded them in a book.

The influence of the book may be seen all through Jewish theological literature and thought. It surpasses all other extra-canonical Jewish books, including the Apocrypha, other pseudepigraphic works and Qumran literature in being the most fundamental to our understanding of the late Second Temple Jewish religious world view. The Essenes, in particular, used Enoch as scripture, as we learn from the Aramaic fragments of the book discovered at Kirbet Qumran. They incorporated its theology into their teachings, as did some Tannaitic rabbis. Early in the twentieth century R. H. Charles, the Oxford scholar of Enoch, wrote: 'In fact the history of the development of the higher theology during the two centuries before the Christian era could not be written without the Book of Enoch.'[22] That higher theology is the foundation of later Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The late Gershom Sholem of Hebrew University, in his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, claimed that the book was the basis for later Jewish mystical thought and the Kabbalah.[23]

For Ethiopic literature, the book of Enoch is like Pushkin for Russian literature and Shakespeare for English literature. The teachings and literary ideas of the book have left an indelible mark on *zenas* (chronicles), *gadles* (acts or great deeds of saints), *malks* (physiognomic poems and hymns), especially *gadles*, and other Ethiopian literary traditions and cultural expressions, metaphors and language as a whole. In other words, Enoch is par excellence the basic source of Ethiopian literary idioms. The Jews who came to Ethiopia must be among those who held Enoch as a precious religious and spiritual work, and the Ethiopians inherited their legacy.[24]

22 *Book of Enoch. Together with a Reprint of the Greek Fragments*, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912; repr. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 1995), p. x.
23 G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken, 1961). See also his *Sabbatai Zevi, the Mystical Messiah, 1626–76* (Princeton University Press, 1973) and *On Kabbalah and its Symbolism* (New York: Schocken, 1965).
24 See '1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Second Century B.C. – First Century A.D.). A New Translation and Introduction', trans. E. Isaac, in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–5), vol. 1, pp. 5–89, at pp. 5–12.

The corpus of literature related to these books of Enoch and Jubilees is vast and numerous pages could be written about it. What is important is that Ethiopians consider the two works to be fully integral parts of the holy scriptures.

The Bible in modern Ethiopian languages

Asselin de Cherville, French consul at Cairo, produced the first translation of the Bible in the Amharic language between 1810 and 1820; it appeared in 1840 (reprinted 1842).[25] A newer edition was published in three volumes in 1871–3 by the missionary J. L. Krapf, with the help of Ethiopian scholars.[26] Another Amharic version was published in 1962 by order of Emperor Haile Selassie. More recently, in 1992–3, Hiruye Tsige and his wife Genet prepared for the Ethiopian Bible Society under Ato Kebede Mamo, the director, a computerised Amharic Bible. St Matthew's Gospel was published in the Afaan Oromo language by Krapf in 1842. Genesis and Psalms followed in 1873 and Exodus in 1877, issued by the Bible Society. The most important Afaan Oromo Bible translation in Ge'ez script was that of Onesimos Nesib, with the help of Aster Ganno, published in 1893. The missionary Samuel Gobat commissioned versions of the Gospels in the Tigrinya language, beginning with St John's Gospel in the 1830s. The whole New Testament was published in 1902 (with later editions) by the Swedish Evangelical Mission in Monkullo, Eritrea. The American Bible Society published another in 1953. There are also modern editions published in Eritrea, the most recent one appearing in 2000. In numerous other Ethiopian languages, one or another books of the Bible have been published by the Bible Society.

Conclusion: the overall centrality of the Holy Bible

It is well known that no other known literary work has had such an impact upon world culture and literature and the great Abrahamic religions of Judaism and Islam as the Bible. The picture in Ethiopia is even more significant. The holy scriptures are not only influential, but are foundational to Ethiopia's cultural, social and political structures. Pertinent questions and speculations

25 For the fullest account refer to William Jowett's *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean from 1815 to 1820* (London: Seeley and Hatchard, 1822).
26 *The Books of the Old Testament Translated into the Amharic Language by Abba Rukh . . .* , ed. J. L. Krapf, 3 vols. (Basle: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1871–3).

concerning the biblical moulding of Ethiopian culture have been subjects of intense discussion among observers and students of the life and teachings of the overall Ethiopian religious tradition. These questions and speculations, as well as criticisms and evaluations of them, have, for the most part, focused upon comparative cultural issues or emphasised the striking similarities between specific beliefs and practices of the ancient Israelites and Ethiopian Christians. They have concerned such matters as dietary laws, ritual cleanliness, circumcision, Saturday Sabbath, the role of the *tābot*, liturgy and music, and the like.

The shortcoming of past research, with occasional exaggerations and poor comparisons, has been the tendency to concentrate on a quasi-hermeneutical method, examining individual features of the Israelite characteristics of Ethiopian culture without considering the basic evidence of the uniting principle. This uniting principle is the centrality of the biblical Torah (Law) or *Orit* (Aramaic *Orayta*) in Ethiopic in the Ethiopian tradition. It is central to both belief and practice formally, and to the custom of the veneration of the Torah symbolically. Until the beginning of this century, the holy scriptures were used in the courts throughout Ethiopia for legal opinions and rulings. In short, the Ethiopian church's understanding of the Torah/*Orit* is closer, in general, to that of the ancient Israelites than to Christianity (cf. Acts 15). As just alluded to, the supremacy of the Torah/*Orit* is symbolised in the veneration of the literal object associated with it, the *tābot* or the Ark of the Covenant (Hebrew *tebah*), believed to be the original *luhot ha-brit* (Tablets of the Covenant), the physical repository of the Law.

Some scholars have dismissed the Ethiopian *tābot* as some kind of a sacral object, its veneration by means of elaborate dance and music as nothing more than 'l'imitation de l'Ancien Testament', as Rodinson puts it.[27] Yet we cannot overlook its association with Moses, who is called the *ba'ala hegg* (Law-Giver, literally the master/owner of the Law; cf. *huq* in Hebrew) and arch-prophet. The *tābot* is par excellence God's *tābot 'enta westeta Orit* ('the tabot/ark wherein is the Orit/Law' or 'the tabot/ark that contains the Orit/Law'), given to Moses as the holy temple of the Law for all believers.[28] To relate the central role of the *tābot* in belief and ritual to the centrality of the Law in Ethiopian church theology is regrettably something scholars have overlooked.

27 M. Rodinson, 'Sur la question des "influences juives" en Ethiopie', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 9 (1964), 11–19.
28 See Isaac, *New Text-Critical Introduction to Maṣḥafa Berhan*, p. 109.

For the Ethiopians, the Torah/*Orit* comprises the civil, criminal and moral laws to whose whole range of teaching the true believer must submit willingly. Until the early twentieth century, in the secular courts, legal precepts and precedents from the *Orit* or related oral guidelines bore upon juridical decisions. The *Orit* embraces every aspect of human activity – including the keeping of the Sabbath, ritual cleanliness, circumcision and dietary prescriptions. It denotes the whole range of the Law, grounded in the Pentateuch, the Decalogue (Ten Commandments) being thought to be its core. This should not surprise us, for the Decalogue has a special position in Judaism as well, being one of the first pericopes of the Hebrew Bible to be included in the early Jewish prayer book. This is not the place to discuss why it was later removed.

Not only is the Torah/*Orit* equal to the Gospels in importance – it is also the cornerstone of life here on earth and the path to the life to come. According to *Maṣhafa Berhan* (the Book of Light), popularly attributed to the great emperor Zara Yaʾkub (1434–68), the Decalogue is the *Iota* whose form is singular and whose shape is unique, written and engraved by the hand of God, the hand of fire, upon stone tablets. It is, therefore, changeless and endless. The letter *Iota* and the ideas ensuing from it are meant to unfold the concept of the eternality of the Law as unequivocally as possible, as opposed to the general Christian view that the Torah is temporal and its dispensation has ceased to be operative (see Rom. 6:4; Gal. 3:13, 25).

Again according to *Maṣhafa Berhan*, the *Iota* is not only a letter whose numerical value is ten, the number of the Ten Commandments, but it is also the smallest letter of the alphabet. This has a double significance for the Law, in that it symbolises not only the Decalogue but also the importance of the minutest details of the Law, as well as its wholeness. This point is made emphatically in *Maṣhafa Berhan*, which asserts that even the number of each alphabetic letter in which a command is written is significant and must be counted, as I have demonstrated elsewhere.[29] This point is repeated throughout Ethiopic literature, in biblical commentaries, hagiographies and theological works.

The Decalogue is fundamental among the precepts of the Torah, and its supreme importance is already expressed in the Bible, which tells us that is was revealed amid thunder and lightning, fire and smoke in the mountain, and the sounding of the *shofar*. The Ethiopian church, likewise, attaches a special divine revelation to the Decalogue. This same view is expressed in *Mashafa Berhan*, according to which the Decalogue is assigned a special distinction in

29 Ibid., pp. 50–4.

that it is written by the very hand of God. Another important Ethiopic work, the fifteenth-century *Maṣhafa Mestra Samayat wa-Meder* (Book of Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth) makes the following explicit point:

> But we may marvel in this that all the Laws (*hegg/huqqoth*) of our God shall abide forever; and they shall never be abrogated. Enoch says thus, 'I saw fourteen trees which did not shed their leaves, but all the other trees were dry with fallen leaves.' Abba Bahla Mika'el asks, 'What are these fourteen trees about which Enoch spoke?' The Holy Spirit [responds and] says, '[they are] the Decalogue of the *Orit*, the Covenant of Noah, the Circumcision of the Fathers, and the Priesthood of Melchisedek, and the Baptism of John'.

In general, in contrast to the inferior position given to the *Orit*/Law by the New Testament and Christendom, Ethiopian church theology gives it a clear central role. The church is founded upon the *Iota* (Law) and the *Delta* (Gospel). At Matt. 5:18 it is stressed: *yod* is the tenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet as *T* is in one Ethiopic tradition. The *yod*, the symbol of the Decalogue, stands for the *Orit*, as *T*, the symbol of the cross, stands for the Gospel. Therefore, the authors of *Maṣhafa Berhan* argue, 'the Gospel, the cross-centered Law of Christ, cannot enter the man's heart apart from the *Orit* and the Prophets.'[30]

Even more significant in Ethiopian theological thought is not only the basic importance of the Law, but also the insistence that, as stated above, each and every one of the Ten Commandments is weighty both in respect to its inherent value and to its external form, namely, the specific number of letters of the alphabet in which it is written. In *Maṣhafa Berhan*, for instance, it is spelled out that over 200 letters of the alphabet were used in the command to keep the Sabbath, by way of bringing out the total strength of the Law as in the similar, well-known ancient Jewish exegetical method and philosophy.

The centrality of the Law in Ethiopic theology is not only in its essence and nature, but also in its function in human life. Contrary to the Pauline indifference towards keeping it (Gal. 2:3), the Ethiopic church specifically teaches that it is necessary and expedient to keep the Law and that salvation comes through faith and good works. In the introduction to the Amharic theological treatises called *Maṣhafa Haymanot Wamegbar* or *Nagara Haymanot*, we read: 'Faith is the foundation, and good works is the building . . . faith without good works and work without faith is useless . . . it is like a body without a soul . . . good works and faith are one . . . '.[31] This same idea is expressed in various related

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30 Ibid., pp. 108–12.
31 See E. Isaac, 'Ethiopic Manuscripts in American University and Private Collections' (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1985 unpubl.).

works, such as the Jerusalem Ethiopic archbishopric manuscripts.[32] While the building metaphor can be found in the writings of John Chrysostom, and the dead body metaphor in the epistle of James, the striking statement that faith without works is useless is clearly contradictory to Pauline Christian teachings.

In Ethiopic theology, the formula 'salvation through faith and good works' is indivisible.[33] From that one double law follows the life-giving wine – from which the prophets drank. The one double Law is the sea of spiritual milk, which bears and nourishes the fruit of righteousness.[34] Those who read (study) the *Orit*, the Prophets, Kings and the Gospel in their lifetime inherit the Kingdom of God.[35] This belief is almost identical to the Jewish teaching regarding the study (reading) of the Torah – for instance, 'He who has acquired the words of the Torah has acquired for himself the life of the world to come' (Mishnah: Pikei Aboth 2:2; 2:8). Those who do not keep that which is written in the Law of Moses will face eternal damnation (literally: 'their lot will be in the fire of hell').[36] The wise virgins of Matthew are those who, having believed and having been baptised keep the Law; but the foolish are those who having believed and having been baptised do not (see Matt. 22). Everyone who fulfils the Law 'indeed fulfils all righteousness and overcomes sin'.[37] The Law gives spiritual sustenance and life to the flesh and the soul.[38]

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32 See E. Isaac, 'Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Ethiopian Patriarchate, Jerusalem', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 30 (1984–6), 53–80.
33 See *Collectio monastica*, ed. V. Arras 2 vols., CSCO: Scriptores Aethiopici 45–6 (Louvain: CSCO, 1963), vol. I, p. 153.
34 Gadla Filmona, in *Actes de Filmona*, ed. M. A. de la Fuÿe, CSCO: Scriptores Aethiopici 35 (Louvain: CSCO, 1958), p. 3.
35 *Das Mashafa Milad (Liber Nativitatis) und Mashafa Sellase (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zar'a Ya'qob*, ed. K. Wendt, CSCO: Scriptores Aethiopici 41 (Louvain: CSCO, 1962), p. 120.
36 *Actes de Filmona*, ed. de la Fuÿe p. 32; and cf. pp. 9, 63.
37 Isaac, *New Text-Critical Introduction to Mashafa Berhan*, p. 35.
38 Ibid., p. 38.

The Bible in Arabic

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The study of the Bible in Arabic is in its infancy. While there are literally hundreds of known manuscripts containing portions of the Bible in Arabic translation, they have up to now been of little interest either to biblical scholars or even to church historians. One nineteenth-century scholar is quoted as having said, 'There are more Arabic versions of the Gospels than can be welcome to theologians, pressed as they are with other urgent tasks.'[1] Bible scholars have typically thought of the Arabic versions as being too late to be of importance for the textual criticism of the Bible, and the history of the intellectual and cultural lives of the churches in the Arabic-speaking world of Islam still awaits its modern-day Eusebius. Nevertheless, the relatively few recent studies of Arabic versions of portions of the scriptures do allow us to sketch the history of the Arabic versions in broad outline, and they have shown that the translations are a gold mine for those interested in the history of biblical interpretation, especially in the ever more important realm of the history of relations between Muslims and Christians. As we shall see below, in a number of instances the studies have shown that Arabic translations of some apocryphal and so-called 'pseudepigraphical' biblical works have in fact proved to be indispensable for the establishment of their texts. In its origins, however, the Bible in Arabic seems first to have been an oral scripture.

Origins and early translations

Biblical texts translated into Arabic first circulated orally among Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians in pre-Islamic times. The Arabic Qur'ān, in its

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[1] P. A. de Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien arabisch* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1864), p. iii, as paraphrased in B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament. Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), p. 260.

canonical form a product of the mid- to late seventh century CE at the earliest, presents the earliest textual evidence for the circulation of the Bible in Arabic. The Qurʾān paraphrases biblical narratives, refers to biblical personae by name, alludes to and comments on biblical verses, but does not exactly quote from the biblical text, with the exception of one or two possible instances (e.g., Ps. 37:29 in Qurʾān 21:105). While there were certainly Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians in the pre-Islamic milieu in which the Qurʾān first appeared,[2] in spite of several reports to the contrary in early Islamic sources and the hypotheses of some modern scholars, there is as yet no convincing evidence to show that there were ever written translations of significant portions of the Bible into Arabic in pre-Islamic times.[3] Rather, the surviving evidence suggests that before and during the lifetime of Muḥammad (c. 570–632 CE) it was the practice among Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians orally to interpret passages from the Bible for their communities, perhaps with the help of some written notes.[4] The integral texts of their scriptures remained in the languages of their teachers and preachers, usually Greek, or a dialect of Aramaic such as Syriac for the Christian Bible and perhaps Hebrew for the Torah, along with the Aramaic Targums. The earliest translations of portions of the Bible into Arabic as written texts intended for public use, for which textual evidence has survived, were undertaken by Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians living in the world of Islam after the Islamic conquest of the Middle East. Christians were the first to produce such translations, beginning in the second half of the eighth century; the first Jewish translations appeared in the course of the ninth century.

The surviving evidence suggests that the impetus for the earliest Bible translations was twofold. On the one hand, there was the need to respond to the challenge of Islam, and there were demands on the part of the Muslim authorities, reported in the Syriac chronicle tradition, that the Christians should provide Arabic translations of the biblical texts, which, according to Islamic law, the Christians were bound to employ in governing their lives

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2 See G. D. Newby, *A History of the Jews of Arabia. From Ancient Times to their Eclipse under Islam* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988); T. Hainthaler, *Christliche Araber vor dem Islam*, Eastern Christian Studies 7 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007).

3 See I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*. Vol. II, *Part 2: Economic, Social and Cultural History* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2009), p. 295; H. Kachouh, 'The Arabic Versions of the Gospels and their Families', 2 vols., unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Birmingham (2008).

4 See G. Schoeler, *Écrire et transmettre dans les débuts de l'Islam* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), pp. 26–9.

in the Islamic polity.[5] On the other hand, as Arabic gradually became the principal public language in the world of Islam, from the early eighth century onward, more and more Christians adopted it, even in their liturgies.[6]

The earliest written translations so far discovered of substantial portions of the Bible into Arabic are in all likelihood the translations of passages in two psalms from Greek into Arabic, both probably intended for use in a liturgical setting.[7] In one notable instance, the text of Psalm 77 is written in a dual-language text, including the original Greek with the Arabic version written alongside it in Greek script,[8] suggesting the essentially oral medium of the text in Arabic. In this instance the reader was familiar with Greek script but seemingly not with that of Arabic. Otherwise, dual-language liturgical texts seem not to have been uncommon in the early Islamic period after the conquest; we have examples of this practice in parallel texts written in Greek and Arabic and in Coptic and Arabic.[9]

There are two candidates for the earliest surviving written translation of the New Testament into Arabic: one is represented by the earliest manuscript (Sinai, St Catherine, Arabic 74, eighth century) in a family of gospel lectionary manuscripts which were produced in progressively corrected recensions in the desert monastic communities in the environs of Jerusalem from the late eighth century and well into the late ninth. In these monasteries, Greek had been the dominant liturgical and theological language, but already in pre-Islamic times in this same milieu portions of the scriptures had been translated into the local Christian Palestinian Aramaic dialect.[10] The second candidate is the gospel

5 See, e.g., the record of a Muslim emir's request for an Arabic translation of the Gospel as containing the law according to which Christians were to be governed, in the Syriac account of a meeting between the emir and the patriarch of the 'Jacobite' Christians in early Islamic times, quoted in R. G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It. A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13 (Princeton, NJ: Darwin, 1997), pp. 459–65.
6 See S. H. Griffith, 'From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1991), 11–31.
7 See *Ein zweisprachiges Psalmfragment aus Damaskus*, ed. B. Violet (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1902); J. Blau, *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002), pp. 68–71; also A. Baumstark, 'Der älteste erhaltene griechisch-arabische Text von Psalm 110 (109)', *Oriens Christianus* 9 (1934), 55–66.
8 See *Ein zweisprachiges Psalmfragment*, ed. Violet, and Blau, *Handbook*, pp. 68–71.
9 See the eighth- or ninth-century Greek-Arabic Diglot of the Psalms and Odes in M. P. Brown (ed.), *In the Beginning. Bibles Before the Year 1000* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2006), pp. 192–3 and 285, with photograph and description of the Sinai manuscript. Also an undated, but medieval, Bohairic Coptic and Arabic gospelbook, with illustrations, in London, BL, Or. 1316; a picture of one page is available at http://imagesonline.bl.uk (consulted 28 October 2011).
10 See *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung. Vat. Borg. Ar. 95 und Ber. Orient. Oct. 1108*, ed. B. Levin (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1938); S. H. Griffith, 'The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry

text translated from Syriac and preserved in Vatican City, BAV, arab. 75.[11] It too could date from the later eighth century. These translations suggest that the original impetus for translations of the Bible into Arabic by Christians was pastoral and liturgical need. As Arabic became the public language of most people in the world of Islam and as the indigenous languages, such as Aramaic, Syriac and Coptic, became more and more the province of specialists within particular communities, one can see in the historical record that, consequently, from the ninth century onward Arabic also became a Christian, ecclesiastical language, with a place in liturgy and in the everyday affairs of the churches.[12] In Christian communities this circumstance actively promoted the translation of portions of the Bible into Arabic, particularly the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, the Torah and Psalms, principally from earlier Greek, Syriac and Coptic versions.[13]

The ninth-century heyday

The ninth century CE was the heyday for translations of the Bible into Arabic, both among Jews and Christians and in the larger society of the Islamic world. Indeed it would be hard to overestimate the influence of the several translation movements of the time on the growth and development of the classical Muslim culture, in which Jews and Christians played a major role. On the one hand, there was already in pre-Islamic times an important movement under way in Christian communities to translate religiously important philosophical and scientific texts from Greek into Syriac,[14] and in early Islamic times to translate these same texts from Greek and Syriac into Arabic.[15] On the other hand, Christians also played a major role in the celebrated Graeco-Arabic

into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century', in his *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1992), item IX, pp. 126–67; 'Une ancienne version arabe des Évangiles. Langue, texte et lexique', ed. S. Arbache, unpubl. PhD thesis, Université Michel de Montaigne, Bordeaux (1994).

11 See Kachouh, 'The Arabic Versions of the Gospels'.

12 See S. H. Griffith, 'The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic', *The Muslim World* 78 (1988), 1–28; S. Rubenson, 'The Transition from Coptic to Arabic', *Égypte/Monde Arabe* 27–8 (1996), 77–92.

13 See the discussion in H. Kachouh, 'The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: A Case Study of John 1:1 and 1:18', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, The History of Christian–Muslim Relations 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 9–36.

14 See, e.g., H. Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d'Aristote du grec au syriaque. Études sur la transmission des textes de l'Organon et leur interprétation philosophique*, Textes et Tradition 9 (Paris: Vrin, 2004).

15 See Griffith, 'The Monks of Palestine' and 'From Aramaic to Arabic'.

translation movement of early Abbasid times.[16] It radiated out from Baghdad and its environs to the cultural limits of the world of Islam. In this context, translations of biblical texts were produced in several Christian communities, in Arabic-speaking Jewish communities and even in some Muslim scholarly works.

According to the Muslim historian Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī (d. 956), one of the best-known Christian translators of the Baghdad translation movement, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (808–73), translated part of the Bible into Arabic from the Greek of the Septuagint. As al-Masʿūdī put it in regard to the Septuagint, 'This text has been translated a number of times into Arabic by earlier and more recent scholars, among them Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq. For most people it [the Septuagint] is the soundest of the texts of the Torah.'[17] While no trace of Ḥunayn's translation seems to have survived, al-Masʿūdī's remark that by his time the Bible had been translated a number of times into Arabic rings true. Corroboration is found in the fact that by the late ninth century, fairly accurate quotations from the Bible in Arabic appear in the works of Muslim writers, such as the philologist Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah (828–89),[18] the historian Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb ibn Jaʿfar ibn Wahb ibn Wadīḥ al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 897),[19] and the Muslim apologists of the ninth century such as ʿAlī ibn Rabbān aṭ-Ṭabarī (fl. mid–ninth century), who converted to Islam from Christianity at an advanced age, and the Zaydī *imām*, Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī (785–860).[20] New Testament citations can also be found in the *hadīth* literature, but many of them have become garbled in transmission over the centuries.[21]

16 See D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʿAbbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).
17 Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa l-Ishrāf*, ed. M. M. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), p. 112.
18 See G. Vajda, 'Judaeo-Arabica. Observations sur quelques citations bibliques chez Ibn Qotayba', *Revue des Études Juives* 99 (1935), 68–80; G. Lecomte, 'Les citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'oeuvre d'Ibn Qutayba', *Arabica* 5 (1958), 34–46; R. Köbert, 'Die älteste arabische Genesis-Übersetzung', in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl (eds.), *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. II (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965), pp. 333–43.
19 See S. H. Griffith, 'The Gospel, the Qurʾān, and the Presentation of Jesus in al-Yaʿqūbī's *Taʾrīḫ*', in J. C. Reeves (ed.), *Bible and Qurʾān. Essays in Scriptural Intertextuality*, Symposium Series 24 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), pp. 133–60.
20 See R. G. Khoury, 'Quelques réflexions sur les citations de la Bible dans les premières générations islamiques du premier et du deuxième siècles de l'Hégire', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 29 (1977), 269–78; D. Thomas, 'The Bible in Early Muslim Anti-Christian Polemic', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 7 (1996), 29–38.
21 See D. Cook, 'New Testament Citations in the Ḥadīth Literature and the Question of Early Gospel Translations into Arabic', in E. Grypeou et al. (eds.), *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, The History of Christian–Muslim Relations 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 185–223. Some 59 citations are included in Appendix I, pp. 206–18.

Al-Masʿūdī's contention that for most people the Septuagint was the soundest of the texts of the Torah is not, as we shall see, borne out in the Arabic translations of the scriptures that have survived from the early Islamic period. The so far earliest-known dated manuscript containing an Arabic translation of a Christian biblical text is a copy of the four Gospels in Arabic now in the library of the Monastery of St Catherine at Mt Sinai which, according to a scribal note, was completed on the feast of St George in the year 859.[22] It seems to have been produced in the Palestinian monastic milieu from which so many of the earliest Christian Arabic texts have come, and like them it would have served the pastoral and liturgical needs of a newly Arabic-speaking church. Similarly, Sinai, St Catherine, Arabic 1, which on palaeographical grounds has been dated to mid-ninth-century Palestine, contains Arabic translations of the books of Job, Daniel, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. A recent study has shown that the Arabic translator of the book of Job in this manuscript based his translation on a Syro-Hexaplaric version, with reference to other Syriac versions, and not on the Septuagint alone, as had previously been suggested.[23] But the important point to highlight is that in the Palestinian monastic milieu of the early ninth century, translations of biblical books into Arabic, whether of the Old Testament or the New Testament, were undertaken for practical purposes, given the widespread adoption of Arabic by Jewish and Christian communities.

Sinai, St Catherine, Arabic 151, which contains the Pauline Epistles, with some marginal commentaries, the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, includes the oldest part of the Bible in Arabic so far to be published in a modern edition, including the fourteen epistles attributed to St Paul.[24] A colophon at the end of the text of the Pauline Epistles gives the year 867 for the completion of the copying. A closer consideration of this colophon is useful for the information it gives us about the social circumstances of the early translations. It reads:

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22 See J. Meimaris, *List of New Arabic Manuscripts of the Monastery of Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai* [Greek] (Athens: National Research Foundation, 1985), and photographs 19–21. See the beautiful photograph of two pages from this manuscript, including an illustration of St Luke, in Brown (ed.), *In the Beginning*, pp. 166–7, 274–5.

23 See J. P. Monferrer Sala, 'Liber Iob detractus apud Sin. Ar. 1. Notas en torno a la *Vorlage* siriaca de un manuscrito árabe cristiano (s. IX)', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 1 (2004), 119–42.

24 See *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151, 1: Pauline Epistles*, ed. H. Staal, 2 vols., CSCO 452–3 (Leuven: Peeters, 1983). Photographs of two pages and a description are also available in Brown (ed.), *In the Beginning*, pp. 158–161 and 272; see also the photographs in *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151* 1, ed. Staal, pp. xv–xix.

The poor sinner, Bishr ibn al-Sirrī, translated these fourteen epistles from Syriac into Arabic, and provided an explanation of their interpretation, as much as his inadequate abridgement would allow, for his spiritual brother Sulaymān. He finished it in the city of Damascus in the month of Ramaḍān in the year two hundred and fifty three. Praise be to God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever, Amen. May God have mercy on anyone who prays for mercy and forgiveness for the author, translator, and possessor [of this book].[25]

First of all, it is notable that a Christian copyist working in Damascus in the middle of the ninth Christian century is already dating his text, intended for Christian readers, according to the Islamic calendar, with no corresponding Christian dating. This usage bespeaks an already high degree of acculturation on the part of Arabic-speaking Christians in this milieu to the prevailing public conventions of the world of Islam. Secondly, the translation was made from Syriac, indicating that the 'Melkite' translator and scribe, Bishr ibn al-Sirrī, was himself a Syriac-speaker who belonged to an ecclesial community with an originally Syriac patristic and liturgical heritage, albeit that he was a congregant in an Arabic-speaking church which professed the orthodoxy of the Greek-speaking Byzantine church of the Roman empire.[26] Thirdly, the colophon refers to abbreviated exegetical material, which Bishr ibn al-Sirrī himself included with the translation of the Pauline Epistles in the form of interlinear and marginal notes; one can still read them in the manuscript even though they are not included in the modern, published edition of the text.[27] It is interesting to note in this connection that a number of these annotations concern differences between the texts of the epistles as they were transmitted in Greek and Syriac, along with points of confessional significance in the context of the ongoing controversies between 'Melkites', 'Jacobites' and 'Nestorians'.

Beyond the testimony of the colophon following the Pauline Epistles, Sinai Arabic 151 provides even further information about the transmission of Arabic translations of biblical texts made by Christians in early Islamic

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25 Staal, *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151*, I: vol. I, ed. Staal, p. 248, n. 23 (Arabic text); vol. II, p. 260, n. 23 (English trans.); above English version by present writer.
26 On Bishr ibn Sirrī, see the remarks of J. Nasrallah, 'Deux versions Melchites partielles de la Bible du IXe et du X siècles', *Oriens Christianus* 64 (1980), 202–15, esp. pp. 203–6. See also S. K. Samir, 'Michel évêque melkite de Damas au 9e siècle. A propos de Bišr ibn al-Sirrī', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 53 (1987), 439–41.
27 See S. Brock, 'A Neglected Witness to the East Syriac New Testament Commentary Tradition. Sinai Arabic MS 151', in R. Ebied and H. Teule (eds.), *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage*, Eastern Christian Studies 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 205–15.

times. At various junctures and by different hands, further exegetical and commentary material was added in the margins of the text and interspersed between its lines. One such annotator, who even left his own colophon, dated to the year 1030 and signed Jirjis ibn Yuḥanna ibn Sahl, also inserted 'Melkite' liturgical annotations.[28] Collectively, these added remarks in the text indicate that the manuscript had an active life in the church; it was intended to serve both homiletic, even catechetical, and liturgical purposes. Since these features are readily observable even in the several published photographs of pages from Sinai Arabic 151, the manuscript may serve as a more or less accessible exemplar for the many other unpublished manuscripts of Christian translations of portions of the Bible into Arabic in early Islamic times, many of which have similar features.[29] Taken together, these numerous texts enable us to surmise that translations of parts of the Bible were first made in the several Arabic-speaking Christian communities in the territories occupied by the conquering Muslims after the mid-eighth century, in response to both the catechetical and the liturgical needs of the churches. This circumstance may help explain the large variety of the Arabic versions of portions of the Bible. One current scholar has made a list of about 150 Arabic translations of the Torah alone, done under Christian auspices prior to the thirteenth century.[30]

Seldom do the published descriptions of the manuscripts or their colophons furnish us with the names of the translators of the biblical books or the dates of their work; Sinai Arabic 151 is one of the rare exceptions. But occasionally other bits of information can be extracted from the often meagre reports, allowing the modern scholar to identify some of the professional translators. For example, we learn from the manuscripts that some time in the tenth century, the 'Jacobite' scholar from Ḥarrān, al-Ḥarith ibn Sinān ibn Sinbāṭ,[31] translated the Torah into Arabic from the Syro-*Hexapla*, Paul of Tella's (d. 617) Syriac version of the Septuagint text in Origen's *Hexapla*, and that in the introduction to his translation, al-Ḥarith discussed the several Greek

28 On the name and proper identity of the annotator, see J. Nasrallah, 'Abū l-Faraǧ al-Yabrūdī. Médecin chrétien de Damas (Xe–XIe s.)', *Arabica* 23 (1976), 13–22.
29 See the extensive catalogue of texts, including apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, in G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols., Studi e Testi 118, 133, 146–7, 172 (Vatican City: BAV, 1944–53), vol 1, pp. 85–297. Also M. van Esbroeck, 'Les versions orientales de la Bible: une orientation bibliographique', in J. Krašovec (ed.), *The Interpretation of the Bible. The International Symposium in Slovenia* (Ljubljana: SAZU / Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 399–415.
30 R. Vollandt in a message posted on the list-serve of the North American Society for Christian Arabic Studies, 8 March 2010, http://groups.google.com/group/nascas (consulted 8 September 2011).
31 Interestingly, the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch, Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, on the authority of al-Masʿūdī, identifies al-Ḥarith as a 'Melkite'. See I. A. Barsoum, *History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, ed. and trans. M. Moosa (Pueblo, CO: Passeggiata Press, 2000), pp. 19 and 121.

translations, along with their variants, and the peculiarities of the Hebrew textual tradition.[32] In another source this same scholar is named as the translator of the books of Solomon, and here he is explicitly called al-Ḥarrānī, a titbit of information that allows the modern scholar to know al-Ḥarith's home town.[33]

Translations of the whole Bible into Arabic in one, perhaps multi-volume, work seem not to have been undertaken under Christian auspices until the sixteenth century and afterwards, and outside the world of Islam.[34] Before that time, Arabic translations of the scriptures done by Christians consisted almost entirely of translations of individual biblical books or of compilations of related books, such as the books of the Torah, Psalms, the Gospels, the Epistles of St Paul, or the Acts of the Apostles, along with the so-called Catholic Epistles. To judge by the number of surviving manuscripts containing these translations, the Pentateuch, Psalms and the Gospels were the most popular. Some of them were made quite early, as we have seen, and some were continually copied and corrected over a very long time – the Gospels especially may have transmission histories reaching from modern times all the way back to the ninth or tenth centuries.[35]

At least one popular Muslim writer of the ninth century took notice of the new Arabic translations of the Bible into Arabic. In his essay in refutation of the Christians, Abū ʿUthmān al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868/9) complained of the lack of knowledge of the Arabic language on the part of the translators, were they Jews or Christians, and of their bad translations. He remarked, 'If, along with their fluency in Hebrew, they had the knowledge of the Muslims and their understanding of what is possible in the language of the Arabs, and of what it is possible [to say] about God, they would have found for that language a good interpretation, an easy expression, and an accessible presentation.'[36]

Jewish translations

While translations of biblical books into Arabic were made first by Christians, beginning in the late eighth century and becoming common from the

32 See Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. I, p. 107.
33 See Shams al-Riʾāsah Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Misbāḥ al-Ẓulmah fī Īḍāḥ al-Khidmah*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Karūz, 1971), vol. I, p. 236.
34 See Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. I, pp. 88–101, for an account of these undertakings in the several Arabic-speaking churches.
35 See, e.g., H. Kachouh, 'The Arabic Gospel Text of Codex Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, 430: Is It Recent or Archaic?', *Parole de l'Orient* 32 (2007), 105–21.
36 Abū ʿUthmān al-Jāḥiẓ, *Three Essays of Abū ʿOthman ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jaḥiz*, ed. J. Finkel (Cairo: Salafyah Press, 1926), p. 28.

ninth century onward, the first Arabic translations made by Jews appeared in the ninth century. The earliest Jewish translations are known from surviving fragments of biblical texts found in the Cairo Genizah and translated into Judaeo-Arabic.[37] But the towering figure in the Jewish translation movement was undoubtedly the Rabbanite scholar and community leader, Saadia Gaʾōn ibn Yusūf al-Fayyūmī (882–942), who is traditionally credited with the translation of the whole Hebrew Bible into Arabic.[38] His translation of the Torah became a standard one for centuries, not only for Arabic-speaking Jews but for some Christian communities too.[39] Saadia's translation work went hand in hand with his exegetical commentaries and in some instances, such as in his work on the book of Job,[40] the text became a major contribution not only to Jewish biblical exegesis but to the Jewish participation in the philosophical and theological discussions taking place in the Baghdad milieu in Abbasid times among Jews, Christians and Muslims alike. One modern scholar noted that Saadia's intention in his translations was 'not to make the work accessible to non-readers of Hebrew. It is clear throughout his commentary and translation that he expects his reader to be familiar with the text and its expressions.'[41] In other words, the translations were meant to serve an interpretative purpose, to facilitate contemporary Jewish exegesis.

In the tenth century, Karaite Jewish scholars in the environs of Jerusalem and, in the case of at least one of their most prominent scholars, Abū Yūsuf

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37 See J. Blau, 'On a Fragment of the Oldest Judaeo-Arabic Bible Translation Extant', in J. Blau and S. C. Reif (eds.), *Genizah Research after Ninety Years. The Case of Judaeo-Arabic. Papers Read at the Third Congress of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 47 (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 31–9. Subsequently, studies of other Judaeo-Arabic biblical translations have appeared; e.g., M. Polliack, 'Arabic Bible Translations in the Cairo Geniza Collection', in U. Haxen et al. (eds.), *Jewish Studies in a New Europe. Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen 1994* (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1998), pp. 595–620.

38 A number of Saadia's translations (Isaiah, Job, Proverbs), including his version of the Torah (*Tafsīr al-Tawrāt bi l-ʿArabiyyah*), were published by various editors, under the general editorship of J. Derenbourg, *Oeuvres completes de R. Saadia ben Iosef al-Fayyoûmî*, 9 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893–7). See also the interesting study of the several recensions of Saadia's translation of the Torah made by Rabbi Max Katten in 1924, in an effort to get back to the translation as it left Saadia's hands. See S. K. Samir, 'Édition de l' "Untersuchungen zu Saadjas arabischer Pentateuchübersetzung" de Max Katten (1924)', *Parole de l'Orient* 32 (2007), 23–73.

39 See Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 101–4.

40 See, e.g., *The Book of Theodicy. Translation and Commentary on the Book of Job by Saadiah Ben Joseph Al-Fayyūmī*, trans. L .E. Goodman, Yale Judaica Series 25 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

41 L. E. Goodman, 'Saadiah Gaon's Interpretive Technique in Translating the Book of Job', in D. M. Goldenberg (ed.), *Translation of Scripture. Proceedings of a Conference at the Annenberg Research Institute, May 15–16, 1989* (Philadelphia, PA: Annenberg Research Institute, 1990), pp. 47–76, at p. 49; and R. C. Steiner, *A Biblical Translation in the Making. The Evolution and Impact of Saadia Gaon's Tafsir* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

al-Qirqisānī (fl. 945), in the milieu of Baghdad,[42] were busily involved in the translation of the scriptures into Arabic. Some of them spoke explicitly about the methods and problems of translation. It is notable that the confrontation between the Rabbanites and the Karaites in the Jewish communities of this period found one of its most intense expressions in the area of biblical translation and exegesis.[43]

In his study of Saadia Gaʾon's interpretative technique in the translation of the book of Job, Lenn Evan Goodman mentioned the translator's use of Arabic expressions that 'impart a "biblical" ring via Qurʾānic diction',[44] a feature that other scholars have found in other early Arabic translations of the Bible. For example, this is also the case in the translations of portions from Syriac into Arabic by the Christian Pethion ibn Ayyūb al-Sahhār, who flourished in Baghdad in the mid-ninth century.[45] The famous Muslim literary biographer/bibliographer of the tenth century, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Nadīm (d. 995), said in his *Fihrist* that of all the Christian scholars of his day, Pethion 'was the most accurate of the translators from the point of view of translation, also the best of them for style and diction'.[46] However this might have been, Pethion is on record as having translated the biblical books of Job, the Wisdom of Ben Sirach and the Prophets from Syriac into Arabic.[47] Richard M. Frank, the editor and translator of a portion of Pethion's version of Jeremiah and of a Palestinian translation of Ben Sirach from the Peshitta (the standard version of the Bible in Syriac),[48] remarked on the very noticeable 'Muslim cast' to the language, not only of Pethion's translations, but also of those by other early translators, and he called attention to what must have been the translators' dilemma in the matter of language. Frank surmised,

> To render the Peshitta literally into Arabic or simply to Arabize the Syriac . . .
> would be to produce a rather barbarous Arabic in which the religious tone

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42 The most extensive study of this major scholar's work is in H. Ben Shammai, 'The Doctrines of Religious Thought of Abū Yūsuf al-Qirqisānī and Yefet ben ʿElī [Hebrew], 2 vols., unpubl. PhD dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1977).

43 See M. Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation. A Linguistic and Exegetical Study of Karaite Translations of the Pentateuch from the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries CE*, Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

44 Goodman, 'Saadiah Gaon's Interpretive Technique,' p. 48.

45 Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, pp. 120–1.

46 *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm. A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, ed. and trans. B. Dodge, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), vol. I, p. 46.

47 Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, pp. 120–1.

48 R. M. Frank, 'The Jeremias of Pethion ibn Ayyūb al-Sahhār', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 21 (1959), 136–70; *The Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach (Sinai ar. 155, IXth/Xth cent.)*, ed. and trans. R. M. Frank, 2 vols., CSCO 357–8 (Louvain: CorpusSCO, 1974).

of the text would be altogether lacking, since the words would have no asso-ciations and overtones within themselves but only as seen through another language (Hebrew or Syriac). The book would thus be colorless and devoid of the solemnity which belongs to it.[49]

The translators solved this dilemma by consistently using Arabic terms with a noticeable 'Muslim cast', that is to say, they consistently used terms which, though not, perhaps, exclusively Islamic or Qurʾānic, are nevertheless thoroughly Muslim in their resonance, often in fact being stock phrases or oft-repeated invocations from the Qurʾān that soon became common wherever Arabic was spoken. This process inevitably imparted a certain Islamic, or Qurʾānic, ring to biblical diction in the Arabic translations.

In common with the broader range of texts written in Arabic by Jews and Christians in the early Islamic period, the biblical translations, whether they were made from Hebrew, Greek, Syriac or Coptic *Vorlagen* (original versions), display a range of grammatical and syntactical features and usages that in the ensemble and in virtue of their consistency and constancy can be seen to be important elements in the development of Middle Arabic, a phase of the Arabic language that emerged into view in the Judaeo-Arabic and the so-called 'Christian Arabic' texts of the ninth and tenth centuries. Some of these distinctive elements of Middle Arabic seem to have owed their origins to linguistic features of the Hebrew, Greek, or especially of the Aramaic and Syriac dialects of the original languages of the newly Arabic-speaking Muslim and non-Muslim populations of the Levant in early Islamic times.[50] The recognition of these Middle Arabic elements in the Jewish and Christian translations of books of the Bible in the early Islamic period has enhanced the scholarly importance of these translations as sources for the study of Middle Arabic itself and as documentation for the study of the textual transmission of books of the Bible more generally in Arabic translation.

Insights into earlier Bible versions

While the early Arabic translations of books of the Bible, often themselves being translations of translations, are seldom of immediate significance for the study of the text of the scriptures in their original languages, they are

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49 Frank, 'The Jeremias of Pethion', pp. 139–40.
50 See especially J. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic, Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium*, CSCO 267, 276, 279 (Louvain: CorpusSCO, 1966–7).

nevertheless valuable for the evidence they can provide for the study of the state of the biblical text in the earlier translations from which the Arabic versions were made, at the time that they were made. So, for example, the Arabic versions of biblical books made from Syriac *Vorlagen* are valuable witnesses for the study of the textual history of the Peshitta. What is more, these same Arabic versions are also useful sources for the study of the history of biblical interpretation, especially in the context of the religious challenge of Islam. They often include numerous glosses, marginal comments, longer commentaries and even prologues to the biblical books, which provide valuable evidence for how the texts were read and understood by Christians living in the Islamic milieu.

In the instance of some apocryphal or pseudepigraphical biblical books, hitherto known only from a single Syriac source or from scattered fragments in Greek and/or Syriac, early Arabic versions have sometimes provided scholars with a fuller access to their contents. A case in point is provided by Arabic 589, preserved today in the library of the monastery of St Catherine at Mt Sinai, a text that may well date from as early as the ninth century.[51] It contains three Arabic translations, made from Syriac *Vorlagen*, of three pseudepigraphical scriptural texts: the Apocalypse of Baruch, the accompanying Epistle of Baruch and 4 Ezra.[52] The story of the scholarly editions and studies of these texts provides a telling glimpse into the history of the vicissitudes affecting the processes of translation and transmission of biblical texts in the Arabic-speaking milieu in early Islamic times and the travails of modern textual historians.

The Apocalypse of Baruch was the first text from Sinai Arabic 589 to be published and compared with the previously known Syriac version of the work.[53] There are a number of instances in the text in which the Arabic translator treated the Syriac *Vorlage* somewhat generally, even in some places failing to understand it correctly and seeming to misunderstand or miss altogether allusions to other biblical passages from the Old and New Testaments. The editors of the text noted that at the same time the Arabic translator's knowledge of the Qur'ān and of Islamic Arabic usage is more than adequate; quotations

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51 See *The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of IV Ezra*, ed. A. Drint, 2 vols., CSCO 563–4 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), vol. I, pp. vi–vii.

52 See the contents described in *Mount Sinai Arabic Version*, ed. Drint, vol. I, p. vii.

53 See *The Arabic Text of the Apocalypse of Baruch. Edited and Translated with a Parallel Translation of the Syriac Text* ed. and trans. F. Leemhuis et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1986); also F. Leemhuis, 'The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of the Apocalypse of Baruch', in S. K. Samir (ed.), *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Oosterhesselen, septembre 1984)*, OCA 226 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1986), pp. 73–9.

from the Islamic scripture and typically Islamic turns of phrase appear here and there in the translation. This state of affairs prompted Fred Leemhuis to advance the hypothesis that the Arabic translator of the Apocalypse of Baruch was in fact a Muslim, whose version of this pseudepigraphical scripture was subsequently bound together in Sinai Arabic 589 with another translation, by another translator, of another such book, namely, 4 Ezra. Leemhuis even offered suggestions regarding which Muslim community in the ninth or tenth century might have had an interest in such a scripture.[54]

While some Muslims are indeed reported to have translated some biblical texts into Arabic, and, as mentioned above, other early Muslim scholars showed remarkable familiarity with Christian sources in Syriac, Leemhuis's hypothesis is not the only plausible construction one might put on the evidence he found in the Arabic translation of the Apocalypse of Baruch. There is first of all the not uncommon feature of biblical texts in Arabic translation whereby they manifest a certain 'Muslim cast' of language in their Arabic diction, as mentioned above. Then there is also the often noted historical complaint on the part of some Christian writers in Islamic times that as Christians became more and more fluent in Arabic, they lost their earlier command of the traditional languages of their communities, and with it the ready recall of biblical phrases and even traditional theological formulae. One may therefore also plausibly surmise that the Arabic translator of the Apocalypse of Baruch was not a Muslim but a successfully acculturated and assimilated Arab Christian, whose skills in the traditional language and lore of his church had grown weak.

Adriana Drint has published the Arabic text of the translation of 4 Ezra from Syriac, as it is found in Sinai Arabic 589, along with an annotated English translation.[55] Her studies showed that the translator was not the same one who translated the Apocalypse of Baruch. Rather, the translator of 4 Ezra remained fairly faithful to the Syriac *Vorlage*, which he seems to have understood reasonably well. What is more, the text of 4 Ezra is presented in its Arabic translation in Sinai Arabic 589 with a descriptive introduction and with interpolated subtitles, indicating the subject matter of the successive sections of the text. In the process, these editorial additions to the text show how the text was read in the Arab Christian community in which it was used, highlighting the christological interpretation it received.[56] These features are common

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54 F. Leemhuis, 'The Arabic Version of the Apocalypse of Baruch: A Christian Text?', *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 4 (1989), 19–26.
55 *Mount Sinai Arabic Version*, ed. Drint.   56 See ibid., vol. II, pp. xvii–xxxii.

in other Arabic translations of apocryphal or pseudepigraphical works and they highlight the importance of the Arabic versions for the preservation of such texts.

A special case in which the surviving Arabic translation of a biblical work is crucial for the recovery of the original text is the Arabic Gospel Harmony that purports to be an Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* attributed to the Mesopotamian Tatian (fl. 150–75), a work that many modern scholars think was originally composed in Syriac.[57] It circulated widely in Syriac-speaking Christian communities and it may well have been the best-known text of the Gospels among the Arabic-speaking Christians in the Qurʾān's milieu, whose patristic and liturgical heritage was largely Syriac, and who would in all likelihood have been the immediate source of biblical lore for Muḥammad and the Qurʾān.[58] It is clear that the Arabic Gospel Harmony, which has survived in a number of manuscripts from a fairly early period, was translated from a Syriac *Vorlage*,[59] albeit that many of its readings had already been brought into agreement with the Peshitta prior to the translation into Arabic.[60] The current scholarly consensus is that the original Arabic translation was done by the famous Baghdadi Christian polymath, Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043), on the basis of a Syriac manuscript copied by the late ninth-century Syriac/Arabic lexicographer, ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī,[61] who was in turn a student of the master translator of the ninth century, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, whom we mentioned above as a reputed translator of part of the Bible into Arabic.[62]

In passing, one should note that in addition to his role as a translator of the *Diatessaron*, Ibn al-Ṭayyib was one of the foremost Christian biblical

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57 See W. L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron. Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance and History in Scholarship*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), esp. p. 397.

58 See J. Bowman, 'The Debt of Islam to Monophysite Syrian Christianity', in E. C. B. MacLaurin (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Griffithes Wheeler Thatcher 1863–1950* (Sydney University Press, 1967), pp. 191–216; J. M. F. Van Reeth, 'L'Évangile du Prophète', in D. De Smet et al. (eds.), *Al-Kitāb: La sacralité du texte dans le monde de l'Islam*, Acta Orientalia Belgica, Subsidia 3 (Brussels: Société Belge d'Études Orientales, 2004), pp. 155–74.

59 There are so far only two editions of the whole text: *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice nunc primum ex duplici codice edidit et translatione Latina donavit p. Augustinus Ciasca*, ed. A. Ciasca, (Rome: Typographia Polyglotta, 1888, repr. 1914 and 1934); and *Diatessaron de Tatien. Texte arabe établi, traduit en français, collationé avec les anciennes versions syriaques, suivi d'un évangéliaire diatessarique syriaque*, ed. A.-S. Marmardji, (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1935).

60 See the summary, and comprehensive bibliography, of the many studies on the Arabic Gospel Harmony in Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, pp. 133–8, 448–51.

61 See Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, pp. 131 and 157.

62 See T. Baarda, 'The Author of the Arabic Diatessaron', in T. Baarda, A. F. J. Klijn and W. C. van Unnik (eds.), *Miscellanea Neotestamentica*, 2 vols., Supplements to Novum Testamentum 47–8 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), vol. I, pp. 61–103.

scholars writing in Arabic in early Islamic times.[63] Not only did he write an important commentary on Psalms and on the Gospels, the latter complete with an introduction in which he discussed the necessity for critical biblical scholarship,[64] but he was also the author of a monumental Christian theological commentary on the whole Bible, his *Firdaws al-Naṣrāniyyah*, a work still largely unstudied.[65]

Continuing close study of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Arabic Gospel Harmony shows that it has value for the ongoing search for original Diatessaronic readings,[66] and that the probably originally Syriac *Diatessaron* continued to be of interest and of use to the Arabic-speaking Syrian and Egyptian churches well up to and beyond the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[67] What is more, the *Diatessaron* seems to have been important to some medieval Christian controversialists in their encounters with Muslims, for 'it did not exhibit the discrepancies of the separate gospels',[68] and thus play into the hands of Muslim disputants who argued against the gospels' textual dependability. As if to corroborate this observation, continuing research suggests that in the sixteenth century the Muslim author of the spurious Gospel of Barnabas made significant use of Diatessaronic readings in his production of a gospel that he clearly hoped would answer the requirements of Islamic ideas about the gospel that Jesus is thought to have brought to mankind, as Moses brought the Torah and Muḥammad brought the Qurʾān.[69]

The Bible in Muslim–Jewish polemics

The mention of controversies between Christians and Muslims calls attention to the fact that the Bible itself and passages from biblical books have played a large part in these encounters and in Arab Christian theology more generally.[70] Collections of biblical passages translated into Arabic from the Old

63 See Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, pp. 160–84, esp. pp. 162–9.
64 See S. Khalil-Kussaim, 'Nécessité de la science; texte de ʿAbdallāh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib (m. 1043)', *Parole de l'Orient* 3 (1972), 241–59; S. Khalil-Kussaim, 'Nécessité de l'exégèse scientifique. Texte de ʿAbdallāh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib', *Parole de l'Orient* 5 (1974), 243–79.
65 See S. K. Samir, 'La place d'Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib dans la pensée arabe', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58 (2006), 177–193.
66 See N. P. G. Joosse, 'The Sermon on the Mount in the Arabic Diatessaron', unpubl. PhD thesis, Free University of Amsterdam (1997).
67 See the manuscript descriptions, in ibid., pp. 10–16.   68 Ibid., p. 16.
69 See J. Joosten, 'The Gospel of Barnabas and the Diatessaron,' *HTR* 95 (2002), 73–96.
70 See H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds. Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton University Press, 1992); S. H. Griffith, 'Arguing from Scripture. The Bible in the Christian/Muslim Encounter in the Middle Ages', in T. J. Heffernan and T. E. Burman (eds.), *Scripture and Pluralism*.

and New Testaments are to be found in the apologetic and polemical texts of both Christian and Muslim writers, but the study of these biblical testimonies from the textual point of view has hardly begun. Rather, scholars have so far concentrated their attention on identifying the scriptural passages that were most frequently quoted in the Christian and Muslim texts of inter-religious controversy.[71] They have shown, too, how the analysis of several of these works and their modes of citing passages from the scriptures gives evidence for the circulation among the controversialists of scriptural testimony lists containing quotations which could most usefully be employed in the apologetic tracts that defended the credibility of this or that Christian doctrine or that could serve as proof-texts for Muslim arguments critiquing Christian doctrines and practices and claiming scriptural warranty for the prophetic status of Muḥammad.[72] In some instances, scholars have been able to show how the interpretation of certain biblical passages underwent changes in focus or emphasis, vis-à-vis their traditional exegeses, when they were discussed within the context of Christian/Muslim controversies, where the challenges to traditional Christian interpretations of these passages came from a new direction.[73]

Controversies focused on the Bible and its interpretation between Jews and Christians also occurred within the Arabic-speaking milieu of the world of Islam. In this instance the Islamic context introduced an interesting new exegetical concept into the scriptural controversies between Jews and Christians, namely the idea of an inner scriptural abrogation (*al-naskh*). In its distinctly Islamic form, this strategy came to the fore in the fields of Qur'ān interpretation and Muslim law. Unlike the Islamic idea of the abrogation of Judaism and Christianity by Islam, or the Christian idea of the abrogation of Judaism by Christianity (in other words, external abrogation), this internal abrogation involves the idea that a later ruling in the Qur'ān regarding right behaviour

Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 29–58.

71 See M. Accad, 'The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries. An Exegetical Inventorial Table', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 14 (2003), 67–91, 205–220, 337–52, 459–79.

72 See, e.g., the studies of M. Swanson: 'Beyond Prooftexting. Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies', *The Muslim World* 88 (1998), 297–319 and 'Beyond Prooftexting (2). The Use of the Bible in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies', in Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, pp. 91–112; D. Bertaina, 'The Development of Testimony Collections in Early Christian Apologetics with Islam', in Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, pp. 151–73.

73 See, e.g., M. Accad, 'Did the Later Syriac Fathers Take into Consideration their Islamic Context when Reinterpreting the New Testament?', *Parole de l'Orient* 23 (1998), 13–32; Griffith, 'Arguing from Scripture', esp. pp. 45–56.

abrogates an earlier one and thereby affects the law (*al-sharīʿah*) according to which the scripture demands that one live one's life.[74] Some Arabic-speaking Christians in the Middle Ages in controversy with Jews adopted this principle polemically to argue that since one can find prescriptions in the Torah itself or in the books of the later prophets that contradict earlier ones in the Torah, then the Torah itself, in its present form as assembled by Ezra the post-exilic scribe, can be considered abrogated as a divine source of prescriptive law governing human behaviour in the new dispensation of the Gospel.[75]

Decline of Muslim interest in the Bible

While translations of biblical books into Arabic, their copying, re-copying and editing, continued apace in Arabic-speaking Christian communities from the late eighth century well into the fifteenth, Muslim interest in the texts of the Jewish and Christian scriptures as the Jews and Christians actually had them diminished as time passed. This lack of interest was dictated largely by the concurrent development among Muslim scholars, taking their cue from the Qurʾān, of the doctrine of the Jewish and Christian 'corruption' (*al-taḥrīf*) or 'alteration' (*al-tabdīl*) of their scriptures.[76] After the ninth century, when, as we have seen, a number of Muslim authors actually quoted passages from the available Arabic translations of the Bible, the interests of Muslim scholars shifted away from the Bible text itself toward the retelling of whole biblical narratives from an Islamic perspective in a genre of religious literature that could almost be called 'para-biblical', or even an alternative Arabic Bible. Outstanding in this connection are the collections called 'Stories of the Prophets' (*Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*)[77] and the so-called *Isrāʾīliyyāt*, retellings of the stories of the biblical prophets in Arabic, according to a Qurʾān-inspired, Islamic pattern of prophetology.[78] Similarly, collections of the sayings of the Messiah, Jesus, the

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74 See J. Burton, 'Abrogation', in J. D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2001–6), vol. I, pp. 11–19.
75 This theme in Christian/Jewish controversy in the Islamic milieu has not yet been well studied. For now, see S. Pines, 'La loi naturelle et la société. La doctrine politico-théologique d'Ibn Zurʿaʾ', in his *Studies in the History of Arabic Philosophy*, The Collected Works of Shlomo Pines 3 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1996), pp. 154–92.
76 See J.-M. Gaudeul and R. Caspar, 'Textes de la tradition musulmane concernant le *taḥrīf* (falsification des écritures)', *Islamochristiana* 6 (1980), 61–104.
77 See R. Tottoli, *I Profeti Biblici nella Tradizione Islamica* (Brescia: Paideia, 1999); B. Wheeler, *Prophets of the Qurʾān* (New York: Continuum, 2002). One of the most popular texts in this genre in English translation is *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾī*, trans. W. M. Thackston (Boston: Twayne, 1978).
78 See R. Tottoli, 'Origin and Use of the Term *Isrāʾīliyyāt* in Muslim Literature', *Arabica* 46 (1999), 193–210.

son of Mary, circulated widely among Muslims, though in many instances they bore only a marginal relationship to reports in the canonical gospels.[79] The Muslim historian of Damascus, Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 1176), wrote a biography of Jesus that has no connection at all with the canonical gospels.[80] When Muslim scholars did focus their attention on the Bible, it was either for polemical purposes, to point out in detail how Jews and Christians had corrupted its text,[81] or for apologetic reasons, to cite passages in their Islamic formulations that could be taken as prophecies of the coming of the prophet Muḥammad.[82]

There was, however, at least one notable exception to the general lack of interest on the part of Muslim scholars in reading the Bible as the Jews and Christians actually had it. In the fifteenth century, in Mamluk Cairo, the well-known Qurʾān commentator Abū l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥasan al-Biqāʿī (d. 1469) not only consulted Arabic translations of the Jewish and Christian scriptures in his interpretations of passages in the Qurʾān but wrote a separate monograph of considerable erudition in which he made the case for not just the legitimacy but also the necessity for Muslim scholars to make use of the canonical Hebrew Bible and of the Gospels.[83] While his book was not well received, it nevertheless became the exception that proved the rule that from the eleventh century onward there was scant Muslim interest in consulting the Arabic Bible of the Jews and Christians for other than apologetic or polemical purposes.

Interest beyond the Arabic world

The first interest in the Arabic Bible outside the Arabic-speaking world seems to have arisen in the sixteenth century in western churches with concerns

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79 See T. Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus. Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

80 See S. A. Mourad, 'A Twelfth-Century Muslim Biography of Jesus', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 7 (1996), 39–45.

81 Such was the case in the work of ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm (994–1064). See T. Pulcini, *Exegesis as Polemical Discourse: Ibn Ḥazm on Jewish and Christian Scriptures* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998). Also M. Beaumont, 'Muslim Readings of John's Gospel in the Abbasid Period', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 19 (2008), 179–97.

82 Such was the case in the work of the biographer of Muḥammad, Ibn Isḥāq, in his *Sīrat al-nabī*. See Griffith, 'Arguing from Scripture', pp. 29–58, esp. pp. 36–45. Also C. Adang, 'A Rare Case of Biblical "Testimonies" to the Prophet Muḥammad in Muʿtazilī Literature. Quotations from Ibn Rabbān al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb ad-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* in Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ghurar al-adilla*, as Preserved in a Work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī', in C. Adang, S. Schmidtke and D. Sklare (eds.), *A Common Rationality. Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, Istanbuler Texte und Studien 15 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2007), pp. 297–330.

83 See *In Defense of the Bible. A Critical Edition and an Introduction to al-Biqāʿī's Bible Treatise*, ed. W. A. Saleh, Islamic History and Civilization 73 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

in the Middle East,[84] culminating in the inclusion of Arabic versions in the great polyglot Bibles of the sixteenth century.[85] The first of these to include an Arabic version of the complete Bible, put together from previously printed sources, was the seventeenth-century Paris Polyglot in 1645, a text taken over with some corrections in the London Polyglot of 1655–7.[86] In the meantime, in Rome in 1651, the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith published an eclectic edition of the complete Bible in Arabic that eventually, and for a time, gained a wide readership among Arabic-speaking Christians in the Middle East.[87] Thus began the era of the production of printed Bibles in Arabic, projects accomplished largely under the auspices of the western churches and inspired by the principles of western biblical scholarship, for the most part paying no attention at all to the previous Arabic translations of biblical books and completely ignoring the context of traditional Christian theology in Arabic. The Protestants were first in the field, with the so-called Smith–Van Dyck Version, published in Beirut in 1865, followed by a Catholic translation under the auspices of the Dominicans of Mosul, Iraq, in 1875–8, which was soon overshadowed in the Arabic-speaking world by the Jesuit version, completed in 1880 in Beirut.[88]

84 See the texts listed in T. H. Darlow, H. F. Moule and A. G. Jayne (eds.), *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols. in 4 (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1903–11), vol. ii, pt 1, pp. 62–84.
85 E. Mangenot, 'Polyglottes,' in F. Vigouroux (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 5 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912–22), vol. v, cols. 513–29.
86 See Darlow, Moule and Jayne (eds.), *Historical Catalogue*, vol. ii, pt 1, pp. 65 and 66.
87 See ibid., vol. ii, pt 1, p. 66.
88 See the comprehensive study in J. A. Thompson, 'The Origin and Nature of the Chief Printed Arabic Bibles', *The Bible Translator* 6 (1955), 2–12, 51–5, 98–106, 146–50.

The Bible in Armenian

S. PETER COWE

The introduction of the Bible to Armenia (situated in southern Caucasia) and the process behind its translation and reception there reflect several broader socio-political, religious and cultural trends evolving in the eastern Roman empire and western Asia over the period of Late Antiquity. The syncretistic polytheism that had characterised the Hellenistic era was yielding to different monotheistic faiths, and a number of missionary religions became catalysts in the development of new writing systems to propagate their beliefs.[1] One of the most significant facets of this movement was the expansion of Christianity within the region and its transition from being an illicit practice on the margins of society to achieving the status of dominant social and cultural arbiter around the Mediterranean and beyond in the post-Constantinian era.[2] The elaboration of doctrine kataphatically (employing reason) through debate by councils and definition in creeds, together with the apophatic spirituality (beyond reason) being explored by monks and ascetics and the supreme devotion of the martyr, inspired a new understanding of the holy and the process of transforming material reality into a vehicle for the spirit, which in turn found expression in popular piety through new forms of pilgrimage.[3] This dynamic only served to heighten the status of the Bible as the physical embodiment of the divine word, its corporality enhanced by the employment of capacious parchment codices to replace the more fragile papyrus scroll.[4]

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1 See N. G. Garsoïan, 'The Aršakuni Dynasty', in R. G. Hovannisian (ed.), *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2004), pp. 63–94, at pp. 80–1.
2 A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 87–8.
3 P. Brown, *Authority and the Sacred* (Cambridge University Press, 1995). Armenians were also exposed to the world-affirming perspective of Iranian Zoroastrianism. See J. B. Segal, 'Mesopotamian Communities from Julian to the Rise of Islam', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 41 (1955), 109–37.
4 C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London and New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1983). For the use of the parchment codex in Armenia, see

Historical matrix

After the relatively peaceful coexistence between Rome and Persia under the Parthian dynasty, Sasanian ascendancy in the early third century CE drew the regional powers into renewed conflict over hegemony in the Near East.[5] The contours of this engagement between Armenia's neighbours naturally impacted on the state's own political and religious development. As one or other power gained the advantage, Armenia was incorporated within its administrative network, while under the customary stalemate it enjoyed autonomy as a buffer state. Similarly, whereas the cultic statues widespread in Armenia since the Hellenistic period paralleled those in Roman usage, as the Sasanians had espoused a more orthodox aniconic form of Zoroastrianism, they instituted a periodic purge of such images there under their rule.[6] Consequently, as Christianity attained a critical mass politically in the Roman empire, it triggered a movement toward its establishment in Armenia, while provoking a counter-reaction in Persia.

The pivotal moment occurred at the turn of the fourth century. Galerius' campaign returned Armenia to the Roman sphere with the Treaty of Nisibis of 299,[7] introducing three decades of relative calm, during which King Trdat III loyally followed the fluctuations of Roman policy, proscribing Christianity under the last years of Diocletian, only to embrace it around the Edict of Milan and actually outdo his suzerain in promulgating it as the religion of the state in 314.[8] Thereafter the Christian community was integrated into the church's wider hierarchical structure with the consecration of St Gregory the Illuminator as bishop of Greater Armenia and the diocese's representation at the Council of Nicaea in 325.

A. G. Abrahamyan, *Armenian Script and Scribal Art* [Armenian] (Erevan: Erevan University Press, 1973), pp. 280–1.

5 J. Howard-Johnston, 'The Two Great Powers in Late Antiquity: A Comparison', in A. Cameron (ed.), *The Byzantine and Islamic Near East. Vol. III: States, Resources and Armies* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin, 1995), pp. 157–226, at pp. 160–70, and B. Dignas and E. Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 9–32.

6 M. Boyce, 'Iconoclasm among the Zoroastrians', in J. Neusner (ed.), *Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults. Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), vol. IV, pp. 93–111.

7 See R. C. Blockley, 'The Romano-Persian Peace Treaties of A.D. 299 and 363', *Florilegium* (1984), 28–49, and, for the broader context, Howard-Johnston, 'Two Great Powers', p. 223.

8 For the possible impact of Licinius' Mesopotamian campaigns in 313–14 on Armenia's conversion, see T. D. Barnes, 'Constantine and the Christians of Persia', *Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985), 126–36, at 131.

Oral translation phase

The translation of the Bible did not, however, achieve written form in Armenia until the early fifth century, one of the factors behind this being cultural. Judaeo-Christianity may be categorised as a religion of the book, but it was now being indigenised in a primarily oral milieu where transmission by word of mouth was the main vehicle for both cultic lore and heroic epic.[9] Under these conditions a process was instituted in the third to fourth centuries, similar to that which had produced the Targumim (interpretations of the Hebrew Bible) for the Aramaic-speaking Jews, to provide an oral rendition of the lections at services.[10] It is likely that this accumulated experience left a tangible imprint on the early translators and the supervening written tradition. Indeed, the widespread persistence of the formula 'X began to speak and said' (*xawsel sksaw ew asē*) in the Armenian Bible, as in several early Armenian prose narratives, where the Hebrew, Greek and Syriac versions read laconically 'X said', suggests this was a clausula for introducing speeches that was well established in the preceding oral tradition.[11]

The Christianisation of Armenia grew in hybrid form from the uncoordinated initiatives of Greek-speaking communities in Cappadocia and of Syriac-speaking groups in Mesopotamia and the Persian realm.[12] Consequently, as church construction proliferated over the fourth century, those languages expanded in liturgical use throughout the neighbouring regions of Armenia, transmitting not only the new faith but an intercultural legacy of terminology in which to express its novel concepts and paraphernalia – for example, *ekełecʻi* ('church') from Greek (*ekklēsia*) and *kʻahanay* ('priest') from Syriac (*khn'*).[13]

However, the need to build a more comprehensive lexicon from which to establish equivalency patterns for translating the Bible orally at this period clearly induced the transmitters to renegotiate the semantic field of terms already available to convey this additional layer of meaning. In actual fact, many of these had been absorbed from Parthian and Middle Iranian in the

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9 See A. E. Movsisyan, *The Writing Systems of Pre-Maštocʻ Armenia* [Armenian] (Erevan University Press, 2003).

10 See S. P. Cowe, 'The Two Armenian Versions of Chronicles. Their Origin and Translation Technique', *Revue des études arméniennes* 22 (1990–1), 88–90.

11 Cowe, 'Chronicles', p. 89.

12 See A. H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom. The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 9–12, and the literature cited there.

13 H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1962), pp. 281–389.

pre-Sasanian epoch, when the same Arsacid dynasty reigned over both countries.[14] The earthly king acted as a model for his heavenly counterpart: his palace (*tačar*) now represented the Jerusalem Temple (e.g., 2 Cor. 6:16; Rev. 21:22) and his messenger (*hreštak*), like its Greek equivalent *angelos*, became an angel, while his park or hunting preserve (*draxt*) was transformed into the garden of Eden (Gen. 2:8, 9, 10, etc.) and the heavenly paradise (Luke 23:43). Interestingly, the latter term also originated in Persian before passing into Syriac and Greek, where it appears in the above texts. However, the Armenian reflex *partēz*, in contrast, connotes a much smaller space, such as, for example, the Garden of Gethsemane (John 18:1, 26; 19:41).

The human 'adversary' (Hebrew *STN*) features in various Old Testament books, and Job encounters his equivalent in the divine sphere (1:6, 7, 9, 12, etc.), while in the New Testament the term originally designating his role is encountered as a personal name – Satan, the principle of Evil. Outside such personal instances the lexeme *diabolos* ('slanderer') is found in the Greek Bible, whereas the Armenian version generally renders the latter by a direct equivalent (*bansarku*) in the case of a human referent (e.g., 1 Chron. 21:1; Esth. 7:4), employing the Syriac borrowing *satanay* in instances where the Devil is meant. The world of the dead is portrayed throughout the Bible (e.g., Job 7:9; Rev. 1:18) in Greek as Hades and in Syriac as *šywl* (cognate with Hebrew *Sheôl*). The Armenian rendering, also a Parthian borrowing, is *džoxkʿ*, now somewhat restricted from its original connotation of a 'nasty place'! The entourage of angels that serves the divine realm naturally has its corollary among the evil spirits. In Greek these feature as the *daimon* and its diminutive *daimonion* (e.g. Deut. 32:17; Ps. 90:6; Matt. 8:31; 9:33) and in Syriac as *šʾdʾ* and *dywʾ*, the latter form deriving from Parthian, as does the Armenian *dew*. These clearly exhibit the polyvalence of their multi-ethnic environment: in their Zoroastrian incarnation these spirits accompany the evil principle Ahriman, while embedded in their new Judaeo-Christian context they function as minions of Satan. However, Armenian folklore up to early modern times envisaged them in a different setting as giant ogres dwelling in mountain fastnesses where they hoard treasures stolen from humans.[15]

Another factor delaying the transition of the Bible into written form in Armenia was the renewal of Roman–Sasanian conflict by Šābūhr II in 359. The ignominious Roman defeat of 363 inevitably resulted in a reversal of the

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14 See ibid., pp. 9–280, and for a more recent listing, R. Schmitt, 'Armenia and Iran IV. Iranian influences in Armenian', in E. I. Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), pp. 445–53.
15 See M. Abeghyan, *Der armenische Volksglaube* (Leipzig: Drugulin, 1899), pp. 112–13.

Treaty of Nisibis. Not only did the Armenian state revert to Iranian suzerainty but the Great King strategically determined to reduce its military threat by redistributing its peripheral regions among the Iberians (in the north) and the Caucasian Albanians (in the east), while absorbing the southern provinces directly into his own domain, a provision fundamentally retained in the subsequent Treaty of Ekełeacʿ (387).[16] Regarding Christians as a potential Roman fifth column, Šābūhr conducted a persecution of the communities and sent armed incursions to impose Zoroastrianism and bind them more inextricably to the Iranian polity in expectation of divine favour for furthering Mazdaeism. In consequence, the invention of the alphabet and translation of scripture some three decades later is to be interpreted in part as an attempt to mitigate the impact of those measures by forging a new Armenian cohesion through a unitary high literary culture, counteracting the centrifugal thrust of the regional dialects and assuring a certain cultural autonomy for the Armenian population in those territories now under foreign rule.

The effect of Šābūhr's policies was compounded by a series of revolts by the hereditary nobility that led to the partition of the Armenian monarchy. Meanwhile, the church also struggled under the degree of religious pluralism in the state. Arian schismatics and proselytes of other heresies (for instance Marcionism) and competing religious movements (Manichaeism and Mandaeism) coexisted with adherents of pagan cults that persisted despite the destruction of the major shrines. Here too, as we shall see, the translation of the Bible formed part of a doctrinal and ethical programme to reinforce centralised standards of orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

Early stratum of the written version

It was only with the accession of Yazdgerd I (399–421) that disaffection between the king and the Zoroastrian clergy ushered in several years of respite for minorities in the Persian sphere, thus providing the conditions for the written translation of the Bible into Armenian.[17] Improved relations with Byzantium, brokered by Mārūṯā of Maypherqaṯ, led to the convocation of the first synod of the church in Iran in 410 and an affirmation of its catholicity and rapprochement with the West through acceptance of the Council of Nicaea. It is against this background that one should view the project to create alphabets for the

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16 Blockley, 'Romano-Persian Peace Treaties', pp. 37–8.
17 J. P. Asmussen, 'Christians in Iran', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. III (2): The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 940. See also Howard-Johnston, 'Two Great Powers', pp. 223–4.

Christian cultures of southern Caucasia (Armenians, Iberians and Caucasian Albanians), by means of which they were to translate a whole library (liturgical, theological, hagiographical, homiletic, philosophical and school texts), commencing with the Bible.[18]

With regard to Armenian developments, we are particularly well informed by a contemporary source, the *Vita* of Maštocʿ (d. 439), the moving force behind the movement, composed within a decade of his death by his pupil Koriwn (or Koryun).[19] There we read of an initial translation of scripture around 406, followed by a revision after the Council of Ephesus (431). According to this account, however, the initial impetus to devise a writing system came from a Syrian bishop, Daniel. From the fact that he was known to the Armenian king Vṙamšapuh we may attempt to identify him with the eponymous bishop of the southern province of Mokkʿ present at the synod of 410, who would probably have requested royal permission to begin his experiment.[20] Presumably Daniel tried to adapt Syriac characters for the purpose, as his co-religionists were later to do for Sogdian, Uighur and other languages during their missionary endeavours in central Asia.

Finding this inadequate to render Armenian's more complex phonetic structure, Maštocʿ crossed into Byzantine Mesopotamia to prepare his disciples for the task of translation by studying Syriac and Greek in Edessa and Samosata, respectively, while he set about creating a more effective form of writing with the assistance of a scholar in the latter city.[21] Armenians had established a school in Edessa parallel to that of the Syrians and Persians since around 363, with which the clergy in Greater Armenia were probably in contact.[22] Although the alphabet he designed had a Greek matrix, the subsidiary influence of Syriac and Coptic has been detected.[23] Moreover, Koriwn informs us that his mentor was also responsible for creating alphabets for Georgian and Caucasian Albanian, the latter comprising fifty-two characters reminiscent

18 See L. Ter Petrosian, *Ancient Armenian Translations* (New York: St Vartan, 1992), pp. 1–44.
19 Koryun, *The Life of Mashtots* [Armenian and English], ed. E. Pivazyan (Erevan University Press, 1980). Two further accounts exist, one a literary embellishment by Movsēs Xorenacʿi, the other a tendentious version by Łazar Pʿarpecʿi. See S. P. Cowe, *The Armenian Version of Daniel* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), pp. 231–7.
20 Koryun, *Life of Mashtots*, pp. 90–2, 112–18 (Armenian) and pp. 277, 286–7 (English).
21 Ibid., pp. 94–8 (Armenian) and pp. 278–9 (English).
22 See Łazar Pʿarpecʿi, *History of the Armenians* [Armenian], ed. M. Abełean and S. Malxasean (Tiflis: Aragatip Martiroseancʿ, 1905), p. 13, and Łazar Pʿarpecʿi, *The History of Łazar Pʿarpecʿi*, trans. R. W. Thomson (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1991), pp. 47–8, on Armenian clerics studying there.
23 See J. R. Russell, 'On the Origins and Invention of the Armenian Script', *Le Muséon* 107 (1994), 317–33 and S. Mouraviev, *Les trois secrets de Mesrop Machtots. Vol. 1: Erkataguir ou Comment naquit l'alphabet arménien* (Sankt Augustin: Academia, 2010).

not only of Armenian and Georgian but also of Ethiopic.[24] This finding suggests a much wider network of exchange among the east Christian literacy programmes than has hitherto been envisaged, a network probably facilitated by Jerusalem, where several of the communities had founded chapels and pilgrim hostels in the fourth to fifth centuries.[25]

Maštocʿ inaugurated the translation in Samosata with Proverbs, dictating his rendering orally for the local scribe to copy in the newly finalised script in the presence of two of his senior pupils, who were then to transcribe it as an exercise in penmanship – as they, in turn, would have to train the younger cohorts. It was obviously a self-contained assignment to produce an exemplar to display to Bishop Sahak and the king on his return, and it is likely that the scriptural choice was symbolic within a school setting devoted to the pursuit of 'wisdom and instruction', as the hagiographer notes. Thereafter, the main task of translation was carried out back in Armenia with the active involvement of the chief bishop and the students trained during the mission.

Koriwn sets the scene but tells us little about the parent texts from which the translation was effected. Its multicultural environment is underscored by the scribe Rufinus (Hṙopʿanos), who probably grew up speaking Syriac, received a training in Greek, sported a Latin name and, from the foregoing, was competent in Armenian.[26] Likewise, Maštocʿ had schooled his pupils in both Syriac and Greek, so that it is hard to apply any a priori judgement on the nature of the *Vorlagen* (original versions). A Syriac prototype has been detected in several books, which in some cases, it has been argued, passed into the Old Georgian version via an Armenian intermediary.[27] Lyonnet's groundbreaking research on the Armenian Gospels demonstrated from variant readings in manuscripts, supported by patristic citations and liturgical lections, that the textual contours of the original approximated to Tatian's *Diatessaron*, but, as the data were not conclusive, the possibility remains that it derives rather from an Old Syriac Four Gospels like the Sinaitic and Curetonian codices, with textual affinities to Tatian.[28] The latter alternative commended itself to

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24 For a dissentient Georgian tradition, see in this volume Childers, p. 163. For the Caucasian Albanian alphabet, see Z. Alexidze and B. Blair, 'The Albanian Script. The Process – How its Secrets were Revealed', *Azerbaijan International* 11/3 (2003), 44–51.
25 S. P. Cowe, 'Pilgrimage to Jerusalem by the Eastern Churches', in L. Kriss-Rettenbeck (ed.), *Wahlfahrt kennt keine Grenzen* (Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1984), pp. 316–30.
26 Koryun, *Life of Mashtots*, pp. 96–8 (Armenian) and p. 279 (English).
27 See in this volume Childers, p. 162.
28 S. Lyonnet, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron*, Biblica et Orientalia 13 (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1950). Evidence exists that Armenian Marcionites used the Diatessaron. St Ephrem's commentary survives in Armenian. See R. P. Casey, 'The Armenian Marcionites and the Diatessaron', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57 (1938), 185–94.

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Vööbus as being more fitting for an undertaking that bore the church's official imprimatur, since the Four Gospel format was already gaining ecclesiastical recognition in Syrian circles at the time.[29] A Syriac stratum has also been identified in Ecclesiasticus,[30] the Epistle to the Ephesians[31] and Psalms.[32]

A Syriac prototype hypothesised in other books (1 Kingdoms (1 Samuel), Acts, the Epistle of James, and 3 Corinthians) has been queried.[33] Patristic citations persuaded Leloir of a Syriac origin for Acts, but Alexanian's examination of the manuscript tradition found no supporting readings.[34] Nevertheless, Garitte's contention that the Georgian derives from a Syriac text via Armenian suggests the possibility of such a text. Traditionally a Syriac matrix has been proposed for the apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Corinthian community in part because of a commentary, itself extant only in Armenian, attributed to St Ephrem.[35] Research has demonstrated that though the Armenian version does not betray any linguistic trace of Syriac, it appears to follow Ephremic exegesis and exhibits a translation technique consistent with the early stratum.[36]

Other books, such as Daniel and Ruth, probably had a hybrid origin from both Syriac and Greek.[37] Chronicles, in contrast, derives from Greek but embodies certain Syriac and Targumic readings.[38] Meanwhile, textual and linguistic grounds substantiate a Greek provenance for Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes and the Epistle of Jeremiah.[39] Moreover, the frequent bifurcation of the Armenian version of 1 Maccabees and its profusion of doublet readings

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29 A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament. Manuscript Studies*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 6 (Stockholm: ETSE / Leuven: Durbecq, 1954), pp. 152–4.

30 J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1967), pp. 35–7.

31 J. Molitor, 'Der armenische Epheserbrief und die syrische Textüberlieferung', *Handēs Amsōreay* 68 (1964), cols. 301–10.

32 L. Ter Petrosian, 'The Armenian Translation of Psalms and its Parent Text' [Armenian], *Ejmiacin* (1975), pt 1, 31–45; pt 6, 58–64; pt 9, 49–57, and C. E. Cox, 'The Armenian Version and the Text of the Old Greek Psalter', in A. Aejmelaeus (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzüngen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 174–247, at pp. 246–7.

33 C. E. Cox, *The Armenian Translation of Deuteronomy*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), pp. 301–6.

34 J. M. Alexanian, 'Remarks on the Armenian Text of Acts of the Apostles', in S. Ajamian and M. E. Stone (eds.), *Text and Context. Studies in the Armenian New Testament* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994), pp. 17–26; G. Garitte, *L'ancienne version géorgienne des Actes des Apôtres d'après deux manuscrits du Sinaï* (Leuven: Peeters, 1955).

35 See, for example, L. Leloir, 'La version arménienne du Nouveau Testament', in K. Aland (ed.), *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 5 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1972), p. 302.

36 See S. P. Cowe, 'Text Critical Investigation of the Armenian Version of *Third Corinthians*', in V. Canzolari Bouvier (ed.), *Apocryphes arméniens* (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 1999), pp. 91–102.

37 Cowe, *Daniel*, pp. 419–28. 38 Cowe, 'Chronicles', 53–96.

39 H. Oskean, *The First and Second Translation of Song of Songs* [Armenian] (Vienna: Mxitarist Press: 1924), and S. P. Cowe, 'The Armenian Version of the Epistle of Jeremiah: Parent Text

is suggestive of an incomplete revision which preserved portions of the original translation from Greek.[40] Still other books so far investigated, such as Deuteronomy and Job, evince only one text (of Greek origin).[41]

The text of the Armenian's Greek prototype in 1–2 Kingdoms (1–2 Samuel), Chronicles, Ruth, Epistle of Jeremiah, and Daniel is broadly Lucianic – that is, either the traditional form of text radiating from the metropolis of Antioch throughout Syria and Mesopotamia (pre-Lucianic) or one exhibiting recensional activity associated with the scholar Lucian of Antioch (d. 312). It is significant that a decisive cleft is noted in the Armenian affinities in various books collated for the Göttingen Septuagint, in several of which one component has been isolated as Lucianic (Ecclesiasticus, Jeremiah, twelve Minor Prophets).[42] Future research must now confirm whether these agreements constitute remnants of a full Lucianic translation. In addition, the Armenian of 2 Maccabees is closely aligned with the Latin version in both its Lucianic and its pre-Lucianic readings in such a way that on occasion their joint witness alone preserves the original reading.[43]

The early version and Antiochene exegesis

Not only has the influence of the Antiochene Greek text been detected in parts of the initial Armenian translation, but also the impact of Antiochene exegesis on interpretation and translation technique. As the works of representatives of the school such as Theodore of Mospuestia were gaining in prestige at Edessa, it may have mediated their reception in Armenia. Building on the classical grammatical and rhetorical analysis, for which Antioch enjoyed a high reputation, its exponents first subjected a given passage to linguistic and stylistic analysis, explicating figures of speech. The semantic information arrived at would then be restated by means of paraphrase, both elucidating implicit aspects of the sense block and condensing surplusage in the interests of clarity.[44] Hence the early Armenian unit of translation is set at the sentence level, allowing flexibility in phraseology and word order to respond to the

and Translation Technique', in C. E. Cox (ed.), *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 373–91.

40 W. Keppler, *Maccabaeorum liber I* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1967), p. 21.

41 Cox, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 326–7, and C. E. Cox, *Armenian Job* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), p. 407.

42 See also M. E. Stone, 'The Old Armenian Version of Isaiah: Towards the Choice of the Base Text for an Edition', *Textus* 8 (1975), 102–25.

43 W. Keppler and R. Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber II* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959), pp. 31–2.

44 For instances of the latter, see Cowe, 'Chronicles', p. 77.

context. As a result, it evinces a penchant for nuanced renderings and sensitivity in lexical choice, as one might expect from the translators' prolonged training at home and in Mesopotamia. However, some scholars have interpreted the resulting readings atomistically as 'free' renderings rather than as elements of a fairly developed overarching methodology.[45] The early version of Armenian Daniel, for example, embodies the exegetical tradition of Diodore of Tarsus and John Chrysostom at 4:43, interpreting an anthropomorphic image of the 'hand' of God as relating to his power. It also renders the figural use of the adjective 'broken' in the phrase of repentance 'with broken heart', at 3:39, as 'humbled'.[46]

A second Antiochene criterion was the recreation of context and ascertaining of the sequence of thought. This principle, too, can be observed in the early Armenian rendering. A good example of the translators' perspicuity is afforded at 1 Chronicles 10:8–9 regarding the Philistines' rout of the Israelite army at Mt Gilboa. In verse 8, the Septuagint indicates that the enemy came upon King Saul's corpse and continues in the next verse, following the Hebrew: 'they stripped him and took his head and his armour'. Logically, however, before Saul's head can be borne off in triumph, it must be severed from his body, a detail the Armenian supplies.

A third related aspect of Antiochene interpretation is the application of *historia* (enquiry) to further illuminate comprehension and reference. One facet of this is intertextuality and, in particular, the review of parallel passages in the Bible that treat the same or similar material. As the books of Chronicles reprise the account of Samuel–Kings, so 1 Chronicles 10 matches the description at 1 Samuel 31. There a Lucianic variant at verse 9, referring to the decapitation, presumably served as the source for the Armenian reading in Chronicles, affording the reader a smoother, more 'cinematographic' visualisation of the scene described. Harmonisation based on comparing such parallels is typical of early Armenian translation technique.[47] The bilingualism characteristic of several representatives of the school of Antioch led them to exploit the Peshitta to control the Septuagint account where it derived

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45 Cowe, *Daniel*, pp. 288–9, 425–8, 430–1, 445–6, and 'Chronicles', pp. 60–2, 84–5. See also S. P. Cowe, 'The Canticle of Azariah and its Two Armenian Versions', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 5 (1990–1), 23–48, at p. 37. This possibly explains the harmonising readings in 2 Esdras. See R. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959), p. 19. See also C. Burchard, 'A Further Glimpse at the Armenian Version of the Epistle of James', in N. Awde (ed.), *Armenian Perspectives. 10th Anniversary Conference of the Association Internationale des Etudes Arméniennes* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1997), pp. 9–20, at p. 19.
46 Cowe, *Daniel*, pp. 427–8.
47 Cowe, 'Chronicles', p. 79. For parallels between 2 Chron. 35 and 1 Esd. 1, see ibid., p. 74.

independently from the Hebrew original,[48] a feature especially practised by Eusebius of Emesa (d. *c.* 359) whose commentary on the Octateuch is extant only in Armenian translation.[49] This, in turn, provided a precedent for the Armenian translators to emulate.

The school of Antioch was concerned not only with exegesis and a right understanding of the text but also with hermeneutics, transmitting its message in the light of theological and ethical issues of their time. Hence in his disquisition on the witch of Endor's summoning the spirit of Samuel for King Saul, Eustathius of Antioch is exercised to affirm that the account describes a demonic apparition, since only God is capable of raising the dead, while other commentators address current christological issues.[50] The Armenian church, as already mentioned, had to contend with religious pluralism, one aspect being polytheism and the veneration of cultic statues, a practice both translator-theologians Koriwn and Eznik castigate in their writings of the 440s.[51] Consequently it is hardly surprising, granted the translation occurred at a point when Christianity already had a long history in Armenia and the project was directed by an indigenous scholar attuned to his environment – rather than by a missionary from outside, such as St Cyril and St Methodius – that this polemic is also inscribed in the texture of the Bible. It manifests itself in a categorical distinction between licit and illicit worship unparalleled in the other versions, encoding the terminology of Armenian paganism to mark heathen deities as *dikʿ*, their priesthood as *kʿurmkʿ*, and their shrines as *meheankʿ* (a term deriving from Middle Persian and applying narrowly to temples of Mithra), in contrast to the Judaeo-Christian terms we encountered above. Moreover, the virulence of anti-idolatrous diatribes, in the Epistle of Jeremiah, for instance, is exaggerated to produce a withering caricature, which in making the common association of idolatry with adultery may also reveal something of the translators' ascetic proclivities.[52]

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48 See D. G. K. Taylor, 'Bilingualism and Diglossia in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia', in J. N. Adams (ed.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 298–331.

49 Eusebius of Emesa, *Commentaries on the Octateuch* [Armenian], ed. V. Yovhannēsean (Venice: St Lazar's Press, 1980). See also R. B. Ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress. The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997).

50 Eustathius of Antioch, *Origines, Eustathius von Antiochien, und Gregor von Nyssa über die Hexe von Endor*, ed. E. Klostermann (Bonn: Marcus and Weber, 1912). See also Cowe, 'Chronicles', p. 82, on the rejection of pagan affinities with the Judaeo-Christian God.

51 Koryun, *Life of Mashtots*, p. 88 (Armenian), and p. 276 (English).

52 See S. P. Cowe, 'Tendentious Translation and the Evangelical Imperative: Religious Polemic in the Early Armenian Church', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 22 (1990–1), 97–114, and for specifics, Cowe, 'Epistle of Jeremiah', pp. 383–8.

As Lucian was concerned to elevate the biblical koine to a higher register in his recension, the original Armenian translators focused on the target language in rendering Syriac and Greek, in continuity with the previous oral Targumic tradition. This resulted in an avoidance of Hebraisms such as the parallelism of balancing clauses in poetry and polysyndeton, and the loose linking of phrases by the simple copula, replacing this with hypotactic constructions subordinating secondary actions to that of the main verb.[53] Similarly, many of the functions of the Greek participles and infinitive devolve upon finite verbal forms in subordinate clauses that unpack the appropriate semantic nuance. Lyonnet identified a set of fourteen characteristics of the early Armenian translation to assist in categorising readings, but comparison with contemporary prose usage has demonstrated most of these are features of regular early Armenian idiom.[54] Hence 'doublet' translations, the representation of one lexeme in the base text by two related forms in the translation (for example, 'service of ministry', 'order of command'), and 'periphrastic' renderings (such as 'the land of the Egyptians' for the toponym 'Egypt') emerge as standard, not idiosyncratic curiosities.[55] The early version is also neatly distinguished in lexicon from its revision about a generation later, significant diversity consistently emerging even in common *realia* and offering much material for future research.[56]

Events precipitating a revision of the Armenian Bible

The powerful new impetus in Armenian Christianity that generated the Bible and a battery of patristic literature and witnessed a retrenchment of church organisation and outreach was destabilised after King Vṙamšapuh's death in 417 by tensions between the nobility and the crown that led to the monarchy's abolition and incorporation into the Iranian administration in 428. This situation was exacerbated by the ascendancy of Mihr-Narsē, Yazdgerd's prime minister, who convinced the king to launch a new wave of persecution against Christians in Persia, provoking a brief war with Rome in 421–2. In the aftermath Yazdgerd's son Bahrām V Gōr (422–38) strove to detach Persian Christianity from the West, a policy formalised by promulgating its autocephaly at the synod of 424. Moreover, in deposing the Armenian king, he took advantage of the opportunity to remove Sahak, the pro-western chief bishop, as well,

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53 Cowe, 'Chronicles' p. 82.   54 See Cowe, *Daniel*, pp. 278–87, and 'Chronicles', pp. 76–84.
55 See B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament. Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), pp. 162–3.
56 Cowe, 'Chronicles', pp. 84–7.

replacing him over the next decade with candidates who would steer the Armenian church in the direction he favoured.

This, in turn, coincided with debate in the Roman empire over the christology of Nestorius, a representative of the school of Antioch, who had been appointed patriarch of Constantinople. The dispute highlighted the widening gap between the theological perspectives of the patriarchates of Antioch and of Alexandria at the Council of Ephesus (431), where Nestorius was condemned. As the latter's ban cast a pall over the orthodoxy of his teachers Theodore and Diodore in the Roman sphere, it galvanised allegiance to Theodore on the part of various Syro-Persian theologians as a means of further differentiating themselves from the West. Hence when rumours spread of their disseminating propaganda in Armenia, Acacius of Melitene (together with the bishops of Edessa and Samosata) urged the Armenian hierarchy to exercise caution.[57]

The events just sketched fill in the background Koriwn judiciously omits from his narrative of the Bible revision. There the visit to Constantinople of some of the pupils of Maštocʿ is presented purely in terms of improving language skills and acquiring texts for translation, whereas it is evident from the Tome of Proclus, current patriarch of Constantinople, of 435–6, that he was in fact counselling the Armenians at the request of a delegation of their countrymen, a point underlined by their bringing home copies of the acts of the councils of Nicaea and Ephesus. As much of the debate hinged on the interpretation of various scriptural passages, and Antiochene influence on the Armenian version was now suspect, codices of a new Greek standard from the capital became the prototype for the revision. These moves, at a crucial turning point in the history of eastern Christianity, preserved Armenia's catholicity and religious affiliation with the West at a time when the ethos of the Persian church was decidedly isolationist.[58]

Textual character and translation technique

Unlike the Syriac and Georgian traditions, which manifest a series of biblical revisions into the medieval period, the one undertaken in the 430s is the only in-depth review the Armenian version experienced. Individual scholars

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57 M. Richard, 'Acace de Mélitène, Proclus de Constantinople et la Grande Arménie', in *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Bucarest: Archive de l'Orient Chrétien, 1948), pp. 393–412.

58 This is affirmed in two passages of Eznik, a trinitarian confession emphasising catholicity and a letter to Maštocʿ from Constantinople after the Council of Ephesus, indicating his mentor's prayers have thwarted an attempt to undermine the church's christological foundation. See *Le sceau de la foi*, ed. K. Tēr Mkrtčʿean (Leuven: Peeters, 1974), pp. 51, 130.

subsequently left marginal glosses comparing their text with Greek and Latin exemplars, especially under the Armenian state of Cilicia (1080–1375), but the notion of a 'Cilician Vulgate' radically revised to a Latin text has proved a chimaera. A degree of harmonisation to the Vulgate formed part of the first printed Armenian Bible (1666), which also included new translations from Latin of Ecclesiasticus and 4 Ezra. These interventions are highlighted in the apparatus of the Venice edition of 1805, which remains standard.

Results indicate the revision was not conducted according to uniform principles comprehensively applied. In Chronicles, it took the form of a completely new translation; in other books such as the Gospels it was so thorough as virtually to obliterate any remnant of its Syriac undertext; while in yet others, such as 2 Maccabees, it appears to have been rather light, leaving large parts of the original intact. The revision has been judged to be a primary witness to Origen's *Hexapla* text of the Old Testament in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, 1–2 Kings and Job and a secondary witness to that text type in Numbers and Deuteronomy. It preserves many of Origen's critical signs and readings, sometimes alone of all extant sources.[59] Additionally, it evinces considerable Origenic impact in Chronicles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.[60] Indeed, several books are consistently aligned with one Greek manuscript (for Job, Jeremiah and Ezekiel it is that known as 'minuscule MS 534'), permitting the construction of a more accurate critical text and analysis of Armenian translation technique.

Hurtado's trenchant critique, from investigation in Mark, has rendered untenable Streeter's hypothesis assigning the revised text of the Gospels to a 'Caesarean' text type between the Alexandrian and more expansive western text.[61] Subsequently it has been classified with the early koine type that developed from an Alexandrian matrix before evolving into the fuller Byzantine norm.[62] In contrast to the latter, the revised Armenian text lacks six out of the seven readings generally accepted as absent from the earliest text (Matt. 16:2–3; Mark 1:1 ('Son of God'); 1:2 ('in the prophets'); 16:9–20 (long conclusion);

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59 C. E. Cox, *Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in Armenia*, Septuagint and Cognate Series 42 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996).
60 Ruth, Daniel, Esther, Tobit and Judith evince other affiliations.
61 L. W. Hurtado, *Text Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text. Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1981).
62 J. M. Alexanian, 'The Armenian Gospel Text from the Fifth through the Fourteenth Centuries', in T. J. Samuelian and M. E. Stone (eds.), *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), pp. 381–94, at p. 383.

John 5:4; 7:53–8:11 (pericope on the adulterous woman).[63] As already stated, Alexanian found the version of Acts preserved in the biblical manuscripts to be very homogenous and derived from an Alexandrian text type.[64] Much work remains to be done on determining the *Vorlage* of the revised text of the Catholic and Pauline Epistles.

The Apocalypse, in contrast, has elicited much scholarly interest. Conybeare argued that it had passed through four phases – first a translation from the early fifth century, arguably effected from an Old Latin manuscript; then a revision later in the century; around the turn of the eighth century the text was apparently thoroughly redacted, resulting in a version closely synchronised to the word order and structure of its Greek prototype, which, Conybeare argued, approximated to the uncial manuscripts 'ACP';[65] finally in the late twelfth century Nersēs Lambronacʿi revised the Armenian version to conform to the biblical text of Andreas of Caesarea's Greek commentary and introduced the book in this form into mainstream biblical manuscripts. In view of the fact that no Syriac or Georgian translation existed till medieval times, Schmid argued that the initial Armenian version was rendered and transmitted as part of the apocryphal Acts of John.[66]

Discussion of the Apocalypse broaches the broader issue of the Armenian biblical canon. Formally this was treated by the Synod of Partaw of 768, but the lectionary furnishes a more reliable gauge of Armenian practice. The latter, however, did not regulate the contents of Armenian biblical manuscripts, many of which were copied for educational purposes in monastic academies and become increasingly inclusionary over time, embracing a diversity of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical materials (such as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Joseph and Aseneth, 4 Ezra and the Repose of John).[67] Outside these bounds a series of other writings (the Gospel of James and the Infancy Gospel, for instance) circulated widely, informing retellings of biblical episodes in homilies and artistic depictions. Adamic literature was a special favourite for secondary elaboration, a series of dialogue poems on

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63 Ibid., and S. P. Cowe, 'Christological Trends and Textual Transmission. The Pericope of the Bloody Sweat (Lk. 22:43–4) in the Armenian Version', in Ajamian and Stone (eds.), *Text and Context*, pp. 35–48, at pp. 35–8, 42–3.

64 Alexanian, 'Armenian Text of Acts', p. 20.

65 F. C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Versions of Revelation, Apocalypse of John* [reprint] (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1974).

66 J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apocalypse-Textes*, 2 vols. (Munich: Zink, 1955–6), vol. i, p. 111.

67 See M. E. Stone, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Armenian Studies. Collected Papers* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006).

the theme of the expulsion from paradise being developed dramatically for possible performance during Lent.

Granted the circumstances that gave rise to the revision in the 430s, when suspicion was cast over the Antiochene school's theological and exegetical apparatus, it is understandable that the new biblical standard was rendered with great precision. Independent of this, the Armenian translation enterprise had accumulated a generation of experience and was progressing along a trajectory paralleled by other cultures of antiquity, from a rather 'free' technique toward one distinguished by greater literalness, which reached its apogee in the 'Hellenophile' paradigm of the early sixth century for rendering philosophical and theological works, several of them, like the Philonic corpus, associated with the rival centre of Alexandria. This practice resulted in a word order rigidly conforming to the Greek, stereotyped translation equivalents and the adoption of Greek constructions foreign to Armenian syntax. Similarly, where the Greek translators had followed the Hebrew literally, these forms also are incorporated into the Armenian revision – for instance, polysyndeton, the *waw* conservative ('and it came to be', etc.), employment of the verb 'to add' in the sense of 'continue' (e.g., Gen. 8:21, literally 'I will not *add* to curse the earth') and the reinforcing use of the infinitive construct ('*knowing* you will know', Josh. 23:13).[68]

Whereas during the period of oral translation foreign terms were regularly assimilated, as noted earlier, after the invention of the alphabet the prevailing trend was to coin a term where an appropriate Armenian equivalent did not exist, a linguistic norm that continues up to the present. The most conspicuous coinage by the revisers is *astuac-a-šunčʿ*, a rendering of *theo-pneustos* ('God-breathed') at 2 Tim. 3:16, which in substantivised form has become the most common Armenian designation for the Bible. Wisdom of Solomon, one of the most philosophically sophisticated books, presents the translator with particular challenges and is probably the repository of most such neologisms.[69] At the same time, one of the revisers' greatest accomplishments was their ability to represent the wordplay between the names of the trees under which the two lecherous elders claimed they spied Susanna's illicit assignation and the punishment Daniel metes out for them (Sus. 55–6, 58–9). In this classic case of the penalty fitting the crime a literal rendering would clearly deprive readers of the witty climax to this moralising tale![70]

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68 See V. Aṙakʿelyan, *Outlines of the History of the Armenians' Literary Language. Fifth Century* [Armenian] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1981), pp. 220–7.
69 Aṙakʿelyan, *Armenians' Literary Language*, pp. 219–20. 70 See Cowe, *Daniel*, pp. 368–9.

Transmission history of the Armenian Bible

Fifth-century patristic citations demonstrate that readings from both the original translation and the revision were in free circulation, but biblical manuscripts dating from 887 onwards reveal that the two textual streams underwent a large measure of contamination and corruption during the early period when standards of copying were apparently less stringent. A relatively pure text is preserved in the breviary and ritual, because of their distinct transmission history, in contrast to the lectionary, which was subject to periodic updating. Valuable fragments of early codices (mainly Gospels) survive as flyleaves in later manuscripts, but have not been studied systematically. Until *c.* 1171, scripture was transmitted in a collection of up to seven part-Bibles, which now play an important role in establishing manuscript groupings in different books. The current statistics for the revised version are quite imposing, registering *inter alia* over 3,000 gospelbooks, 450 psalters and about 200 full Bibles.

As the new-found alphabet quickly made its way into inscriptions adorning church walls, so arresting figures and scenes from divine story began to inspire awe in the hearts of illiterate worshippers as they pondered their deeper meaning in frescoes illuminating the liturgical space (for example, Ezekiel's chariot vision at Lmbat, seventh century). Beyond such formal settings, art incorporated the mysteries of the faith into the people's everyday lives, carved on stelae as devotional shrines by the wayside and at crossroads. Similarly, it served to punctuate (headpieces, initials, marginal decoration) and interpret (programme of the life of Christ, evangelist portraits, etc.) the sacred text, its expressive iconography reflecting the evolving emphases of the Armenian theological tradition for readers of the educated elite.[71] Indeed, the subtle symbolism of the imagery encasing the Eusebian canon tables of the Gospels attained such complexity that a uniquely Armenian genre of commentary was created to initiate students into their secrets of colour, image and gesture.

As we have seen, scripture functioned as a weapon in the Christian polemic against pagan practices. It also acted as a strong defence of Armenian orthodoxy in debates with the heterodox, the rich tradition of commentary writing spanning the tenth to the eighteenth centuries and the compilation of florilegia of proof-texts beginning already in the seventh century. That epoch witnessed

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71 T. F. Mathews and A. K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography. The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986).

a reprise of the inter-Armenian disputes of the 430s regarding allegations of Nestorian interpolation of the pericope of Jesus' bloody sweat and angelic support (Luke 22:43–4) in the Armenian text by Aphthartodocetic exponents of Alexandrian christology. Although a minority, their influence over the gospel transmission was such that the verses are lacking in most manuscripts until the twelfth century.[72]

The Bible played a seminal role in Christianising the form and tenor of classical education and in moulding the incipient written tradition of Armenian literature. Jewish patriarchs featured alongside Homeric heroes in textbooks of grammar and rhetoric. Similarly, as the translators inscribed their religious concerns in the Bible, so certain scriptural narrative structures cross-fertilised early Armenian hagiography and history. Absorption into salvation history led to the reapplication of the encounter of Daniel with Nebuchadnezzar and the resistance of the Maccabee vigilantes against Antiochus Epiphanes as a literary typology for the Armenian public, to grasp the deeper significance of two defining moments in their history, the conversion and the opposition to Yazdgerd II's reimposition of Zoroastrianism (449–64). Both feature an unequal struggle of the man of God against a mighty tyrant and the former's ultimate victory won in the unseen battle on the supernatural plane. The identification of the shah with the king of Babylon gained resonance with Armenian readers from the latter city's proximity to the Persian capital of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

As mentioned at the outset, the Bible (the gospelbook in particular) was venerated as a locus of the holy and hence, like icons in other east Christian traditions, represented the immediacy of the divine presence accompanying armies into warfare, healing the sick, ensuring the carriage of justice, etc. Held aloft by the deacon in procession during the Liturgy of the Word, the Gospel is then venerated by the congregation at the conclusion of worship. Right up to today the gospelbooks of specific villages and towns are regarded with a special reverence for their effectiveness in mediating prayer. Folk traditions also copy the 'healing gospels' on prayer scrolls (*hmayil*) surviving from the seventeenth century together with other Christian and non-Christian symbols in order to hasten the recovery of the sick, while other traditions active up to the early twentieth century prescribed written talismans and the recitation of specific psalm verses to combat disease.[73] Since the 1820s, the Bible has been

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72 Cowe, 'Christological Trends', pp. 38–48.
73 F. Feydit, *Amulettes de l'Arménie chrétienne* (Venice: St Lazar's Press, 1986).

published, revised and updated several times in both eastern and western standards of the modern language. It sustained the faithful through the catastrophe of genocide and Stalinist purges and remains a vital spiritual and moral compass.

The Bible in Georgian

JEFF W. CHILDERS

The beginnings of Christianity in Georgia

The beginnings of the rich Georgian literary heritage are bound up with the coming of Christianity and the translation of the Bible into Georgian (*k'art'uli*), the principal representative of the Caucasian language family.[1] Georgia (K'art'li; Greek Iberia) is situated in the Caucasus Mountains between the Black and Caspian Seas. In the aftermath of the Jewish Wars (66–73, 132–5 CE) Jews migrated there in considerable numbers. Archaeological evidence from the cemeteries of the ancient capital of Mc'xeta shows that Christianity had a presence there by the third century, perhaps carried by Jewish immigrants. However, the traditional national tale places the introduction of Christianity into Georgia in the fourth century, crediting a woman named Nino, who was taken captive and enslaved in the Georgian royal household. Although the Nino legend contains obvious embellishments, historians concur that Christianity had received official acceptance in Georgia by the fifth century.

The most primitive literary strata of the Georgian Christian heritage display the influence of Syriac roots, mediated mainly through Armenian channels.[2] The geographical proximity of Syriac and Armenian Christian communities ensured that those churches would have great influence on early Georgian Christian literature, theology, religious practices and ecclesial politics. Yet at a very early stage the Georgians appear to have felt more direct Greek influence

1 See the historical overview by S. H. Rapp, 'Georgian Christianity', in K. Parry (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 137–55; also M. van Esbroeck, 'Église géorgienne des origines au moyen âge', *Bedi Kartlisa* 40 (1982), 186–99, and K. Salia, 'Georgian Literature from its Beginnings to the Present Day', *Bedi Kartlisa* 33 (1975), 87–118.
2 A survey of the history of the Georgian Bible in the context of its theological literary tradition may be found in P. M. Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, Studi e Testi 185 (Vatican City: BAV, 1955), pp. 131–2, 161–3, 186, 214 and 313–28 (based on the Georgian study of K. Kekelidze, which first appeared in 1941 and has been published in several editions).

than the Armenians did, perhaps because of the number of Greek settlements along the coast of the Black Sea. In the seventh century the Georgian church decisively abandoned the anti-Chalcedonian posture it had shared with the Armenians and aligned itself with the Chalcedonian Byzantines. The ensuing shift in theological and political loyalties brought Greek influence to bear even more directly on Georgian literary culture, although vestiges of Syro-Armenian influence persisted.

'Old Georgian' designates the language used from the fourth to the eleventh century – that is, from the earliest extant instances of Georgian writing until the development of early Middle Georgian in connection with a twelfth-century literary revival.[3] The Georgian Bible, in various early recensions, is the definitive monument of Old Georgian literature.

The birth of Georgian theological literature

Native traditions ascribed the invention of the Georgian alphabet to Parnavaz, third-century-BCE king of Georgia.[4] The more widely accepted account followed the Armenian tradition that the missionary Mesrob Mashtots (d. *c.* 440) devised the Georgian alphabet after doing the same for Armenian. Yet the two alphabets bear little functional resemblance to each other and the Georgian is more efficient and well developed. Excavations at Nekresi have yielded Georgian inscriptions that possibly date to between the first and third centuries, pre-dating the well-known fifth-century Christian inscriptions at religious sites in Palestine and Georgia and strengthening the theory that the Georgian alphabet existed before the coming of Christianity to Georgia. Such a long pedigree would account for the functional maturity and precision already exhibited by the alphabet in the earliest surviving sources. However, the date of the Nekresi inscription is highly uncertain and no other concrete evidence exists for a pre-Christian Georgian alphabet. Nevertheless, similarities in order and function to the Greek alphabet suggest that this may have been the basic model for the Georgian.

3 For a basic introduction to the classical language, see H. Fähnrich, 'Old Georgian', in A. C. Harris (ed.), *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus. Vol. 1: The Kartvelian Languages* (Delmar, NY: Caravan, 1991), pp. 129–217.
4 D. A. Holiskey, 'The Georgian Alphabet', in P. T. Daniels and W. Bright (eds.), *The World's Writing Systems* (Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 364–70; T. V. Gamkrelidze, 'Typology of Writing, Greek Alphabet, and the Origin of Alphabetic Scripts of the Christian Orient', in D. A. Holiskey and K. Tuite (eds.), *Current Trends in Caucasian, East European and Inner Asian Linguistics* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2003), pp. 85–96.

Georgian documents are distinguished and periodised by their manner of script.[5] The earliest surviving inscriptions and manuscripts use an uncial script known as *mrglovani* ('rounded') or *aso-mtavruli* ('capital letter'). In the ninth century a more regular script began to replace *mrglovani*, the angular *kʿutxovani* ('angled'), also known as the *nusxuri* ('cursive') or *nusxa-xucuri*. Together the two early scripts are often designated *xucuri* ('priestly'). By the tenth century a 'secular' script called the *mxedruli* ('military') began to replace the *nusxuri* and is still in use. Another orthographic feature important for classifying early Georgian texts involves the use of the letter *x-* (*xan*) as a prefix between the fourth and seventh centuries. The *xan* prefix gave way to the *h-* (*hae*) prefix during the seventh century, though by the ninth century the latter also began to vanish from the idiom. In the eleventh century Giorgi the Athonite used the term *xanmeti* (i.e., '*xan*-superfluous') to describe texts of the first classification. *Xanmeti* and *haemeti* texts often boast very early text forms, though they tend to be fragmentary and survive mainly in palimpsests.

The surviving Georgian literary heritage began with the translation and composition of Christian texts, of which the Bible had the most pervasive early influence.[6] Numerous biblical and lectionary manuscripts have survived. Extant codices show that the New Testament typically circulated in two volumes: the *otʿxtʿavi* (four Gospels) and the *samocikʿulo* (Apostolos, i.e., the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline Epistles and usually the Catholic Epistles). The Apocalypse of John (Revelation), long a book of uncertain standing in eastern churches, was not translated into Georgian until the tenth century and it circulated separately. The Georgian Old Testament, rooted in the Septuagint, included most of the books common to that version and typically circulated in different volumes of varied divisions. Psalms was usually separate.

The abundance of evidence for the Georgian Bible has stimulated considerable scholarly activity, resulting in the publication of critical editions and studies that allow the construction of a fairly complete picture of its history.[7] The south-western border region of Tao-Klarjeti probably hosted some of the earliest translation efforts. It was an area of widespread and sustained Christian activity in which Georgian–Armenian exchange was commonplace.

5 See J. N. Birdsall, 'Georgian Paleography', in Harris (ed.), *The Kartvelian Languages*, pp. 85–128.
6 See M. Shanidze, 'Remarques au sujet de la Bible géorgienne', *Bedi Kartlisa* 41 (1983), 105–22; R. P. Blake, 'Georgian Theological Literature', *JTS* 26 (1924–5), 50–64; and the early study by H. Goussen, 'Die georgische Bibelübersetzung', *Oriens Christanus* 5 (1905), 298–318.
7 For a list of editions of parts of the Georgian Bible, see B. Outtier, 'Langues et littérature géorgiennes', in M. Albert et al. (eds.), *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures* (Paris: Cerf, 1993), pp. 261–96, at p. 278.

Yet Georgian monks were also active in Palestine, particularly between the fifth and the eighth centuries. Key monastic centres such as that at Mar Saba hosted vibrant Georgian literary activities. Interactions between the Georgian Jerusalem lectionary and the earliest Georgian recensions of the Pauline Epistles highlight the early influence of Palestinian sources on the Georgian tradition. Old Georgian literary production must have been occurring in many locations from an early time, within and beyond the confines of Georgia.

Early recensions: New Testament

Most parts of the Georgian Bible show evidence of multiple recensions.[8] As early as the eleventh century the Athonite Giorgi recognised two ancient gospel recensions, designated by him *'xanmeti'* and *'sabacmiduri'*. The latter term ('St Saba') suggests that a distinctive early recension of the Gospels had emerged from the Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba, though its exact nature remains unclear.

The first portions the Bible to be translated into Georgian were the Gospels and Psalms, a predictable development confirmed by quotations occurring in the 'Martyrdom of Shushanik', probably composed by an eyewitness near the end of the fifth century.[9] Fragmentary *xanmeti* texts of the Gospels themselves can be dated to the sixth century, setting a *terminus ad quem*, albeit an imprecise one, for their translation. The *haemeti* form of the seventh–eighth centuries also occurs in a number of early biblical fragments.[10]

Great debate surrounds questions of the linguistic base and textual affinities of the earliest Georgian Gospels.[11] A. Baumstark, J. Molitor, A. Vööbus and

8 For further general discussions of the Georgian New Testament, see D. Lang, 'Recent Work on the Georgian New Testament', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19 (1957), 82–93; J. Molitor, 'Die Bedeutung der altgeorgischen Bibel für neutestamentliche Textkritik', *Biblische Zeitschrift* 4 (1960), 39–53; B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament. Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), pp. 182–99; A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament. Manuscript Studies*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 6 (Stockholm: ETSE / Leuven: Durbecq, 1954), pp. 173–210; J. N. Birdsall, 'The Recent History of New Testament Textual Criticism', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, vol. 26.1: *Religion (Vorkonstantinisches Christentum. Neues Testament)* (New York: De Gruyter, 1992), pp. 124–7, 194–5.

9 See J. W. Childers, 'Shushanik', in E. Ferguson (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd edn (New York: Garland, 1997), vol. II, p. 1056; J. N. Birdsall, 'Evangelienbezüge im georgischen Martyrium der hl. Schuschaniki', *Georgica* 4 (1981), 20–3.

10 For text, see *Xanmeti Texts* [Georgian], ed. L. Kadjaia (Tbilissi, 1984).

11 See *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of Mark. From the Adysh Gospels with the Variants of the Opiza and Tbet Gospels*, ed. R. P. Blake, PO 20 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1928); *Matthew*, ed. R. P. Blake, PO 24 (1933); *John*, ed. R. P. Blake and M. Brière, PO 26 (1950); *La version géorgienne de l'évangile de Luc*, ed. M. Brière, PO 27 (1955); *Two Old Recensions of the Georgian Gospels*

W. Petersen[12] have argued that the Gospels' earliest form was greatly influenced by Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the gospel harmony so popular in early Syriac churches.[13] They identified some harmonising corruptions in the early Georgian gospel recensions and also pointed to the harmonistic narrative of Jesus' life and passion ascribed to Eustathius of Mcʿxeta (d. 545) in the account of his martyrdom. They proposed that the standard Georgian designation of the Gospels, *otʿxtʿavi* (literally, 'four heads'), originated as a way of distinguishing the separated Gospels from the *Diatessaron*, parallel to the Syriac designation, 'separated Gospel'. Yet J. N. Birdsall has shown that the allegedly diatessaronic gospel corruptions can be found elsewhere in the New Testament textual tradition and that the vocabulary of the harmony account in the 'Martyrdom of St Eustathius' post-dates that of the earliest separated Georgian gospel recensions and is not traceable to Tatian. Consequently, little evidence that the *Diatessaron* preceded or competed with the separated Gospels in Georgia exists, though some indirect diatessaronic influence may have come through Syro-Armenian channels. Also, the Georgians may have had their own gospel harmony, derived from the existing Georgian gospel text.[14]

Scholars have variously proposed Greek, Armenian and Syriac as the original translation base of the Georgian Gospels. The amount of extant data both enriches and complicates our analyses. Unlike the Armenian Gospels, for which an old 'pre-Vulgate' recension is available only through citations in patristic and liturgical texts, the Georgian gospel tradition shows direct evidence for at least two distinct early recensions. Witnessing to the first recension is the Adish manuscript copied in the Shatberd monastery in 897. Typically designated *geo¹*, its text is characterised by more simple syntax in comparison with *geo²*, the type of text occurring in manuscripts from the Opiza (913) and Tbetʿ (995) monasteries. The latter text shows signs of significant revision with reference to the Greek. The earlier *xan-* and *haemeti* fragments exhibit connections to either or both types of text, underscoring the relative antiquity

According to Three Shatberd Manuscripts (AD 897, 936, and 973) [Georgian], ed. A. Shanidze (Tbilissi, 1945).

12 See 'Tatian's Diatessaron', in H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels. Their History and Development* (Philadelphia, PA: Trinity Press International, 1990), pp. 403–30.

13 See the survey in J. N. Birdsall, 'Diatessaric Readings in the "Martyrdom of St Abo of Tiflis"?', in E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism. Its Significance for Exegesis* (Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 313–24.

14 J. N. Birdsall, 'The Martyrdom of St Eustathius of Mzheta and the Diatessaron: An Investigation', *NTS* 18 (1971–2), 452–6; Birdsall, 'The Old Syriac Gospels and the Georgian Version. The Question of Relationship', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *VI Symposium Syriacum 1992, University of Cambridge, Faculty of Divinity, 30 Aug–2 Sept 1992*, OCA 247 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1994), pp. 43–50.

of *geo¹* and *geo²*.[15] Some scholars have pointed to the early seventh century and the role that the catholicos (i.e., 'patriarch') Kyrion played in redirecting the Georgian church away from the Armenians and toward the Byzantine Chalcedonians, postulating that Kyrion may have initiated liturgical reforms and a programme to revise the biblical text with reference to the Greek. No sure evidence exists to support this theory and the nature of the alterations in *geo²* indicates only sporadic revision. The assumption that *geo²* corresponds to the recension that Giorgi associated with St Saba has also not been proven.

Impressed by particular affinities with the Greek gospel text evident even in *geo¹*, A. Shanidze followed F. Zorell and the early F. C. Conybeare in concluding that the Georgian was translated directly from Greek and is therefore of great importance for studying the Greek New Testament text. A few scholars, such as the later Conybeare, Baumstark and G. Peradze, subscribed to the view that Syriac supplied the translation base since the Georgian contains a number of Syriacisms (or Aramaisms) and exhibits certain affinities to one or more of the Syriac gospel texts. This view tends to be bound up with the proposal that the *Diatessaron* features in the ancestry of the Georgian version. Yet any theory must account for the significant number of connections to the Armenian version evident in the Georgian text. As for the celebrated linguistic affinities, Birdsall justly discounted them on the grounds that they showed only that a somewhat Armenianised form of Georgian 'idiom' had developed owing to the influence of the culturally dominant Armenian language. The textual affinities, however, have convinced him and the majority of scholars (for example, R. Blake, F. C. Burkitt, S. Lyonnet, D. M. Lang and L. Leloir)[16] that the Georgian version was translated from an Old Armenian base, itself derived from Syriac roots, though they allow that revision with reference to the Greek began at an early stage and is particularly evident in *geo²*.

Quite apart from their inestimable value as cultural monuments, the Old Georgian Gospels are eminently useful to the study of the New Testament textual tradition. They are amongst those ancient witnesses that omit the notorious *pericope adulterae* (John 7:53–8:11). Their most celebrated role in New Testament scholarship has been the one assigned to them in the so-called 'Caesarean' text theory of B. H. Streeter, followed and refined by R. Blake, K. Lake and S. Lake (née New).[17] Focusing on the Old Georgian text

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15 See J. N. Birdsall, 'Khanmeti Fragments of the Synoptic Gospels from Ms. Vind. Georg. 2', *Oriens Christianus* 55 (1971), 62–89.
16 See J. N. Birdsall, 'Georgian Studies and the New Testament', *NTS* 29 (1983), 312–13.
17 See K. Lake, R. P. Blake and S. New, 'The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark', *HTR* 21 (1928), 207–375.

of Mark, they showed that the Georgian Gospels are akin to the Greek uncial Koridethi codex – discovered in Georgia – and certain Greek minuscules. These witnesses exhibit a mixed type of text, having both 'western' and Alexandrian elements. Originally proponents associated the text form with Origen's citations after his move to Caesarea (hence 'Caesarean'), though any real connection with Caesarea or Origen's tenure there was quickly called into question. Advocates of the 'Caesarean' text as a discernible type theorised that the text made its way from Caesarea to Jerusalem, whence it travelled by way of Armenia to Georgia. Although subsequent researches into the 'Caesarean' text have undermined confidence in its coherence as a text form, they have also advanced the discipline of New Testament textual criticism by helping to clarify the theoretical weaknesses inherent in all the long-held text-type constructs. The cause and significance of the connection between the early Georgian Gospels and the other witnesses of the so-called 'Caesarean' type remain to be adequately defined.

The Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles must have been translated into Georgian at about the same time as the Gospels or not long after.[18] Portions of Romans and Galatians occur in a *xanmeti* lectionary fragment and the aforementioned 'Martyrdom of Shushanik' alludes to Pauline passages, indicating that the Epistles date from no later than the seventh century, and probably from the fifth. Two closely related early recensions of the Pauline Epistles have been identified.[19] Most scholars believe that the Epistles derive from a Syro-Armenian base, but Birdsall's investigations led him to propose a Greek base for the earliest recension. Not only does it share distinctive readings with the Chester Beatty Greek papyrus known as p^{46} (*c.* 200), but at many points it departs from the Armenian to share readings with other relatively early Greek manuscripts. A number of mistranslations occur that are most easily explained on the basis of a Greek original, and the Euthalian apparatus[20] accompanying the earliest Georgian recensions bears a faint resemblance to the Armenian version of that material but often shows primitive connections to the important sixth-century Athonite Greek Codex Coislinianus. M. van

18 For texts, see *The Acts of the Apostles from Ancient Manuscripts* [Georgian], ed. A. Shanidze (Tbilissi, 1949); G. Garitte, *L'ancienne version géorgienne des Actes des Apôtres d'après deux manuscrits du Sinaï* (Leuven: Peeters, 1955); *The Georgian Versions of Paul's Epistles* [Georgian], ed. K. Dzocenidze and K. Danelia (Tbilissi, 1974).
19 J. N. Birdsall, 'Introductory Remarks on the Pauline Epistles in Georgian', *Studia Patristica* 18 (1985), 281–5.
20 An elaborate system of New Testament reader's helps associated with the name Euthalius. See J. N. Birdsall, 'The Euthalian Material and its Georgian Versions', *Oriens Christanus* 68 (1984), 170–95.

Esbroeck detected striking lectionary intrusions from the Georgian Jerusalem lectionary into the earliest recension of Paul, indicating a close connection between the early form of that text and Palestinian sources. The textual character of the early Georgian recensions of Paul's Epistles associates them with pre-Nicene Egyptian texts as well as 'western' texts (Greek and Old Latin), heightening their value for reconstructing the history of the development of the New Testament text, especially if it can be shown decisively that they were translated directly from Greek.

Tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts from Georgia, Sinai and Athos preserve three early recensions of the Acts of the Apostles.[21] Although concrete attestation for Acts as early as that which we have for the Gospels and Paul does not exist, the vocabulary and usage in the early recensions are similar, so that it is reasonable to conclude that Acts was translated in the same era. The Sinai text edited by G. Garitte shows kinship with both early recensions presented in I. Abuladze's complementary edition, but especially with the prior of the two. Yet the Sinai text also exhibits many idiosyncratic features. M. Tarchnishvili was convinced that the Sinai text preserves the most primitive recension but he based his conclusions on a study of only two passages, whereas a closer inspection of the Sinai text reveals that some of its readings are demonstrably later than that of the first recension in Abuladze's edition. After Georgian monks settled at Sinai by about the ninth century, they may have conflated existing recensions of the book into a text form of their own. In any case, the three recensions complement one another in attesting to a very primitive form of Acts in Georgian.

Conybeare was convinced that the Georgian text of Acts was replete with 'western' readings and speculated that it may have Old Syriac roots. Reassessment of and expansions upon Conybeare's limited investigations helped Lyonnet and Birdsall to demonstrate that the Georgian text shows little distinctive 'western' character, although it has many readings that occur in various witnesses of mixed 'western' type, readings that agree variously with the different text types.[22] Garitte proposed an Old Armenian source text, pointing to various items of vocabulary and style and emphasising several instances of mistranslation. Birdsall found that most of the mistranslations are easier to explain on the basis of Syriac (albeit possibly via Armenian) and drew attention to the many differences between the Armenian and Georgian texts. He suggested

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21 See J. W. Childers, 'The Old Georgian Acts of the Apostles', *NTS* 42 (1996), 55–74.
22 See J. N. Birdsall, 'The Georgian Versions of the Acts of the Apostles', in T. Baarda et al. (eds.), *Text and Testimony. Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn* (Kampen: Kok, 1988), pp. 39–45.

that the clear affinities between the Georgian, Syriac and Armenian sources may be because the respective Christian communities drew on similar Greek texts from the same areas, probably in Syria or Palestine. The absence of an actual surviving Old Syriac or Old Armenian text of Acts impedes attempts to clarify the interrelationships of these versions.

The Georgian Catholic Epistles have been little studied, though critical editions show that they also existed in multiple early recensions.[23] Molitor detected signs of a Syro-Armenian base and Birdsall tentatively suggested that the Catholic Epistles exhibited a pattern similar to that of the Pauline Epistles, in which the early recension was subjected to later revision with reference to the Greek. As with Acts, the text of the Catholic Epistles at Sinai appears to have been the result of blending earlier Georgian recensions into a distinctive form of its own.

Early recensions: Old Testament

The Georgian Old Testament is less well researched than the New Testament and its history less clear.[24] As with the New Testament, the Old Georgian Old Testament tradition is anything but uniform. Depending on the portion of text under consideration, Syro-Armenian and Greek textual influences are both at work within a context of varied translation and recensional activities. Surviving relics provide tantalising glimpses into a complex, multilayered tradition, the contours of which have only begun to be traced and explained.

At least a portion of the Georgian Old Testament was in existence by the sixth century. Extant *xanmeti* texts contain fragments of Genesis, Proverbs and Jeremiah. The view of J. M. Bebb and F. Zorell that the Old Georgian Old Testament is based directly on the Greek has not been accepted by many scholars.[25] Although the roots of the Old Georgian Old Testament are undeniably septuagintal, Syro-Armenian features point to an Armenian

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23 *The Catholic Epistles. Georgian Versions* [Georgian], ed. K. Lortkipanidze (Tbilissi, 1956).

24 For critical editions (in Georgian) of portions of the Georgian Old Testament, see *The Manuscript of Mcxeta. Vol. I: Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth; Vol. II: Kings, Chronicles, Esdras*, ed. E. Dochanashvili (Tbilissi, 1981–2); *Books of the Old Testament. Vol. I: Genesis, Exodus; Vol. II: Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Vol. III: Joshua, Judges, Ruth*, ed. B. Gigineishvili et al. (Tbilissi, 1989–91). The latter is intended ultimately to replace *Books of the Old Testament According to a Manuscript of the Year 978. Vol. I: Genesis, Exodus; Vol. II: Leviticus, Judges, Ruth, Job, Isaiah*, ed. A. Shanidze (Tbilissi, 1947–8). For Old Testament apocrypha, see *Old Georgian Versions of the Deutero-Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, ed. C. Kurcikidze (Tbilissi, 1970–3).

25 See S. Jellicoe, 'Georgian Version', in his *Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968; repr. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbraun, 1998), pp. 261–2; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2nd edn (New York: Harper, 1948), pp. 118–19.

version as its most immediate ancestor. However, parts of the Old Georgian Old Testament do not fit this hypothesis and it is not unlikely that different parts have diverse – and perhaps even mixed – ancestries.

The earliest known complete Old Georgian Old Testament manuscript is the Athos codex, copied at Oshki in 978. In three volumes it originally contained: (i) the Octateuch and Job; (ii) the Books of Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach and the Minor Prophets; and (iii) the Major Prophets (including Baruch), 1 Esdras, Ezra, Nehemiah, 4 Esdras, Esther, Judith and Tobit. Maccabees and Chronicles were omitted; Psalms is missing owing to its conventionally appearing as a separate volume. A manuscript from Jerusalem dating from about 1050 is very similar – originally it contained the whole Old Testament, save Psalms and Chronicles. Chronicles occur in later manuscripts and are included in a tenth-century Georgian list of canonical books from Sinai, but their status was apparently considered dubious. No Georgian version of Maccabees is known before 1743, when it was translated from Slavonic. The Old Georgian of Sirach survives only in the Athos codex. It has the complete and correctly ordered text, such as occurs in the Old Latin, Syriac and Armenian versions; the 1743 version of Sirach was based on the Slavonic and exhibits the notorious septuagintal transpositions of the text.

Psalms was probably the first part of the Old Testament to be translated into Old Georgian.[26] The 'Martyrdom of Shushanik' explicitly mentions the 150 psalms of the *davit'ni*. Some of the earliest attestation to the Old Georgian Psalms occurs in liturgical manuscripts and the steady liturgical use of the psalter ensured that it received sustained attention. As a volume of continuous text it normally circulated separately. Two early recensions survive, closely related and probably derived from a common Armenian source – although both also show the results of Greek influence. The early recensions follow distinctive patterns of versification and section divisions.

The 'Martyrdom of Shushanik' may also allude to an early text of the Prophets.[27] Blake's studies of eighth-century *xanmeti* palimpsest fragments of Jeremiah led him to conclude that the old version of Jeremiah goes back to an Armenian original, but one that shows decidedly Hexaplaric influence – though he acknowledged that some parts appear to have been revised

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26 For text, see *The Old Georgian Recensions of the Psalter According to Manuscripts of the 10–13th Centuries*, ed. M. Shanidze (Tbilissi, 1960).

27 For texts of the Prophets, see *The Old Georgian Version of the Prophets*, ed. R. P. Blake and M. Brière, *PO* 29–30 (1961–3); *Old Georgian Versions of the Book of Ezekiel* [Georgian], ed. T. Ckitishvili (Tbilissi, 1976).

according to a non-Hexaplaric Greek text. P. L. Hedley re-evaluated the evidence, concluding instead that the original Greek source was not that of Origen's *Hexapla*, but one influenced specifically by the so-called Lucianic recension of the Greek Old Testament. Birdsall's study of seventh-century *xanmeti* palimpsest fragments of 1 Esdras revealed that they also have affinities with the Lucianic recension; he found no clear evidence of Armenian links and suggested that the text may have been translated directly from the Greek.[28]

M. Dzhanashvili and J. N. Birdsall examined the Georgian text of 4 Kings (2 Kings), concluding that it had an Armenian base,[29] but also detected the influence in some strata of Aquila's and Symmachus' Greek version.

The significance of the early recensions

The early recensions are indispensable for understanding the history of the Georgian intellectual and theological heritage. By the early twentieth century western scholarship could no longer plead ignorance of their enormous value for studying the general history of the Christian Bible. Since the Georgian witnesses attest to different stages of translation and revision they may help clarify the evolution of the Greek biblical tradition and the traditions of other biblical versions. In particular, although Georgian theological literature is less diverse and extensive than in the Armenian heritage, the surviving Old Georgian witnesses are older than the Armenian and can provide insight into the elusive Old Armenian scriptures. The potential of the Old Georgian evidence is presently limited by the unfortunate lacunae in published Syriac, Armenian and even Greek biblical texts.

The study of the early Georgian versions brings to light intriguing inter-textuality. For instance, at Acts 17:34 the Georgian versions make Damaris of Athens the wife of Dionysius, exhibiting connections to exegetical traditions known to Chrysostom and Ambrose and perhaps showing some reliance upon the Dionysian hagiographical tradition.[30] Where the Greek of 2 Cor. 4:4 mentions 'the god of this world', the Georgian agrees with Tertullian,

28 R. P. Blake, 'Khanmeti Palimpsest Fragments of the Old Georgian Version of Jeremiah', *HTR* 25 (1932), 225–76; P. L. Hedley, 'The Georgian Fragments of Jeremiah', *JTS* 34 (1933), 392–5; J. N. Birdsall, 'Palimpsest Fragments of a Khanmeti Georgian Version of 1 Esdras', *Le Muséon* 85 (1972), 97–105.

29 J. N. Birdsall, 'Traces of the Jewish Greek Biblical Versions in Georgian Manuscript Sources', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1972), 83–92.

30 See J. W. Childers, 'A Reluctant Bride. Finding a Wife for Damaris of Athens (Acts 17:34)', in M. H. Hamilton, T. H. Olbricht and J. Peterson (eds.), *Renewing Tradition. Studies in Texts and Contexts*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series 65 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2007), pp. 207–35.

the Latin Irenaeus, Photius and others in connecting 'this world' with the later phrase 'the unbelievers', signalling a rare interaction between western and eastern interpretative traditions. In many passages, distinctive renderings illuminate the thinking of the translators. In Acts 11:1 the Georgian amplifies 'the Gentiles received God's word' with the translation 'the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out upon the Gentiles'. At Rom. 8:28 ('all things work together for good . . . ') the Georgian agrees with many recent commentators that 'all things' is to be taken as the subject of the verb normally translated 'work together,' rather than its object; it renders the verb with the sense 'to succeed', or 'to find favourable result'.[31]

Further insight into interpretative traditions is to be found through the analysis of biblical citations in Georgian texts. Their usage of scripture illuminates the authors' exegetical habits and helps to clarify the recensional histories of the biblical texts. For instance, biblical citations in the 'Martyrdom of Shushanik' and the 'Martyrdom of Eustathius of Mcʿxeta' reveal the early existence of particular forms of the Georgian biblical text. A 'Commentary on Psalms' in the Shatberd anthology provides information about the pre-Athonite psalter; Giorgi the Athonite's translation of Gregory of Nyssa's 'Commentary on Canticles' preserves a text of Canticles (Song of Songs) similar to that in the Oshki manuscript. In the case of the Georgian version of the 'Life of St Porphyry of Gaza', a study of the biblical citations helps resolve the long-standing question of whether the original Life was composed in Greek or in Aramaic.[32]

Lectionaries provide insight into patterns of scripture usage within a worshipping community. The Georgian tradition boasts numerous ancient lectionaries, many dating from the tenth century but preserving texts and rites that are far older. Preliminary investigations revealed that a number of manuscripts attest to the pre-Byzantine Jerusalem lectionary, which continued to be followed by Georgian monks on Sinai in the tenth century. They preserve information about the Christian culture of Jerusalem before the Muslim invasions. Kekelidze believed that the biblical texts in early Georgian lectionaries were late independent translations from the Greek. However, N. Melikishvili has shown that the old lectionary text of the Pentateuch is

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31 Birdsall, 'Introductory Remarks on the Pauline Epistles in Georgian', p. 284; Birdsall, 'Georgian Versions of the Acts', p. 41; Birdsall, 'Georgian Studies and the New Testament', pp. 316–17.

32 J. W. Childers, 'The Life of Porphyry. Clarifying the Relationship of the Greek and Georgian Versions through the Study of New Testament Citations', in J. W. Childers and D. C. Parker (eds.), *Transmission and Reception. New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, Texts and Studies 3.4 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006), pp. 154–78.

essentially the same as that in the Oshki manuscript, while B. Outtier and M. van Esbroeck have identified clear affinities between some lectionary gospel texts and the Adish text.[33] The oldest texts of the Georgian Psalms occur in lectionaries. These instances confirm that the lectionaries preserve ancient forms of the biblical texts. Furthermore, the influence was bidirectional. Intrusions from the lectionary into the earliest extant strata of the Pauline Epistles show that the lectionary impacted on the use and transmission of continuous texts of scripture, as does the similar occurrence of a festal lectionary rubric in one of the early recensions of Acts.[34]

Athonite and post-Athonite recensions

The ninth to eleventh centuries saw a flourishing of Georgian intellectual activity, much of which happened outside Georgia. Georgian scholars working at Sinai in Egypt, Mt Athos in Greece and the Black Mountain near Antioch were prolific. Given the swelling prestige of Byzantine Christian culture and the international climate of the principal monastic centres, it is not surprising that the rapidly expanding body of Georgian literature produced in this period showed increasing degrees of Byzantine orientation and influence.[35]

Euthymius Mt'acmideli ('the Athonite'; d. 1028) inaugurated an era of progressive scholasticism in the Iveron – the Georgian monastic house he co-founded on Mt Athos. While in Byzantium Euthymius forgot his native Georgian but became adept at Greek. After he joined his father John in the religious life at Athos he was instructed again in Georgian. Perhaps owing to his rather tangled linguistic heritage, Euthymius' translations from the Greek tended to be paraphrastic and idiosyncratic. His revisions of the gospel texts were sporadic and cohered with no obviously intentional policy.[36] He may have been responsible for first incorporating the *pericope adulterae* (John 7:53–8:11) into the Georgian gospel text, though it is missing from some Euthymian-text manuscripts and, where present, is located after John 7:44.[37] Euthymius'

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33 B. Outtier, 'K. Kekelidzé et le lectionnaire géorgien', *Bedi Kartlisa* 38 (1980), 23–35; M. van Esbroeck, 'Les manuscrits de Jean Zosime Sin. 34 et Tsagareli 81', *Bedi Kartlisa* 39 (1981), 63–75.
34 Birdsall, 'Georgian Version of the Acts', p. 41; Birdsall, 'Introductory Remarks on the Pauline Epistles in Georgian', p. 282.
35 See K. Salia, 'Bref aperçu sur les rapports géorgiano-byzantines', *Bedi Kartlisa* 33 (1975), 119–61; and E. Khintibidze, *Georgian–Byzantine Literary Contacts* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1996).
36 For the text of the Athonite recensions, see *The Two Final Redactions of the Georgian Gospels* [Georgian], ed. I. Imnaishvili (Tbilissi, 1979).
37 J. N. Birdsall, 'The *Pericope Adulterae* in Georgian', *Studia Patristica* 39 (2006), 185–92.

gospel revisions were quickly superseded by Giorgi's (see below). More endur-
ing was his translation of the Apocalypse of St John into Georgian,[38] which
he made before 978 along with Andreas of Caesarea's landmark commentary.
Although Molitor contended that the translation must have been made from a
Syro-Armenian base, Birdsall demonstrated that the text was translated from
a Greek base that corresponded largely to the text form of the Apocalypse
as it occurred in Greek manuscripts of Andreas' commentary – though the
prevailing Byzantine standard text has also left numerous traces.[39] Euthymius
was also credited with translating (or revising) the psalms (*davit'ni*). Giorgi the
Athonite reported that Euthymius' full translation was corrupted and spoiled
by a negligent copyist. His version does not survive and in his translation of
Basil of Caesarea's 'Commentary on the Psalms' Euthymius cites the text of
the later of the pre-Athonite recensions of Psalms, changing it only where it
diverged from the text as discussed in the Commentary. Whether and to what
extent Euthymius himself actually revised the psalms is uncertain.

Giorgi Mt'ac̣mideli ('the Athonite'; d. 1065) was heir to Euthymius' intel-
lectual leadership and prodigious literary output at Iveron. He claimed to
have retranslated the psalter directly from Greek sources. Later writers cred-
ited him with doing two translations, on the grounds that the first had not
successfully purged all the impurities of the earlier recensions. Careful investi-
gations of his text by A. and M. Shanidze revealed that it was a revision rather
than a completely new translation.[40] Giorgi targeted passages where the older
Georgian text forms departed from the Greek Byzantine standard known to
him – especially where those discrepancies were in agreement with Armenian
texts. He claimed to have worked meticulously, referring to a number of
Greek Psalms texts and some commentaries. Giorgi normalised the pattern of
division into verses and his version of Psalms became the standard Georgian
text.

Giorgi was also responsible for preparing the version of the New Testament
that came to be received as the Georgian 'Vulgate'. His revisions of the
Gospels, Acts and Epistles represent a deliberate attempt to adjust the earlier
recensions so that they would more closely approximate to the Byzantine
Greek standard current in his day. In a colophon Giorgi begged subsequent
copyists to keep the text pure and not to allow corruptions from either *xanmeti*

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38   *The Apocalypse of John and its Commentary* [Georgian], ed. I. Imnaishvili (Tbilissi, 1961).
39   Birdsall, 'The Georgian Version of the Book of Revelation', *Le Muséon* 91 (1978), 355–66;
Birdsall, 'The Translation of Andreas on "Revelation" by Euthymius the Athonite', *Bedi Kartlisa*
41 (1983), 96–101.
40   See Shanidze, 'Remarques au sujet de la Bible géorgienne', pp. 117–21.

or 'Sabaite' versions to creep back in. Bothered by their primitive qualities, which he took to be signs of inferiority and perhaps especially of Armenian intrusion, he sought to rectify discrepancies and correct corruptions. His text of John includes the *pericope adulterae* (John 7:53–8:11). Giorgi's versions are revisions, not fresh translations, and they share many idiosyncratic features with the earlier recensions. Nevertheless, they circulated widely and rapidly, quickly becoming the standard text.

Epʿrem Mcʿire ('the Small'; d. *c*.1094) took Giorgi's programme even further. Working on the Black Mountain near Antioch, Epʿrem allowed Byzantine Greek models to reign supreme – in principle, at least. He finished a revision of Acts and the Epistles sometime after 1080. He explained that he basically followed the text of 'the great Teacher and Luminary of all our churches, Giorgi the Athonite', yet since 'the Greek language is as deep as the sea, Giorgi's work requires certain modifications here and there'. He altered the text in many places to bring it into closer conformity with the Greek. In addition to discussing the methods of his predecessors Epʿrem described his own in considerable detail. His revision, however, never supplanted Giorgi's version in liturgical use nor in theological scholarship. R. P. Blake thought that Epʿrem was perhaps responsible for the version of the Prophets in the 'Gelatʿi Bible'.[41] Copied in the twelfth century and rediscovered by T. Zhordania in the nineteenth, the Gelatʿi manuscript contains the Octateuch and the Prophets, along with substantial marginal catenae. The Prophets retain a number of Armenianisms yet exhibit revision according to the Greek in the style associated with Epʿrem. The same literalising version provided the text of the Prophets used in the first printed edition of the complete Georgian Bible.[42]

The Gelatʿi Octateuch is a different version, distinguished by extreme accommodation to the Greek, more radical than occurs in Epʿrem. So marked is the style that Blake and others took it to be an entirely new translation from the Greek, although some scholars see it as more of a thorough revision of the type of text contained in the Oshki manuscript. Blake's researches led him to conclude that the translator was working from a fairly standard Septuagint text. The translator's preoccupation with literal exactness at the expense of readable Georgian idiom associates the text with the activities of the 'Hellenising school' of the Georgian Petriconi monastery founded in Bulgaria in

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41 R. P. Blake, 'Ancient Georgian Versions of the Old Testament', *HTR* 19 (1926), 271–97.
42 *The Ancient Translation of the Bible and the Apocrypha from the Greek into the Georgian* [Georgian] (Moscow: [no publ.], 1743).

1083. Kekelidze suggested that the famous Petriconi philosopher John Petrici (d. *c.*1125) was the translator; Blake proposed the twelfth- to thirteenth-century scholar John Chimchimeli or one of his contemporaries instead.[43] A confident conclusion about the text's origins is hindered by the need for further research into the question of its relationship to its Greek models, yet the version illustrates the interests and techniques of Georgian scholars in the post-Athonite era, who were being drawn increasingly to emulate Byzantine forms and standards.

Conclusion: establishing the Georgian 'Vulgate'

The Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century proved to be severely detrimental to the development of Georgian culture. The break-up of the kingdom and subsequent occupation of Tao-Klarjeti after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (1453) brought a flood of conversions to Islam and a measure of suppression of the existing Christian establishment. Cut off from their source of personnel and other resources, Georgian monasteries in foreign countries quickly languished and were mostly abandoned. Though Georgian Christian scholarship did not completely cease, chief among its accomplishments during this difficult era was the preservation of the literary monuments of the past, especially the works of the Athonites. A sixteenth-century revival of Georgian culture benefited from a season of relative peace, developments in popular education and the advent of printing, but religious literature was not its focus.

Much of the Georgian Bible retained the classical form it had been given by the Athonites. Giorgi's text occurs in the first printed edition of the *davit'ni* (Psalms), published by King Archʿil II in Moscow (1705); his Gospels were published by King Vaxtang VI in Tbilissi (1709); his Psalms, Gospels and Apostolos provided texts for subsequent printed editions as well. Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani (d. 1726) used Giorgi's recensions and some pre-Athonite texts (e.g., the 'Gelatʿi Bible' Prophets) in preparing the 'Bible of Mcʿxeta' (or 'Bible of Saba'). In order to establish a complete and ordered text, Orbeliani consulted the printed Armenian Bible (1666), filled lacunae in Proverbs from the lectionary and relied on other unnamed sources. The piecemeal assembly resulted in a highly uneven text. Orbeliani's work was carried to completion in 1743, with the first printed edition of the complete Georgian Bible.[44] Prepared

43 Blake, 'Ancient Georgian Versions of the Old Testament', pp. 278–9.
44 See D. Vateishvili, 'The First Georgian Printed Bible. On the History of its Appearance', *Estudios Biblicos* 41 (1983), 205–40.

by Georgian immigrants in Moscow at the instigation of Prince Bakʿar, the 'Bible of Bakʿar' perpetuated the tradition of a composite text. It consisted largely of a revised mixture of pre-Athonite and Athonite texts, but its texts of Sirach and Maccabees had been translated from Slavonic, whereas some of its books were translated from Latin (e.g., Judith, Tobit and 4 Esdras). Also dubbed the 'Moscow Bible', this highly eclectic composite was often reprinted, in parts, and supplied the standard Georgian text for liturgy and biblical scholarship throughout the modern period.[45]

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45 See M. V. Songulashvili, 'The Translation of the Bible into Georgian', *Bible Translator* 41 (1990), 131–4.

The Bible in Slavonic

HENRY R. COOPER, JR.

Before Cyril and Methodius

When the first translations of Christian scripture into Slavonic were composed is unknown. Some speculate that the earliest attempts at Slavonicising portions of the Bible began after 740,[1] that is, simultaneously with the reign of Charlemagne (742–814) and the founding of great Frankish missionary centres along the porous border between Germanic and Slavic peoples in Salzburg, Passau, Freising and Regensburg.[2] Settled in their recently conquered territories in the eastern Alps, east central and south-eastern Europe, and subdued to varying degrees by the force of Frankish arms, the Slavs became the objects of missionising attempts on the part of Hiberno-Scottish monks who were active in central Europe in the eighth century.[3] Among other missionary tactics the Irish favoured the use of local languages in administering the sacraments. Therefore, it is supposed, the process of developing a Christian vocabulary in Slavonic, which would permit the translation of sacred texts, both liturgical and biblical, into Slavonic, was initiated, and some translations, perhaps only ad hoc, were made.

Later in the same century, as Charlemagne's armies marched farther east and brought additional Slav-inhabited territories under his sceptre, more numerous and more vigorous Frankish missionaries took over from the Irish. Eschewing the gentler forms of conversion that the Celts preferred, the

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1 H. Wolfram, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich: Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 31 (Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995), pp. 277–8.
2 H. R. Cooper, Jr., *Slavic Scriptures. The Formation of the Church Slavonic Version of the Holy Bible* (Madison and Teaneck, NJ / London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), pp. 38 and 175, n. 10.
3 A. V. Isačenko, 'K voprosu ob irlandskoj missii u pannonskix i moravskix slavjan', *Voprosy Slavjanskogo Jazykoznanija* 7 (1963), 45–72; Wolfram, *Salzburg*, pp. 253–82.

Bavarians and the Saxons used 'fire and sword' to spread the faith.[4] They made few concessions to local vernaculars (their own included), but insisted upon the unassailable holiness of Latin as the sole language of the church. At the same time, however, several Carolingian synods had approved the translation of some basic Christian formulae into local languages for missionary purposes, among them the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and outlines for confession. Thus while the liturgy could remain safely in Latin, congregational responses may have been composed in local vernaculars. No written documents in Slavonic survive from that time, unfortunately, but indirectly scholars have detected a layer of religious vocabulary in modern Slavic languages that may derive from these early translation efforts.[5] Outright borrowings from Germanic and Latin into Slavonic, like *post* (fast) and *oltar* (altar), and calques – Slavonic words modelled on Germanic and Latin patterns – like *vsemogy* (omnipotent) – suggest that at least some activities were conducted in the Slavic churches in a language 'understood of the people.'

The Franks were enthusiastic chroniclers of their many activities against and among the Slavs. One of the most pertinent of these sources for the period in question is the *Conversio Bagoaiorum et Carantanorum* (870),[6] which affirmed Frankish Bavarian ecclesiastical rights over their Slavic converts in the face of outside interference by 'a certain Greek, Methodius by name'.[7] The Bavarians defended not only their priority regarding the conversion of the Slavs, but also their orthodoxy in promoting 'Roman teaching and the authoritative Latin writings'.[8] Whatever they might have done in providing words or texts in Slavonic was passed over in silence, given the enormity and potential danger of what they attributed to Methodius, namely an alphabet for Slavonic and the temerity to celebrate sacred rites in a language other than Latin. Subsequent, especially modern, historiography does tend to consider St Methodius and his equally saintly brother Constantine (in religion Cyril) as the initiators of Slavic literacy, and their considerable contributions in this regard ought not be impugned. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that

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4 This seems particularly true in the Frankish – West Slavic encounter, where Slavic populations, like the Polabians, were exterminated and Slavic pagan sites put to the torch; see A. M. Schenker, *The Dawn of Slavic. An Introduction to Slavic Philology* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 46–7.

5 A. de Vincenz, 'West Slavic Elements in the Literary Language of Kievan Rus'', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12–13 (1988–1989), 262–75, at p. 262.

6 *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, Razprave Znanstvenega Društva v Ljubljani 11, Historični Odsek 3, ed. M. Kos (Ljubljana: Blasnika, 1936), for the text; C. R. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars. The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), p. 89, and Wolfram, *Salzburg*, pp. 193–336, for recent treatments.

7 See Schenker, *Dawn of Slavic*, p. 36, for the full citation in English.   8 Ibid.

the Cyrillo-Methodian mission to the Slavs lasted only about a decade and a half, and its results, as the famous claim has it, were 'paradoxical' at best.[9] The initial Frankish contact with the south Slavs, at least until that contact was disrupted by the Magyar invasions starting at the very end of the ninth century, may have been ten times as long, and the results are with us to the present day. Even in the absence of incontrovertible evidence, therefore, it would be unwise to dismiss out of hand the possibility, perhaps even the likelihood, that the very first translations of Christian scripture into Slavonic took place under the aegis of the Latin-loving Franks. And at least one small set of texts may serve to support that contention.

Somewhere between 972 and 1039, according to the best scholarly estimates,[10] nine manuscript pages constituting three short, separate texts, were written in roman letters, but inconsistently and somewhat haphazardly.[11] The language they encode is Slavonic with some distinctly proto-Slovene features, thus locating their provenance in the north-westernmost part of the south Slavic area, the part under the most direct Frankish pressure. Known conventionally as the Freising Monuments (or Fragments), the first and third texts (Freising I and Freising III) are confessional formulae which resemble those used in the Carolingian empire from the early ninth century and were probably translated from either a Latin or an Old High German original. The second (Freising II) is a sermon on the Christian faith and a call for repentance of sins – it has no known antecedent. While some scholars opine that the original translations into Slavonic of these texts were done as early as the first half of the ninth century, that is, well before Cyril's and Methodius' Slavic mission, others suggest the latter half of the century as more likely, therefore roughly contemporaneous with Cyril and Methodius. But since confessional formulae of the type found in Freising I and III were unknown

9 I. Ševčenko, 'Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission', *Slavic Review* 23 (1964), 220–36. The paradoxes are that Cyril and Methodius' mission was a failure among the people to whom it was directed (the 'Moravans' and 'Pannonians') but a success elsewhere (Bulgaria, Russia); the fruits of Europe's most sophisticated civilisation, the Byzantine, were offered to Europe's most primitive peoples, the Slavs, without cost; and the very finest translations into Slavonic were the first translations, while those that followed were of ever-diminishing quality. See Cooper, *Slavic Scriptures*, p. 48, for a response.
10 Found in *Brižinski spomeniki. Znanstvenokritična izdaja* ed. F. Bernik, 2nd rev. edn, Razred za Filološke in Literarne Vede, Dela 39 (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1993), and J. Kos, F. Jakopin and J. Faganel (eds.), *Zbornik Brižinski spomeniki*, Razred za Filološke in Literarne Vede, Dela 45 (Ljubljana: SAZU 1996). The manuscripts are currently located in the Bavarian State Library.
11 Thus calling to mind the comment made by 'the bold blackfriar', Černorizec Xrabr, a Bulgarian monk writing perhaps in the late ninth century: 'When the Slavs were baptized [i.e., before Cyril and Methodius], they would use Roman and Greek letters to write Slavic speech, but without organization' (Cooper, *Slavic Scriptures*, pp. 44–5).

in the eastern church at that time, it seems unlikely that they were the work of the saintly brothers, especially given the obvious Germanisms in the translation. We hypothesise, therefore, that these texts arose independently of the Byzantine mission, and that they might very well have been the result of Frankish-Bavarian activity among the Slavs in vernacular Slavonic. This is slender evidence, indeed, on which to hang the speculation that the Franks initiated the translation of religious texts, including biblical verses, among the Slavs, but when linked together with other shreds of evidence from various sources, the Freising Monuments do make the speculation less implausible.

Christianity and its sacred texts came to the Slavs before Cyril and Methodius not only from the Frankish north-west but also from the Byzantine southeast, although the evidence for the latter assertion is even more insubstantial than for the former. Byzantine historians seem to have been far more interested in the Slavs when they were pagan invaders than when they were proselytisable neighbours on their borders. No latter-day Procopius or Constantine Porphyrogenitus chronicled the history-making mission to the Slavs of Cyril and Methodius: indeed Byzantine sources pass over the two brothers in complete silence. As for any missions before them, we have only what their own saintly biographies, the *Vita of Constantine* and the *Vita of Methodius*, tell us.[12] The former, composed perhaps shortly after Cyril's death (869), speaks obliquely of unsuccessful Byzantine missions among the Slavs in the reigns of Michael II (820–9) and Theophilus (829–42). The latter, the proximity of whose composition to Methodius' death (885) is unknown, mentions 'Christian teachers . . . from among the Italians, Greeks, and Germans'.[13] Whether the Greeks here were Byzantines is open to some speculation; Hiberno-Scottish monks who were learned in Greek may also have been meant. Add these to a few other factors – Černorizec Xrabr's mention that Greek letters were used to transcribe Slavonic, Methodius' stint as governor of a Byzantine province with 'uncouth' Slavic inhabitants,[14] and the wavering conversion of the Bulgarian ruler Boris and his realm to Byzantine Christianity in 863[15] – and we exhaust what we know of Byzantine proselytising among the Balkan Slavs before Cyril and Methodius. Small-scale conversions no doubt occurred across the porous

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12 *The Vita of Constantine and the Vita of Methodius*, trans. and ed. M. Kantor and R. S. White (Ann Arbor, MI: Department of Slavic Languages and Literature, University of Michigan, 1976).
13 Ibid., p. 75.   14 Ibid., p. 73.
15 F. Dvornik, *The Slavs. Their Early History and Civilization* (Boston, MA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956), pp. 118–22; J. V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1983), pp. 117–26.

frontiers of the time and in the Byzantine cities, most notably Thessalonica, where Slavic populations could be found, but whatever came to the Slavs from the Byzantines at this time in terms of ritual and scripture was probably in Greek, not in Slavonic translation.

Thus the reliable data we possess concerning the penetration of the Bible among the Slavs in their own language before the arrival among them of Cyril and Methodius are both scant and slippery. Biblical–liturgical texts like the Lord's Prayer may have existed in Slavonic, but perhaps only orally. The extant historical sources appear to be unequivocal in assigning the first extensive written translations of scripture into Slavonic to the two brothers from Thessalonica, beginning in 863.

Cyril and Methodius

Works on Cyril and Methodius number in the many thousands, in all the Slavic languages as well as in the languages of the rest of Europe.[16] Their role in initiating literacy among the Slavs can scarcely be gainsaid. They are both officially and in the hearts of Slavic believers, East and West, truly apostles to the Slavs and saints of the Universal Church. They themselves did not initiate the conversion of the Slavic peoples to Christianity – that work had already been begun by Hiberno-Scottish and Frankish missionaries working before them in central and south-eastern Europe – but they did impart to the Slavs some fundamental concepts (in later formulation called the 'Cyrillo-Methodian ideology') that promoted Slavic ethnic awareness, the development of national churches and the validity of vernacular languages for all purposes within society.[17] Five hundred years after them Jan Hus knew their work: his reform of Czech orthography and his insistence on the vernacular for preaching and scripture were based on Cyrillo-Methodian principles. Even the translators of the King James Bible could cite Methodius (but, oddly enough, not Cyril) for 'turning the Scriptures into Sclavonian',[18] so as to undergird their own seventeenth-century efforts in English.

16 Cooper, *Slavic Scriptures*, p. 166, n. 9.
17 See R. Jakobson, 'The Beginning of National Self-Determination in Europe', and 'Byzantine Mission to the Slavs', in S. Rudy (ed.), *Selected Writings. Vol. VI: Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads. Part 1: Comparative Slavic Studies, the Cyrillo-Methodian Tradition* (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton, 1985), pp. 101–28, and R. L. Lencek, 'The Culturological Legacy of the Cyrillo-Methodian Tradition', in P. Dinekov (ed.), *Xiljada i sto godini ot smŭrtta na Metodij*, Kirilo-Metodievski Studii 4 (Sofia: BAN, 1987), pp. 18–22.
18 M. Smith, 'The Translators to the Reader', in *The Holy Bible* (London: Nonesuch Press / New York: Random House, 1963), p. xiv.

Cyril and Methodius have traditionally been credited with translating the Bible into Slavonic. The fifteenth chapter of the *Vita of Methodius* is the basis for this claim:

> Then rejecting all the tumult, and placing his cares upon God, he [i.e., Methodius] first took two priests from among his disciples, who were excellent scribes, and translated quickly from Greek into Slavonic – in six months, beginning with the month of March to the twenty-sixth day of the month of October – all the Scriptures in full, save Maccabees. And upon finishing, he rendered due thanks and praise unto God, who grants such grace and success, and performed the elevation of the blessed Mystery, celebrating the memory of Saint Demetrius. For previously he had translated with the Philosopher [i.e., Cyril] only the Psalter, the Gospels together with the Apostolos [Acts, and some or all of the Epistles], and selected church liturgies. And then he translated the *Nomocanon*, that is, the rule of the law, and the writings of the Fathers.[19]

The passage is not without its problems – March to October is eight months, for example, not six – and not the least is that the *Vita of Methodius* is hagiography, not history. Scholars have been divided over the centuries regarding this particular chapter's accuracy, especially in view of the fact that no complete Slavonic Bible is known to have been in use anywhere in the Slavic world before 1499, and when one was assembled then, about a third of the Old Testament in Slavonic could not be located and had to be translated from the Latin Vulgate.[20] Almost all scholars, however, will agree that Cyril and Methodius did translate some portions of holy scripture during their mission to Morava and Pannonia – selections from the Gospels sufficient to constitute a gospel lectionary or evangelisterium, selections from Acts and the Epistles to make an Apostolos, the entire book of Psalms arranged as a psalter for liturgical and daily office use, and (though this book is not mentioned in the *Vita of Methodius*) a selection of Old Testament readings called variously a prophetologium, a paroimiarion or, in Slavonic, a *parimejnik*.

In other words, Cyril and Methodius may have translated those biblical texts that were most urgently needed by Slavic Christians as they carried out their mission among the Slavs in east central and south-eastern Europe. These would include readings from the Apostolos and evangelisterium for

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19 *Vita*, trans. and ed. Kantor and White, p. 89.
20 Cooper, *Slavic Scriptures*, pp. 68–9 for a list, and pp. 48–79 for an alternative reading of both Cyril's and Methodius' *vitae*. For a thorough discussion of the Slavonic Old Testament, see F. J. Thomson, 'The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament', in J. Krašovec (ed.), *The Interpretation of the Bible. The International Symposium in Slovenia* (Ljubljana: SAZU / Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 605–920.

Saturday vespers and Sunday liturgies, following the cycle of readings of the Synaxarion and obligatory for all Christians, readings for the Divine (or Daily) Office, which include the entire psalter repeated at least weekly, plus other scriptural selections, and are required typically of monastics, readings for the weekdays of Lent and selected weekdays and Sundays preceding Pentecost from the prophetologium and, finally, readings for feasts and other special observances, following the cycle of readings in the Menologium.[21] From the relatively scanty manuscript evidence that has come down to us from about 1000 or so,[22] scholars have tried to distinguish various 'layers' of translation in these texts: those that might belong to Cyril alone, those to Methodius, those to both the brothers, those ascribable to their immediate disciples, and those deriving from subsequent generations of their followers. It must be admitted, however, that despite all the hard work many of these ascriptions seem tenuous and unconvincing.[23] One thing is clear, though – the needs of these early Slavic Christian communities almost certainly did not include an entire Bible, which was a rarity even in the more 'advanced' parts of Europe in the Middle Ages. Even all four Gospels in their canonical entirety and order – a tetraevangelium – may have been beyond the scope of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, though some believe (without too much supporting evidence) that Methodius completed one after Cyril's death. Still, whatever the holy brothers did by way of Bible translations in Morava and Pannonia, their personal efforts – books in their own hand, for example, or churches they may have built – were obliterated in the Magyar incursions that swept central Europe in the tenth century. We believe that somehow, in ways we do not fully understand, their work was dispersed, most clearly southward toward Bulgaria but in other directions as well.[24] Their legacy, contained in manuscripts or, more likely, in the hearts and memories of their disciples, would take root elsewhere and produce the first Slavic Bible manuscripts that have survived to the present day.

Bulgaria

The first (*c.* 865–1018) and the second (*c.* 1185–1393) Bulgarian empires, and the interlude of Byzantine control between them, constitute a 'golden age'

21 These lectionary lists can be found in the backs of Orthodox Bibles to the present day.
22 H. G. Lunt, 'On Dating Old Church Slavonic Gospel Manuscripts', *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* 2 (1982), 215–31.
23 For example, the otherwise thorough and detailed A. A. Alekseev, *Textgeschichte der slavischen Bibel*, Bausteine zur Slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte, ser. A: Slavistische Forschungen, NS 24 (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1999) [publ. simultaneously in Russian].
24 For a list see Cooper, *Slavic Scriptures*, p. 81. Not all these destinations have equal validity.

in the history of the Bible among the Slavs before 1450. Modern Bulgarian and Macedonian scholars are cognizant and justly proud of the contributions their forebears made in the expansion and refinement of the scriptures in Slavonic over some 500 years. They note that the very oldest Slavonic biblical manuscripts to survive date to the middle of this period and come to us almost certainly from their lands.[25] They maintain, too, that the subsequent history of Slavic scriptures in Serbia, Romania and, above all, Russia, after Bulgaria succumbed to the Turks, had its deepest roots in the orthographic, linguistic, theological and translational principles elaborated by south Slavic scholars working in monasteries and scriptoria in Bulgaria and Macedonia, and in Bulgarian foundations on Mt Athos. Known traditionally in Slavic scholarship as the 'Second South Slavic Influence' on Russian culture, these Bulgarian, Macedonian and, to a lesser degree, Serbian scholars influenced directly the first complete extant compilation of Christian scripture in Slavonic in Novgorod in 1499.

However large the corpus of biblical translations made by the Irish, the Franks, Cyril, Methodius and their disciples was, we recognise that the process of transmitting these texts beyond the boundaries of Methodius' Moravo-Pannonian archdiocese during his lifetime and after his death (885) must have been difficult. It remains for us quite obscure. Chapter 17 of *The Vita of Constantine* mentions that the brothers gave Pope Hadrian II 'Slavic books' in Rome; most scholars assume that these were, or at least contained, biblical translations.[26] Chapter 13 of *The Vita of Methodius* claims that the Byzantine emperor Basil I 'retained a priest and deacon from among [Methodius'] disciples, and writings'.[27] Of the fate of all these 'writings' – Roman or Byzantine – nothing further is known. As for books within Morava-Pannonia itself, none has survived, and the information that has come down to us about the expulsion of Methodius' disciples after his death leads us to conclude that at least those we know by name carried away nothing with them.[28] However,

25 H. G. Lunt, *Old Church Slavonic Grammar* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), pp. 6–8.
26 *Vita*, trans. and ed. Kantor and White, p. 55.
27 Ibid., p. 87. 'Writings' here translates Slavonic *knigy*, the same word used in Cyril's *Vita*, where Kantor translates it as 'Scriptures' and I translate it more generically as 'books'. The word is notoriously slippery in Old Church Slavonic and can have all these meanings, and others besides.
28 *The Vita of St Clement* says the older of Methodius' disciples were stripped naked and sent back to Bulgaria (where they had come from?); *Monumenta ad SS Cyrilli et Methodii successorum vitas resque gestas pertinentia. Vol I.1: Grečeskoe prostrannoe žitie sv. Klimenta Slovenskogo*, ed. N. L. Tunickij (Sergiev Posad, 1918; London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), p. 105. *The Vita of St Naum* tells us that the younger disciples were sold as slaves: *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti*, ed. P. A. Lavrov, Trudy Slavjanskoj Komissii 1 (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo

Methodius may have had over 200 disciples, so it is possible that some of them now unknown to us not only escaped but were able to take texts with them. Surely, too, all Methodius' followers – pious and learned men of the Church – would have carried in their memories portions of the services, including scriptural passages, that informed their lives. Speculation is rife as to where these men may have headed,[29] but one destination is clearly attested in the sources and eventually even in the manuscript record – Bulgaria.

The reception that Methodius' disciples Clement, Naum and the others received at the hands of Tsar Boris-Michael and his son and successor, Symeon, was warm indeed. Perhaps the tsar saw in these Slavic holy men an indigenous alternative to the Byzantine Greek hierarchy that was running the church in Bulgaria at that time. Clement was soon set up on the shores of Lake Ohrid, in Macedonia, where he proselytised vigorously and occupied himself with 'writing' (most likely copying) books, even doing some original translations himself.[30] We do not know whether he actually founded an 'Ohrid school' to promote scripture and other books in glagolitic, Cyril's original alphabet, and to oppose the alphabetic innovation which combined Greek letters with glagolitic characters that rendered sounds not recordable in Greek – subsequently named the cyrillic alphabet – nor can we know what specifically he may have done of and for the Slavonic Bible. Nevertheless, he does represent the living connection, one of the very few we have, between the Moravo-Pannonian mission of Cyril and Methodius and the first Bulgarian empire of Boris-Michael and Symeon. Suffice it to say that he probably made contributions to the transmission of Moravo-Pannonian Bible translations into the Macedo-Bulgarian milieu, but, pending further discoveries, we do not know any details.

A richer, more explicit record of biblical activities among the Bulgarians comes to us from the empires' two other centres, Preslav in eastern Bulgaria for the first empire, and Tŭrnovo in central Bulgaria for the second. (Literary cultural activity during the Byzantine interval took place in Bulgaria's monasteries, located throughout the country and, especially after 1000, on Mt Athos in northern Greece.) How much these various centres inherited from Morava-Pannonia, and specifically from Cyril and Methodius, and how much they themselves added to the corpus of Slavonic translations of holy scripture, is a matter of endless speculation among Slavic scholars. A consensus of their opinions would suggest that the Bulgarians received basic service

Akademii nauk SSSR, 1930 / The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1966), p. 181. It is unlikely that either group was carrying bulky book manuscripts with them.
29 Cooper, *Slavic Scriptures*, p. 81.   30 *Monumenta*, ed. Tunickij, pp. 123–41.

books, like the Saturday–Sunday gospel lectionary, a short Apostolos, the full psalter and a selection of Old Testament readings, and that they quickly supplemented these with complementary translations of the Gospels to form a tetraevangelium along with additional translations of New and Old Testament books, in whole or in part, that were not part of the service books. While the earliest (Cyrillo-Methodian?) translations were characterised by a free or 'dynamic'[31] Slavonicising of the biblical text, as time went on the Bulgarians conformed their new translations more closely (some say slavishly) to the Greek originals.[32] Latter-day translators often lament this trend, but the Bulgarians may have had good reason for it. With the increasing Hellenisation of Bulgaria, more Bulgarians knew Greek and may therefore have considered the Slavonic translations of scripture – which never enjoyed the prestige of the Greek – as mere ponies to help with understanding the original. Moreover, the Greek text was more stable,[33] while Slavonic versions of biblical books circulated in dismaying variety. Heresy was always a concern of the young Bulgarian church, understandably so given the number of heretical movements at that time in the Balkans – Bogomilism being not the least of them. Many believed that the Greek Bible, with the Slavonic cleaving as closely as possible to it, was the best safeguard against heretical teachings.

Furthermore, the Slavonic language itself was in flux: in the fourteenth century especially the disparities between the language of the day and what was perceived to be the language of Cyril and Methodius were felt acutely. Not only, then, were biblical translations to be made as imitative of the Greek as possible, but they were also to be 'archaised' to make them conform to Cyril and Methodius' presumed usage. Since they had no linguists to guide them in this, the Bulgarians ended by producing new translations, and revising old

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31 See E. A. Nida and C. R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, Helps for Translators 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1969).

32 It should be noted that the Slavs did not translate from the Hebrew, although a significant controversy still rages about this for later translations of Esther in the East Slavic realm of Rus'. See especially F. J. Thomson, ' "Made in Russia". A Survey of the Translations Allegedly Made in Kievan Russia', in G. Birkfellner (ed.), *Millennium Russiae Christianae; Tausend Jahre Christliches Russland 988–1988. Vorträge des Symposiums anlässlich der Tausendjahrfeier der Christianisierung Russlands in Münster vom 5. bis 9. Juli 1988* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993), pp. 295–354, and H. G. Lunt and M. Taube, 'The Slavonic Book of Esther: Translation from Hebrew or Evidence for a Lost Greek Text?', *HTR* 87 (1994), 347–62. The Slavs' base for the Old Testament was always the Septuagint; to the present day in Orthodox churches the Septuagint enjoys primacy over the masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible as the authentic Christian Old Testament.

33 Though not entirely, as the study of Greek lectionaries has demonstrated.

ones, in a language that was quite artificial. Ironically that very artificiality may have made Bulgarian Bible translations more readily acceptable around the 'Byzantine Slavic commonwealth':[34] they were believed to be accurate, orthodox and supranational, for they were in a language no Slav then living spoke.[35] Moreover, and for what it was worth in medieval Europe, where whole Bibles were a rarity and a luxury, the Bulgarians were able to furnish their fellow Orthodox Slavs with all or significant parts of the following biblical books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth (grouped together by the south Slavs as an Octateuch), 1–4 Kings, all sixteen prophetic books, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Psalms (in several redactions), the Gospels, Acts and the Epistles (perhaps without Philemon). Missing still in whole or in part were 1–2 Chronicles, the Prayer of Manasses, 1–3 Esdras, Nehemiah,[36] Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, 1–2 Maccabees, Esther, parts of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and Revelation. This list is almost identical to the one confronting Archbishop Gennadius of Novgorod as he tried at the end of the fifteenth century to assemble the manuscripts of the Church Slavonic Bible in order to produce a full version of it. What the Bulgarians had not provided, he could not find.

With the Ottoman occupation at the end of the fourteenth century, the 'golden age' of the Church Slavonic Bible in Bulgaria came to an abrupt end. Efforts were made to continue the Bulgarians' work in Serbia, at the 'Resava school', in Hilendar Monastery on Mt Athos, at various monasteries in Romania and Constantinople, at least till the latter also fell to the Turks in 1453, and in Muscovy, which began emerging from its own alien yoke after 1380. None of these centres contributed anything new to the Slavonic Bible,

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34 D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London: Cardinal, 1974; Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982).

35 They also reflected a theological development that was increasingly popular in the Slavic world, namely Hesychasm. The literature on this subject, even among the Slavs, is great: see J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine. Vol. ii: The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 252–80; J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974), pp. 76–9; and *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 96–118; and F. J. Thomson, 'The Corpus of Slavonic Translations Available in Muscovy. The Cause of Old Russia's Intellectual Silence and a Contributory Factor to Muscovite Cultural Autarky', in B. Gasparov and O. Raevsky-Hughes (eds.), *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs. Vol. i: Slavic Cultures in the Middle Ages*, California Slavic Studies 16 (Berkeley, CA, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 179–214.

36 On the complexities of the nomenclature and inter-relationships of the various books of Ezra / Esdras and Nehemiah in the Slavonic Bible, see Thomson, 'The Slavonic Translation', p. 698, n. 485.

however, before 1450.[37] In fact, with the exception of Archbishop Gennadius' compilation of 1499, which has yet to be published in full and is severely wanting in many respects, no advances were made in producing the biblical text among the Orthodox Slavs until the middle of the eighteenth century. For the Roman Catholic Slavs, however, two centres of biblicistic activity did emerge before the advent of printing, the first among the Croatian-language, glagolitic-script Catholic clergy of the Croatian littoral, and the other among the Czechs. Each case is worth the telling.

Croatia

Bulgarian efforts on behalf of the Church Slavonic Bible were very productive for the Bible in Orthodox Slavic lands as a whole: the 'Elizabeth Bible' (1751), the present-day incarnation of the Bible in Church Slavonic, which is normative for the Russian Orthodox Church, owes its final shape and form in no small measure to the labours of Bulgarian translators and editors working between 885 and 1393. The same cannot be said for Croatian efforts, whose resonance was far more limited, even within the Croatian sphere itself. Nevertheless they constitute an important component in the history of the Bible among the Slavs before 1450, a history not without consequences elsewhere but one which is rarely told in English-language scholarship.

That the translations of biblical pericopes traditionally ascribed to Cyril and Methodius or their immediate followers in Morava and Pannonia made their way to Croatia is by now a well-established postulate of Slavic biblical scholarship. Josip Vajs, a Czech Roman Catholic priest working in the early part of the twentieth century with the glagolitic-alphabet manuscripts that have come down to us,[38] demonstrated that of the 1,320 chapters of the Old and New Testaments, some 450 of them can be found in Croatian Church Slavonic translation in the extant glagolitic breviaries, and an additional 150 in the extant glagolitic missals. Of these, he claimed, and his claim has not been seriously contested, fully 380 passages, or about one quarter of the entire Bible, were translated from a Greek base, while the remainder reflect a source

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37 This point is hotly contested by Alekseev and some other Russian scholars: for their views in English see A. Alexeev, 'The Slavonic Bible and Modern Scholarship', *Jews and Slavs* 3 (1995), 25–39. It is difficult, however, to accept their arguments.

38 These include 17 full missals (Mass books) and 28 breviaries (monastic prayer books), only half of which are full. The oldest missal and breviary fragments date to the thirteenth century and the oldest full missal is from the fourteenth; the oldest partial breviary is late thirteenth century. See J. L. Tandarić, *Hrvatskoglagoljska liturgijska književnost: Rasprave i prinosi* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1993), for full details.

in the Latin Vulgate.[39] Despite the fact that the manuscripts themselves date only from the end of the thirteenth century at the earliest, that is, some 400 years after the saintly brothers' mission and the expulsion of their disciples, most scholars consider the manuscripts' glagolitic orthography and their Greek provenance to be compelling proof of their link to Cyrillo-Methodian origins.

If such is indeed the case, scholars have been at a loss to explain exactly how the Cyrillo-Methodian texts in Cyril's original alphabet made their way to the north Croatian Gulf of Kvarner (Quarnero), especially the islands of Krk and Cres and the coast of the Istrian peninsula, although theories abound. Perhaps Cyril and Methodius brought them themselves during their travels, or they were sent from Rome or Constantinople where the brothers had deposited copies of their translations, or Methodius' disciples, fleeing the persecution in Morava-Pannonia after his death, found refuge there,[40] or they were the result of an 'effusion' of glagolitic texts from the other centres of glagolitic-alphabet culture, Macedonia and Bosnia,[41] or they 'flowed' from Ohrid to Croatia.[42] All these theories unfortunately suppose dating that precedes by centuries the extant manuscript evidence, so, pending new discoveries, how the glagolitic-script and Greek-based Slavonic Bible translations came to Croatia remains a mystery. As for when glagolitic biblical texts may have arrived in Croatia, the epigraphic evidence – glagolitic texts carved in stone in the Kvarner region – may move at least the arrival of glagolitic, if not the Bible, back to some time in the eleventh century.[43]

Perhaps the most convincing evidence of all linking the Croatian Adriatic coast with the Cyrillo-Methodian mission and its activities is to be found in papal letters and the records of local councils, especially Pope John X's letter to the Dalmatian bishops in 925 and the proceedings of the Councils of Split

39 *Nejstarší breviár chrvatsko-hlaholský (Prvý breviár vrbnický)*, ed. J. Vajs (Prague: Nákladem Královské České Společnosti Náuk, 1910), p. cviii; J. Vajs, 'Die kroatisch-glagolitischen Breviere und das Offizium der abendländischen Kirche vom VI.–X. Jahrh.', *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* 34 (1913), 483–96; J. Vajs, 'Bis zu welchem Masse bestätigen die croatisch-glagolitischen Breviere die Annahme einer vollständigen Übersetzung der hl. Schrift durch den hl. Methodius?', *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 35 (1914), 12–44; *Najstariji hrvatskoglagolski misal*, ed. J. Vajs, Djela Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti 38 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1948).
40 For the most serious treatment of these theories, see E. Hercigonja, 'Glagoljaštvo', *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. iv (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski Leksikografski Zavod, 1986), pp. 380–1.
41 Lunt, 'On Dating', p. 230, n. 9.
42 I. Petrović, 'Prvi susreti Hrvata s ćirilometodskim izvorištem svoje srednjovjekovne kulture', *Slovo* 38 (1988), 5–54, at 49.
43 S. Damjanović, *Slovo iskona. Staroslavenska/starohrvatska čitanka* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2002), pp. 189–201, with texts and illustrations.

of 925 and 928.[44] The former denounced the pernicious *Methodii doctrina*, and insisted that the Mass in Slavic lands should be celebrated in Latin, and presumably not in Slavonic. The latter addressed explicitly the reduction of the use of Slavonic in the liturgy and limitations on priests who know Slavonic only. If these documents are indeed authentic (there is some doubt), then they link at least Methodius (if not also Cyril, except as inventor of the glagolitic alphabet) with the Dalmatian littoral and, consequently, Croatian glagolitism with the Cyrillo-Methodian mission.

Despite Roman disapproval, the glagolitic alphabet and the liturgy in Slavonic struck deep roots in coastal Croatia over time. Another synod meeting in Split in 1060 once again denounced Methodius as a heretic and required priests to know Latin; the subtext of course was that both glagolitic and the Slavonic liturgy persisted in the area. Finally, in letters from Pope Innocent IV in 1248 to the bishop of Senj and in 1252 to the Benedictines in Omišalj, permission to use Slavonic in the liturgy was officially granted, leading to a great flowering of glagolitic literacy.[45] At its high point, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Croatian Slavonic, including biblical texts, in glagolitic script, attracted the attention of no less a figure than Charles IV, the Holy Roman emperor, who in 1347 invited Croatian Benedictines to Prague to assist in establishing a glagolitic-script, Slavonic-language, Roman-rite community at Emmaus Monastery.[46]

The earliest period of Croatian history is admittedly one of the 'darkest',[47] but the consensus seems to be that Croatian glagolitic literary culture had common roots with that which Cyril and Methodius established in Morava and Pannonia. When the latter was shattered by the hostile Franks and the invading Hungarians, Croatian glagolitic culture was able to survive on the Kvarner islands and in the remoteness of Istria. While the Croatian glagolitic clergy did not add anything new to the history of the Bible in Slavic lands, they did preserve – albeit in forms adopted to their spoken language and in a variant of glagolitic peculiar to them – valuable records of the Slavonic

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44 Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, pp. 266–71; R. Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte des kroat-ischen Frühmittelalters*, Schriften der Balkan-Kommission, Philologische Abteilung 40 (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), pp. 327–62; Petrović, 'Prvi susreti', pp. 12–50.
45 Hercigonja, 'Glagoljaštvo', p. 383.
46 Ibid., pp. 383–4. Croatians may have been present in Prague till 1415 (the execution of Jan Hus) or shortly thereafter.
47 Petrović, 'Prvi susreti', p. 48; Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, p. 248, on all of early Croatian history.

Bible's earliest texts.[48] They came to epitomise Croatian culture as something distinctly different from the other Slavic Christian cultures of the vicinity, thus helping to affirm an important element of Croatian national identity in the nineteenth century, and they passed on some of their tradition directly to their fellow Slavs in Bohemia, among whom the last chapter of the Bible in Slavic lands before printing was written.[49]

Bohemia

Two provinces constitute the modern Czech Republic, Moravia (in Czech *Morava*) to the east, and Bohemia (in Czech *Čechy*) to the west and north. Each boasts a long history, but in so far as the Bible in Slavonic is concerned, Moravia's role in its formation and distribution ended abruptly with the Magyar incursions into central Europe at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries.[50] Bohemia, on the other hand, which is linked to Moravia by ties of a common language and many shared historical experiences, may have been a centre for the evangelisation of the Slavs, and consequently for the production in the local Slavonic of liturgical, para-liturgical and biblical texts from as early as the first half of the ninth century.[51] Whether missionaries from Moravia, including those who might have come from Cyril and Methodius themselves, played any role in the conversion of Bohemia and the introduction there of Slavonic translations is a contested issue in Slavic studies to the present day.[52] Historical sources, like the Frankish *Annales Fuldenses* and the *Chronica Boemorum*, and linguistic evidence as reconstructed in modern

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48 In all fairness one must note that they also adapted Slavonic biblical texts to conform more closely to the Latin Vulgate.

49 The Bohemians can also lay claim to the first chapter in the history of the printed Bible in the Slavic world.

50 At least according to the traditional scholarship on the subject; note the objections by Boba, Bowlus, Eggers and others, for whom modern Moravia is not coterminous with medieval Morava: I. Boba, *Moravia's History Reconsidered* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971), and 'Wo war die "Megale Moravia"?', 'The Episcopacy of St. Methodius' and 'The Cathedral Church of Sirmium and the Grave of St. Methodius', *Die Slawischen Sprachen* 8 (1985), 1–40; C. R. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars. The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); and M. Eggers, *Das Erzbistum des Method. Lage, Wirkung und Nachleben der kyrillermethodianischen Mission*, Slavistische Beiträge 339 (Munich: Sagner, 1996).

51 De Vincenz, 'West Slavic Elements', p. 267.

52 See among many others F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method. Lehrer der Slaven* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960), pp. 185–7, and *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin*, ed. F. W. Mareš (Munich: Fink, 1979), pp. 9–14, in support of a direct connection between Moravia and Bohemia. Cf. De Vincenz, 'West Slavic Elements', and J. Pečírková, 'Czech Translations of the Bible', in Krašovec (ed.), *Interpretation of the Bible*, p. 1168, who deny the connection.

times,[53] strongly suggest that the enduring evangelisation of the Bohemians was carried out by the Franks, and that they did so using Latin as the sacral language and allowing only small concessions to local vernaculars.[54]

Sázava Monastery, founded in southern Bohemia in 1032 by the Benedictine St Procopius (1053) and disbanded in 1097, has been called a 'curio' in Bohemian history,[55] and perhaps rightly so. Unlike all the other churches and monasteries of Bohemia where Latin was the rule, it alone celebrated the liturgy in Slavonic, copied its books in glagolitic script, and maintained ties, it would seem, with other Slavic centres. Whence this Slavonic impulse is open to conjecture – some see it as 'one example of the vitality of [the Cyrillo-Methodian] tradition' in 'Latinized Bohemia'.[56] Be that as it may, a portion of its activities, namely its library of glagolitic manuscripts in whole or in part, survived in Bohemia and was bequeathed 250 years later to a Prague foundation whose Slavonic and glagolitic character had a more enduring impact on the formation of the Bible in Czech. Emmaus Monastery, chartered by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV in 1347 and disbanded (and its library destroyed) by the Hussites in 1611, may have had a cultural–political role to play in Charles's (and his friend and sponsor Pope Clement VI's) *Ostpolitik*: by allowing the Slavonic liturgy in this one monastery they hoped to effect a rapprochement with the disaffected churches of the East. They failed in this, but in the process Charles recruited some eighty Croatian Benedictines to come to Prague to teach the Czechs glagolitic and to expose them to the liturgy in Slavonic (albeit Croatian Slavonic). By importing Roman-rite Slavonic-speaking monks, Charles gave a very Slavic fillip to the 'new piety' – *Devotio moderna* – that had begun to take root in his realm in the 1330s. The result was the start of a translation project that would within less than fifty years produce the first full Slavic vernacular Bible translation.

Portions of Christian scripture – Psalms, some canticles, the Gospels – had been put into vernacular Czech as early as the second half of the thirteenth century. These were 'earmarked for female convents and were used as a help for understanding the Latin texts which were sung and recited during liturgy'.[57] They were developed and used as well by Dominicans and Franciscans who

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53 No manuscript evidence has come down to us from this period. Later copies of allegedly Bohemian Church Slavonic come from distant sources, such as Russia.
54 De Vincenz, 'West Slavic Elements', p. 267.
55 S. Smržik, *The Glagolitic or Roman–Slavonic Liturgy* (Cleveland, OH, and Rome: Slovak Institute, 1959), pp. 104–5; Schenker, *Dawn of Slavic*, p. 43, calls it 'curious'.
56 Schenker, *Dawn of Slavic*, p. 43. Sázava's impact outside Bohemia was perhaps greater than inside the country.
57 Pečírková, 'Czech Translations', p. 1169.

were at the time preaching in the vernacular in the cities of Bohemia to counter various popular heterodoxies. The first sustained attempt to translate the Bible in full into Czech was undertaken in the middle of the fourteenth century under the aegis of Emperor Charles, with the approval of the archbishop of Prague, and the collaboration of various Prague monasteries, including Emmaus, and perhaps the University of Prague, which Charles had founded in 1346. Known as the Dresden or Leskovecká Bible, its sole extant copy was destroyed at the beginning of the First World War, but photographs had been made of it and these have since been published.[58] Its base was the Vulgate, perhaps even a copy of the famous Paris Bible. The translators were an anonymous group of ten clerics and academics, who worked at various centres in Prague in the 1350s and 1360s. They translated for the sense rather than literally, often inserting into the text explanations for new Czech words. There is little evidence of any Old Church Slavonic (i.e., Cyrillo-Methodian) influence on this translation. The Dresden Bible initiates rather a Vulgate-based tradition of the Bible in vernacular Slavic languages, quite distinct from the Slavonic tradition developing simultaneously in Bulgaria and subsequently in Russia.[59] It had numerous successors in Bohemia and elsewhere in *Slavia Romana*.[60]

Whatever its literary merits, the first translation of the Bible into vernacular Czech seems to have aged fast linguistically. In the first two decades of the fifteenth century, therefore, a new translation was prepared, by a single anonymous translator. Parts of the Old Testament and all the New Testament were redone (the Litoměřice Bible of 1429 is considered to be the best example of this redaction), while some copies contained splendid illuminations as well (such as the Zmrzlík Bible, made for the master of the Prague mint). The most famous version of the second redaction is the Glagolitic Bible of 1416, a product of Emmaus Monastery. Using glagolitic letters to record vernacular Czech (*not* Croatian Church Slavonic, as might have been expected – a colophon makes it clear the Bible was written by Czechs and not by Croats), this text has survived only in part (the end of 1 Chronicles through to Sirach, plus fragments of other books), but it provides the clearest evidence of the contact between Croatian glagolitism (if not the Croatian Bible) and Czech initiatives to render scripture

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58 *Die alttschechische Dresdener Bibel / Drážd'anská anebo Leskovecká Bible: Facsimile aufgrund der photographischen Aufnahmen von 1914 nach dem verbrannten Original aus dem 14. Jahrhundert* ed. F. Scholz et al. (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1993).

59 Pečírková, 'Czech Translations', p. 1169.

60 As opposed to *Slavia Orthodoxa*, in Riccardo Picchio's by now standard delimitation of the Slavic world on the basis of religious affiliation.

in the vernacular. Another manuscript of the second Czech redaction, the Boskovická Bible of *c*. 1415, also contained a major innovation: it was the first text to spell Czech using diacritic marks, like *č*, instead of digraphs, like *cz*. This revolution in Czech orthography is usually ascribed to Jan Hus, the Czech reformer and former rector of the University of Prague, who based his invention on glagolitic, and specifically the principle that one and only one letter should encode one and only one sound.

The Glagolitic Bible did not contain the second Czech redaction of the Bible exclusively – it had elements of both the first redaction and also a third redaction, which was begun as early as 1410. While the signal achievement of the second redaction was its complete retranslation of the New Testament, the achievement of the third was its new translation of the entire Old Testament (the best example of this redaction is the Padeřovská Bible of 1432–5, though it is thought the final version of the third redaction was completed as early as 1413).[61] Once again the work of just one translator, with a notable unity of terminology and a modernisation of the language, this redaction circulated with little variation. Its faithfulness to its Latin base sometimes obscured its meaning. It was the last manuscript redaction of the Czech Bible before the advent of printing in Bohemia. Its successor, the fourth redaction, would be prepared for the press and published in full in the Prague Bible (1488) and the Kutná hora Bible (1489), among the most important of the Czech incunabula.[62]

Conclusion

Two parallel movements working more or less simultaneously but rarely impinging upon one another brought the Slavs the Bible, in whole or in part, before 1450. The better known of these is the mission of Cyril and Methodius. Their claim to have translated an entire Bible, 'save Maccabees', into Old Church Slavonic remains unproved, and their indebtedness to earlier Hiberno-Scottish and Frankish missionaries working among the Slavs is unclear. Nevertheless they and their Bulgarian successors are credited with producing the earliest extant Slavonic translations of holy scripture. These, completed and redacted in the fifteenth and again in the eighteenth century, constitute the Bible for the Orthodox Slavs to the present day.

The other less well-known movement to bring the Bible to the Slavs began among the Bohemians. Launched by unnamed Frankish missionaries,

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61 V. Kyas, *Česká Bible v dějinách národního písemnictví* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1997), pp. 99–110.
62 Ibid., pp. 124–30. The Czech translations were exported very early on into Poland.

this mission was Latin in language and Roman in rite. A Slavic 'tinge' was imparted to it in the eleventh century as a result of the use by monks at Sázava Monastery of glagolitic script to write books in Slavonic. Whether that or some other impetus prompted the first Czech vernacular translations of the Bible beginning in the thirteenth century is a matter of conjecture, but the full flowering of Czech biblicism is unambiguously connected to a second irruption of glagolitic script into Bohemia in the fourteenth century from Croatian sources. A complete Bible in Czech, eventually in several different redactions or translations, became 'the Great Code' of Czech literary culture. Based, at least until the Reformation, on the Vulgate, it allowed the Roman Catholic Church in Bohemia, like the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, to be both local in language and universal (or catholic) in its structure, rites and teachings. This model had immediate attractiveness for Roman Catholics in Poland and Hungary, and for Slavic Protestants and Uniates ('Greek Catholics') later. The consequences of this second movement of the Bible among the Slavs before 1450 are, like those among the Orthodox Slavs, both evident and active to the present day.

The Bible in Germanic

ANDREW COLIN GOW

German and Netherlandish Bibles to the advent of printing

Despite centuries of specialised scholarship on vernacular Bibles, abiding preconceptions cloud public and even scholars' ideas about the availability of scripture in the common tongue and the access of laypeople to the Bible in the Middle Ages. Germanic versions of the entire Bible, such as Ulfilas' Gothic Bible, of individual books or parts of books (such as Psalms) and of biblical retellings (the *Diatessaron*, or 'gospel harmony', for example), appeared in the first centuries of Germanic Christianity.[1] The Bible has almost always been available in Germanic (and other European) vernaculars, and accessible to a range of people starting with, but not limited to, the clergy and nobility. By the later Middle Ages, German burghers were being exhorted by preachers to keep (printed) Bibles in their houses and to read aloud from them regularly; preachers translated the Gospels aloud into the common language during Sunday church services, and had been doing so for some time.

Other than in England, actual bans on making or owning translations of the Bible into the vernacular were generally local and temporary, or even equivocal: the decree of the archbishop of Metz of 1199 against 'Waldensians' and their Bibles was confirmed by Innocent III but without expressly prohibiting Bible translations, even though that was how many theologians and churchmen understood Innocent's letter, *Cum ex iniuncto*, for some time.[2] Local and sporadic attempts to control the distribution of scriptural material among the common people during outbreaks of 'heresy' (in the Languedoc and the Rhineland among Cathars and Waldensians, for example) or periods

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1 The Gothic Bible was translated about 350 CE, from Greek texts; see M. J. Hunter, 'The Gothic Bible', in *CHB II*, pp. 338–62; and this volume, p. 710. On Tatian's *Diatessaron*, see below.
2 M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 1920) (chs. 2–4 deal with the Continent from 1199 through to the Reformation; on Metz, pp. 30–6).

of religious tension have been taken by (mainly Protestant) church historians as proof that the medieval Roman church officially opposed vernacular Bibles. Yet those same proscriptions, almost all limited in scope and intent, can in fact be read as proving the opposite: that vernacular scriptures circulated freely among lay and clerical readers alike, at least by the high Middle Ages, and that the church was concerned merely to ensure that the Bible should not be interpreted 'incorrectly' by less-educated and less 'reliable' readers (who could also be understood as 'heretics' for their independent reading practices and concomitant rejection of clerical authority). Margaret Deanesly showed this fairly decisively as long ago as 1920; Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon, in their volume on the Bible in the Middle Ages in the French series *La Bible de tous les temps*, and Clive Sneddon, in his book on the French Bible,[3] have recently added their agreement to her views. With the appearance of Sneddon's work, the case is closed regarding French Bibles, but even in relatively recent textbooks, we read of a practical embargo on the Bible in Germany.[4] This view is utterly groundless and results from ideological or theological prejudices about the medieval church, not from knowledge of the state of Bible translation, manuscript distribution or printing in the Middle Ages. Hard data from the latter three fields decisively contradict Luther's claim, late in life, that the Bible was unknown when he was a boy, as well as the idea that the medieval church had kept the Bible from the laity.

From the beginnings to the tenth century

Traditional historiography located the beginning of Germanic Christianity (i.e., among the Germanic peoples of north-western Europe, excluding the Gothic peoples) in the legendary baptism of the Frankish king Clovis (Chlodowig) and his vassals in 496.[5] The choice of Roman over Arian Christianity linked the Franks to the mainstream of western Christendom and helped ensure the success of the Roman observance among the northern

3 See Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984) and C. R. Sneddon, *Translating the Bible in Mediaeval France. Early Bible Translations into French in the Context of Catholic Europe c. 1050–1550* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). See also Sneddon in this volume, pp. 251–67.

4 E.g., S. Ozment, *The Age of Reform. An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe, 1250–1550* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980).

5 And indeed, this is approximately where W. B. Lockwood's excellent article on this topic in the original *Cambridge History of the Bible* began. The 'Handschriftencensus' and the 'Marburger Repertorien' now offer information on most if not all medieval German manuscripts, text editions and to a large selection of secondary literature: http://cgi-host.uni-marburg.de/~mrep/index_census.html (consulted 30 June 2008).

European Germanic peoples in the following centuries. Yet Ulfilas and his Bible were just as 'Germanic' as Chlodowig – they just did not seem to belong to the beginning of a *national* tradition, which is where traditional scholarship (tendentiously) situated Chlodowig.

As late as 785, the rather isolated tribe of East Frisians converted to Christianity and by 804 Charlemagne had forced the remaining pagan Saxons to accept baptism, thus completing the official Christianisation of the western European Germanic peoples. Among the last of those peoples to convert, the Frisians resisted the introduction of imperial vassals into positions of 'feudal' ascendancy among them, retaining their ancient institutions (the yearly meeting of representatives at the Upstalsboom) well into the Middle Ages and the Old Frisian language until around 1550. Yet their interest in the Bible, attested to by surviving biblical texts in Old Frisian, dates from the earliest period of the Christian missions to them.

Charlemagne himself is said to have taken an active interest in his own mother tongue and to have commissioned the translation of Latin works into his vernacular (Old High German). We possess very little writing in German from before his time, but that picture changed quickly during his reign. For example, one manuscript that is conventionally understood to be a result of his commission was written at the beginning of the ninth century near Salzburg, at the monastery of Mondsee, in the local Bavaric (*bajuwarisch*) dialect, and on sixteen pages there are fragments of the Gospel of Matthew.

Already by the end of the eighth century, however, the Frisian minstrel Bernlef is reported to have added Old Frisian versions of Psalms to his traditional bardic repertoire – a predictable choice in one way, as Psalms would be, in the centuries to follow, translated into Germanic vernaculars more frequently than any other biblical text. A fragment of some psalms in Old Frisian survives, a few lines that might date to the eleventh century,[6] and various versions of the Ten Commandments occur in thirteenth-century manuscripts of law codes. These, along with references to other biblical passages, demonstrate that even Frisian legal culture, at the far northern edge of the empire, was imbued with biblical references and precepts from an early date. These isolated examples of biblical texts in Frisian show that biblical materials were translated into the vernacular not merely at the Carolingian courts but also in the more remote and independent areas of the Germanic-speaking

6 E. Langbroek, '*Condensa atque Tenebrosa*. Die altfriesischen Psalmen. Neulesung und Rekonstruktion (UB Groningen Hs 404)', in *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 31–32 (1990), 255–84.

world – which stretched from the Alps to the Baltic and, by the thirteenth century, from Flanders well into eastern Europe. The northern third of this area, topographically lower, shared linguistic features, so that texts written in one dialect passed easily, via transcription, into another, even from the Low Germanic to the High Germanic area and vice versa. Older texts were modernised by the same process; neither dialect nor age prevented the transmission of texts in different Germanic dialects from one part of the Germanic world to another. This linguistic ecumene existed well into the early modern period.

To some Carolingian fragments of Matthew,[7] we must add three early renderings of the Lord's Prayer. The two versions in Matthew and Luke have traditionally been associated with Charlemagne's pro-German linguistic policy as expressed in his *Admonitio generalis* of 789, ordering congregations to be taught to understand the Lord's Prayer, and in the *Capitulare Missorum* (Capitular for the Mass, from around 802), which echoed the Statutes of Boniface, enjoining that 'the entire Christian people learn the Lord's Prayer by heart'.[8] These three early renderings are an Alemannic version from St Gall ('St Galler Paternoster') in a text including the Creed in a late eighth-century hand,[9] a Bavaric Lord's Prayer from Freising, surviving in one manuscript of 825 and another of the early tenth century,[10] and a Rhenish Franconian Lord's Prayer and Creed with other theological texts from the late eighth century, the Weissenburg Catechism.[11] There are also some Old High German glosses of Latin scriptural texts.[12] Given the low survival rate for such material, we can speculate that there was widespread vernacular glossing (a practice that continued throughout the Middle Ages) and translation of scriptural texts into Old High Germanic and Old Low Germanic dialects.

7 E.g., A. von Euw, 'Das Buch der vier Evangelien – Kölns karolingische Evangelienbücher. Begleitheft zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums, Köln 7. April–9. Juli 1989', *Kölner Museums-Bulletin*, Sonderheft 1 (1989), 42–9.

8 '. . . ut populus christianus . . . dominicam orationem memoriter teneat'.

9 See S. Sonderegger, 'St. Galler Paternoster und Credo', in B. Wachinger, G. Keil, K. Ruh and W. Schröder (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978–2008), vol. ii, cols. 1044–7, and the 'Handschriftencensus': http://cgi-host.uni-marburg.de/~mrep/beschreibung.php?id=2723 (consulted 29 June 2008).

10 A. Masser, 'Die althochdeutschen Übersetzungen des Vaterunsers', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 85 (1963), 35–45.

11 W. Haubrichs, 'Das althochdeutsch-lateinische Textensemble des Cod. Weiss. 91 ('Weißenburger Katechismus') und das Bistum Worms im frühen neunten Jahrhundert', in R. Bergmann (ed.), *Volkssprachig-lateinische Mischtexte und Textensembles in der althochdeutschen, altsächsischen und altenglischen Überlieferung* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2003), pp. 131–73 (with manuscript images).

12 R. Bergmann and S. Stricker with Y. Goldammer and C. Wich-Reif, *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2005).

Around 830, at Fulda, the most important monastery in northern Germany, the 'Fulda *Diatessaron*', a single-version retelling of the Gospels, was composed in the east Franconian dialect on the basis not of the Vulgate Bible but of a Latin version of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, contained in the well-known Codex Fuldensis.[13] Tatian's work (*c.* 175) was an exceptionally popular retelling of the four Gospels as one story, organised according to the chronology of John and including citations from the various Gospels.[14] The Codex Fuldensis is a pure Vulgate text of a modified *Diatessaron* sequence as emended by Victor of Capua, who finished it on 12 April, 547. Victor's manuscript was taken to Fulda by St Boniface himself in the eighth century. Hrabanus Maurus, a student of Alcuin and the abbot at Fulda from 822 to 842, was a major figure in the implementation of Charlemagne's 'German culture' policy. He began teaching at Fulda in 804, and the extraordinary translation activities and composition of religious texts in German that took place there can probably be explained at least in part as having been due to his influence. A copy of the east Franconian Fulda *Diatessaron* of *c.* 830–40, made in the second half of the ninth century, is the oldest surviving version.[15] It is a wooden, rather literal translation, almost an interlinear rendering, written in parallel columns (Latin and German).[16] We know little about its addressees or purpose, though it has been suggested that it was written for training young clerics because it employs a fairly substantial specialised learned vocabulary – some of which is clearly based on Anglo-Saxon models introduced by English monks and texts at Fulda, such as the Old High German word *gibethûs* (prayer-house, church) which seems to have been formed on the model of Old English *gebedhus*, along with a few other such composites that occur nowhere in Old High German literature outside documents from Fulda circles. It is the first in a long line of such German retellings, which by the thirteenth century were directed en masse at well-to-do burghers and nobles as part of a broad-based reform campaign; this early example and the four other manuscripts known

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13 Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Bonifat. 1. G. Quispel, 'The Latin Tatian or the Gospel of Thomas in Limburg', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88 (1969), 321–30. However, see also the work of den Hollander and Schmid (n. 34), who have substantially revised traditional ideas about this text and the relationship of later vernacular gospel harmonies to it as a source.
14 See U. B. Schmid, *Unum ex quattuor. Eine Geschichte der lateinischen Tatianüberlieferung* (Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2005).
15 St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 56; *Tatian*, ed. E. Sievers, Bibliothek der älteren deutschen Litteratur-Denkmäler 5 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1872).
16 On the quality of the translation see F. P. Magoun, Jr., 'Otfrid's *Ad Liubertum*, ll. 105–111, and the OHG *Tatian*', *Modern Language Notes* 58 (1943), 357–61; on the text, its form, and its scribes, see W. G. Moulton, 'Scribe γ of the Old High German Tatian Translation', *PMLA* 59 (1944), 307–34.

to have existed would also have been addressed to well-off layfolk, perhaps lay patrons of the abbey at Fulda.

Another important monument of Old High German literature from Fulda, the *Heliand* ('saviour', modern German 'Heiland') was similarly drawn mainly from the *Diatessaron*.[17] Also composed in the decade 830–40, the verse *Heliand* takes the form of a book epic, emulating conventional secular forms of the period, in Saxon dialect (at least in the manuscript tradition that survives: two core manuscripts, one from the ninth and one from the tenth century, and two fragments from the ninth). The *Heliand* tells the life of Christ rather as though he had been a Germanic chieftain, a giver of rings to his men, the disciples, but is otherwise orthodox, drawing on glossaries, commentaries and legends in addition to the Gospels. Although most of the cultural influence at the time ran from the long and learned Christian tradition of the Anglo-Saxon monks who were instrumental in converting the Germans, in some cases influence ran the other way: in one of the ninth-century manuscripts containing a fragment of the *Heliand* there is also a fragment of an otherwise lost Old Saxon epic known as the *Genesis*, probably the original of the better-known Old English *Genesis B*. This is embedded in the imaginatively titled *Genesis A*. The linguistic similarities are striking; a reader of one dialect might well have been able to understand the other simply by reading it aloud: Old Saxon 'Uuela, that thu nu, Eua, haƀas, quað Adam, uƀilo gimarakot / unkaro selƀaro sīð' versus Old English 'Hwæt, þu Ēve hæfst yfele gemearcod / uncer sylfra sīð' ('Alas, that you have [now], Eve [said Adam], evilly determined our common destiny').[18]

A work of comparable importance, the *Liber evangeliorum* (book of the Gospels), was composed in Rhenish Franconian by Otfrid, a monk of Weissenburg in Lower Alsace who was educated at Fulda, between 863 and 871, and is the first German poet whose name we know. It is preserved in three complete manuscripts, a fragmentary fourth, and a fifth, held to have been corrected by Otfrid himself, all from the ninth century – evidence of a considerable distribution (assuming typical low survival rates).[19] Not quite a gospel

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17 R. Zanni, *Heliand, Genesis und das Altenglische. Die altsächsische Stabreimdichtung im Spannungsfeld zwischen germanischer Oraltradition und altenglischer Bibelepik* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980); see also the work of G. R. Murphy, e.g. *The Heliand. The Saxon Gospel. A Translation and Commentary*, ed. G. R. Murphy (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

18 *Heliand und Genesis*, ed. O. Behaghel, 8th edn, rev. W. Mitzka, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 4 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1965), pp. 224–5. See also Vitz in this volume, pp. 840–3.

19 For an edition based on the first three manuscripts, see L. Wolff's updated 3rd edn of *Otfrids Evangelienbuch*, ed. O. Erdmann, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 49 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957). An

harmony (although it is sometimes referred to as such), it is rather a selection of stories from the life of Jesus, seemingly based on the lectionary. It contains interpretations of the biblical text, exegetical chapters and extra-biblical material similar to that found in the *Heliand*, drawing on many Bible commentaries and exegetical works. As such, it was an orthodox and pious work addressed to a select group of people who were probably already familiar with the basic story, rather than a missionary text like the Saxon *Heliand*, which addressed a people composed at least in part of recent converts whose social mores and expectations were still deeply rooted in the non-Christian Germanic world. Otfrid prefaced the work with a poem, in German, titled (in Latin!) *Cur scriptor hunc librum theodisce dictaverit* ('Why this writer composed this book in German'). He argued that the Greeks and Romans had written a great deal in their own languages; why should the Franks not follow their example, being in no way inferior to the Greeks, Romans or any other people? The Franks were also conquerors who took tribute from neighbouring peoples, and a civilised people skilled in metalwork; why should they not also 'sing the praises of Christ', that is, produce high-art metrical compositions on religious themes to rival the poetry of Greek and Roman antiquity? This statement is a significant index of the importance of vernacular texts (and reading) at that time.

However, for a number of possible reasons, things went a bit 'dark' regarding German scripture (and German texts in general) in the following period, from the middle of the ninth through to the end of the tenth century. One notable exception is from the far north of the Germanic-speaking world: the Wachtendonk Psalms (*c.* 900; interlinear).[20] Not only was this a period of conflict in central Europe over the use of Slavonic rather than Latin as a liturgical language in the recently established 'Moravian' church (and thus not an especially auspicious time for advocacy of the vernacular rather than Latin in religious contexts), but it was a time of increasing political and cultural fragmentation, with the empire splitting into three, four or more polities, and the end of undisputed Carolingian rule through the rise of the Capetians in western Francia, now France, by 987. The dearth of surviving vernacular Bible texts from this period is only relative, however, and might reflect not absolutely decreased production but lower rates of survival from a difficult period. For

edition of the fifth, or Vienna, manuscript has begun: *Evangelienbuch Band 1. Edition nach dem Wiener Codex 2687*, ed. W. Kleiber and E. Hellgardt (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004).

20 See *Corpus van middelnederlandse teksten (tot en met het jaar 1300)*, ed. M. Gysseling (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980), vol. II.1, pp. 43–62.

example, there are from the early tenth century a Bavaric paraphrase of Psalm 138 in thirty-eight lines,[21] and a thirty-one line mixed Alemannic/Franconian fragment on Jesus and the Samaritan woman,[22] both in verse with middle and end rhymes of the type used by Otfrid; there is also a two-page fragment from the second half of the tenth century containing fragments of the Song of Songs in Rhenish Franconian,[23] possibly a trace of a lost psalter in that dialect (the Song of Songs was regarded as belonging to Psalms in respect of its liturgical use). We see that even the surviving manuscripts of biblical materials are fragmentary, which suggests an exceptionally poor survival rate from this period in general.

From northern Germany, a Latin text with interlinear Low Franconian versions of twenty-five psalms survives, and is not isolated, as book catalogues show the existence of Low German psalters in the ninth century; one even contained a vernacular commentary.[24] Notker the Stammerer (*c.* 950–1022), a monk of St Gall, translated numerous works into German and launched a new wave of German religious texts, including a psalter[25] and the book of Job (the latter now lost), in which a line of the Vulgate text was followed by the line and some commentary in Alemannic. His technique, a development of the interlinear gloss for the use of students, continued to influence translation into the fourteenth century. Thus a continuous tradition of biblical translation into German existed from the tenth century on. Williram, abbot of Ebersberg, paraphrased the Song of Songs in east Franconian around 1060; thirty-seven manuscripts, of which nine are complete, survive from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[26] A twelfth-century imitation, the St Trudpert Paraphrase, further attests to its long-lived popularity[27] – which is finally proven by the

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21 H. Menhardt, 'Zur Überlieferung des ahd. 138. Psalms', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum 77* (1940), 76–84.
22 D. R. McLintock, 'Christus und die Samariterin', in Wachinger et al. (eds.), *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1, cols. 1238–41.
23 E. Hellgardt, 'Einige altenglische, althoch- und altniederdeutsche Interlinearversionen des Psalters im Vergleich', in R. Bergmann et al. (eds.), *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen. Internationale Fachkonferenz des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg 2. bis 4. August 1999* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2001), pp. 261–96, esp. pp. 268, 283, and tables 9 and 10.
24 A. Quak, *Die altmittel- und altniederfränkischen Psalmen und Glossen* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981).
25 A. L. Lloyd, *The Manuscripts and Fragments of Notker's Psalter* (Giessen: Schmitz, 1958).
26 N. Bohnert, *Zur Textkritik von Willirams Kommentar des Hohen Liedes. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Autorvarianten* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006).
27 F. Ohly with N. Kleine (eds.), *Das St. Trudperter Hohelied. Eine Lehre der liebenden Gotteserkenntnis* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1998), and R. Wisniewski, *Das frühmittelhochdeutsche Hohe Lied, sog. St. Trudperter Hohes Lied. Mit dem Text der Klosterneuburger Handschrift* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1995).

Maihingen manuscript of 1483, where Williram is cited as the source of yet another paraphrase.

From the eleventh to the fourteenth century

From the high Middle Ages, numerous poetic renderings of scriptural texts, such as the *c.* 1070 Carinthian Genesis poem, provide further evidence of the variety, influence and popularity of German biblical texts.[28] Two twelfth-century poetic versions of the book of Judith made in the popular ballad style show the broad appeal of such materials.[29] Yet other poems treat such favourite topics as the three men in the fiery furnace,[30] the Babylonian captivity, and the birth, life and deeds of Jesus. These versions draw freely on extra-biblical sources, so that they cannot be said even to be versified Bibles but rather poetry based on biblical themes. For the period 1050–1250, prose translations are rather less common, consisting of some gospel fragments and psalters. An interesting exception is from west of the Rhine and far to the south: the Provençal versions of the Gospels and Psalms that came into use among those accused of being 'Waldensians' at this time – and unlike previous translations and versions, these were openly accused of being heretical.[31] This dearth of vernacular Bible translations at this time is all the more strange given the contemporary flourishing of vernacular literatures in French, German and Italian. The first time a German Bible translation was called heretical was in the account of a synod for the suppression of heresy, held at Trier in 1231.[32] Because there were Bible-centered people accused of being *waldenses* in Germany, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they too had a version of the entire Bible in German that ecclesiastical authorities would have condemned (though no such text has in fact survived).

28 B. Gutfleisch-Ziche, *Volkssprachliches und bildliches Erzählen biblischer Stoffe. Die illustrierten Handschriften der 'Altdeutschen Genesis' und des 'Leben Jesu' der Frau Ava* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997).
29 H. Lähnemann, *Hystoria Judith. Deutsche Judithdichtungen vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2006).
30 W. Schröder, 'Die Ältere Judith' / 'Die drei Jünglinge im Feuerofen', in Wachinger et al. (eds.), *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. I, cols. 288–94.
31 H. R. Nüesch, *Altwaldensische Bibelübersetzung. Manuskript Nr. 8 der Bibliothèque municipale Carpentras*, 2 vols. (Berne: Francke, 1979).
32 M. Schneider, *Europäisches Waldensertum im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1981), pp. 108ff.; A. Patschovsky, 'The Literacy of Waldensianism from Valdes to c. 1400', in P. Biller and A. Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 112–36.

The Middle Dutch 'Liège *Diatessaron*',[33] a life of Jesus harmonised from the four Gospels, in 245 chapters, with glosses, additions and expositions, survives in a manuscript of 1270, though the text was composed twenty years earlier. The interest of the Beguines and Beghards of the southern Netherlands and the area around Cologne in vernacular scripture is the immediate context for the making of this digest of the life of Jesus for lay readers. Aside from its artistic qualities, which set it off from the stiff tradition of the later standard Dutch version (the *Statenbijbel*), and aside from its national status as a precursor of modern Dutch diction and linguistic form, the Liège *Diatessaron* was assigned by D. Plooij an extraordinary place in the study of the early history of the Latin *Diatessaron* and of the New Testament. He claimed that it was not made from the Vulgate, as almost all other vernacular Bible translations were, but from a lost Old Latin original, possibly with a Syriac text as the ultimate source. The theory has been refuted and this *Diatessaron* has been shown to have derived from the broad tradition of Vulgate gospel harmonies.[34] The late thirteenth-century Southern Dutch psalter prepared the way for Southern Dutch versions of the Gospels and Epistles to appear around 1300 and to circulate widely in *plenaria* (lectionaries containing all the texts required for a specific purpose),[35] finding their way into the linguistically contiguous Low German zone in particular.[36] These versions coexisted with independent German translations, such as a mid-thirteenth century *Diatessaron* made by Cologne Dominicans, as well as late thirteenth-century psalters and Gospels (also circulated in lectionaries).

One of the most important rhymed versions of the Bible was the monumental 1271 *Rijmbijbel* by Jacob van Maerlant,[37] a layman and skilled poet,

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33 Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 437. See A. den Hollander, 'Het Luikse "Leven van Jezus". Een nederlandse evangeliënharmonie uit de dertiende eeuw', *Queeste. Tijdschrift over Middeleeuwse Letterkunde in de Nederlanden* 6/2 (1999), 99–111; on dating, see E. Kwakkel, 'Nieuwe fragmenten en een oude traditie. Utrecht Catharijneconvent BMH Sj fragm h 70 en de overlevering van de middelnederlandse evangeliën(harmonie)', *Queeste. Tijdschrift over Middeleeuwse Letterkunde in de Nederlanden* 6/2 (1999), 166–90; for a more general overview, see A. den Hollander, 'Mittelniederländische Evangelienharmonien – Form und Funktion. Eine erste Orientierung', in C. Burger et al. (eds.), *Evangelienharmonien des Mittelalters* (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), pp. 89–108. On Dutch Bibles, see A. den Hollander, E. Kwakkel and W. Scheepsma (eds.), *Middelnederlandse bijbelvertalingen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007).
34 A. den Hollander and U. Schmid, 'Middeleeuwse bronnen in het Luikse "Leven van Jezus"', *Queeste. Tijdschrift over Middeleeuwse Letterkunde in de Nederlanden* 6/2 (1999), 127–46.
35 W. Kämpfer, *Studien zu den gedruckten mittelniederdeutschen Plenarien. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte spätmittelalterlicher Erbauungsliteratur* (Münster and Cologne: Böhlau, 1954).
36 See P. Pietsch, *Ewangely und Epistel Teutsch. Die gedruckten hochdeutschen Perikopenbücher [Plenarien] 1473–1523* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1927).
37 *Jacob van Maerlant*, ed. I. Biesheuvel and F. van Oostrom, Tekst in Context 2 (Amsterdam University Press, 1999).

who based his work largely on another widely popular biblical retelling, the Latin *Historia scholastica* of the Parisian master Peter Comestor (Pierre le Mangeur – an 'eater' of texts).[38] It was by that time a hundred years old and still enormously *en vogue*.[39] The popularity of the rhymed Dutch version of the thirteenth century helps to explain the demand that led to yet another Dutch version, this time in prose, in which both Testaments, translated from the Vulgate into Dutch, were interlarded with additional paragraphs and glosses (marked as such) taken from Comestor: the *Historiebijbel* (between 1359 and 1390). The immediate context for this work was the climate of intense lay piety that found expression in the Modern Devotion movement and the works of its patron, Geert Groote. The Dutch *Book of Hours* issued by Groote in 1383 contained his own translations of Psalms and other biblical texts, and responded so successfully to the need or demand for biblical material of this kind that it was printed many times in the following century and recast in Low German. Even more widely used was Johan Schutken's rather faulty translation of the New Testament and Psalms, interspersed with patristic paraphrases that were not marked as such but were presented simply as part of the translated texts.[40]

It was this type of editorial practice – compilatory, synthetic, and pious rather than learned – that helped produce the later bad reputation of pre-Reformation vernacular Bibles. Yet such pious retellings were by no means the only form in which vernacular biblical texts were available in the later Middle Ages. There may have been a full Bible translation in Middle High German in the fourteenth century, either at Zurich as early as 1305–20,[41] or perhaps in Austria.[42] The Melk Gospels were translated at the end of the fourteenth century.[43] The German Gospels of Mathew of Beheim, dated 1343,

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38 J. H. Morey, 'Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase and the Medieval Popular Bible', *Speculum* 68 (1993), 6–35.

39 M. C. Sherwood-Smith, *Studies in the Reception of the 'Historia scholastica' of Peter Comestor. The 'Schwarzwalder Predigten', the 'Weltchronik' of Rudolf von Ems, the 'Scholastica' of Jacob van Maerlant and the 'Historiebijbel van 1360'* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2000).

40 For the most recent survey of Dutch biblical literature, see F. van Oostrom, *Stemmen op schrift* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006).

41 M. Wallach-Faller, 'Die erste deutsche Bibel? Zur Bibelübersetzung des Zürcher Dominikaners Marchwart Biberli', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und Literatur* 110 (1981), 35–57.

42 K. Gärtner, 'Die erste deutsche Bibel? Zum Bibelwerk des österreichischen Bibelübersetzers aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Mit zwei neuen Handschriftenfunden zum "Klosterneuburger Evangelienwerk" und zum "Psalmenkommentar"', in H. Brunner and N. R. Wolf (eds.), *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Bedingungen, Typen, Publikum, Sprache* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1993), pp. 273–95.

43 Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 180. See the Marburger Repertorium of medieval manuscripts: http://cgi-host.uni-marburg.de/~mrep/beschreibung.php?id=9395 (consulted 30 June 2008).

were based on a new translation of around 1300.[44] Particularly in Germany, there was already in the fourteenth century a complete New Testament, the Augsburg Bible of 1350.[45] The Bohemian Codex Teplensis of around 1400 contains a German New Testament (*Tepler Bibel*),[46] and from the same region we have the even more famous Wenceslaus Bible of between 1389 and 1400, which contains no New Testament material.[47] A Munich manuscript contains fragments of a contemporary Old Testament and there are separate books of both Testaments in German from that time. In fact, the end of the fourteenth century, in the wake of the Black Death, was a period of intense translation and reading activity. Many German manuscripts of the psalter survive from this period, as well as new German versions of Genesis, Kings and various prophets. At least three new translations of the Gospels and of Acts, various Epistles and the Book of Revelation date from this era. The German Psalter attributed to the *Meistersinger* Heinrich of Mügeln (between 1365 and 1370) included Nicholas of Lyra's highly sophisticated exposition by way of a commentary.[48]

Heinrich was also court poet to Emperor Charles IV, founder of Prague's eponymous 'Charles University'. Here the nexus of German scripture and high politics becomes visible: Heinrich broke with his patron over the (ineffectual) 1369 imperial prohibition of new German translations of religious books.[49] This was followed in 1375 by a more ambitious papal effort to restrict the reading of vernacular scripture in Germany. Arundel's Constitutions of 1408, proclaimed in 1409, which effectively banned the English scriptures,[50] were, therefore, part of a concerted effort in the generation following the Black Death to clamp

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44 M. Åsdahl-Holmberg, 'Das älteste Glied einer bekannten mittelhochdeutschen Evangelienübersetzung', *Studia Neophilologica* 38 (1966), 76–106, esp. pp. 84–5, 102–6 (text extract); and Wachinger et al. (eds.), *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. ii, cols. 653–9, esp. cols. 654–6, and vol. xi, cols. 429ff.

45 E. Donalies, *Die Augsburger Bibelhandschrift und ihre Überlieferung. Untersuchung und Text der vier Evangelien* (Münster and New York: De Gruyter, 1992).

46 W. Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Braunschweig, 1889–92; repr. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1966), cols. 154–94; H. Reinitzer, 'Tepler Bibel', in Wachinger et al. (eds.), *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. ix, cols. 696–8, and vol. xi, col. 1512.

47 *Wenzelsbibel. König Wenzels Prachthandschrift der deutschen Bible*, ed. H. Appuhn (Dortmund: Harenberg-Edition, 1990); M. Thomas and G. Schmidt, *Die Bibel des Königs Wenzel* (Graz: ADEVA, 1989).

48 F. Löser, 'Heinrich von Mügeln und der Psalmenkommentar des "österreichischen Bibelübersetzers"', in V. Bok and F. Shaw (eds.), *Magister et amicus. Festschrift für Kurt Gärtner zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna: Praesens, 2003), pp. 689–708.

49 On medieval German Bibles in general, see the dated and rather biased but not-yet-replaced three volumes of Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*.

50 See N. Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England. Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum* 70 (1995), 822–64. See also Marsden in this volume, pp. 235–6.

down on the ebullient market and demand for vernacular scripture. That the English edict was enforceable in a small, unified island kingdom is hardly less surprising than the utter failure of the imperial and papal attempts in the fragmented, constitutionally de-central Holy Roman Empire. Heinrich's German Psalter was immensely successful, despite or perhaps because of the ban. As Deanesly pointed out, the existence of many manuscript and later printed German Bibles demonstrates the ineffectual nature of these efforts.

The later medieval German Bible: from printing to the Reformation

One of the oldest intact full Bibles in German is in Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Pal. germ. 19–23, which was made between 1441 and 1449 in the workshop of Diebold Lauber in Hagenau. It was a careful translation that might have been made by Marquard Biberli, to whom another early fourteenth-century Bible might be attributable.[51] It demonstrates the availability of usable and legible translations of the entire Bible before the advent of printing. The long-term continuity of German Bible translation in the Middle Ages could not be better illustrated than by the form of the language used in the first printed German full Bible, the Mentelin Bible of 1466. Even though the printer or corrector modified the archaic diction somewhat, it clearly belongs to the early fourteenth century, probably to Nuremberg. This rather wooden, philologically inferior and archaic version has often been cited in polemical literature as typical of pre-Lutheran Bible translation, but in fact, there were better texts available and better texts were also printed. Furthermore, in his translations, Luther drew heavily from the manuscript and printed tradition of German Bibles from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Over a thousand German manuscript Bibles are known from the later Middle Ages alone. There was, therefore, a strong tradition of higher-quality, more contemporary translation before the Mentelin version and contemporaneous with it.

Bibles more attuned to that tradition were being printed in the north: an Old Testament was printed at Delft in 1477,[52] modified from the *Historiebijbel* and minus the passages from Comestor and from Psalms (Psalms appeared

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51 See the excellent presentation of the University of Heidelberg at: www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/fachinfo/www/kunst/digi/lauber/cpg19.html (consulted 30 June 2008).

52 In the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague: www.kb.nl/galerie/100hoogtepunten/020-en.html (consulted 30 June 2008); see *De Delftse bijbel van 1477. Facsimile van de oorspronkelijke druk*, intro. C. C. de Bruin, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Buijten and Schipperheijn, 1977).

in a 1480 printing in Schutken's popular translation).[53] Around 1478, two editions of the Bible in two different forms of Low German were printed at Cologne,[54] one of which circulated widely in the Low Countries. This was followed by an archiepiscopal censor's edict of 1486 banning the printing of vernacular religious books at Cologne. Hence one of the most important Low German Bibles appeared at Lübeck in 1494,[55] a monumental work including much of Lyra's gloss. After this time, no more 'medieval' Low German Bibles appeared.[56] Low German versions based on the Luther Bible were printed until around 1621; only in the increasingly separate Low Countries did any Low German language – 'Dutch' (Netherlandish) – survive as an elite or 'state language', leading to the more-or-less inevitable production of the Dutch *Statenbijbel* of 1637.[57] A parallel in a non-state Germanic language can be found in fifteenth-century Yiddish translations of the Hebrew Bible, a rather 'democratic' development clearly aimed at Jews who could not read the biblical text in Hebrew, probably women in the main (hence the term *vaybertaytsh*, women's German), and perhaps men whose parents could not afford much Hebrew education.[58]

As we have already suggested, one of the most persistent legends regarding the Bible in the Middle Ages, both among the general public and among scholars, is the notion that the Roman church forbade or banned reading of the Bible in the vernacular. A corollary of this legend is the idea that Luther 'freed' the Bible for the laity by translating it into the vernacular – as though it had never been available before – in 1522 (the 'September Testament'). In this view, the thousands of manuscript medieval German Bibles and dozens of German editions of the Bible (in many thousands of copies) printed before the autumn of 1522 might never have existed.

But far from trying to provide an account of Luther's celebrated translation (for which the reader is referred to volume III of the *New Cambridge History of the Bible*) – our goal here is to outline the rich later medieval Germanic

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53 See C. C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1937); and see extracts in the 'Digitale bibliotheek van de Nederlandse letteren': www.dbnl.org/tekst/brui007stat01_01/index.htm (consulted 30 June 2008), e.g. pp. 73ff.

54 *Die Kölner Bibel 1478/1479. (De Keulse Bijbel 1478/1479). Facsimile Edition of the Low German Cologne Bible of 1478/79* (Hamburg: Wittig, 1979).

55 G. Ising (ed.), *Die niederdeutschen Bibelfrühdrucke. Kölner Bibeln (um 1478); Lübecker Bibel (1494); Halberstädter Bibel (1522)* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961–76).

56 H. Bluhm, 'Martin Luther and the Pre-Lutheran Low German Bibles', *Modern Language Review* 62 (1967), 642–53.

57 De Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn Voorgangers*.

58 W. Staerk and A. Leitzmann, *Die jüdisch-deutschen Bibelübersetzungen von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Kaufmann, 1923).

Bible traditions, manuscript and printed, which exerted a powerful influence on later German translations, including Luther's.[59] A view of this much-contested field, now that the fog of confessional polemic has dissipated, also allows us to suggest how the relative publishing success of the later medieval German Bible fed and perhaps even provided the preconditions for the success of Luther's September Testament (1522) and later Old Testament and full Bible translations. An account of the circulation of German printed Bibles between Gutenberg and Luther requires an account of the epochal scholarly 'religion and culture wars' waged over this fraught topic – debates that set in place much of the framework in which the later medieval German Bible has been perceived.

A look into nearly any catalogue of a European rare book collection reveals medieval vernacular Bibles, manuscript and printed, as well as a variety of retellings and versions of biblical stories. One example of a library rich in manuscript and printed Bible translations (as well as retellings) is the *Stadtbibliothek* of Nuremberg, which received many religious books from the former Dominican convent of St Catherine in Nuremberg after the latter was dissolved. Other religious houses and the Burgundian ducal library provide similar evidence. The Nuremberg City Library acquired its first (almost) complete Bible in Latin in the 1420s,[60] and provided the materials for a 1777 exhibition, organised by the great bibliographer Georg Panzer, of the pre-Lutheran German Bibles held in that library.

Indeed, a lengthy historical debate about the availability of scripture in German reaches back to the early eighteenth century. Its high point came in the hundred years from the middle of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the Second World War. It was demonstrated at length that vernacular Bibles circulated and were read widely, especially in the Carolingian empire, all through the Middle Ages. Even in fifteenth-century England, Bibles circulated quite freely among the aristocratic classes. Hans Rost further demonstrated in a lengthy and detailed chapter that biblical piety and knowledge of the Bible were central to public, iconic, dramatic, literary, musical, liturgical and

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59 J. M. Winter, *Luther Bible Research in the Context of Volkish [sic] Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Lang, 1998), pp. 35–6. This is part of a long debate that stretches back to Wilhelm Walther and the *Kulturkampf*.

60 See A. Gow, 'Challenging the Protestant Paradigm. Bible Reading in Lay and Urban Contexts of the Later Middle Ages', in T. Heffernan and T. E. Burman (eds.), *Scripture and Pluralism. Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 161–91. It was missing the inflammatory Book of Revelation!

architectural culture in the Middle Ages in general.[61] Yet this very substantial scholarship was simply rejected by powerful Protestant figures like Wilhelm Walther (1891) and Karl Holl (1923), and disappeared from scholars' notes after the Second World War.

Alister McGrath, an avowedly Protestant scholar who teaches at a religiously affiliated institution, noted in 1987 that 'no universal or absolute prohibition of the translation of scriptures into the vernacular was ever issued by a medieval pope or council, nor was any similar prohibition directed against the use of such translations by the clergy or laity',[62] thus echoing early and perfectly orthodox Lutheran admissions of the same point by Friedrich Kropatschek in 1904 and Adolf Risch in 1922,[63] as well as Margaret Deanesly's similar points of 1920. These early authors would admit no more than that the church was simply reluctant to allow unsupervised lay access to vernacular translations, the quality of which was difficult to control. Jaroslav Pelikan pointed out in 1996 that the legend that the translation of the Bible into German began with Luther is not true.[64] In 2001, Owen Chadwick noted in a book addressed to a larger readership that there were many printed editions of the Bible before Luther: in Latin, ninety-four; and he mentioned sixteen in German. In fact there were fourteen in late medieval High German, four in Low German, and four in Netherlandish, for a total of twenty-two Germanic editions by 1518.[65] Thomas Kaufmann, in a detailed account of pre-Lutheran vernacular Bibles and their articulation with Luther's Bible translations, refered to only one of the main historians of the pre-Lutheran German Bible cited above, Hans Rost (the only one of them who published on these topics after the Second World War).[66]

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61 H. Rost, *Die Bibel im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie der Bibel* (Augsburg: Seitz, 1939), ch. 3.
62 A. E. McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (New York: Blackwell, 1987), p. 124.
63 'Den Vorwurf eines allgemeinen Bibelleseverbots oder gar der Feindschaft gegen die Bibel darf allerdings die katholische Kirche für die Vergangenheit als geschichtlich unberechtigt zurückweisen'; A. Risch, *Luthers Bibelverdeutschung* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1922), p. 10, with an exhaustive bibliographical summary of the entire history of the question in nineteenth-century scholarship from J.-B. Malou in n. 8, pp. 71–2.
64 J. Pelikan, *The Reformation of the Bible, the Bible of the Reformation: A Catalog of the Exhibition by V. R. Hotchkiss and D. Price* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press / Dallas: Bridwell Library, 1996), p. 49.
65 O. Chadwick, *The Early Reformation on the Continent* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1. But see Neddermeyer's figures, below.
66 T. Kaufmann, 'Vorreformatorische Laienbibel und reformatorisches Evangelium', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 101 (2004), 138–74.

As Michael Milway has shown, printers generally printed only for a market, to *meet* demand, and the vast majority of works in the fifteenth century were manuals and devotional works for clerics, followed by primers and other works with biblical and devotional content for students.[67] Uwe Neddermeyer discussed the relationship between manuscripts and printed books in this period in his monumental survey.[68] He saw print versions largely as a function of pre-existing manuscripts: those books that existed in large numbers of manuscript copies were those most likely to be printed. Aside from the many tens of thousands of medieval Bible manuscripts still extant, his figures show that from 1450 to 1519, there were in the empire 65 printed Latin editions of the Bible plus the 22 Germanic ones we have already mentioned, in Italy 41 Latin editions and 14 Italian ones, in France 45 Latin editions and 1 French one as well as 21 of the *Bible abrégée* (abridged Bible). This makes for a total of as many as 20,000 copies of Germanic Bibles in the Empire, 13,450 Italian Bibles in Italy, 1,200 French Bibles in France as well as 23,700 *Bibles abrégée*s.[69] These are maximal figures but they leave out the much larger numbers of manuscript and printed partial, para- and quasi-biblical texts ('plenaries', or lectionaries, historiated Bibles (embellished with legendary and literary additions and examples), devotional works, etc.) and single books or partial editions of the Bible – and because these have not yet been adequately surveyed, we can only guess at their numbers as a multiple of the number of printed Bibles. While Neddermeyer's charts show an explosion in the printing of Bibles in the empire after 1522, namely the Luther Bible,[70] there was also a strong increase in the printing of French Bibles in the period 1510–19. Unfortunately, because he used different scales when comparing German and French printing, his presentation makes it hard to see just how important the printing of both Latin and vernacular Bibles was in the empire before 1500.[71]

Not one of the twenty-two Germanic full Bibles printed before 1522 received official licence from an episcopal or other ecclesiastical agency, despite sincere ecclesiastical efforts all through the Middle Ages to prevent the Bible from falling into the hands of the unlearned – efforts that clearly met with less and

67 'Forgotten Best-Sellers from the Dawn of the Reformation', in R. Bast and A. Gow (eds.), *Continuity and Change. The Harvest of Late-Medieval and Reformation History. Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 113–42.
68 U. Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch, Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse in Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1998). Neddermeyer corrects the obsolete figures of Rost, *Die Bibel im Mittelalter*, vol. I, pp. 418–19.
69 Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, vol. I, p. 461.
70 Ibid., vol. II, pp. 706–7.   71 Ibid., vol. II, pp. 707–8.

less success – and even direct efforts in the empire to control such printing, such as the Censor's Edict of the archbishop of Mainz, Berthold von Henneberg (1442–1504), in 1486, which stopped the printing of German Bibles at Mainz for ten years, but nowhere else. A Latin Bible printed at Cologne in 1479 had the censor's approval; the 1480 German one printed there did not!

Erich Zimmermann's 1938 survey of the evidence of clerical, noble and burgher ownership of Bibles, books of the Bible and historiated Bibles in the fifteenth century has not yet been replaced or even equalled (nor widely read). It is worth repeating his insistence that burghers, both men and women, frequently appear in the sources as owners of Bibles. The scribal workshop of Diebold Lauber in Hagenau, active 1427–67, produced a large number of biblical manuscripts, mainly historiated Bibles. Their clients included burghers in the imperial cities, about whom we know the most, as well as in other cities. Zimmermann listed dozens of burgher owners of Bibles. It would stretch the reader's patience to read a list of every late medieval burgher or family Zimmermann knew to have possessed a Bible, yet it is only such particular evidence that we can have: statistics are not available (unless we count the over sixty biblical texts, of whatever sort, listed by Zimmermann as having been at one time or another in burgher hands, many of them even copied out by burghers). We must rely to some extent on impressionistic accounts. As Zimmermann pointed out, vernacular Bible texts that were once in burgher hands are known to us largely because they were at some point donated, often as pious bequests, to monastic (mainly convent) libraries and thus were preserved. The less-expensive manuscripts and printed books that burghers typically owned (including Bibles) have not otherwise survived very well – they were not well protected and may have been read to pieces or otherwise come to harm. They did not represent substantial capital investments and thus were not as carefully guarded as luxury editions with valuable bindings, illuminations, rubrication and illustrations.

We may say with assurance that in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, biblical material was widespread, popular and well known among literate townspeople, clerics and nobles alike, especially in the empire.[72] Full Bible translations typically belonged to wealthy burghers, the gentry / nobility and religious houses (Brethren of the Common Life, etc.), with relatively large numbers of German Bibles showing up in inventories especially for the

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72 See F. Falk, *Die Bibel am Ausgange des Mittelalters, ihre Kenntnis und ihre Verbreitung* (Cologne: Bachem, 1905), and E. Zimmermann, *Die deutsche Bibel im religiösen Leben des Spätmittelalters* (Potsdam: Athenaion, 1938).

period from 1500 to the Reformation. Because they were under the direction of a warden or house confessor, nuns had relatively good access to vernacular translations. In those important female houses whose library catalogues have survived, we notice the existence not merely of many vernacular works of biblical piety and devotion, but also of vernacular Bibles.[73]

Precisely those people whose early enthusiasm for 'evangelical preaching' and reform placed them at the forefront of the Reformation – burghers, magistrates, priests, monks, nuns, nobles and especially urban patricians – had quite easy access to German Bibles, and seem to have had a considerable appetite for more.

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73 See Gow, 'Challenging the Protestant Paradigm', pp. 181–3.

The Bible in English

RICHARD MARSDEN

Large parts of the Bible have been available in the English language continuously for more than 1100 years, a record unequalled by any of the other language communities of western Christendom. This venerable tradition was invoked in the sixteenth century by apologists for the legitimacy of vernacular translation, who looked to the earliest English efforts to justify their own; the examples of both Bede and King Alfred were emphasised (the former with dubious justification, as we shall see). A preoccupation with the legitimacy of translation has itself a long pedigree in England; already in the ninth century a discourse of justification by historical precedent, based on the analogy of the vernacular status of the original Latin and Greek scriptures, was being rehearsed.

The assertion of continuity in the 'englishing' of the Bible (the verb was in use thus by the fourteenth century) must be qualified, however. For one thing, it would be a mistake to equate the motivations of the earliest translators, who worked in a monastic (and often aristocratic) context and within a more or less unified church, with those of their late medieval successors, who aimed directly at a popular audience and for whom translation would become a political act and a symptom of fracture in the church. There was linguistic disruption, too. The Norman dispensation that was established in England after 1066 not only brought a French-speaking elite (who would soon have scripture in their own tongue) but also reasserted the primacy of Latin in church and monastery. English as a written language lost its status, though never its vitality, for several hundred years. By the time that any substantial continuous direct English translation of scripture was tried again, in the fourteenth century, radical changes in the vocabulary and grammar of the language ensured that the older translations were no longer easily accessible. New translators used what could seem like a new language. It will be appropriate, therefore, to survey the history of scripture in English within

discrete chronological sections, though the continuities between them will be stressed also.

The Anglo-Saxon period (600–1100)

The claim, perpetuated in the preface to the King James Bible, that the greatest early English scholar, the Venerable Bede, translated at least some of the Bible into English, is based on a description of the last days and hours before his death in 735, given in a letter written by Cuthbert, one of his pupils and later abbot of his monastery of Monkwearmouth–Jarrow. On his deathbed, Bede was still at work, Cuthbert tells us, and in particular was trying to finish 'the Gospel of St John, which he was turning into our language, to the great profit of the church, from the beginning as far as the words, "But what are they among so many?" [John. 6:9]'.[1] The letter gives no hint of the large-scale translation of scripture, however, and the allusion is likely to be to some small-scale undertaking, for pedagogical purposes. Bede certainly did not hesitate to recommend that clerics and monks who were ignorant of Latin, as well as laypeople, be taught in English, and he recorded that he himself had translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.[2] Conceivably, he was dictating a word-for-word Old English gloss to be added between the lines of a Latin biblical text, though there is no firm evidence of the use of this technique until a century later.

Poetic paraphrases

It is Bede who first alerts us to an important but less direct method of englishing scripture during the Anglo-Saxon period. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, he described how a little devotional poem on creation, in the vernacular, came to be composed with divine help by a cowherd named Cædmon at the monastery of Whitby in Northumbria. Delivered in the Germanic alliterative style, the poem neatly epitomises for us the synthesis of Christianity and the native, originally pagan, culture of the recently converted Anglo-Saxons. More important, however, is what Bede tells us of Cædmon's subsequent activities, after he had been received into the monastic community at Whitby:

> He sang about the creation of the world, the origin of the human race, and the whole history of Genesis, of the departure of Israel from Egypt and the entry into the promised land and of many other of the stories taken from the

1 'Epistola de obitu Bedae', in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), pp. 580–6, at p. 582.
2 In a letter to Bishop Ecgbert (later archbishop) of York. See *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), vol. 1, pp. 405–23, at p. 409.

sacred Scriptures: of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the Lord, of his ascension into heaven, of the coming of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of the apostles.[3]

This is the whole span of biblical history, apparently done into Old English verse, and in fact several poems survive which seem to fit into this plan, though analysis suggests that they have a variety of authors and none is likely to be Cædmon himself. Between them, as their modern titles suggest, they provide a paraphrase or reworking of many of the pivotal episodes and themes of the Old and New Testaments, including apocryphal material: *Genesis* (A and B), *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan*; *Andreas*, *The Fates of the Apostles*, *The Dream of the Rood*, and *Elene* (i.e. Helen, finder of the True Cross); *Judith*, *Christ* (I, II and III), and *The Descent into Hell*.[4] The crucial difference in purpose between the Old English biblical poems and the plain prose translations which we shall discuss below is that, in the poems, the narratives are re-imagined and rearranged to achieve a clear exegetical purpose. Thus the poet of the 349-line *Judith* pared down the Old Testament account to leave only the climactic encounter of Judith herself, a type of faith presented as a pious virgin rather than a widow, with Holofernes, who is depicted as a warrior lord of foul demeanour and bestial behaviour. The focus in the 2,935-line *Genesis A* is on God's covenant with Abraham and its consequences; *Genesis B*, embedded in the longer poem at lines 235–851, deals with obedience, recounting the fall of the rebellious Satan and his crew, and the subsequent fall of Eve and Adam. *Exodus* (590 lines) is restricted to the crossing of the Red Sea, as given in Exodus 14, with a vivid portrayal of the salvation of the Israelites and the destruction of Pharaoh as the working out of God's providence. The process of vernacularisation goes further than mere language in all these poems: Moses in *Genesis A*, for example, is a helmeted warrior in the Germanic tradition, and the eponymous heroine of *Judith* is ringleted, like an Anglo-Saxon noblewoman.

Glossing

Whether or not Bede's 'translation' of the Gospel of John was indeed an Old English gloss for insertion between lines of the Latin text, as mooted above, this method of englishing the Bible was certainly well established before

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3 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, iv.24, p. 419.
4 All are put into modern English in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, trans. S. A. J. Bradley, 2nd edn (London: Everyman, 1995). For Old English editions, see R. D. Fulk and C. M. Cain, *A History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 110–19. No Old English poems are given titles in the manuscripts.

ever large-scale continuous translation was undertaken. Initially, it seems to have been exclusively Latin psalters which were involved; eleven of the forty surviving copies from Anglo-Saxon times are more or less continuously glossed and another partly so, and four more have at least some glosses.[5] The method is to write the Old English version of each Latin word immediately above it in the space between the lines, so that what results is a word-for-word crib of the Latin. If read continuously, the Old English version will often make little sense, owing to the great syntactical differences between the two languages, and the primary purpose of such glossing must have been to help the reader to understand the Latin, not to provide a substitute for it. That reader will usually have been a monk or nun, for the psalms of course had a central place in monastic devotion. The oldest of the glossed psalters is the 'Vespasian Psalter' (London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A. i).[6] Its Latin text was copied in the eighth century, possibly at Canterbury, and most of the Old English gloss was added a century later.

Continually glossed gospelbooks, on the other hand, are a rarity; only two are extant, and they are special, treasured books. It is possible that at least some of the more mundane gospelbooks (of the sort which every monastery or church of any size must have possessed) were glossed also but their very ordinariness will have militated against their survival.[7] The more famous of the glossed volumes is the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, BL, Cotton Nero D. iv), made apparently at the monastery of Lindisfarne to celebrate the translation of the relics of Northumbria's most important saint, Cuthbert, in 698.[8] As with the Vespasian Psalter, it was much later that the original half-uncial Latin text was supplied with a continuous word-for-word Old English gloss, in this case in the mid-tenth century by Aldred, provost of the community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street. The second example, the Rushworth or Macregol Gospels (Oxford, BodL, Auct. D. 2. 19), a gospelbook of the late eighth or early ninth century, was glossed at an unknown centre in the tenth century by two scribes, identified by colophons as Owun and Farmon. It is likely that they used a version of the Lindisfarne gloss as a model, but in most of

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5 See P. Pulsiano, 'Psalters', in R. W. Pfaff (ed.), *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, Old English Newsletter Subsidia 23 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995), pp. 60–8.

6 For an edition, see *The Vespasian Psalter*, ed. S. M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1965).

7 A handful of other Latin gospelbooks, among about 100 extant from the Anglo-Saxon period, have some sporadic glossing in Old English. None of the very few extant Old Testament biblical manuscripts, excluding psalters, shows signs of glossing.

8 For a facsimile, see *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis. Musei Britannici Codex Cottonianus Nero D. iv*, ed. T. D. Kendrick et al., 2 vols. (Olten and Lausanne: Urs Graf, 1956–60).

Farmon's stint (Matthew and John 18:1–3), the word-for-word correspondence is less strictly maintained than in Lindisfarne and the Old English becomes intelligible in itself – an apparent gesture towards independent translation.[9]

Prose translations

In the glossing of biblical texts – for which, as we have seen, there is no certain evidence before the ninth century – the vernacular remains physically anchored to the original Latin and the primacy of the latter is not questioned. It is late in the ninth century that the notion of independent English scripture in prose seems to have become established, albeit in a small way. It may be seen as a logical extension of King Alfred's mission to revitalise learning in his kingdom (primarily Wessex, but with Mercia effectively annexed also). This followed what he himself lamented, with some exaggeration certainly, as the almost complete disappearance of a knowledge of Latin in his time. In a period of stability following his containment of Danish invaders, whose predecessors had been a major factor in monastic decline, Alfred (d. 899) organised a programme of education for young men, to be run not in the monasteries but by bishops. The medium was to be the vernacular (though boys destined for the church would still go on to learn Latin), and in that connection Alfred instigated a series of translations of important Christian works into English, undertaking some of them himself, with the help of a group of scholars assembled for the purpose from beyond the borders of Wessex. Most of these works were instructional (such as the *Cura pastoralis* of Pope Gregory, a sort of manual for priests). The first significant scriptural translation seems to have been the passages from Exodus 20–3 and Acts 15: 23–9, which were used to preface Alfred's law code; these texts deal with Mosaic law and served to bolster the authority of English law.[10]

More substantial is the translation made by Alfred himself (as we can deduce mainly from stylistic comparisons with other works of his) of the first fifty of the Vulgate psalms. They are extant only in the 'Paris Psalter' (Paris, BNF, lat. 8824), a manuscript copied long after Alfred's reign, in the mid-eleventh century, possibly at Canterbury and probably for a devout layperson (a wealthy one, to judge by its quality), who was eager to emulate monastics

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9 Both glosses are printed in *The Four Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions*, ed. W. W. Skeat (Cambridge University Press, 1871–87).

10 The laws are *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1903–15), vol I, pp. 16–123, with the prologue at pp. 26–47. See also F. Liebermann, 'King Alfred and Mosaic Law', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 6 (1908–10), 21–31; A. J. Frantzen, *King Alfred* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1986), pp. 14–16.

by being be able recite his or her daily psalms.[11] This is a most oddly shaped Anglo-Saxon book, being three times as tall as wide (526 × 186 mm); it is finely decorated and includes several line drawings. In addition to Alfred's prose psalms, it has Pss. 51–150 in a metrical Old English version (certainly not by Alfred), along with a Latin text of all the psalms in parallel columns. In his translation of the prose psalms Alfred's approach was pragmatic, with a mixture of close rendering, where the Latin allows it, and paraphrase, where the Latin is more difficult.[12] He sometimes simplified the Latin, but often supplied expository amplification, too, as in Ps. 13:3, where *venenum aspidum* ('the poison of asps') is rendered 'þære wyrrestan nædran attor þa mon aspis hæt' ('the poison of the most dangerous snake, which is called *aspis*'), and Ps. 16:14, where *saturati sunt porcina* ('they were filled with pork') becomes 'hi eton swynen flæsc, þæt Iudeum unalyfedlic ys to etanne)' ('they ate the meat of pigs, which it is forbidden Jews to eat'). All of the fifty prose psalms, except the first, are preceded by an introduction which defines the theme of the psalm and offers a brief scheme of interpretation, based apparently on Irish exegesis. The pious Alfred seems to have felt a special affinity with the psalms, and with their putative author, King David; Alfred, too, had to try to reconcile his own sufferings with God's will and he was conscious of his own righteousness as leader of his people.

Alfred's thoughts about translation have been preserved in a letter which he wrote to accompany copies of one of his translated works.[13] It contains the first recorded allusion in English to the problem which translators throughout the Christian age have faced – how close one should try to stay to the literal text of the original. In fact, Alfred simply stated his pragmatic solution: 'Sometimes I translated word for word, sometimes sense for sense.' He then made a statement of justification by precedent, recalling that the 'law' (meaning here the Old Testament in general) was found in Hebrew first, but when 'Greek people' began to study it, they put it into their own language. Later, Latin-speaking people did the same, with the help of wise interpreters, and likewise other Christian people put at least some biblical books into their own languages – this being a reference probably to contemporary Old Saxon

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11 *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. P. P. O'Neill (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 2001); on Alfred's authorship, see pp. 73–96.
12 On Alfred's translational methods and style, see *King Alfred's Translation*, ed. O'Neill, pp. 45–53.
13 Old English text in R. Marsden, *The Cambridge Old English Reader* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 34–5 and 36; translation in *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, ed. and trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), pp. 124–6.

translations, rather than the earlier Gothic.[14] Thus Alfred used the logic of necessity, historically endorsed, to legitimise his own vernacular enterprise. The Wycliffites, as we shall see, would use the same argument 500 years later.

The most extensive translations of parts of the canonical Vulgate into Old English – the first seven books of the Old Testament (Genesis–Judges) and the four Gospels from the New – were made some hundred years after Alfred's death, late in the tenth or early in the eleventh century. Though apparently unconnected, the two sets of translations reflect an increasing trend in late Anglo-Saxon England to put the major Christian devotional and regulatory texts into the vernacular; Old English was by now a versatile and receptive medium for them. Though built on the linguistic foundations laid by Alfred, the process was stimulated by the reformation and expansion of Anglo-Saxon monasticism in the second half of the tenth century. The audience for the translations seems primarily to have been monks without good Latin (and that may have been most of them), but increasingly the lay aristocracy was involved. At least some of the works were commissioned by patrons.

Confusingly, the major example of Old Testament translation is known today by two names – either the *Old English Hexateuch* or the *Old English Heptateuch*, depending on which of the two main manuscripts of the work is being referred to. One (the 'Illustrated Hexateuch', London, BL, Cotton Claudius B. iv) is a lavish volume containing most of Genesis and lesser amounts of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua, interspersed with many beautiful illustrations. The other (Oxford, BodL, Laud Misc 509), a far more workaday volume, contains the same text of Genesis–Joshua but also a version of parts of the seventh book, Judges, and is thus a Heptateuch; included also are two pastoral works, one of them an exegetical overview of the whole Bible.[15] The *Heptateuch* (as we shall now call it for convenience) is a compilation of the work of at least three translators. One of these, Ælfric, is well known to us as the most important and prolific of writers in Old English. Born in Wessex, perhaps in the 950s, he spent much of his life as a monk at Cerne Abbas in Dorset but in 1004 or 1005 became abbot of a newly founded abbey at Eynsham, near Oxford, where, presumably, he finished his days. Ælfric completed a carefully planned programme of vernacular works,

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14 Almost nothing is known about such translations, but see Gow in this volume, p. 198.

15 *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de ueteri testamento et novo*, ed. R. Marsden, EETS 330 (Oxford: OUP, 2008). See also *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch. British Museum Cotton Claudius B. IV*, ed. C. R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, EEMF 18 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1974), a facsimile, and B. C. Withers, *The Illustrated Old English Heptateuch, Cotton Claudius B. iv. The Frontier of Seeing and Reading in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2007), which includes a CD-ROM.

the bulk of them homilies, sermons, saints' lives and pastoral letters; they were designed to educate both religious and the laity in orthodox Christian doctrine. References in his own works, along with stylistic analysis, enable us to be confident that Ælfric's contribution to the *Heptateuch* compilation was Gen. 1–24:26, Num. 13–26, Joshua and Judges. During the first decade or two of the eleventh century, at an unknown centre, someone added these translations (except that of Judges) to others, pre-existing or specially prepared, to make a vernacular Hexateuch. There is no evidence that Ælfric himself was involved in the compiling process. Judges may have been added only when the Oxford manuscript was prepared. Six other portions of the Old Testament translations survive (or in one case did survive until the seventeenth century) in other manuscripts, suggesting that the work was widely used.[16]

In an invaluable prefatory letter which he wrote for the Genesis translation (to which it remains attached in each extant copy) Ælfric stated his reservations about translating scripture at all.[17] The letter is addressed to his patron, the ealdorman Æthelweard, whose son founded the monasteries at both Cerne Abbas and Eynsham. Ælfric declared that biblical translation was dangerous, because an unlearned person who read or heard the text might get the idea that they could live now as men did in the time before the 'old law', when the patriarchs had several wives, and he alluded to the incestuous relationships recorded in the Old Testament. He bemoaned the ignorance of some priests, too, who failed to understand the spiritual meaning of biblical narratives, whose simplicity belies their profundity. Scripture, moreover, was set out just as God dictated it to Moses, 'and I dare not write in the English any more than the Latin has, nor change the order of things, except only when the Latin and the English have their peculiar structures, or else it will be very confusing to read for anyone who doesn't know the Latin way.' Ælfric's 'except' is of course crucial, and is the translator's passport to the very freedom he professes to abjure. Jerome, too, as a biblical translator, had asserted the inviolability of scriptural language, while in practice following the 'sense for sense' path.[18] In fact, Ælfric's translation of Genesis is remarkably close to the Latin and is often literal, but he never hesitated to modify, amplify or rearrange as demanded by English idiom. There is, too, the occasional explanatory addition, such as in the very difficult passage in Gen. 6:2, where we are told that 'the sons of God' saw that the daughters of men were fair and took them as wives.

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16 See *Old English Heptateuch*, ed. Marsden, pp. liv–lvi.   17 Text in ibid., pp. 3–7.
18 R. Marsden, 'Ælfric as Translator. The Old English Prose Genesis', *Anglia* 109 (1991), 319–58, at pp. 324–8. See also W. Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation. Some Reformation Controversies and their Background* (Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp. 35–6.

Ælfric translated the Latin fairly literally but added after 'the sons of God' the explanation that these were 'good men', a standard patristic gloss to be found in the works of Augustine, among others.

The origin and precise date of the other major late Anglo-Saxon scriptural project, the translation of the *Old English Gospels*, are obscure, and we have no idea who was responsible for it.[19] Six complete, or almost complete, copies are extant, along with two fragments; two of the complete manuscripts were copied in the twelfth century, the rest in the eleventh. A programme of copying, and a concerted effort of circulation, seem likely. As with the *Heptateuch*, several translators seem to have been involved. The translation is very close to the Latin but is still made idiomatic in terms of Old English syntax, and there are small additions, including amplifications which clarify the narrative. All the surviving copies are ordinary books, without decoration, and show signs of being well used. All have corrections and glosses or additions. A few have liturgical notes also, though it is unlikely that they were ever actually used in services. The *Old English Gospels* played a small part in the religious controversies of the sixteenth century. The first printed edition appeared in 1571, supervised by Archbishop Matthew Parker, with a preface signed by John Foxe and addressed to Queen Elizabeth. The work was claimed as evidence for the ancient establishment of the English church, which was then, in Anglo-Saxon times, in its 'pristine state of olde conformitie'; it had been endangered by recent events but the present (Protestant) religion was a return to it.[20]

New Testament apocryphal works were also put into Old English prose, namely the Gospel of Nicodemus and the related *Vindicta Salvatoris* ('avenging of the Saviour'). The former was hugely popular in the medieval period and is a conflation of the *Acta Pilati* and the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*, i.e., the episode of the 'harrowing' of hell. This formed the subject of an Old English poem, too (*The Descent into Hell*), in which the scene is set with an account of the Marys visiting Christ's empty sepulchre.[21]

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19 See R. M. Liuzza, 'Who Read the Gospels in Old English?', in P. S. Baker and N. Howe (eds.), *Words and Works. Essays for Fred C. Robinson* (University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 3–24. Also *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, ed. R. M. Liuzza, 2 vols., EETS 304 and 314 (Oxford Ubiversity Press, 1994–2000).

20 See especially K. Dekker, 'Reading the Anglo-Saxon Gospels in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in T. N. Hall and D. Scragg (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Books and their Readers. Essays in Celebration of Helmut Gneuss's Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 2008), pp. 68–93, at p. 75.

21 The prose texts are ed. and trans. in *Two Old English Apocrypha and their Latin Source: The Gospel of Nicodemus and the Avenging of the Saviour*, ed. J. E. Cross, CSASE 19 (Cambridge University Press, 1996). For a translation of the poem, see *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, trans. Bradley, pp. 392–5.

Although no other extensive biblical translation in Old English is known, an important vehicle for the vernacular citation of scripture was the large body of Old English homilies and sermons (more than 250), and other Christian literature, which circulated contemporaneously with the continuous scriptural translations. Most of the homilies and sermons were based on Latin patristic sources. Many are anonymous (such as the two earliest collections, the tenth-century Vercelli Homilies and Blickling Homilies), but about half were composed by Ælfric, with Archbishop Wulfstan of York also making a notable contribution. Individual homilies by Ælfric include extensive translation from Kings, Judith, Esther, Job, Joshua and Maccabees. Many other homilies begin with a citation from scripture (usually one of the Gospels), given in Latin, and this 'pericope' is then rendered in Old English, with a detailed exposition of its meaning to follow. Citations in such homiletic works, along with others in monastic rules and other sources, collectively amount to a body of vernacular scripture which contains at least parts of almost every biblical book.[22]

After the Conquest (1100–1400)

After the Norman Conquest of 1066, which brought the Anglo-Saxon period to an end, no further attempt appears to have been made to produce continuous biblical translation in English for another 300 years. The Old English translations of the Heptateuch and the Gospels were still being copied, and thus presumably used, as late as the thirteenth century, but they would have become less and less accessible, owing to rapid language change. Paradoxically, however, more people were exposed to more scripture in English during the period in question than ever before. The vehicle was an astonishingly rich and varied corpus of secondary scriptural literature – devotional, instructional, homiletic, catechetic and regulatory – which reached its peak of production during the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A tradition of scriptural paraphrase and homiletic exposition had already been established, as we have seen, in the pre-Conquest period; what was different now was the sheer volume and range of materials produced. The audience for them, too, had expanded. In the Anglo-Saxon period it had been restricted largely to religious and to the more educated and wealthy laity; after the Conquest such restriction soon disappeared. The English-speaking layman and laywoman of

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22 Many are collected in A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1898; repr. Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions, 1976), and *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers. Second Series* (New York: Scribner / London: Arnold, 1903).

all ranks became targeted in a great enterprise to inculcate Christian doctrine through the medium of the biblical narratives.

'Enterprise' does not seem too strong a word, for the explosion of Christian literature was to an important extent catalysed by deliberate church policy. Pope Innocent III's efforts to reform the church, combat heresy and enlarge the Christian community had culminated in the Constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. These included an injunction on all Christians to make confession to a parish priest once a year, and this in turn put an onus on the priests themselves, no less than the laity, to reach a level of proficiency in the tenets of the faith. In England, John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury, formalised this requirement with his own 'constitutions' (regulations), issued in 1281.[23] Every priest was to explain unambiguously to his people four times a year, in English, the essential tenets of the faith (the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and so on). Pecham provided a brief instruction on each, in case the priests should plead ignorance. By this time, however, such priests were in fact being rivalled by a new breed of educator, the mendicant friar. The missionary zeal of the friars – primarily the Dominicans and the Franciscans, both of which orders had been founded in the early years of the thirteenth century – was directed mainly towards the evangelisation of urban populations, and their success was due to their effectiveness as preachers and confessors.[24] Drawing their methods and theology from the university schools, they developed the art of popular preaching to new levels, and to help them they produced a large body of didactic literature.

Only the briefest review of biblical literature in Middle English need be given here.[25] All the works, except for some versions of the psalter and a few New Testament translations made late in the period, might loosely be termed 'paraphrases' of scripture, in that they amplify, explicate and contextualise the bare narrative, which is sometimes given also in Latin. Many of them are in verse, and a number are translations of French (or more accurately Anglo-Norman) works.[26] Included are narratives of the creation and fall, Old Testament histories, gospel harmonies, a bewildering range of works on the

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23 On the Lateran Council and Pecham's Constitutions, see the overview in J. H. Morey, *Book and Verse. A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Pres, 2000), pp. 33–6.
24 See C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars. The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London: Longman, 1994), pp. 116–26.
25 It relies heavily on the survey in Morey's invaluable *Book and Verse*. For a survey of versified scriptural works, see Vitz's chapter in this volume, pp. 853–7.
26 By the twelfth century, the French-speaking elite were enjoying their own complete versions of the Bible in French.

life of Christ, including infancy narratives (based on apocryphal material) and passion narratives, reworkings of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, versions of the beatitudes and the *Pater noster*, and vernacular prayer books and psalters.

The huge length and ambition of some of the works are astonishing. The *Cursor mundi*, originating perhaps around 1300 in the north of England, survives in ten manuscripts carrying various versions, the longest of them having 30,000 metrical lines. Its aim is to educate the faithful in biblical knowledge by giving a comprehensive and coherent account of sacred history, structured round the seven ages of the world. The biblical narrative is interspersed and supported with apocryphal and legendary material, much of it taken from the *Historia scholastica*, the great sacred history composed in Paris for students by Peter Comestor (d. *c.* 1178). Also based on this work is the 4,000-line poem *Genesis and Exodus*, which includes material from Numbers and Deuteronomy also, extant in an early fourteenth-century manuscript but probably originally composed *c.* 1250.

As in Anglo-Saxon times, sermon and homily provided one of the most pervasive mechanisms of exposure to the Bible in English. Major collections of such works continued the Old English tradition exemplified above all by Ælfric (whose own works were still being read in the twelfth century). In those written in the twelfth or early thirteenth century, the language still looks as much like Old English as Middle English; they include the Bodley collection, the Lambeth homilies and the Kentish homilies. The most popular collection of the later period, made *c.* 1400, was John Mirk's *Festial*.[27] However, one of the earliest homiletic works, the unique *Ormulum*, was in verse. Dating from 1170–80, it was named after its author, Orm, an Augustinian canon who probably lived in the 'Danelaw' area of the east of England, to judge from his language.[28] As we have it, it is a massive 20,000 lines long but, given that the preserved manuscript leaves have only thirty-one of the 242 New Testament lections listed before the introduction (the first from Luke, the last from Acts), it was presumably intended to be eight times that length. The lections are substantial paraphrases of scripture, followed by long and repetitious explanations. Also in verse is the so-called Northern Homily Cycle, a vast and amorphous work written probably by Augustinian canons in York or Yorkshire.[29] It is extant in sixteen manuscripts of the original version (composed *c.* 1300) and four with a later, expanded version. In each case there are some 20,000 lines in octosyllabic couplets. The cycle seems to be based on an Anglo-Norman work

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27 On all these collections, see Morey, *Book and Verse*, p. 319.
28 Ibid., pp. 71–80 gives an excellent overview of this text.   29 Ibid., pp. 323–30.

by Robert of Greatham. Following the standard homiletic pattern, readings in Latin are followed by a vernacular paraphrase and then commentary.

As in the pre-Conquest period, the psalter was the most widely circulating of all biblical books, and it was put into Middle English in three main versions (though groups of psalms or individual psalms were available also in great numbers in other versions).[30] One, the Surtees Psalter, composed *c.* 1250–1300 and extant in six manuscripts, is in verse; the other two are in prose. One of the latter is the so-called Midland Prose Psalter, of which three manuscripts survive, the earliest from *c.* 1350, and which includes glosses translated from French. Far more popular, however, was the psalter of the Yorkshire scholar and hermit, Richard Rolle (d. 1349), which he composed *c.* 1340 for Margaret Kirkeby, according to a verse prologue in one copy, a friend who would later become an anchoress. Rolle's psalter includes a Latin text and an extensive commentary based on that of Peter Lombard (d. *c.* 1160–4), the Italian theologian and teacher associated with Rheims and Paris. In a preface to his translation, Rolle declared that his work was for devout people who did not have Latin, and he said that he used a simple English and, where possible, words near to the Latin. Clearly, however, like Ælfric before him, he had no qualms about leaving strict literalism where sense demanded it: 'In the translacioun I follow the lettere als mykylll [as much] as I may and thare [where] I fynd na propir Ynglis I follow the wit [sense] of the worde'.[31] A testimony to the huge popularity of Rolle's psalter is the survival of nearly forty manuscripts of it. They vary greatly in their presentation: some have interpolated commentary, which may be orthodox or in some cases show Lollard tendencies.

With the exception of some versions of Psalms, all the vernacular works to which we have alluded were paraphrases or expanded reworkings of scripture; the Wycliffite Bible, to which most of the rest of this chapter will be devoted, broke decisively with this tradition. But that project seems to have been anticipated on a small scale during the second half of the fourteenth century by at least one other example of continuous prose translation, made independently of it, though sometimes associated with it when copied in later manuscripts.[32] A translation of Revelation is extant in seventeen manuscripts,

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30 For a survey of Middle English psalters, see ibid., pp. 172–94.
31 J. Wogan-Browne et al. (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular. An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520* (University of Exeter Press, 1998), p. 246, lines 64–5.
32 On the extent and significance of the earlier translations, see R. Hanna, 'English Biblical Texts before Lollardy and their Fate', in F. Somerset, J. Havens and D. Pitard (eds.), *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 141–53.

the earliest dating from the mid-fourteenth century. The manuscripts in fact bear witness to two different translations, but both are based on the popular 'Norman Apocalypse'.[33] There is also a series of manuscripts of the Catholic and Pauline Epistles, Acts and Matthew produced in the earlier part of the fifteenth century.[34] In Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 32, the complete Pauline Epistles, which are preceded by commentaries on Mark and Luke, are presented in sections of Latin followed by translation (with a few short glosses and amplifications, which become fewer as the work proceeds); the Latin of the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans is given but the space left for a translation is not filled. Nothing is known of the specific use of this volume. Six further manuscripts, produced between c. 1400 and c. 1450, contain various combinations of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles (in two different versions), Acts and Matthew.

The Wycliffite Bible

The Wycliffite Bible – the first attempt to put the whole Bible into English – was not so much a logical culmination of the vernacular activities which we have outlined above as a deliberate rejection of them. In most of those earlier works, whether in prose or poetry, selected parts of scripture had been presented expansively, in didactic and interpretative mode. The theological context given them was derived from the schools, and above all from the works of the great commentators such as Comestor and Lombard. The Wycliffite Bible, on the other hand, gave English readers naked scripture, not only independent of its Latin source (many of the earlier works had done that) but freed from the influence of the schools also. Some 250 manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible, or parts of it, survive, outnumbering those of any other Middle English text. It encompassed the whole Vulgate canon, including those books which would later be deemed apocryphal by the protestant church (Wisdom, Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Baruch, Laodiceans). However, only twenty of the surviving manuscripts are complete Bibles (though there is fragmentary evidence for a possible further seventeen), and it is clear that production was dominated by part-volumes of the translation; the greatest number (some 176) are copies or part-copies of the New Testament, including thirty-three gospelbooks, but there are also forty-two copies of Psalms.[35]

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33 Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 351–3.   34 Ibid., pp. 344–50.
35 The figures are those in M. Dove, *The First English Bible. The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 17–18.

Inspiration and authorship

The Wycliffite Bible is known as such because it was produced, in the last decades of the fourteenth century, by a group of clerical scholars linked to the reformer John Wyclif, based at least for a time at the University of Oxford and associated with The Queen's College. Although the movement of which Wyclif was the figurehead began modestly enough in the 1370s as an effort to reform certain aspects of the church from within, by the early years of the fifteenth century it had been condemned by that church as an heretical sect, with its adherents contemptuously referred to as 'Lollards'.[36] The idea of the vernacular Bible became a *casus belli*, to the extent that Lollardy has aptly been labelled 'the English heresy'.[37] In his earlier works, Wyclif stressed the Bible as the sole criterion of Christian doctrine, with the radical corollary that ecclesiastical structures without a basis in scriptural authority (and that included the office of pope) were to be rejected. He railed against the speculative rhetoric of the medieval schools and the clerical domination of theology, and he reserved a special hatred for the orders of friars. Wyclif's doctrines were condemned in 1382 and he retired to his parish at Lutterworth, only to continue writing tracts at a prodigious rate until his death in 1384. The small band of followers who had gathered round him in Oxford continued to preach and practise his ideas. They promoted an ideal of linguistic democracy – truth did not reside in one language more than another, and direct access to plain scripture would bypass the corruption of mendacious preachers and other middlemen whose subtleties hide God's truth. This was not, however, a blanket rejection of all tradition: the plain, literal meaning of scripture was to be read in the context of an authoritative Christocentric tradition of the church of the faithful.[38]

If the inspiration for the Wycliffite Bible is clear, its authorship has proved to be a more difficult issue, though perhaps unnecessarily so.[39] As early as about 1390, the chronicler Henry Knighton (an anti-Wycliffite) was attributing the controversial translation directly to Wyclif himself, and the attribution was to become, and would remain, a commonplace. Modern scholars have been divided about Wyclif's role, but in her reassessment Mary Dove concluded that

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36 The terms Wycliffite and Lollard seem to have become more or less synonymous; see A. Hudson, 'Wyclif and the English Language', in A. Kenny (ed.), *Wyclif in his Times* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), pp. 85–103, at 85–6. On Wyclif and reform, see in this volume Dove, pp. 585–95

37 A. Hudson, 'Lollardy: The English Heresy?', in her *Lollards and their Books* (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon, 1985), pp. 141–63.

38 Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 194.   39 See Dove's detailed discussion, ibid., pp. 68–82.

the contemporary evidence, ambiguous though it often is, implies that Wyclif at least 'initiated and actively supervised' the translation project.[40] Certainly it is inconceivable that he could have been aloof from, let alone ignorant of, such a major scriptural enterprise – the logical outcome of his ideas – among his followers. Who among the latter were actually involved in the labour of translation has proved to be another contentious issue. Manuscript evidence for Nicholas of Hereford's involvement, at least with the Old Testament (as far as Bar. 3:20), is fairly conclusive, but in respect of John Purvey, who has also consistently been associated with the project, there is no clear evidence.[41] William Caxton named John of Trevisa as 'the' translator, an attribution which would be repeated in the translators' preface to the King James Version.

In fact, it is now recognised that the scale of the Wycliffite project was such that it must have been a collaborative one from the start, and the bewilderingly complex relationship between the texts of the many manuscripts confirms this. They transmit not a single established text but a variety of texts. Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden – editors of the monumental 1850 edition in four volumes[42] – proposed a textual model which makes a simple division of the surviving manuscripts into those carrying an 'earlier version' and those with a 'later version'; copies of the latter outnumber those of the former by about five to one. In general, earlier-version manuscripts are found to carry a translation very close to the Latin, to the extent that literalism may render sense obscure; later-version manuscripts tend to be in more idiomatic English. This trend may be illustrated with a brief extract from Gen. 9:1.

> Vulgate: Benedixitque Deus Noe et filliis eis;
> Earlier version: And god blyssede to Noe & to þe sonnes of hym;
> Later version: And god blesside noe & hise sones.

In the earlier version, as in the Vulgate, Noah and his sons are made indirect objects of 'blessed', and are thus preceded by 'to', mimicking the Latin dative construction; the later version makes the objects direct, as in contemporary

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40 Ibid, p. 81.
41 See A. Hudson, 'John Purvey: A Reconsideration of the Evidence for his Life and Writings', in her *Lollards and their Books*, pp. 85–110, esp. pp. 101–8.
42 *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, ed. J. Forshall and F. Madden, 4 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1850; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1982). Conrad Lindberg has produced (1959–2007) individual editions of selected manuscripts of both 'earlier' and 'later' versions (on which, see below) to modern critical standards. They are published in the series Stockholm Studies in English.

(and modern) English.[43] It will be noted, however, that even the earlier version is not completely literal, in the way a word-for-word translation would be.

It is now acknowledged that this model of a simple dichotomy is misleading.[44] There are great variations among the earlier-version manuscripts, compared with the comparative homogeneity of the later group, and stylistic differences between different sections (including choice of vocabulary) indicate that they had been assigned to different translators; some earlier-version manuscripts of the New Testament show revisions made apparently with reference to the later version. The differences between earlier and later versions are far greater in the Old Testament, especially the earlier parts of it, than in the New Testament, which suggests that the translators began with Genesis and worked through the Bible systematically and that there was a process of learning on their part. Indeed, all the evidence indicates that the Wycliffite Bible as a whole should be thought of as a work in progress. The earlier-version manuscripts probably represent a very early stage; Dove suggested that the translators may in fact never have wanted their versions to be copied and circulated before extensive revision but in the event lost control of the process.[45] As for the dating of the project, a start may have been made during the 1370s at The Queen's College, where there was the necessary concentration of scholars and a supply of books, and the continuing work may then have filled the last twenty years of the fourteenth century.[46]

The general prologue

The concept of a work in progress is confirmed by the so-called 'general prologue' to the Wycliffite Bible, which is attached only to some manuscripts of the later version and seems to have been designed to replace the standard series of Latin prologues from the Vulgate which had been included in earlier manuscripts of the whole Bible and the Old Testament. The prologue reveals the scholarly nature of the enterprise, above all the systematic application of textual criticism in the elucidation of a source text as a necessary prelude to producing the translation of it. In chapter 15 of the prologue, the anonymous writer (long identified, without any foundation, as John Purvey), described a fourfold process.[47] First, 'this simple creature' strove 'with various companions

43 It may be noted that such constructions had been familiar in Old English.
44 See Dove's extensive discussion of textual variation and development, *First English Bible*, pp. 137–88; also A. Hudson, *The Premature Reformation. Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 238–47.
45 *First English Bible*, pp. 139–40.   46 Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 246–7.
47 Ch. 15 is printed by Hudson in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 67–72. On Purvey's alleged involvement, see Hudson, 'John Purvey', pp. 103–5.

and helpers', to establish a reasonably accurate ('sumdel trewe') Bible text, using such old copies as they could assemble, along with the works of the doctors of the church (Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory) and glosses. Second, this text was revised, using more commentators, and especially (for the Old Testament) Nicholas of Lyra, the Paris-based Franciscan scholar (d. 1340) celebrated for his *postillae*. Elsewhere the prologue-writer notes the poor textual quality of the Bibles then in circulation. Third, the works of ancient grammarians and theologians were used to establish the meaning of difficult words and phrases, with a view to best translating them. Fourth (in what is in fact a two-part process), the sense was translated as clearly as possible and then this translation was handed over to competent and skilful fellow scholars for correction.

The prologue-writer reasserted also the principle of sense-for-sense, rather than strict word-for-word, translation, but there is an added edge:

> First it is to be knowe þat þe beste translating is, out of Latyn into English, to translate aftir þe sentence [according to the sense] and not oneli aftir the wordis, so þat þe sentence be as opin eiþer openere [open or more open] in English as in Latyn, and go not fer fro [far from] þe lettre; and if þe lettre mai not be suid [followed] in þe translating, let þe sentence euere be hool [whole] and open, for þe wordis owen to serue [ought to serve] to þe entent [intention] and sentence, and ellis [else] þe wordis ben superflu eiþer [are superflous or] false.'[48]

The implicit claim – a bold one, but fully in tune with Lollard beliefs – is that the translation may communicate scriptural truth more lucidly than the Latin itself, even for those who know that language. Specific examples are then given of the difficulties facing the translator from Latin (such as the use of participles and the 'ablative absolute') and how they may be overcome.

The prologue-writer ends by reiterating the historical validation of vernacular, and thus English, scripture. What did Jerome do but make scripture available in his own mother tongue? History tells us that Bede 'translated the Bible and expounded much in Saxon', which was the English of the time, and Alfred, in his last days, completed the beginning of the psalter. The prologue-writer notes too that 'Frenchmen, Bohemians and Britons' have the Bible and other books of devotion translated into their mother tongues. Why then should Englishmen not have the same in their language?

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48 Hudson (ed.), *Selections*, p. 68; also *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible. The Texts of the Medieval Debate*, ed. M. Dove (Exeter University Press, 2010), p. 81.

Opposition and condemnation

By their active promotion of the self-sufficiency of scripture, the Lollards themselves created the angry opposition to biblical translation that would culminate with the issuing of Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions in 1409. Two years previously, the matter of vernacular translation had been debated at Oxford. The grounds for the opposition expressed there were an ingenious mixture of the linguistic, the practical and the self-interested.[49] First, the English language (it was claimed) was inadequate for the task of conveying scriptural truths, for it lacked the wide vocabulary, inflectional refinements and rhetorical resources of Latin. Second, those truths were in any case too profound for laypeople to grasp directly, and they would be unable to detect, let alone deal with, textual deficiencies and obscurities. Third, those same people might nevertheless believe that they could now themselves preach, and priests would thus lose their prestige. Finally, the Latin language, a unifying factor in Christianity, would decline and die.

In the earlier medieval period, the view that scripture in the non-Latin vernaculars was potentially dangerous, with the implied corollary that the promotion of it might be prima facie evidence of heresy, seems to have been widespread. As we have seen, it was held by Ælfric in the early eleventh century, who was concerned about potential misunderstandings by the laity. Yet there is no evidence whatsoever of any official prohibition by the church of such translation, and the much quoted letters of Innocent III, responding to anxieties raised by the bishop of Metz about the activities of a group of laypeople who were using French versions of scripture in secret, have been misinterpreted.[50] The letters (the first of which, written in 1199, was later included in the Decretals of Gregory IX) show clearly that the pope had no interest in the translations, being concerned rather with the way in which the laypeople were usurping the office of preacher. In England, the wide circulation of translations such as Rolle's psalter confirms that there at least, until late in the fourteenth century, there was no official opposition to the vernacularisation of scripture.

[49] See N. Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum* 70 (1995), 822–64, at pp. 841–3.

[50] See L. E. Boyle, 'Innocent III and Vernacular Versions of Scripture', in K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985) pp. 97–107; also, in this volume, Gow, pp. 198–9, and Sneddon, pp. 257–9.

Arundel's Constitutions have been described as 'one of the most draconian pieces of censorship in English history' and they stayed in place for 120 years.[51] The seventh of the thirteen regulations (the others dealt with matters such as the licensing of preachers, the requirements of orthodoxy and topics appropriate for a lay audience) forbade the translation of any text of scripture into English and the ownership of any translation made in the time of Wyclif or later, without the express permission of a bishop, which would be granted only after inspection of the translation. The Latin of the injunction does not make it clear whether or not works containing quotation only were meant to be included.

The specific effects of the Constitutions are hard to quantify, but there is in fact very little evidence for the practice of the sort of licensing process which they describe.[52] Ownership (apparently unlicensed) of the Wycliffite Bible, or works containing translations from it, continued to be widespread and unproblematic and the owners were often unquestionably orthodox. The Franciscan house at Shrewsbury, for instance, had a volume of extracts from both Testaments in the earlier version, the nuns of Barking Abbey had a copy of Tobit and Susanna, and Norwich Cathedral Priory a New Testament in the later version. Several copies of the Wycliffite Bible were in royal ownership: Henry IV, Henry VI and Henry VII, along with Edward III's son Thomas of Gloucester and Henry IV's son Thomas of Lancaster, all owned one; where these survive, they are sumptuous volumes. It seems that what mattered was who owned a translation, not the translation itself. In general, it would be less easy for a layperson than for a cleric or member of a monastic order to prove their orthodox credentials.[53] Ownership of suspect volumes is mentioned frequently in hearings involving heresy in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries but, though the record is patchy, one scholar has concluded, on the basis of Lollard activity in Coventry, that 'the simple possession of scripture in English was never the sole basis for an accusation of heresy'.[54] Nevertheless, ownership of English books was a good way of identifying Lollards.[55]

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51 Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change', p. 826. Constitution 7 is translated in M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 296. See also Hudson, 'The English Heresy', pp. 146–8.

52 See especially Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 46–58; also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 232–4.

53 Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 55.

54 S. McSheffrey, 'Heresy, Orthodoxy and English Vernacular Religion', *Past and Present* 186 (2005), 47–80, at p. 63.

55 Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 166.

Conclusion: biblical English

The thread of continuity in the englishing of the Bible during the medieval period, which has been one of the themes of this chapter, may be traced onwards into later centuries. At the level of polemic and justification, it was most evident when the compilers of the King James Version early in the seventeenth century took up the time-honoured ideas in their own preface. More fundamental, but rather less easy to quantify, is linguistic continuity. As the Bible became englished during the medieval period, so the English language itself became profoundly biblicised. It is unlikely that there was yet any concept of 'biblical English' as we know it today, but exposure to much-repeated scriptural excerpts, circulating in the mass of paraphrased and derived literature which we have described, must have given English-speakers familiarity with a large stock of biblical idiom. Expressions such as 'in the twinkling of an eye' and 'death, where is thy sting?' (1 Cor. 15:52, 55), 'the patience of Job' (Jas. 5:11), 'it rained fire and brimstone from heaven' (Gen. 19:24), 'if the blind lead the blind' (Luke 6:39) – among many others – were well established in the language long before later translators such as William Tyndale used them.[56] Some familiar biblical idiom (including a range of hebraisms, such as those using the cognate accusative construction) had certainly been adopted as early as the Anglo-Saxon period, but the huge changes which occurred as the older language became Middle English after the Norman Conquest, with a drastic loss of old vocabulary and much syntactical change, make specific continuities hard to identify.

It is something of an irony that the makers of the first ever complete English translation of scripture, the Wycliffite Bible, more often than not eschewed these familiar idioms (especially in the earlier version; the later revision acknowledged some of them). The explanation seems to be that the Lollard translators deliberately distanced themselves from the largely periphrastic and amplified biblical literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, wherein Bible-specific English had evolved and become naturalised. They went back, initially word by word, to the Latin of the Vulgate and made an English version from scratch, uninfluenced by what had gone before. The translators of the Reformation period, however, whose source texts were

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56 See R. Marsden, '"In the Twinkling of an Eye". The English of Scripture before Tyndale', *Leeds Studies in English* 31 (2000), 145–72.

now to be Hebrew and Greek, rather than Latin, would reconnect with the old familiarities in the target language and, consciously or otherwise, would build again on the centuries-old linguistic traditions of vernacular English scripture.

The Bible in the languages of Scandinavia

BODIL EJRNÆS

The arrival of the earliest Christian missionaries in Scandinavia can be dated to the eighth century, but it was not until the ninth that organised missionary activity was taking place, and during the following centuries the Scandinavians converted to Christianity. At that time Scandinavia was split into three kingdoms – Denmark, Norway (including Iceland) and Sweden – and the Christianisation of the Scandinavian peoples was effected through a collaboration between king and church in each country. By the end of the twelfth century the process was completed, after the establishment of an archiepiscopal see in each of the three countries: at Lund (Denmark) in 1104, Nidaros (Norway) in 1153 and Uppsala (Sweden) in 1164.[1]

Up to the twelfth century there was one common Nordic language in Scandinavia, including the Faeroe Islands and Iceland. During the following century, as a consequence of political developments, this developed into three separate, though closely related, languages: Norse in west Scandinavia (Norway including Iceland), and Swedish and Danish in east Scandinavia. Later on, in the fifteenth century, the Norse language was displaced by Danish in Norway. This linguistic development is reflected in the appearance eventually of three different Scandinavian Reformation Bibles: Gustav Vasa's Bible (1541) in Sweden, Christian III's Bible (1550) in Denmark, also used in Norway, and Gudbrand's Bible (1584) in Iceland.

However, just as in other European countries, even before the Reformation parts of the Bible were put into the vernacular in Scandinavia. Small sections of the Vulgate were translated in the monasteries during the medieval period, primarily some of the Old Testament psalms and passages from the New Testament, for liturgical and homiletic purposes. But more substantial

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1 On the Christianisation of Scandinavia, see M. S. Lausten, *A Church History of Denmark* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), esp. 'The Middle Ages', pp. 1–82, and I. Brohed (ed.), *Church and People in Britain and Scandinavia. Part 1: Christianisation*, Bibliotheca Historico-Ecclesiastica Lundensis 36 (Lund and Bromley: Lund University Press and Chartwell-Bratt, 1996), pp. 13–89.

translations were made also, in each Scandinavian language: in Norse, *Stjórn*, comprising the books from Genesis to 2 Kings; in Swedish, a paraphrase of the Pentateuch (to which, in a later period, translations of various canonical and apocryphal Old Testament books, along with the New Testament Apocalypse, were added); and in Danish, a translation of the books from Genesis to 2 Kings. Furthermore, there exists a paraphrase of Acts and a translation of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus in Swedish, and a translation of parts of the books of Maccabees is incorporated in a Norse saga. What is remarkable, however, is that we do not have proper translations of the canonical Gospels in any Scandinavian vernacular from the pre-Reformation era. This of course does not exclude the possibility that such translations may have existed, and quotations from the Gospels in Norse medieval literature perhaps offer support for this.[2]

In what follows I shall focus in turn on the three substantial works mentioned above and then assess the relationships between them, before concluding with some comments on how their composition emphasises the interrelatedness of the Old and the New Testaments.

Stjórn

The name *Stjórn*, meaning 'guidance', is the modern title of the Norse work.[3] It occurs neither in the Bible work itself nor in medieval sources, but its use can be traced back to the seventeenth century. Probably the name was intended to characterise the content of the work (Genesis to 2 Kings) as God's guidance of his people from creation to exile. According to another interpretation, however, the name indicates that the work contains the word of God, leading its readers or listeners to the right conduct of life.

The history of the origin of *Stjórn* is very complicated and has still not been fully clarified. It is assumed that the work was created in Norway during the first two decades of the fourteenth century. Its prologue tells us that the Norwegian king Håkon V Magnusson (1299–1319) ordered it to be written and that it was to be read aloud on Sundays and other festivals to 'the good men', that is, trusted men in the king's service.[4] Thus the purpose

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2 See I. J. Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse*, Publications de la Faculté de Lettres, Université de Lausanne, 27 (Geneva: Droz, 1986), pp. 115–17.

3 Editions of *Stjórn* are *Stjorn. Gammelnorsk bibelhistorie. Fra verdens skabelse til det babyloniske fangenskab*, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania: Feilberg and Landmark, 1862), and *Stjórn AM 227 fol. A Norwegian Version of the Old Testament Transcribed in Iceland*, ed. D. A. Seip, Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi 20 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956).

4 R. Astås, *Et bibelverk fra middelalderen. Studier i Stjórn 1–2* (Oslo: Novus, 1987), pp. 304–5.

of the work seems to have been to educate the king's men in knowledge of the Bible. Furthermore, the prologue points out that the biblical text has been augmented with material from other sources. Two works are explicitly mentioned: the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor (d. *c.* 1178) and the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264).

The text is known from several manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts, written presumably in Iceland, dating from the fourteenth century. Only one of these comprises the entire work.[5] Judging from the evidence of the manuscripts and from the content, language and style of the work, *Stjórn* consisted of three parts (normally designated *Stjórn I*, *II* and *III*), each of them with a separate provenance but now combined and edited as one comprehensive and coherent work. *Stjórn I* comprises Genesis–Exodus 18, *Stjórn II* the rest of the Pentateuch and *Stjórn III* Joshua–2 Kings. In the manuscript of the entire work, noted above, eight leaves containing *Stjórn II*, written in a later hand, are an addition; in other manuscripts *Stjórn II* is totally lacking. In one of these, the scribes have left two and a half columns blank between Exodus 18 and the book of Joshua (beginning at the top of a new page), probably intending to add the rest of the Pentateuch later.[6]

It is a generally accepted assumption that *Stjórn I*, based on the Vulgate and other sources, is the youngest part of the work. The Vulgate text is treated very freely, being to a large extent paraphrased, elaborated with comments and interpretations, and interpolated with comprehensive material taken from the works of medieval theologians, mainly Peter Comestor and Vincent of Beauvais. *Stjórn I* is thus a compilation of biblical and non-biblical material, as indeed described in a prologue to the work.

The rest of the Pentateuch (as contained in *Stjórn II*) has a different character. Most noticeably, this part is based on the Vulgate without interpolated material from non-biblical sources. Frequently the text is summarised, with some passages abridged and others omitted.[7] *Stjórn II* is thought to represent an older Norse translation from the thirteenth or maybe even the twelfth century.[8] In *Stjórn III*, comprising Joshua–2 Kings, we again find external material incorporated in the biblical text in the form of passages from

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5 Copenhagen, University Library, AM 226 fol. (part of the Arnamagnean Manuscript Collection, now split between Copenhagen and Reykjavik). Apart from *Stjórn*, the manuscript contains some other works. It has 158 leaves and is illuminated; two leaves are wanting. The text is written in two columns. *Stjórn* ends at the top of col. 445 (fol. 110).

6 Reykjavik, Árni Magnússon Institute, AM 227 fol. It is an illuminated manuscript of 128 leaves, with the text written in two columns. The manuscript is defective and is presumed to have originally contained 150 leaves; see *Stjórn*, ed. Seip, p. 8.

7 See Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse*, pp. 56–60 and 72–3.   8 *Stjórn*, ed. Seip, pp. 14–15.

Peter Comestor (but seemingly not from Vincent of Beauvais),[9] and the biblical text is elaborated with comments often conveying a typological interpretation, with Old Testament figures seen as types of Christ. *Stjórn III* is also believed to derive from an older translation, originating in the beginning of thirteenth century.[10]

Thus each of the three parts of *Stjórn* has its particular character in respect of the treatment of the Vulgate text and the practice of adding non-biblical material, but together they appear as a whole owing to the fact that the biblical text from Genesis to 2 Kings is the connecting backbone of the work, structuring the non-biblical material, which is interpolated especially in *Stjórn I* and *III*. Differing from *Stjórn II*, the text of these is divided into smaller sections, each with a superscription giving a brief summary of the content.

The work thus reveals the author (or perhaps authors) of *Stjórn* as a translator, a compiler, a paraphraser and a commentator all at the same time. From his sources he has composed a new work of his own, demonstrating a high level of intellectual activity and displaying a good deal of creativity. This way of treating the biblical material is not unique to Norse compositions, for the practice is known from other European countries also, seeming to put *Stjórn* into the popular medieval genre of 'history Bible' (compilations of highlights from the biblical narratives).

The Swedish Bible translations

The oldest extant Swedish Bible work, a Pentateuch paraphrase, which was probably made in the fourteenth century, is known from two manuscripts, one dating from about 1430 and the other from 1526. The latter also includes translations of other Old Testament and apocryphal 'historical' books, along with the New Testament Apocalypse.[11] The origin of the Pentateuch paraphrase is unknown. In the elder manuscript, it is introduced by the rubric, half in Latin, half in the vernacular, '*Assit principio Sancta Maria meo* ['May Holy Mary support me as I begin']. Here begins the Bible in Swedish'.[12] But neither

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9 Ibid., p. 15.

10 See L. Wollin, 'Stjórn och Pentateukparafrasen. Ett samnordiskt dominikanprojekt i högmedeltiden?', *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 116 (2001), 221–99, at pp. 226–32.

11 Editions of the Swedish Bible are *Svenska medeltidens bibel-arbeten, efter gamla handskrifter*, 2 vols., ed. G. E. Klemming, Samlingar utgifna av Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet 9 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1848–53), and *Fem Moseböcker på fornsvenska enligt Cod. Holm. A 1*, ed. O. Thorell, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet 60 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1959).

12 Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 4. This is an unilluminated manuscript in quarto format containing 150 leaves, with some missing. The text is written in one column.

manuscript supplies information about author, place or date of origin, nor do we have unambiguous evidence about these matters from other sources. It has been suggested that the author was Master Matthias, a prominent learned theologian who died about 1350 and was the confessor of the holy Birgitta of Vadstena. According to sources from the medieval period, Birgitta did have a Bible translation made,[13] but there is no proof that her translation is to be identified with the Pentateuch paraphrase represented in the two manuscripts.[14]

Like the Pentateuch section of *Stjórn*, the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase is based on the Vulgate text, complemented by substantial material from other sources. Thus it, too, can be characterised as a history Bible. One of its distinctive features is that the text is not divided into sections (as is the case in *Stjórn*). Parts of the text appear as a word-for-word translation, while other parts, primarily the legalistic passages of Exodus–Deuteronomy, are paraphrased, condensed or abridged. Often additions, glosses, comments and interpretative material are incorporated into the biblical text and, as in *Stjórn*, Old Testament figures and events are given a typological interpretation. The reader of the Old Testament books finds frequent references to Christ and other figures from the New Testament.

Furthermore, quite large portions of non-biblical material are taken from Augustine and from later medieval exegetes, such as Peter Comestor, Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard. The material is used mainly in two comprehensive introductions, one a retelling of the biblical story from Adam to Alexander the Great, ending with a look forward to the Maccabean era and Jesus, and the other a discussion of biblical-philosophical topics including questions such as 'how many heavens are there?', 'were man and woman created simultaneously?', and 'where is Paradise situated?' In the answers to these questions, references are made to scripture, the fathers, Moses, David, Solomon, Paul and other biblical persons. Similarly, a section of biblical-philosophical topics ends the entire work, with questions such as 'was the Mosaic Law good?'

The Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase, like *Stjórn*, is thus a work of compilation, comprising biblical as well as non-biblical material. In producing his work the author combined translation with paraphrase and added material and commentary, just like his Norse colleague, and he seems to be drawing partly on the same sources (mainly Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*).

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13 *Svenska medeltidens bibel-arbeten*, ed. Klemming, vol. I, pp. 575–97.
14 Wollin, 'Stjórn och Pentateukparafrasen', p. 232.

In the second copy of the work,[15] a manuscript written in 1526 probably in the Birgittine monastery of Vadstena, the Pentateuch paraphrase is followed by three separate translations. The first contains the books of Joshua and Judges, and according to the colophon the translator was Niels Ragwaldi, the general confessor of Vadstena monastery in about 1500. The colophon to the second translation, comprising the books of Judith, Esther, Ruth and Maccabees, says that it was written by the monk Jöns Budde, in the year 1484 in the Birgittine monastery Nådendal in Finland. Author, time and place of writing of the third translation, the Apocalypse, are unknown, but it is thought to originate from the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. All three translations are based on the Vulgate text. Apart from prologues (some of them taken from the Vulgate), epilogues and chapter headings with brief summaries, they contain no non-biblical material. Unlike in the Pentateuch paraphrase, only very few comments or glosses occur. Consequently they may be designated as translations in the proper sense, faithful to the Vulgate text.

At least two of the translations have Birgittine provenance and this may be the case also with the manuscript itself, which was probably financed and maybe even copied by a nun, since this manuscript as a whole reflects an interest in and a preference for female figures. In some of the prologues women are explicitly addressed: 'beloved sisters' (Joshua) and 'dearest sisters' (Apocalypse). Moses' sister Mary (in the Pentateuch paraphrase), Judith, Esther and Ruth are paid particular attention and given prominence as role models for women, and the holy Birgitta is mentioned in the prologue of the Apocalypse. Furthermore, focus on the Virgin Mary is given by two woodcuts in which she is the central figure. One was inserted at the beginning of the manuscript, depicting Mary in a humble posture surrounded by seven minor illustrations with motifs from her life, the other after the book of Ruth, showing a genealogical tree from Adam to Mary.

The Old Danish Bible

The Danish translation of the books of Genesis to 2 Kings is believed to have originated in the fifteenth century.[16] Only one manuscript is extant and,

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15 Stockholm, Royal Library, Holm. A 1. It is an illuminated manuscript in folio format containing 256 leaves, only a few of which are damaged. The text is written in two columns. Two woodcuts are included.

16 Editions of the Old Danish Bible are *Den ældste danske Bibel-Oversættelse eller det gamle Testamentes otte første Bøger, fordanskede efter Vulgata*, ed. C. Molbech, (Copenhagen: Andreas Seidelin,

compared with the two illuminated Norse manuscripts of *Stjórn* and the early sixteenth-century Swedish manuscript described above, it has a modest and unostentatious appearance without illustrations or illuminations.[17] No information about its provenance is found in the manuscript, neither is it mentioned in sources until the middle of the eighteenth century. Judging from the type of script and style the manuscript, which is presumably a copy, dates back to the last half of the fifteenth century. It has been suggested that it came into existence in a Birgittine monastery in Denmark, probably in Jutland (indicated by the dialect of the text). However, there is no unambiguous evidence to support this assumption. A comparison with the above-mentioned Swedish Bible translations of Birgittine provenance from the end of the fifteenth century does not suggest any interdependence.[18]

The manuscript is fairly well preserved, but some leaves are damaged and others, including the opening two or even more leaves, are lacking.[19] Consequently the beginning of the work is not known; the first readable words are from Gen. 2:9. The text ends abruptly in line two on the last leaf (in the middle of a sentence from 2 Kings 23:18). Obviously the scribe interrupted his work for some reason and never resumed it. The text is written continuously, with book titles and chapter headings as the only indication of division. The Old Danish Bible is based on the Vulgate text (including the prologues of Jerome). Unlike the authors of the Norse *Stjórn* and the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase, the author of the Danish Bible worked primarily as a translator, not as a compiler, paraphraser or commentator. Each word is rendered carefully, and now and then is clarified, accurately, by means of glosses (often giving synonyms). Not only did the translator stick closely to the text, but he even imitated Latin grammar and syntax in the Danish language, to such an extent that a Danish reader may often have difficulties in making sense of the text. The translator seems to have been so eager to demonstrate his linguistic knowledge that frequently he initiated his readers into the nuances of Latin words and phrases, albeit not always quite convincingly.

1828), and *Gammeldansk Bibeloversættelse. Den utrykte del*, 4 vols. (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1968–9).

17 Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 8 fol. It has 319 leaves, with the text written in two columns.

18 See *Den ældste danske Bibel-Oversættelse*, ed. Molbech, pp. v–vi and xiv; and N. Haastrup, 'En latinsk Bibel på dansk. Omkring Thott 8 2°, den ældste danske Bibeloversættelse fra slutningen af 1400-tallet', in E. Petersen (ed.), *Levende ord & lysende billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark. Essays* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek / Højbjerg: Moesgård Museum, 1999), pp. 173–84, at pp. 181 and 183, n. 37.

19 If the translation was introduced by a prologue, we may assume that more than two leaves are lacking; see Haastrup, 'En latinsk Bibel på dansk', pp. 175–7.

Another interesting feature is that only in a few cases did the translator incorporate material from other sources into his work; in this respect it has quite a different character from both the Norse *Stjórn* and the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase. The figures of Moses and David in particular caused the translator to insert interpretative comments or legendary material; in Numbers 12 he incorporated two stories about Moses taken from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, and the additions related to the figure of David in the books of Samuel are mainly comments and interpretations, often providing a David–Christ typology or a perspective on the New Testament. In a few cases there are invocations of David ('O, saint David, pray for us' or 'Help, saint David'), once Mary is invoked ('Help, Mary'), and on one occasion, in connection with the book title of 2 Samuel, God, the Virgin Mary and St David appear side by side in a doxology. So there is in fact non-biblical material in the Old Danish Bible, but compared to *Stjórn* and the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase this is reduced to a minimum. It can as a result be labelled a Bible translation and not a paraphrase, a work of compilation or history Bible.

The purpose of the translation and the identity of its audience are no more known than the translator. Because of the 'Latin' character of the translated text, which makes it difficult to grasp the meaning without knowledge of the Latin text, it is hardly probable that the translation was intended for public reading aloud.[20] It has been suggested that the purpose of creating this work was to produce a sort of auxiliary version for persons who had not acquired sufficient Latin knowledge to read the Latin Bible and therefore needed some support.[21]

Medieval Bible works: evidence of interdependence?

First, it is worth noticing how by and large the same biblical books were extant in the various Scandinavian languages in the pre-Reformation era, primarily the Pentateuch and several of the subsequent books, namely Joshua, Judges and Ruth; in two areas, Denmark and Norway / Iceland, the books of Samuel and Kings are also included. Hence there seems to have been a preference for the historical books of the Old Testament.

Second, although each of the Scandinavian Bible works used the Vulgate as the main source, the treatment of the text differed widely. As we have seen, two types may be distinguished. One type is represented by *Stjórn* and

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20 Ibid., p. 177.   21 Ibid., pp. 181–2.

the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase, both from the fourteenth century. This type belongs to the genre of the history Bible, characteristically a work of compilation. Drawing on other sources than the Vulgate, above all on the works of the predominant medieval exegetes, the author (or authors) added a considerable amount of non-biblical material, mainly either by incorporating it into the biblical material (*Stjórn*) or by structuring it as introductions and prefaces (the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase). Furthermore, the treatment of the biblical text in these works is rather uneven: now and then the Vulgate text is rendered word for word, but more often larger passages are paraphrased, condensed, deleted or elaborated with comments and interpretations.

The other type of treatment of the text is represented by the Old Danish Bible and the later Swedish translations, all of them dating from the end of the fifteenth century. They deserve to be called proper translations, even though differences between them in respect of translation technique can be observed, with the Danish translator transferring peculiarities and characteristics of the Latin source language to the target language and the Swedish translators producing more idiomatic translations. They share, however, the characteristic feature that no paraphrasing or abridging of the text is made, and only minor glosses and a small number of additions to the biblical text appear.

Inevitably, the resemblances between the Norse *Stjórn* and the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase on one side and between the Old Danish Bible and the later Swedish translations on the other side raise the question about the interdependence of the texts within each pair. Is it possible to demonstrate the impact of one biblical work on another, or are the resemblances simply evidence of a common context? During the last centuries of the medieval period the Dominicans played an important role in Scandinavia. The Nordic province of the Dominican order, called Dacia, was founded in 1228, and this order was highly active in the fields of education and translation.[22] A wider contact with European culture and theology was thereby established and the thoughts and works of the predominant medieval biblical exegetes became known and influential in Scandinavia.

In a study comparing *Stjórn* and the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase, Wollin asserted that the obvious resemblances between these Bible works were not due to a direct impact of one on the other.[23] Rather, the resemblances can best be explained by the assumption that both depend on a common Latin source,

22 Astås, *Et bibelverk fra middelalderen*, p. 159; and Wollin, 'Stjórn och Pentateukparafrasen', p. 295.
23 Wollin, 'Stjórn och Pentateukparafrasen', pp. 221–99.

a reworked version of the Pentateuch based on the Vulgate with interpolated material from other sources. This common source the Norse and the Swedish authors translated independently of each other. Each one did it in his own way, however, elaborating the text with further material in order to make the biblical story available and comprehensible to the readership. Furthermore, it was claimed, in both *Stjórn* and the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase a Dominican character and tendency can be observed. Consequently, it was suggested that the two Scandinavian Bible works came into existence in the same conditions in the context of the Dominican order in the province of Dacia. The two authors belonged to a common social and intellectual milieu.[24]

In the same way, the most noticeable shared features of the Old Danish Bible and the later Swedish Bible translations invite considerations of a possible mutual dependency or a possible common background. At the outset, however, it is important to point out that even though both these works are proper Bible translations they appear to be quite different, so that a direct influence of one on the other cannot reasonably be assumed. The translation devices and technique vary too much for that. The Danish translator was demonstrably limited by the Latin text. Latin syntax and style were transferred to the Danish text, and a salient feature is the practice of both adding a synonym of a word to the text and attempting to give information about the etymologies of Latin words or phrases. Similar peculiarities cannot be observed in the Swedish translations. Furthermore, in their appearance the manuscripts differ very much from each other in arrangement and ornamentation of the text.

As pointed out in the above descriptions, the Birgittine provenance of the Swedish translations is well attested. But is the Old Danish Bible similarly to be seen in a Birgittine context and a common background to be assumed, as suggested?[25] During the fifteenth century the Birgittine order spread to other Nordic countries, including Denmark, where several monasteries were founded. In principle, a Birgittine provenance for the Danish Bible cannot be excluded, and yet a detailed comparison between the Danish and the Swedish Bible translations does not support this assumption. The characteristics of the Swedish work, concerning not only the appearance of the manuscript, style and translation technique but also the content, are not to be found in the Danish Bible. The Danish Bible does not, for instance, reflect a particular interest in female figures, as is the case in the Swedish Bible translations. The biblical figures who are given particular attention in the Danish Bible are

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24 See ibid., pp. 223, 249–50 and 290–7.
25 See Haastrup, 'En latinsk Bibel på dansk', p. 181.

Moses and David. Additional material, which occurs very seldom, is related to these figures, not to female biblical figures, as in the Swedish translations of Birgittine provenance. In conclusion, therefore, even if the Old Danish Bible and the Swedish translations do have certain points of resemblance, the assumption of a Birgittine provenance also for the Old Danish Bible seems without decisive support.

Perspectives on scripture in medieval Bible works

A particular interest in the narrative books of the Old Testament is apparent in Scandinavian tradition. Though other biblical books or parts of books are extant in vernacular Scandinavian languages from the medieval period, the more substantial Bible works are those containing a corpus of 'historical' books. Even though some of these have interpolations with comments and interpretations, the material is structured as a narrative of events, focusing on biblical history. Typically, when occasionally larger parts of the text are abridged or left out, as in *Stjórn* and the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase, these are non-narrative parts of the Old Testament text, such as the laws in Exodus–Deuteronomy. This preference for biblical history reflected in the Scandinavian medieval Bible works may be seen in connection with the saga tradition, so deeply rooted particularly in the west Scandinavian area.[26]

Even though, basically, the Old Testament text is the structuring element of the entire work, there are no indications in any of the Bible works that the biblical text in itself was considered to have an exceptional status compared with the additional material.[27] The biblical text seems to have been treated in the same way as the interpolated non-biblical material, in the sense that it has been selected, rendered word for word, paraphrased, condensed or elaborated. Generally, biblical text and comments are interwoven and are not presented as distinct. Occasionally additions are introduced by a specific formula, in particular in *Stjórn III* – that is, 'interpretation' (Norse 'skyring') or 'meaning' (Norse 'merking') – and now and then interpolated material is marked by the word 'gloss' ('glosa'), but calligraphically no distinction is made between biblical text and additional material. Even the Old Danish Bible and the later Swedish translations, which keep close to the biblical text, show no signs of a special regard for the sacred nature of that text. Rather, the Danish translator, as we have seen, did not refrain from adding a synonym to a word

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26 Astås, *Et bibelverk fra middelalderen*, p. 98.   27 Ibid., p. 457.

as if it were part and parcel of the text or from explaining, even in the middle of a sentence, a word or an idiom from the Latin source.

In spite of the fact that the focus of all the Scandinavian medieval Bible works is on the narrative parts of the Old Testament, they do not leave their readers there. Through the interwoven comments a connection to the New Testament is emphasised, reflecting the view that Old Testament narratives point to the New Testament. The reader is confronted with New Testament figures and events, and occasionally even with persons from church history, such as popes and bishops. This is a dominant feature in *Stjórn* and the Swedish Pentateuch paraphrase. Again and again Old Testament figures such as Joshua, Jephthah, Gideon and Samson are interpreted typologically as types of Christ in *Stjórn III*. In the Swedish Pentateuch both the sleep of Adam in Gen. 2:21 and the deathbed of Jacob in Genesis 49 are seen as pointing to Christ's death on the cross. Even in the Old Danish Bible, with its minimum of interpretative material, the New Testament is contextualised in and by the Old Testament history. In an addition to 1 Samuel 17, David, despised by his brothers as well as by Goliath, is interpreted typologically as Jesus despised by 'the world'. Similarly the later Swedish translations, in which the Old Testament texts appear as more 'pure' than in the other Scandinavian Bible works, nevertheless introduce the reader to the New Testament world through the illustrations in the manuscript depicting the life of Mary and her genealogical tree.

In this way, figures from the New Testament such as Jesus, Mary, John the Baptist, Judas and the Devil appear to be involved in the events narrated in the Old Testament, interacting with figures such as Adam, Jacob, Moses, Samson and David. Text and interpretation form a sort of synthesis and in this respect the medieval Bible works differ from the Reformation Bibles, where text and interpretation, as reflected in prologues, summaries, marginal notes and illustrations, are clearly distinguished, giving the actual biblical text its own special status.

The Bible in French

CLIVE R. SNEDDON

Scope and argument

The principal aim of this chapter is to characterise the medieval translations of the Bible into French and to describe their purpose and function.[1] To do this, a survey will be undertaken, presented in chronological order, which will show considerable stability in translation types over many centuries. The number of translations, with over 240 known from the tenth century to 1450 (and well over 300 before the Council of Trent), precludes description of individual texts, whose production peaks in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.[2] These peaks belong respectively to the Old French (*c.* 800–1300), and the Middle French (*c.* 1300–1550) periods, and reflect only Christian translation activity, since Jewish writers in their Hebrew texts supply occasional French glosses but do not produce extended translations.[3] A secondary aim is to contextualise Bible translation within the kingdom of France, a kingdom in which, at its creation as western Francia in 843, Latin was the language of government and religion, Germanic and Romance varieties were spoken by the dominant families, and more than one of these varieties had, or would have in the future, a written form. This put these languages in a relation of diglossia, such that Latin was used for the so-called High functions – including religion, administration and education (hereafter H-function) – and a vernacular, Romance or Germanic or both, was used for the so-called

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1 The most recent account of Bible translation into French is P.-M. Bogaert (ed.), *Les Bibles en français. Histoire illustrée du moyen âge à nos jours* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991). Up-to-date information about manuscripts and modern editions mentioned in this chapter is available through the *Bibliographie* on the websites of the *Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français* (DEAF) and the *Dictionnaire de l'occitan médiéval* (DOM).

2 C. R. Sneddon, *Translating the Bible in Mediaeval France. Early Bible Translations into French in the Context of Catholic Europe c. 1050–1550* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), concludes with details of these translations.

3 R. Levy, *Trésor de la langue des juifs français au moyen âge* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), pp. vii–xvi, gives an overview of this material.

Low functions – including conversation with family and friends (hereafter L-function).[4] The vernaculars were, by 843, beginning to be used in writing, with the potential of competing with Latin for H-function uses.

The two earliest French Bible translations, both dating to the tenth century, a bilingual sermon on Jonah now in Valenciennes and a verse *Passion* now in Clermont-Ferrand, show, first, that competition with H-function Latin as the language of religion was beginning experimentally on the frontier with Germanic (Jonah) and with Occitan (*Passion*) and, second, a focus on the message of individual salvation through interpreting source texts, allowing their detail to be treated more freely than a literal approach to translation would allow.

These texts suggest that the origins of French biblical translation should be sought in the use of the vernacular within Latin church services, specifically the homily explaining the Sunday gospel, and the celebration on feast days of the martyrdom and life of model Christians, from Jesus to the saints. Canon 22 of the 813 Council of Tours, convened by Charlemagne, required bishops to translate their homilies about the faith and the Last Judgement into the vernacular, 'in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam' (literally, 'into rustic Roman or German language'), so that their hearers could more easily understand them.[5] The bilingual Jonas fragment suggests that sermon translation happened extempore, but that at least one preacher found it useful to note in French those passages for which he preferred a firm text before delivery; as a type of Jesus, Jonah was a suitable figure to explain the nature of God and the message of salvation. The *Passion* was directly focused on salvation through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Presenting the message of salvation to a lay audience could thus be done directly by translating the Scriptures, or indirectly by treating any work presenting an account of salvation history as representing the Bible as a whole.

Since the two earliest texts occur at a language frontier, a definition of French will be needed. Spoken Latin fragmented after the sixth century into many Romance dialects, creating a dialect continuum in which neighbouring dialects remained mutually comprehensible. By the twelfth century, speakers identified themselves by their word for 'yes' as speakers of the *langue d'oïl* or

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4 For the seminal account of diglossia, see C. A. Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word* 15 (1959), 325–40; repr. in P. P. Giglioli (ed.), *Language and Social Context. Selected Readings* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), pp. 232–51.

5 Canon 22 is printed in B. Woledge and H. P. Clive, *Répertoire des plus anciens textes en prose française. Depuis 842 jusqu'aux premières années du XIIIe siècle*. Publications Romanes et Françaises 79 (Geneva: Droz, 1964), p. 9.

the *langue d'oc* (both meaning 'yes language'). The *langue d'oïl* arose north of the Loire, its core area the Île de France, within which Paris was the largest city of western Europe by 1300, and hence a base for Modern French. The *langue d'oc* arose south of the Loire, the Limousin variety giving rise to the troubadours' literary language but declining in the late Middle Ages as French spread into southern towns; the term Occitan is a modern coining.[6] The dialect continuum means that *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc* influence each other across the nominal frontier, especially initially, as shown by the Occitan influences in the vernacular texts in the Clermont-Ferrand manuscript, both the *Passion* and the non-biblical *Vie de Saint Léger*.

Written medieval French had to define itself against both written Latin and other vernaculars, but linguistic frontiers did not correspond to political frontiers. The 843 Treaty of Verdun gave western Francia the County of Flanders and the County of Barcelona, with an eastern frontier just west of the Rhône/Saône valleys. France's eastward expansion to the Alps and the Jura lasted centuries, from the absorption of Lyon in 1311 to the annexation of Nice and Savoy in 1860; the kings of France thus ruled, even after the tenth-century loss of Barcelona, territories which included speakers of Dutch, French, Occitan and Catalan. Conversely, French speakers lived in the Holy Roman Empire, and in the eleventh century francophone nobles took French to England and southern Italy and, through the Crusades, to the Holy Land, with the influence of French reaching northern Italy and Cyprus by the early thirteenth century. This chapter will define French linguistically as comprising the written forms of the medieval *langue d'oïl*, including overseas, but will also, in order to recognise the political unit which is the kingdom of France, consider the Occitan translations, while referring to Catalan translations only when relevant to France.

The two themes so far discussed, the presentation of the story of salvation and the use of the L-function vernacular to talk about religion, which is an H-function topic, came together in the recognition by the church authorities that both missionary work and pastoral care required the vernacular for those who could not otherwise understand the faith and the message of salvation. The early use of written Germanic in Anglo-Saxon and Frankish territories, Charlemagne's requirement to use Romance as well as Germanic in preaching and the subsequent competition between the Holy Roman Empire

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6 The major varieties of Occitan today are Gascon, Languedocien and Provençal, with what has more recently been dubbed 'Franco-Provençal', based on Lyon and the upper Rhône valley into western Switzerland, being considered another language.

and that of Byzantium for influence among the Slavs all point to an increasing acceptability of European vernaculars, in parallel with a hardening clerical use of written Latin as vernaculars come to be seen as potential rivals which could threaten the status of the clergy.[7] This increasing use of translation for religion was part of a broader European movement to make high culture more widely available, and thus in the long run to assert that vernacular languages could take on the H-function monopolised by Latin in the early Middle Ages.[8]

The emergence of vernacular biblical translation in France: the Old French texts

The fundamental acceptability of translating the Bible continued throughout the Middle Ages, with the situation unchanged by the final schism between Rome and Constantinople in 1054, and by the twelfth-century rise of heresy in France and the Holy Roman Empire. However, with the growth of the Cathar heresy in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and the consequent northern conquest of the County of Toulouse in the Albigensian Crusade, France seemed particularly aware of the value of vernacular Bibles to support orthodox faith, with patrons of translation including Louis IX, Jean II and Charles V.[9] Throughout this time, all translation was from the Latin Bible, in its locally available form, using whatever aids to comprehension were to hand.

After the tenth-century texts, the next biblical translations are a poetic text inspired by the Song of Songs, 'Quant li solleiz converset en leon', from the second half of the eleventh century, and a substantial body of mostly prose texts from the twelfth century, reflecting at least increased survival and probably increased production. The following are among the best known: the *Bible* by Herman de Valenciennes, an epic poem setting the history of salvation in the context of world history through a variant of the Seven Ages of Man; the Oxford Psalter, a translation of Jerome's *Gallicanum*, usually accompanying a Latin text but in its oldest copy (Oxford, BodL, Douce 320) without Latin; the Cambridge Psalter, a translation of Jerome's *Hebraicum* in

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7 For the place of medieval vernacular translation within H-function rhetoric and hermeneutics, see R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages. Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 11 (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1–8.
8 For French, the pre-1210 original and translated prose writings listed in Woledge and Clive (eds.), *Répertoire des plus anciens texts*, pp. 45–6, include administrative and legal texts, as well as religious, historical and fictional texts.
9 For the Cathars, see M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 55–61, 81–7, 106–15, 132–42.

a triple-psalter manuscript; a three-volume psalter commentary for Laurette d'Alsace; the *Quatre Livres des Rois* with some glossing; the Song of Songs sermons by St Bernard of Clairvaux; the homilies for the liturgical year by the bishop of Paris, Maurice de Sully, with an expanded French text; a *Pater noster*. Taken together, these works show interpretation going hand-in-hand with translation and are consistent with what can be regarded as the rhetorical understanding of translation – to rewrite a text into a form suited to its intended audience.[10]

They also show more than one genre of Bible translation: predominant was the Bible book, with or without commentary, including a group of Bible books or a part-Bible book and, after this, works for the liturgy, in this case sermons; Bible biographies, a third genre, had in Chrestien's verse Nicodemus a second example after the Clermont-Ferrand *Passion*; and Bible history was inaugurated by the *Bible* of Herman de Valenciennes and the Anglo-Norman Verse Bible of *c.* 1200. These works confirm that the core unit of translation was the individual Bible book, but also that the conception of the Bible as a series of writings conveying the message of salvation allowed any such work to be seen as a Bible. Twelfth-century Latin texts, such as Peter Riga's *Aurora*, a commented verse paraphrase, or Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, a work which maximised historical information to support literal understanding, provided other ways of presenting the whole Bible. Comestor's work also made possible another type of Bible history, which, rather than integrating human history into salvation history, remembered the overall salvific purpose of history by focusing on the literal sense of the Bible in order to understand the historical events narrated, only occasionally detailing spiritual or moral senses.

This basic picture is unchanged in the thirteenth century, though an early example of the new type of Bible history appeared in the Acre Bible, a work whose oldest manuscript was written in Acre, perhaps for St Louis himself; this revised an earlier compilation, containing, before new versions of Tobit, Judith and Esther, an edited version of the Hexateuch and Maccabees, between which were copied existing translations of Judges and the already mentioned *Quatre Livres des Rois*.[11] In the broader perspective, a more

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10 See M. J. Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*, ARCA: Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 16 (Liverpool: Cairns, 1985) for the rhetorical understanding of translation, and, for a specific case of intellectual property transfer to the laity, Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, pp. 133–5.

11 See *La Bible d'Acre. Genèse et Exode, édition critique d'après les manuscrits BNF nouv. acq. fr. 1404 et Arsenal 5211*, ed. P. Nobel (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2006), pp. xvii–xxx, esp. pp. xxv–xxix.

significant development was the appearance of yet another genre – picture Bibles, with a typological and moral interpretation of the Bible, such as the *Bible moralisée* and the Rylands Picture Bible.[12] More Bible biographies were written, drawing on New Testament pseudepigrapha, such as the Gospels of Pseudo-Matthew and Nicodemus, to supply details of the human life of Jesus, going back to his childhood, and the life of his mother, and to show the eschatological import of the crucifixion through the harrowing of Hell and the destruction of Jerusalem. In the other three genres, the two most significant thirteenth-century developments were an extension of liturgical texts to sets of Gospels and Epistles and to semi-liturgical texts such as the Hours of the Virgin and the Vigils of the Dead, and the extension of Bible books, both to fully illustrated books in the case of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypses, and to the production before 1260 of the first complete vernacular Bible translation in western Europe, the Old French Bible.

This translation comprises the books of the thirteenth-century Paris Vulgate (essentially as in modern Vulgates), uses the set of chapter divisions traditionally said to have been created by Stephen Langton, the future archbishop of Canterbury, when he was teaching in Paris, and is in some books, notably Genesis, heavily glossed. Most books, however, are virtually unglossed, while others, such as Psalms and the Gospels, are moderately glossed. The translation seems to have been made by more than one translator, with the shared aim, despite varying individual abilities, of rendering the Vulgate in a clear Old French prose which respected the register and style differences between Bible books and was generally accessible to readers.[13] It is structured as a salvation history by its opening preface, which contrasts the spiritual second man, Jesus, with the earthly first man, Adam, though most copyists have treated it as a preface to Genesis alone. The translation is datable to *c.* 1220–60, and may have been sponsored by Blanche de Castille and her son St Louis, with Orléans a possible place of translation, though Paris remains likely; some glossing in the Gospels has parallels in Louis's advice to his daughter, the *Enseignements à madame Ysabel sa fille*, in particular the stress on good works.[14] Three complete

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12 See J. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles moralisées*, 2 vols. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), and *La Bible historiée toute figurée de la John Rylands Library. Reproduction intégrale du manuscrit French 5 accompagnée d'une étude*, ed. R. Fawtier (Paris: John Rylands Library, 1924) (first publ. in the *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures* (1923)).

13 See C. R. Sneddon, 'Translation Technique and the *Old French Bible*', in C. R. Sneddon (ed.), *Medieval Translation*, special issue, *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 35.4 (1999), 339–49.

14 See C. R. Sneddon, 'On the creation of the *Old French Bible*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 46 (2002), 25–44 (see pp. 29–31 for the dating, pp. 40–3 for the royal family, Orléans and good works).

manuscripts survive, plus a fourth, Paris, BNF, fr. 899, which originally lacked only Leviticus, also a further thirteen individual copies of Volume I or Volume II (normally Genesis–Psalms and Proverbs–Revelation, respectively), plus a Volume I destroyed in 1870 and another destroyed in 1944, eleven extracts of varying length, and three fragments. This gives nineteen complete manuscripts attested in whole or in part, possibly twenty-two if the fragments came from complete copies.[15] There is evidence of conscious revision within the four textual families that survive, for which Titus has been studied in detail.[16] Most manuscripts were written in the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth, in the Île de France or the north, but the fifteenth century saw a renewed interest in Volume I. Two manuscripts seem to have been copied in England, a complete Old Testament which alone includes 4 Esdras, and a Volume I which stops at Job, dated respectively to the late thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century. The only readily accessible edition of any part of this Bible is Michel Quereuil's edition of Genesis, based on a limited sample of four manuscripts.[17] The present author plans a critical edition based on all the surviving witnesses, beginning with the four Gospels.

The thirteenth century ended with two works based on the twelfth-century Latin rewritings of the Bible: Guiart des Moulins's *Bible historiale* (1291–5) is, on its translator's account, a second Bible, focused on the letter of the text through the *Historia scholastica*; the verse glossed Bible of Macé de La Charité is based on the *Aurora*, adding the Apocalypse.

The attitude of the papacy

As with the earlier Germanic texts, these Old French translations were not associated with any official pronouncements, but simply appeared as their audience required. The first controversial French translations were texts

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15 The full list of witnesses surveyed here is in Sneddon, *Translating the Bible*; for the relationship between fr. 899 and a fifteenth-century manuscript containing vol. I and unrelated parts of the New Testament, see C. R. Sneddon, 'The Origins of the *Old French Bible*. The Significance of Paris, BN, fr. 899,' *Studi Francesi* 43 (1999), 1–13.

16 See C. R. Sneddon, 'Rewriting the *Old French Bible*. The New Testament and Evolving Reader Expectations in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries,' in R. Sampson and W. Ayres-Bennett (eds.), *Interpreting the History of French. A Festschrift for Peter Rickard on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, Faux Titre 226 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 35–59.

17 *La Bible française du XIIIe siècle. Édition critique de la Genèse*, Publications Romanes et Françaises 183 (Geneva: Droz, 1988). See also G. De Poerck, *Notions de grammaire historique du français et exercices philologiques*, 2 vols. (Ghent: Wetenschappelyke Uitgevery en Boekhandel, 1962), vol. I, pp. 20–81, for Acts, chs. 20–4; unpublished Ghent Arts Faculty *mémoires de licence* for Tobit (L. Vercruysse, 1955), Judith (A. van den Abeele, 1963) and Mark (W. Decoo, 1969); and for the four Gospels, C. R. Sneddon, 'Critical Edition of the Four Gospels in the Thirteenth-Century Old French Translation of the Bible', unpubl. DPhil thesis, 2 vols., University of Oxford (1978).

which have not survived, produced in French-speaking towns of the Holy Roman Empire. The issue which provoked concern was whether or not those responsible for having the translations made accepted the authority of the church. In 1179 Pierre Valdes of Lyon presented a copy of Psalms, with commentary and other biblical books, to Pope Alexander III at the Third Lateran Council, in the context of Valdes's wish with his followers to lead a more evangelical life. The surviving accounts are after the event, from Walter Map and Etienne de Bourbon.[18] Letters of Pope Innocent III from 1199 give us a contemporary picture of another group of laypeople, in Metz, who had had translations made of at least the Gospels, Pauline Epistles and Psalms, and whom Albéric de Trois Fontaines later identified as Waldensian.[19] The pope started an enquiry through the three Cistercian abbots of Cîteaux, Morimond and La Crête. We do not know the result of this but it may have led to the burning of the books concerned.[20] During the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the church on the whole successfully channelled renewed spiritual fervour by creating new religious orders, but for this to be possible, the two criteria set down by Innocent III in his 1199 letters, which in 1234 entered canon law, had to be met: no preaching without authority, and no meetings addressed by those without doctrinal qualification.[21] In other words, what concerned the papacy was not whether or not it was permissible to translate Bible books from Latin into the vernacular, nor even whether the translators were competent, since in both 1179 and 1199 it is clear that the translations were commissioned from qualified people, but whether or not the doctrinally unqualified laity would then interpret the vernacular scriptures and transmit their own understanding of the text. If they did, they would be rejecting both the church's teaching and its authority as sole arbiter of orthodox faith.

Pope Innocent III was particularly concerned to eradicate heresy from Christendom as a necessary precondition for a successful Crusade to re-establish the kings of Jerusalem in the Holy Land, which makes it doubly

18 See Woledge and Clive (eds.), *Répertoire des plus anciens textes*, pp. 122–3.

19 See ibid., p. 122; for the Waldensians, see Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 62–77, 160–9, 361–9.

20 Under the year 1200, *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 AD ad annum 1786*, ed. J.-M. Canivez, 8 vols., Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 9–16 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933–41), vol. 1, p. 255, has a possibly related reference (which I owe to the late Professor C. R. Cheney) to two other abbots, of respectively Ourscamp and Cercamp, going to Châlis to have burnt a translation of the Song of Songs and any other translations they find there.

21 For a detailed discussion of these letters, see L. E. Boyle, 'Innocent III and Vernacular Versions of Scripture', in K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 97–107.

significant that, despite the dangers of casting pearls before swine, he saw the making of translations as laudable in itself, provided the authority of the church in doctrine and preaching was accepted.[22] A translation would need to be suppressed only if it erred in doctrine, not if it were merely guilty by association through having been used by heretics. However, not all local bishops took the same line. As Malcolm Lambert has put it: 'Repression of translations as well as of heretical preachers was the simple disciplinary solution, especially when local prelates had narrow horizons.'[23]

Perhaps through its incorporation into canon law in 1234, the position of the papacy seems not to have changed in the later Middle Ages from that stated by Innocent III in 1199. This can be seen through the work of Hans Rost, who noted a bull of Pope Gregory XI issued on 22 April 1376, requiring all discussion of the Bible to be led by the church and prohibiting the laity from preaching; this was Innocent III's position and was consistent with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV's edict issued in Lucca on 17 June 1369 prohibiting theological books in German, in order to prevent the laity falling into heresy through a false understanding of the Bible.[24] Rost had already shown the laity being urged to read the Bible, quoting a work by Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen on long-standing church support for vernacular translation, including support from Innocent III and Gregory XI, though Gerard's need to establish this suggests that his Brothers of the Common Life had become associated with doctrinally suspect attitudes. Rost's conclusion took all this evidence into account, saying that the Catholic church diffused the word of God to the best of its ability but protected the Bible when it saw its content threatened. In other words, like the present author, Rost considered the issue for the church was control of doctrine, rather than access to the Bible text.[25] If the geographic location of the translation prohibitions in France is taken into account, it supports this view, since, apart from a 1210 theological debate in the University of Paris, they relate to the ongoing suppression of the Cathars in 1229 and 1246.[26]

22 On Innocent III's view of reform as a precondition to a successful Crusade, see J. C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216). To Root Up and to Plant*, The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500, 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 14–15 and 44–5.
23 See Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 74.
24 See H. Rost, *Die Bibel im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie der Bibel* (Augsburg: Seitz, 1939), pp. 66–79, at p. 76. This material is further discussed in Andrew Colin Gow's contribution to this volume, pp. 209–10.
25 See Rost, *Die Bibel im Mittelalter*, pp. 28–34 and 78–9.
26 See M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 35–41, though she also mentions Waldensians in this context.

Occitan Bible translations

Nineteenth-century study of Occitan Bible translations was part of a process of discovering and publishing medieval vernacular texts, but it was also linked to the exploration of heresy and the effort to identify texts referred to by contemporary sources.[27] The latter predominated in the work of Samuel Berger, whose studies showed strong interest in possible heretical connections and very little in works of undoubted orthodoxy.[28] The twentieth century saw little change in the range of Bible manuscripts studied, as can be seen in Wunderli's linguistic study of eleven so-called 'provençal' and 'Waldensian' (in French 'vaudois') manuscripts.[29] Obtaining a fuller understanding of Occitan Bible translations requires an overview of texts, whose survival implies they were regarded as orthodox, even if it can plausibly be suggested that some of the manuscripts were used by heretics.[30]

This overview will be organised by century and by the genres applied to the French translations; it is not intended to be exhaustive but to permit a more nuanced account of Biblical translation in the south of France. Our two earliest surviving texts are from the twelfth century: John 13–17 and the Limousine Homilies, both surviving in predominantly Latin manuscripts; the homilies can be compared to a slightly later collection, the Tortosa Homilies, written in an Occitan with some Catalan features. None of these texts has been linked to heresy and they belong to the two most frequently attested Bible translation genres in twelfth-century French, which suggests that readers in southern France had similar preoccupations to their northern counterparts.

From the thirteenth century, six texts are known: two *Epîtres farcies de saint Etienne* from Acts, the earlier of which could be twelfth-century, a New Testament preserved in a Lyon manuscript with a Cathar ritual, some gospel extracts at the end of a 1262 collection of customary law, a picture Bible where illustrations and captions for the two Testaments surround a Latin psalter

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27 The culmination of nineteenth-century efforts at discovery is C. Brunel, *Bibliographie des manuscrits littéraires en ancien provençal* (Paris: Droz, 1935; repr. Geneva: Slatkine / Marseille: Laffitte, 1973).

28 S. Berger, 'Les Bibles provençales et vaudoises' and 'Nouvelles recherches sur les Bibles provençales et catalanes', in S. Berger (ed.), *La Bible romane au moyen âge* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1977), pp. 7–76 and 95–151 (first publ. in *Romania* 18 (1889), 353–422, and 19 (1890), 505–61).

29 See P. Wunderli, *Die okzitanischen Bibelübersetzungen des Mittelalters. Gelöste und ungelöste Fragen*, Analecta Romanica 24 (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1969); a more recent survey is G. Brunel-Lobrichon, 'Les traductions de la Bible en ancien occitan', in L. Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento – La Bible italienne au moyen âge et à la Renaissance. Atti del Convegno internazionale Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8–9 novembre 1996*, Millennio Medievale 10: Agiografia e Bibbia in Lingua Italiana 1 (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), pp. 247–54.

30 A list of Occitan texts will appear in Sneddon, *Translating the Bible*.

and associated texts, and a verse *Évangile de l'enfance*. Of these only the New Testament manuscript is likely to have been used by heretics, though its actual translation seems orthodox. Of the three genres represented here, the picture Bible is unique among surviving Occitan texts, but it has several thirteenth-century analogues north of the Loire. The liturgical and biblical texts reflect the interest in exemplary lives seen in French, but, like the twelfth-century John 13–17, suggest a preference in the south for Bible books rather than Bible biographies.

From the fourteenth century twenty-four texts survive, some quite short, and not all susceptible of precise classification, since texts such as the *Pater noster* or Penitential Psalms can be seen as both biblical and liturgical, and the *Quinze signes de la fin du monde* can be seen as Bible history or Bible biography. Treating them as part of the latter genre only when the manuscript context suggests this gives fourteen Bible books (ten of them part-Bible books, and the other four comprising three New Testaments and an incomplete translation of the five sapiential books), seven Bible biographies, including a translation of Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes vitae Christi*, two Bible histories (an independent *Quinze signes* and a history which ends with Nicodemus), and one semi-liturgical Hours of the Cross.[31] Of these only the manuscripts containing the Waldensian New Testament, sapiential books and a commentary on the *Pater noster* are likely to have been used by heretics, and just possibly the translation of John 12 and 13–17 in an Assisi manuscript associated with the Franciscan Spirituals, though again the actual translations derive in orthodox fashion from the available Vulgate texts.[32] The other nineteen texts reflect an interest in the New Testament as a whole, a continued interest in the canonical and apocryphal life of Jesus, including material from Revelation in the *Quinze signes*, and a new interest in Bible history and the semi-liturgical Hours of the Cross, reinforced by the Penitential Psalms, and the *Pater noster*.

The fifteenth century saw a reduced production of Occitan biblical translations, with only fifteen texts surviving. They are discussed here as they all seem to be pre-1450. Classified as for the fourteenth century, this gives twelve

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31 One of the New Testaments survives only in the fragment Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 5386, fol. 31 (*olim* Pugetville, Archives Municipales), described and edited by P. Meyer, 'Fragment d'une version provençale inconnue du Nouveau Testament', in Berger (ed.), *La Bible romane*, pp. 84–92 (first publ. in *Romania* 18 (1889), 430–8).
32 *The Occitan Translations of John XII and XIII–XVII from a Fourteenth-Century Franciscan Codex (Assisi, Chiesa Nuova MS. 9)*, ed. M. R. Harris, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 75.4 (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1985), pp. 13–16, 26–31 and 42–51, establishes the orthodoxy of the Assisi text in his review of previous work, including a translation of John 12–17 in Catalan.

Bible books (nine of them part-Bible books, plus the Shepherd of Hermas, Tobit and the New Testament), one Bible history (the Occitan translation of the Acre Bible), one homily and one Bible biography.[33] Of these, five apparently orthodox versions of previously untranslated texts are in Waldensian manuscripts, to wit the Shepherd of Hermas, Tobit and extracts from Genesis, 2 Maccabees and Job. The other ten texts continued the fourteenth-century interest in Psalms and other liturgically related texts, as well as in Bible history and the life of Jesus.

What emerges from this survey is that by 1450 the number of biblical translations into Occitan amounted to some 20 per cent of the number of translations into French, that in some cases they depended on existing French or Italian translations, and that all translation genres found in French were also found in Occitan. Classified by genre, we have the following: individual Bible books, with a particular interest in the New Testament, Psalms and morally useful Old Testament books; texts related to the liturgy, such as homilies, the *Epître farcie*, the *Heures de la Croix*, the extended psalter with canticles, and the Penitential Psalms with the Prayer of Manasseh; Bible history compilations such as the so-called 'Gascon Bible' of Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 24, and the Acre Bible; Bible biographies such as the *Évangile de l'enfance*, the *Passion* and apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus and Vengeance; and a single picture Bible. Both the salvation framework of Bible history and the life of Jesus culminate in the Last Judgement, so it is not unexpected also to find with the biographical texts the *Quinze signes de la fin du monde*. This concern may explain why a French biographical text, the *Histoire de Marie et de Jésus*, was used as the basis of an Occitan mystery play.[34]

These translations were thus not self-evidently heretical, and cannot be assumed to have originated with heretics, even if there is evidence of use by heretics in the case of the Lyon New Testament manuscript with a Cathar ritual, the Assisi manuscript with texts associated with the Franciscan Spirituals and the so-called 'vaudois' or Waldensian manuscripts. The translations themselves were overall doctrinally neutral and could be used by the orthodox.[35]

33 The Occitan Acre Bible is found in Paris, BNF, fr. 2426, whose contents correspond to those of Chantilly, Musée Condé, 3, with the addition of Daniel and a short treatise on the Trinity, the Catholic faith and the rights of the church; see *Bible d'Acre*, ed. Nobel, pp. xxi–xxii and lxi–lxvi.
34 An edition is *Le mariage de la Vierge et la nativité du Christ*, ed. P. Meyer, in 'Notice de quelques MSS. de la collection Libri, à Florence', *Romania* 14 (1885), 485–548, at pp. 496–519; for the French source, see P. Meyer, 'Le roman des *Trois ennemis de l'homme*, par Simon. Appendice. Notice du MS. de l'Arsenal 5201', *Romania* 16 (1887), 24–72, at pp. 44–7 and 71–2.
35 Berger, 'Les Bibles provençales et vaudoises', p. 26, says this of the Waldensian manuscripts, as does Wunderli, *Die okzitanischen Bibelübersetzungen*, pp. 77–8, of the Lyon New Testament; Wunderli, ibid., p. 89, rejects both Cathar and Waldensian origins for two further manuscripts.

Occitan translations thus belonged in the mainstream of European biblical translation, their translators having access to both local and Parisian Vulgates and being in touch with all neighbouring vernaculars – not just French but also Catalan and Italian. The complex history of the thirteenth-century Occitan *Évangile de l'enfance* as unravelled by Suchier gives sufficient idea of the connections with other languages to show that Chabaneau's choice of a Catalan Vengeance to make good missing leaves in the only surviving Occitan Vengeance manuscript was not arbitrary, even though both Occitan and Catalan texts seem to depend on a French original.[36] These two examples confirm the general situation where biblical translations into the vernacular, whether Occitan or Catalan or French, were aimed at the Catholic reader for devotional use. Even if some translations may have been used by heretics, the fact that the fourteenth-century peak of Occitan biblical production followed anti-Cathar activity suggests that Catholic normality, which had always been present before and during the Cathar crisis, could now be fully resumed. The reduction in the number of translations in the fifteenth century may reflect a waning use of written Occitan as the nobility and bourgeoisie became more French-oriented, while the survival of so many late Waldensian manuscripts, in a less than fully literary koine, some of whose material could be pre-fifteenth century, reflects the circumstances of the survival of Waldensian communities in the Alps and prefigures their sixteenth-century commissioning of the 1535 French Bible translation by Pierre-Robert Olivetan.[37]

Middle French Bible translations

The fourteenth century was marked in France by significant change, with the famine of 1315 making a break with thirteenth-century prosperity well before the Black Death in the 1340s, with stable succession to the French throne being undermined by the so-called *affaire de la Tour de Nesle*, before the lack of male Capetian heirs gave rise to the Valois kings and the Hundred Years War, and with changes to Old French which gave rise to Modern French, initially through Middle French for the period *c.* 1300–1550.

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36 See E. Suchier, 'Über provenzalische Bearbeitungen der Kindheit Jesu', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 8 (1884), 522–69; further information on the Catalan Bible translations may be found in Sneddon, *Translating the Bible*, ch. 10.

37 See Wunderli, *Die okzitanischen Bibelübersetzungen*, p. 89, and B. T. Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-Language Editions of the Scriptures*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 192 (Geneva: Droz, 1983), pp. 88–92.

For medieval French Bible translations, the fourteenth century was the period of their maximal geographic extension and their best-documented royal patrons, Jean II and Charles V. Royal patrons included the wife of Philippe VI, Jeanne de Bourgogne, who commissioned a set of Gospels and Epistles from Jean de Vignay, Jean II, who commissioned a bilingual version of the *Bible moralisée*, now Paris, BNF, fr. 167, and the *Bible de Jean de Sy*, apparently intended to be a complete glossed Bible, though later efforts to finish it after work was interrupted by the king's 1356 capture at Poitiers came to nothing, and Charles V, who commissioned a complete Bible from Raoul de Presles, most of whose New Testament is now lost.[38] Another major project may also, to judge from its scale, have been due to royal patronage – namely the translation of the missal, the earliest manuscript of which is dated 1368.[39]

The geographic range included Anglo-Norman England, where a complete Bible translation (to be discussed below) appeared in the first half of the century, Cyprus, where Pierre de Paris translated Psalms, and Italy, where Geoffroi de Picquigny produced what appears to have been intended as a fully glossed Bible, of which only the Gospels, Acts and Revelation survive. In France, the century began with individual translations of books of hours (though they appear initially as text without the programme of illustrations associated with Latin books of hours) and the creation of the *Bible historiale complétée* from the Old French Bible and the *Bible historiale*.

This new format of existing material was created not later than 1314 by combining the first portion of Guiart des Moulins's 1291–5 *Bible historiale* (Genesis–Esther) with the second volume (Proverbs–Revelation) of the Old French Bible and subsequently, in stages, adding from the Old French Bible those of its first-volume Bible books omitted or abridged by Guiart des Moulins. Two of the four Old French Bible textual families appeared in the new format, with further textual revisions appearing as the first-volume contents were expanded. In terms of the number of copies made, both in manuscript and in print, it was the *Bible historiale complétée* which was the most important Bible translation of the Middle Ages. Its first printed edition, *c.* 1496 or 1498, by Anthoine Verard had Charles VIII as its patron, and it was François I who encouraged Lefevre d'Etaples to begin his Bible translation by revising in

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38 For these texts see S. Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge. Étude sur les plus anciennes versions de la Bible écrite en prose en langue d'oïl* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1967), pp. 224–8, 238–57.

39 The 1368 manuscript is Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1958; see for the translation as a whole L. M. J. Delaissé, 'A Liturgical Problem at the End of the Middle Ages. The *Missale gallicum*', in J. P. Gumbert and M. J. de Haan (eds.), *Essays Presented to G. I. Lieftinck*, 4 vols., Litterae Textuales (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1972–6), vol. IV, pp. 16–27.

1523 the New Testament of the Verard edition. Despite the completion of the Lefevre translation in 1530, the *Bible historiale complétée* continued to be published until 1546.

Overall, the arrival of Middle French seems to have generated new translations in all five genres identified above, some revisions of older works and some further copies, with linguistic updating, of many of the thirteenth-century translations, such as the Gospel of Nicodemus and its sequel the *Destruction de Jérusalem*. In England the Anglo-Norman Bible was an example of a new translation. It is normally thought of as dating to the fourteenth century because its most complete manuscript was written by 1361, but it may be as early as *c.* 1300, since its Acts and Psalms are attested separately in an Anglo-Norman Bible history, whose Old Testament history is in turn based on an unfinished verse Bible of *c.* 1200. Of these three texts only the verse Bible has had a modern edition.[40]

There was apparently no comparably large project in the fifteenth century but there was a continuing production in all five genres, notably liturgical and semi-liturgical texts and Bible books, often with commentaries, with Bible biographies tending to predominate at the expense of Bible histories, now the least frequent genre, and picture Bibles. Among the biographies were new versions of the passion and life of Jesus. The semi-liturgical texts included Hours of the Cross, and the picture Bibles were versions of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*. The Bible books could be moralised (e.g., Exodus), and tended to be books such as Psalms, Job or Tobit, which lend themselves to devotional use.

Within the genres, there was in Middle French an interesting evolution. Bible biographies in the first half of the fourteenth century covered the full range of the genre, including lives of Jesus, passions and the Nicodemus eschatological material, but the last, which was less obviously devotional, ceased to be written about in the first half of the fifteenth century. The Bible books at the beginning of the fourteenth century were often but not exclusively historical in interest – for example, Kings, Maccabees and the Gospels, but also Apocalypse and Psalms. By the first half of the fifteenth century, the psalter was reinforced by the Penitential Psalms, Job and Tobit, while the other texts were not at that time being translated. The picture Bibles, at all times less numerous, did not in the fourteenth century lose sight of the historical aspect

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40 See *Poème anglo-normand sur l'Ancien Testament*, ed. P. Nobel, 2 vols., Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 37 (Paris: Champion, 1996). The most complete manuscript of the Anglo-Norman Bible History is London, BL, Add. 54325 (*olim* Phillipps 3202), and of the Anglo-Norman Bible, Paris, BNF, fr. 1.

of the Bible story, but in the fifteenth century their original typological and moralising interests became more prominent, causing the focus to shift to the message of salvation. The Bible histories were also relatively rare, and were confined to the fourteenth century, with the sole exception of a text of the first half of the fifteenth century which combined the framework of the seven ages of man with a book-of-hours format focused on the Virgin.[41] The liturgical texts ranged from the breviary and missal, appearing only in the fourteenth century, to sets of Gospels and Epistles and gospel homilies, with additional semi-liturgical texts comprising the Hours of the Virgin and the Hours of the Cross, which were all translated from time to time throughout the period.[42]

Revisions of earlier texts also appeared, notably the *Bible moralisée* in a text corresponding to the French part of the bilingual version made for Jean II, which appeared in manuscripts with no illustration other than to mark the beginning of Bible books, and a condensed version of the thirteenth-century Eastern Bible History or *Bible abrégée*, which exists in nine fifteenth-century manuscripts, and numerous editions beginning *c.* 1473 and ending *c.* 1545. In general, while works did not cease to benefit from the patronage of the well-off, the increasing number of copies, even of the *Bible historiale complétée*, shows that, already before the invention of printing, there was a market for devotional works among the less wealthy.

Conclusion

Translation of the Bible into the vernacular in medieval France, an area a little smaller than the western Francia of 843 after the early loss of the County of Barcelona, exemplifies two situations of Bible translation present in medieval Europe. The northern pattern was one of translation by clerics for a lay audience, but aiming to enhance the status of the vernacular by matching Latin and what Latin writers did. In the south, the northern pattern was predominant, but there was a secondary pattern in which translations, new or existing, were used by sects whose devotions (Waldensians) or beliefs (Cathars) were deemed heretical by the church authorities.

The French kings supported the orthodox biblical translations, broadly from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, while suppressing heresy and in case of political uncertainty supporting the more authoritarian elements of

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41 This unusual verse text, which deserves a modern edition, survives in Paris, BNF, fr. 19243.
42 Further information on evidence about audience, translators, their patrons and their techniques will be found in Sneddon, *Translating the Bible*, esp. chs. 4–9.

the church hierarchy, as can be seen after 1450 by the shift of François I from supporting the reformers of Meaux such as Lefevre d'Etaples in the 1520s to endorsing, by the early 1540s, the censorship of Bible translations by the Paris Faculty of Theology to meet the threat of the Genevan Reformation.

The function of vernacular biblical translation was, on this evidence, to support the devotional needs of the laity, by making available to them biblical material in the most suitable form. Changing needs caused changes in the choice of texts for translation or for recopying. For their part, the purpose of the translators in undertaking their task probably included the wish for eternal reward through the prayers said for their souls by grateful readers.

The Bible in Italian

LINO LEONARDI

Introduction

To this day, establishing the medieval history of the Bible in Italian remains a complicated task. Only in recent years has there been systematic research on the manuscripts and, although the first critical editions have been produced, it is still not possible to draw up a fully coherent picture of the translation tradition.[1] This tradition was born with the beginning of literature in the Italian vernaculars, and grew vigorously in the fourteenth century. It produced hundreds of witnesses in the fifteenth century, before generating an impressive printed output. The process went through numerous variations and revisions of the translated text but an underlying continuity persisted, so that for some books of the Old and New Testaments the first translation of the thirteenth or fourteenth century was copied and reused for some 200 years, until it became the basis of the earliest printed versions. The reconstruction of this process, however, can be only partial, and it still greatly depends on the direct study of the manuscripts.

The spread of scripture in the vernacular

The sacred text was the object of translation from the beginnings of written literature in Italian. In 1226, Francis of Assisi's *Laudes creaturarum*

Translated from the Italian by Richard Marsden.

1 L. Leonardi and J. Dalarun (eds.), 'La Bible italienne. Prémices d'une enquête en cours', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 105 (1993), 825–86; L. Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento – La Bible italienne au moyen âge et à la Renaissance. Atti del Convegno internazionale Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8–9 novembre 1996*, Millennio Medievale 10: Agiografia e Bibbia in Lingua Franca 1 (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), with previous bibliography. See also S. Berger, 'La Bible italienne au moyen âge', *Romania* 22 (1894), 358–431; K. Foster, 'Vernacular Scriptures in Italy', in *CHB II*, pp. 452–65; G. Gasca Queirazza, 'Le traduzioni della Bibbia in volgare italiano anteriori al secolo XVI', in M. Boudreault and F. Möhren (eds.), *Actes du XIIIe Congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1976), pp. 659–68; E. Barbieri, 'Panorama delle traduzioni bibliche in volgare prima del Concilio di Trento', *Folia Theologica* 8 (1997), 169–97; 9 (1998), 89–110.

contained a paraphrase of several verses from Daniel, and in the same period a homily from Padua recorded pericopes from Matthew (manuscript PS60,[2] still unpublished), while a version of the *Pater noster* was inserted in the *Sermoni subalpini*, perhaps as early as the twelfth century. The para-liturgical or homiletic context of these first occurrences was probably also that in which the first translations of complete biblical books were produced. But the circulation of the sacred text's vernacular version was far more widespread than this, as it was already the norm in the *societas Christiana* of medieval Europe.

Citations in literary works, for example, were frequent (note the importance of biblical sources in Dante's works), and the production of para-biblical texts was extensive – from the so-called *Fiori* of the Bible, that is, universal histories based on scriptures, modelled after Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, to the many reworkings of the gospel accounts of the life and passion of Christ. These were not only in prose but also in verse, the best known being the *Passione* and *Resurrezione* in octaves by Nicolò Cicerchia, which had already been translated into prose. The flow of biblical poetry was in fact very dynamic,[3] especially in northern Italy, from Gerardo Patecchio da Cremona's *Splanamento de li Proverbii de Salamone* ('Explanation of the Proverbs of Solomon'), in the first half of the thirteenth century, to the *Quatro evangelii concordati in uno* (a gospel harmony) of Jacopo Gradenigo at the end of the fourteenth century; this is a work in Dantesque tercets, based on an earlier Tuscan prose translation of the *Diatessaron* (which is known also in Venetian and Roman versions). A later example in a southern area (Marche) is the paraphrase of the whole Bible in tercets contained in V4821, dating from around 1400.[4]

A special case of this non-canonical diffusion of the sacred text in the vernacular is the *Bibbia istoriata padovana* ('The historiated Bible of Padua'), which at the end of the fourteenth century presented extracts of the first part of the Bible, from Genesis to Ruth, as captions to its large illustrations.[5]

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2 Manuscript abbreviations are listed in the Appendix at the end of this chapter.

3 A. Vaccari, 'La lettura della Bibbia alla vigilia della Riforma protestante', in his *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1958), pp. 367–90, at pp. 386–9; F. Gambino, 'Epica biblica. Spunti per la definizione di un genere medievale', *La Parola del Testo* 5 (1999), 7–44.

4 *Gli quatro Evangelii concordati in uno di Jacopo Gradenigo*, ed. F. Gambino (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1999); *Il Diatessaron in volgare italiano. Testi inediti dei secoli XIII e XIV*, ed. V. Todesco, A. Vaccai and M. Vattasso (Vatican City: BAV, 1938); S. Lattès, 'La plus ancienne Bible en vers italiens', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 49 (1932), 181–218.

5 *Bibbia istoriata padovana della fine del Trecento*, ed. G. Folena and G. L. Mellini (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1962).

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Origins and purpose of the translations

No vernacular Bible translations in the true sense are attested before the end of the thirteenth century. The argument of Berger, who assigned to the first half of that century the numerous translations which adopt 'pre-Langtonian', Old Latin, chapter divisions, assumed the total disappearance of these divisions soon after mid-century.[6] In reality, though, these continued to circulate in later periods, and the fact that we sometimes find chapters with a dual system of division suggests that the formation of the first vernacular translations of complete books took place in a period in the second half of the thirteenth century in which the Old Latin versions still circulated, side by side with the new Paris version. Nevertheless, the Dominican decree of 1242 (Bologna), which prohibited the friars from translating scripture, seems to have been in response to an activity which must have been already common at that time, even in Italy.

The first surviving witnesses are in fact datable to the turn of the fourteenth century. They are M2, from Florence, containing several books of the New Testament, and two copies of Proverbs – P917, from Arezzo, and F173, from Lucca. The latter also transmits the oldest translator's prologue, but this simply mechanically reproduced its French source ('noi metremo lo primo [libro] in francescho più dirictamente che nnoi porremo', 'we shall put the first book into French as closely as we can'), revealing it to be one of the more blatant examples of a so-called 'horizontal' version (i.e., with no reference back to the Latin), close to that of the Venetian Gospels translated from the *Bible du XIIIe siècle* in the mid-fourteenth century (M3, dated 1369).[7]

Both versions reproduced the extensive gloss present in the French sources. The need to explicate (*isporre*) the text in order to be able to translate it effectively, preserving the sense (*sentenza*) for the use of the *illiterati* ('devout people', 'unlearned', 'daughters of Christ', etc.), was made clear in other fourteenth-century prologues, such as that to Acts by Domenico Cavalca of Pisa (1320–30) and that to the Gospels by an anonymous Florentine (C1830,

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6 Berger, 'La Bible italienne', pp. 372–3 and 385.
7 For Proverbs, see F. Zinelli, '"Donde noi metremo lo primo in francescho". I proverbi tradotti dal francese ed il loro inserimento nelle sillogi bibliche', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, pp. 145–200; for the Gospels, see A. Calabretta, 'Contatti italo-francesi nella storia dei più antichi volgarizzamenti della Bibbia. Il caso dei Vangeli del codice Marciano It. I, 3', *Medioevo Romanzo* 19 (1994), 53–89; and *I Vangeli in antico veneziano, ms. Marciano it. I3 (4889)*, ed. F. Gambino (Rome and Padua: Antenore, 2007).

dated 1354),[8] both written in terms which derive ultimately from St Jerome.[9] An analogous approach is found in the prologues to the translations in the *langue d'oïl* as well as in several contemporary Italian vernacular translations of other material, such as in the version of Sallust's *Catilinaria* by the Dominican friar from Pisa, Bartolomeo da S Concordio. The glossing procedure is normal in the translations of the fourteenth century, but often shows a specifically lexical approach, concerned with the translation itself rather than exegesis, in order to add a more vernacular word to the Latinate calques.[10]

What can seem like a distancing from the literal rendering (*littera*) of the sacred text was thus presented as a guarantee of fidelity to its meaning (*intentio*), and this dual dimension of the translated text had contrasting effects in its dissemination. On the one hand, there was a rigorously exact, almost photographic approach to transmission, like that recommended by the translator of the Gospels in C1830 (see above), when he invited copyists to 'preserve the language literally [*a littera*] according to what he finds written' and proposed for this purpose the underlining of additions to the sacred word (this is indeed seen in the oldest manuscripts of this text). On the other hand, there was a frequent tendency to rework and improve the previous translations. In another prologue from the mid-1300s, in a context influenced by Angelo Clareno, Giovanni da Salerno, author of the translation of Simone Fidati da Cascia's commentary on the Gospels (known as *De gestis Domini Salvatoris*), requested the reader to 'correct or cause to be corrected' the faults of the translation.[11] However on the opposite side, the Dominican friar Domenico Passavanti discussed the same problem, with the intention of normalisation and control, in a famous passage of the *Specchio della vera penitenzia* ('Mirror of true penitence', 1354–7). Here he lamented the inadequacy of the vernacular translations in circulation and called, not for their replacement, but for systematic correction of them ('e' fatti si correggessono per persona che il sapesse ben fare', 'the books already translated should be corrected by some one who knows how to do it well').[12]

8 The manuscript is damaged and lacks the prologue, but it is present in the other four witnesses of this translation: LP3, SI4, R1787 and Per.
9 L. Leonardi, '"A volerla bene volgarizzare . . .". Teorie della traduzione biblica in Italia (con appunti sull'Apocalisse)', *Studi Medievali* 37 (1996), 171–201; E. Barbieri, 'Domenico Cavalca volgarizzatore degli "Actus Apostolorum"', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, pp. 291–328.
10 V. Pollidori, 'La glossa come tecnica di traduzione. Diffusione e tipologia nei volgarizzamenti italiani della Bibbia', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, pp. 93–118.
11 *Gli Evangelii del B. Simone da Cascia esposti in volgare dal suo discepolo fra Giovanni da Salerno*, ed. N. Mattioli (Rome: Tipografia del Campidoglio, 1902).
12 *Lo specchio della vera penitenzia di fr. Jacopo Passavanti fiorentino* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1725), pp. 229–30.

For many books of the Bible, analysis of the various vernacular translations has revealed this trend of revision and rewriting (see below), which affected both the balance between greater and lesser linguistic adherence to the original Latin and the formation of anthologies of Old Testament and especially New Testament books – so much so that it became a defining feature of the Bible in Italian during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

The commentaries

Occasionally the limited degree of exegetical glossing noted above was replaced by the translation of an existing commentary or the composition in the vernacular of a commentary *ex novo*, albeit in homiletic form; in both cases this supplements the translated, or sometimes summarised, text of scripture. The oldest example is probably the triennial preaching cycle of Giordano da Pisa on Genesis (1307–9);[13] the most widespread (though mostly restricted, atypically, to monastic circles) was that of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*. The translation of this by the Florentine Zanobi da Strada in the mid-1300s was brought to completion by the Camaldolese friar Giovanni da San Miniato at the end of the century.[14]

But most examples involve the New Testament, with the Gospels prominent. Following the wide diffusion of Giovanni da Salerno's *riduzione* (some twenty manuscripts), we find in 1373 in Sicily a commentary dedicated to the passion according to Matthew, in a unique manuscript which is possibly the autograph of the friar Nicolò Casucchi da Agrigento;[15] then in the fifteenth century we find a John in the Venetian dialect (O224), a Matthew copied by Bartolomeo da Modena (M02), and another Matthew in the version of Giovanni Crisostomo, translated by Ghinazzone da Siena (P82). The Apocalypse stands out above all, notably in the popular commentary of Federico Renoldo da Venezia (more than twenty manuscripts),[16] and then again in the fourteenth century in a Tuscan commentary based on that of Pietro di Giovanni Olivi (V112), and in the mid-fifteenth century in an

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13 Giordano da Pisa, *Sul terzo capitolo del Genesi*, ed. C. Marchioni (Florence: Olschki, 1992); Giordano da Pisa, *Prediche sul secondo capitolo del Genesi*, ed. S. Grattarola (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1999).
14 G. Dufner, *Die 'Moralia' Gregors des Grossen in ihren italienischen volgarizzamenti* (Padua: Antenore, 1958).
15 *Sposizione del Vangelo della Passione secondo Matteo*, ed. P. Palumbo (Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, 1954–7).
16 A. Vaccari, 'Sprazzi di luce su esegeti in penombra', in his *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1958), pp. 407–16.

anonymous exposition possibly derived from Ubertino da Casale (BA420), in a Tuscan–Umbrian dialect.

In all these works, the citations interwoven with the commentary were newly translated, verse by verse, without regard to the sacred text as a whole, and were therefore as a rule unconnected with other vernacular translations of the same books. An especially isolated case, set apart also by its iconographic magnificence, is a Joachimite commentary on the Apocalypse which is accompanied by a spectacular cycle of illustrations in LA415 (dated 1331–4), where the translation pointedly restored elements of the Vulgate which had been omitted in the Latin text cited by the commentary.[17]

The manuscript tradition

The translators of the commentary versions, along with Cavalca (to whom the whole Italian Bible was attributed during the nineteenth century), are among the few whose names were attached to vernacular versions of the biblical text, which generally remain anonymous. In order to reconstruct the chronology, background and development of this tradition, therefore, we have to rely on the few data given by the manuscripts, hundreds of them still incompletely explored.[18]

Until after the middle of the fourteenth century, the tradition was restricted almost exclusively to Tuscany. From the earliest period we have isolated attestations of single books, such as the translations of Proverbs from the 1200s (F173 and P917) and another version, combined with Ecclesiastes, from the beginning of the 1300s (FM47), and some early witnesses of Cavalca's translation of Acts. An important group of New Testament books (Matthew, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse) appears in Florence at the start of the fourteenth century in a volume of classical rhetoric, providing a unique contact with the great stage of the first Florentine vernacular writers, Brunetto Latini and Bono Giamboni, though they were not themselves apparently involved in the translation of scripture. Manuscripts derived from this lost collection are V249, which is Florentine, and R1538, known for its important illustrations from the school of Bologna. This last codex is an exception in a tradition that is usually

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17 C. Angelini (ed.), *Apocalisse con le miniature del Codice Ashburnham 415 della Biblioteca Laurenziana* (Milan: Ricci, 1980).
18 I take most of the following details from the project currently under way, and nearing publication, at the Fondazione Ezio Franceschini. Meanwhile, see M. Chopin, M. T. Dinale and R. Pelosini (eds.), 'Inventario', in Leonardi and Dalarun (eds.), 'La Bible italienne', pp. 868–86; and Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*.

functional, associated with lay copyists and readers and often written on paper and without illustrations. Alongside R1538 may be put one of the two earliest, more extensive compilations – V7733 from Florence, which combines John and Acts with the Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse, in addition to Song of Songs; this too is illuminated but is in a small format, obviously for personal use. R1538 also constituted the first important sign of the development of the vernacular tradition in the regions of Emilia and Veneto. Next came the most important codex of this first phase, M2, which in its fragmentary state (Matthew, the first verses of Mark, a mutilated John, an acephalous Romans, Corinthians and Apocalypse) looks like a first New Testament compilation in course of execution. The codex, linguistically Florentine from the very early fourteenth century, belonged from 1363 to the Augustinians in Ferrara and seems to have paved the way for the first known Venetian vernacular translation, the gospel extracts translated from French (M3, copied in 1369; see above, 'Origins and purpose').

In the mid-fourteenth century, Giovanni da Salerno related that 'in some districts the whole Bible has been translated into the vernacular'. The first volume (Genesis–Psalms) of an Old Testament compilation, F626, is indeed datable to that period. The provenance of the codex is the Dominican library of S Maria Novella in Florence, but that does not mean it can be attributed to the circle of the preaching friars: the copyist, who inscribed himself as the first possessor of the codex, which was therefore probably written for his personal use, was the layman Gozzo di Nuccino Gozzi. Similarly, the other codex from the end of the century present in the Florentine convent, F175, containing Song of Songs and an evangelistary with commentary, previously belonged to 'Antonio di Giovanni barbere in Firenze [a barber in Florence]'. Both codices are in mercantile script, confirming use of vernacular translations not directly connected with the church, while almost all the codices from the first half of the century still have a 'gothic' aspect, in *littera textualis* (a formal medieval book-script), based on their Latin models.

This twofold situation persisted throughout the tradition of the Bible in Italian, an indication of its diffusion – if not also its origin – both in the para-liturgical context of the religious confraternities and in the practice of private devotion by the middle classes, Florentine in particular.[19] Thus in the second half of the fourteenth century we find, again in the Florentine

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19 On the diffusion of vernacular translation among Florentine families, see Berger, 'La Bible italienne', pp. 406–10.

area, the first two complete New Testament volumes. One (the surviving second volume, Ecclesiasticus–Apocalypse, of a complete Bible, the oldest for which we have evidence) is written in a *textualis* script with archaic features by its owner, Ubertino di Rossello Strozzi, representative of one of the most powerful families of Florence (R1252). The other is later, perhaps from the end of the century, in a chancery script, with pericopes systematically marked for liturgical use (F1043). Also at the end of the century, the translation of the Old Testament in F626 is found in three more codices: one in chancery script, from the Sienese confraternity of *disciplinati* (flagellants) at S Maria della Scala (SI5), a selection of 'historical' books (Genesis, part of Exodus, Kings, a section of Maccabees, and an account of Samson corresponding to part of Judges); the second in mercantile script, also Sienese and belonging afterwards to the same confraternity of *disciplinati* (SF4); and the third, by contrast, in *littera textualis*, belonging to the Florentine family of the Salviati, including notable illustrations, which must have been followed by a second volume carrying the New Testament, this being thus another example of a complete Bible (Ca, dated 1397). The same dichotomy appears in partial collections, mostly volumes of the New Testament, as for example one which combines all the Epistles and Apocalypse with an 'Armonia' of the four Gospels in another Sienese codex from S Maria della Scala (SI9), in *littera textualis* (a collection paralleled in F39, of the fifteenth century), and another that puts Acts and again Apocalypse with Genesis and Tobit among a miscellany of other religious texts, written in a mercantile script by a Florentine copyist (F56, dated 1390).

The transmission of single books was still most common up to the end of the fifteenth century, sometimes also in non-scriptural contexts. This happened especially with Tobit, which is often found in hagiographical compilations: in Florence (F445, dated 1409), in Tuscany (F49), in Veneto (F17), in Florence together with Judith again (F174, dated 1407), and in Siena (SI3, dated 1463). Self-contained sections of the Bible also circulated. Examples are the Gospels, both in the glossed version of the mid-fourteenth century (C1830, see above), which arrived within that century at Pisa (LP3) and Siena (SI4) and spread throughout the fifteenth century (R1787, and also in Umbria: Per), and in the other end-of-century version (L3, dated 1395); and the Epistles, which appeared from the end of the fourteenth century onwards in Tuscan manuscripts – by themselves in R1325, V132 and C1218; with Acts in LS10 and V4011; with Apocalypse in R1658; with an 'Armonia' of the Gospels in O63; and also in the Umbrian manuscript M05. As for the Old Testament, the psalter had notable

success as an independent volume. We find it from the beginning of the fifteenth century in several copies in Tuscany, and afterwards in Veneto also, retranslated in further versions (M57 and Vi366). The diffusion of the sapiential books continued as well: in Tuscany, Ecclesiastes by itself (BL39844), with the psalter (V3931, notably illustrated), or with Proverbs (LA1846 and R1644), and in Padua with Song of Songs and Wisdom also (Pd110).

Over the course of the fifteenth century, however, we see also increasing evidence of the spread of the complete Bible. In the Venetian area the only remaining comprehensive volume (V7208) combines, on the model of the French *Bible historiale complétée*, 'li fioreti della Bibia del Testamento Vechio e tutto el Testamento Nuovo' ('the flowers of the Bible from the Old Testament and the complete New Testament'), although instead of the Gospels it in fact gives an 'Armonia'. The important Venetian fragment preserved in St Petersburg (SP), with parts of Judges, Ruth, Kings and Chronicles, is the remains of a richly illuminated Old Testament, possibly again originating in the fourteenth century, while a paraphrase was compiled in Padua in 1474, now in *littera humanistica* (a new, consciously elegant script), starting with Genesis and ending (imperfectly) with Samuel (Up).

From the mid-fifteenth century onwards, the Tuscan volumes conformed more closely to the canon. A complete Old Testament dating back to the beginning of the century has a partly revised version of the text (Ang, in two volumes; what was probably a third, with the New Testament, has been lost), while later the incomplete LA1102 (as far as Psalms 14; dated 1466) continued the textual tradition of the late fourteenth-century collections. A canonical New Testament, in Florentine mercantile script (R1250), dates back to the mid-century. The other codices are in two volumes, representing originally complete Bibles. They are the splendid example prepared in the 1470s for Lucrezia Tornabuoni, mother of Lorenzo the Magnificent, with illuminations attributed to Gherardo di Giovanni (Ly; Ecclesiasticus–Apocalypse),[20] and the two volumes from the Biblioteca Aragonese in Naples. One of these was prepared between 1466 and 1472 by Nicola di Nardò, probably the only Dominican copyist whose name we know in the whole tradition, but commissioned by the nobleman Angilberto del Balzo (P3–4; Ezra–Apocalypse), and the other is contemporary with it, the only surviving complete manuscript copy of a Bible in Italian (P1–2).

But we are now at the start of the printed tradition, for precisely in this period, in 1471, the first two biblical incunables in Italian appear (see below).

20 E. Barbieri, 'Sulla storia della Bibbia volgare di Lione', *La Bibliofilia* 99 (1997), 211–33.

The translations

Old Testament

Not all the Old Testament books had equal success with the lay public for whom the vernacular translations were destined. The narrative power of Genesis, the poetic allure of Song of Songs, the exemplary hagiographical biographies of Tobit, Judith and Job, the liturgical role of Psalms and the proverbial value of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes ensured an early translation for these books, or a plurality of translations, and sometimes very wide circulation (see above). In several cases there are versions which remained isolated, such as that of Song of Songs transmitted from the beginning of the fourteenth century in V7733, or the Genesis which is found at the end of the century in the family register of the Ricci, one of the most famous of the Guelf families of Florence (R1655, dated 1399), or the Pentateuch translated and copied by Ghinazzone da Siena in the mid-fifteenth century for the grand seneschal of the kingdom of Naples (P85).[21] Most unusual of all is the vernacular version of Genesis translated directly from Hebrew by the famous humanist Pietro da Montagnana in the 1470s (M11).

For almost all the other books the Italian version is attested exclusively in the canonical Old Testament volumes, and it is impossible to verify in these integrated projects whether the books were being translated for the first time or whether use was being made of translations already in circulation. In the few cases attested in a wider tradition that have been studied in depth, differing situations are found, but they are part of a single pattern of transmission, encompassing various instances of a return to the Latin Vulgate source and a consequent revision of the vernacular text.

Of the two oldest translations of Proverbs dated to the thirteenth century, the literal one (P917) remained without sequel, while the other, a liberal translation from French (F173), was adopted in the first compilation of the Old Testament (in F626, Ca, SF4) – which we shall designate OT1 – but with variations which suggest a fresh resort to the source.[22] Another version, more literal, is first attested, too, before the mid-fourteenth century (FM47), and in the following century it was enriched by means of a sizeable apparatus

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21 A. Cornagliotti, 'Il volgarizzamento della Bibbia di Ghinazzone da Siena: una fonte lessicale da acquisire', in *Italica et Romanica. Festschrift für Max Pfister zum 65. Geburstag*, 3 vols. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), vol. I, pp. 265–82.

22 Zinelli, 'Donde noi metremo'; for P917, see F. Zinelli, 'Ancora un monumento dell'antico aretino e sulla tradizione italiana del *Secretum secretorum*', in *Per Domenico de Robertis. Studi offerti dagli allievi fiorentini* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2000), pp. 509–61.

of glosses (R1644 and LA1846). But at the opening of the fifteenth century, the second complete canonical compilation, OT2 (attested in Ang, P2, P3), presented a third version, very faithful to the Latin text; later, this is also found separately, in the restricted context of the sapiential books (V3931). To these may be added the previously mentioned Venetian version, where Proverbs was again placed with Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Wisdom (Pd110).

The transmission of Ecclesiastes developed in parallel,[23] with a further Tuscan translation introduced in a context of secular works, from the *Tesoro* to the *Secretum secretorum* (BL39844, dated 1425). For this book, however, OT1 used the version in FM47 and associated manuscripts, from which the model shared by the two later witnesses (Ca and SF4) differs only in the last chapter, following the more literal translation transmitted in full by OT2 (and in V3931).

The contact between the two complete compilations, OT1 and OT2, was still closer in the case of the psalter,[24] in which – apart from isolated translations, a Tuscan (NY56, dated 1461) and two Venetian from the fifteenth century (Vi366 and M11) – all the other witnesses transmit the same vernacular version, even if OT1 and OT2 depended on two different branches of the stemma (with the OT1 branch notably enlarged by the many witnesses in which the psalter is isolated – all, however, written after F626 – and by the other Old Testament collection LA1102).

This double possibility seems to stand out also in the other books analysed so far,[25] with the OT1 and OT2 volumes at times presenting two different versions (at least for Exodus and Job), and at others a single shared version, but with OT2 in general actively trying to bring the text closer to that of the Vulgate.

It is probable, to judge from research to date, that the compilers of OT2 (first witness Ang, beginning of the fifteenth century) were acquainted with the whole of OT1 (first witness F626, mid-fourteenth century) and produced

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23 S. Natale (ed.), 'I volgarizzamenti italiani dell'Ecclesiaste. Edizione critica, studio della tradizione manoscritta e analisi linguistico-stilistica delle traduzioni', unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Siena (2011), with a critical edition.

24 *Il Salterio italiano nella tradizione manoscritta. Individuazione e costituzione dello stemma delle versioni toscane. Edizione critica della versione veneta*, ed. L. Ramello (Alessandria: Dell'Orso, 1997), with a critical edition.

25 Gasca Queirazza, 'Le traduzioni della Bibbia in volgare italiano', pp. 659–68; A. Cornagliotti, 'La situazione stemmatica delle traduzioni italiane veterotestamentarie', *La Parola del Testo* I (1997), 100–40; A. Cornagliotti, 'La situazione stemmatica vetero-testamentaria. I libri dell'Ecclesiastico e di Giobbe', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, pp. 201–26 (for Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Judges, Judith, Esther, Job, Song, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Jeremiah).

a new translation only in a few cases, otherwise limiting themselves to correction. The instability of the books' sequence, however, suggests that in the early transmission of OT1, lacunae and displacements occurred, sufficient to justify new translations (with recourse to OT2, at least in one case in the last chapter of Ecclesiastes). The OT1 text remained successful until the Florentine Renaissance (R1252 adopted it, and the fifteenth-century Ly followed its model). In OT2, however, a greater homogeneity is evident, the result of a work of revision which even when it took over the text of OT1 checked it against the Vulgate and so tended to restore accuracy.[26] Such a process was constantly under way in the transmission of vernacular translations, and its effects in some cases may have obscured the relationships between the manuscripts. These nevertheless seem stable, both in OT1 (with F626 standing apart from R1252 and from Ca, SF4, Ly) and in OT2 (with P1 standing apart from Ang, P3).

New Testament

Analogous processes of revision and retranslation may be reconstructed for the books of the New Testament. In general a greater attention to the biblical text as such is evident, without the narrative–didactic or exegetical interpolations which were fairly common in the vernacular tradition of the Old Testament. Such adherence to the letter of scripture may perhaps have resulted from the much greater impact that the New Testament books had in the pastoral sphere, which is shown also by the wide diffusion of vernacular lectionaries (see below). Certainly it was mainly in the area of the New Testament that discussions concerning the legitimacy of the use of vernacular translations unfolded, and nuances of interpretation in the rendering of some passages do have important doctrinal implications. It is no coincidence that the only Italian translation for which one might be able to reconstruct an anti-heretical motivation, against the Dulcinians (an heretical sect founded in 1300), was indeed one of the first manifestations of a book of the New Testament, namely Acts, translated by the Dominican Cavalca.[27] This increased demand for fidelity to the original Latin had paradoxical effects on the dynamics of the tradition, in that both recourse to the Vulgate and the addition of lexical glosses became endemic, making it difficult to decide if and when new

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26 Zinelli, 'Donde noi metremo', pp. 186–95; Cornagliotti, 'La situazione stemmatica'; Cornagliotti, 'La situazione stemmatica vetero-testamentaria'; Natale, 'I volgarizzimenti italiani dell'Ecclesiaste'.
27 Barbieri, 'Domenico Cavalca'.

translation initiatives, independent of previous vernacular translations, are to be identified in the continuous process of reworking.

It may be that such a situation arose from the early existence of a comprehensive process of compilation of the New Testament in the vernacular, unlike that which befell the Old Testament. A trace of it remains from the start of the fourteenth century in the Florentine volume, M2 (see above), which we may consider to be the first witness of a New Testament in formation – NT0. The book whose history we know best is Apocalypse,[28] which closes the sequence of books in M2 and is present, in the same very literal version, in the two collections of rhetorical material from a little later (V249 and R1538), the context of which seems to be the early reception of the translation, rather than its actual composition. In this form the text is found included subsequently, again in Tuscany, in compilations of the 'simplified' New Testament after the middle of the century (SI9, F39 and F56), and reaches the complete Bible from which the two Florentine codices, R1252 and, a century later, Ly (NT1), descend. Slight modifications in what is largely a homogeneous transmission raise the possibility of there being alternative versions very early in the tradition. These are concentrated especially in the other witness from the beginning of the fourteenth century (V7733), in a branch of the tradition which throve also in Florence for more than a century (R1658). From this derived what is probably a later, more radical revision of the old tradition, characterised by a tendency to 'de-vernacularise', with the adoption of a Latinate lexis and the elimination of every trace of the French influence which pervaded the original version. This revision was carried over into the New Testament of the mid-fifteenth century, NT2, attested in R1250, but may be pre-dated by a century in the unusual witness FP6, in which in many places the revision is added as an alternative between the lines of the original text, reproducing visually the work of the corrector. These are the years in which Passavanti urged the correction of the old vernacular translations, and one is tempted to associate the revision of the Apocalypse with that Dominican programme, since NT2 chose Cavalca's translation of Acts (while NT1 presented an alternative to it) and FP6 contains other works of the Pisan friar; at present, though, it is not possible to confirm this hypothesis. Double readings that show the confluence of the two 'forms' of vernacularisation are evident also in the two Neapolitan Bibles (P2 and P4 – NT3), which appear to be the fruits of a new edition based on pre-existing material.

28 L. Leonardi, 'Versioni e revisioni dell'Apocalisse in volgare. Obiettivi e metodi di una ricerca', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, pp. 37–92.

Such a complex tradition does not prevent other translation initiatives for Apocalypse, which is perhaps the most successful biblical book in the Italian language. In some cases, all of them Tuscan, it is hard to establish whether or not it was a question of a reworking of the usual version – be it by means of alternative solutions (Pi), cuts and abridgment (LR127, dated 1462), or amplifying glosses (F1043 – NT4). In other cases, the originality of the initiative is more certain, as in the Venetian version of Frederico Renoldo (see above) and that of the complete compilation witnessed in V7208, or as in the translation in R1349, in the 1300s, which was basically derived from the Catalan version, itself in turn dependent on the French one.

It is more difficult, in the absence of thorough research, to confirm such a history for the other New Testament books. For the Gospels[29] at least two complete versions are recorded, independent of the 'standard' one, both characterised by the presence of numerous glosses within the text and already attested in the fourteenth century. The Tuscan one is provided with a translator's prologue (C1830, noted above) and has explanatory interventions of a basic kind, without exegetical pretensions; it remained in the tradition until the end of the fifteenth century, when it underwent a systematic revision in its last witness (Per). The Venetian example is M3 (see above, 'Origins and purpose'),[30] copied in the Schiava prison in Venice by Domenico de' Zuliani, from Trieste; direct dependence on the Old French *Bible du XIIIe siècle* is confirmed by frequent shared lacunae, additions and Vulgate glosses, even though the Latin text is clearly always available to the translator as well, being the primary source of Luke 18 to John 19 (a version *ad verbum* which shows ignorance of the fundamentals of Latin morphology and syntax).

All the other witnesses seem to revert to the 'standard' version. For Matthew and John, which are in the oldest manuscripts (Matthew in V249 and R1538, John in V7733,[31] both in M2), we can verify a route analogous to that of the Apocalypse, with the arrival of this early version in the subsequent Florentine compilation, from which R1252 and the later Ly (NT1) descended, as well as F175 (with additions). As for Apocalypse, the other New Testament compilation, R1250 (NT2), presents a revision dating back to the fourteenth century, as shown by L3 (dated 1395; noted above). In the absence of analysis, the late revision initiative which elsewhere characterises the NT3 stage (represented by two Neapolitan volumes, P2 and P4) is less clearly perceptible,

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29 S. Asperti, 'I Vangeli in volgare italiano', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, pp. 119–44.
30 *I Vangeli in antico veneziano*, ed. Gambino, with a critical edition.
31 *Vangelio de Sancto Johanni. Antica versione italiana del secolo XIII*, ed. M. Cignoni (Rome: Società Biblica Britannica e Forestiera, 2005).

but this also seems to have involved in the case of the Gospels the introduction of Latinate calques, and it shares with NT2 the addition of a system of prologues. The position of stage NT4, represented by F1043, is also uncertain, given that its characteristic apparatus of glosses was apparently imposed on a pre-existing text derived from the common version. A single error in Luke documents this textual correspondence, which still awaits confirmation for the New Testament as a whole in NT4.

Slightly different, and for the most part still unclear, is the case of Acts, because the influence that the old translation by Cavalca had on the development of the tradition is still not entirely understood.[32] It had considerable independent circulation from the first half of the fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth, when it was used in the composition of NT2 (R1250; probably also in LR127, with the Epistles), and it is found again in the witnesses of NT3 (P2 and P4). The surviving witnesses of NT1 (R1252 and Ly), on the other hand, offer another version: in the absence of other old witnesses that can be used for Apocalypse and the Gospels, it is impossible to say whether in Acts, similarly, a translation of the early 1300s is involved or a later one. The only existing old codex, V7733, seems to transmit a different version. Nevertheless, Berger had already noted how the text of NT1 to a large extent coincided with that of Cavalca.[33] At the moment it is impossible to decide whether it was Cavalca rearranging an earlier text, adding to it the clarifications and glosses which he discussed in his prologue, or the inadequate compiler of NT1, working on Cavalca's text, reducing it to the letter of the Vulgate. The version in F1043, which has the usual glosses, further complicates this classification; it too was probably composed on the basis of the vernacular text of NT1, and is represented as well by the contemporary LS10 (with the Epistles).

Even more uncertain is the situation of the Epistles, for which we still rely on the conclusions of Berger, according to whom the old redaction (M2 and V7733; for James and Peter also R1538 and V249), later widely attested, might have been integrated into NT2 (R1250), while NT1 (R1252 and Ly) had a different text, and likewise NT3 (P2 and P4). With greater probability, we may affirm the presence of new translations in F1043 and the Venetian collection V7208.

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32 Old edition in *Volgarizzamento degli Atti degli Apostoli di fra Domenico Cavalca domenicano*, ed. F. Nesti (Florence: Pezzati, 1837); see subsequently E. Barbieri, 'Per gli Atti degli Apostoli volgarizzati da Domenico Cavalca', unpubl. PhD thesis, Catholic University of Milan (1993); Barbieri, 'Domenico Cavalca volgarizzatore'; Barbieri, 'Sulla storia della Bibbia volgare di Lione', pp. 220–1; Barbieri, 'Per un censimento dei manoscritti degli "Atti degli Apostoli" volgarizzati da Domenico Cavalca', *Lettere Italiane* 50 (1998), 55–62.

33 Berger, 'La Bible italienne', p. 394.

Confirmation that these volumes, as exemplified in R1250, may represent independent translation initiatives is given also by peculiar ordering of the books between the Gospels and Apocalypse: Acts–Catholic Epistles–Pauline Epistles in F1043; the same in V7208, but with Apocalypse brought forward to immediately after Acts; Pauline Epistles–Catholic Epistles–Acts in R1250; Catholic Epistles–Pauline Epistles–Acts in NT1 and NT3. Consideration of these sequences, together with the subdivision into 'pre-Langtonian' chapters, as well as distinctive textual variants, led Berger to hypothesise the dependence of the Italian tradition on Provençal sources, specifically Waldensian. Such arguments have subsequently been seriously weakened, and in any case the doctrinal significance of these potential contacts must not be overestimated. It was Berger himself who reported that much of the Waldensian version of Acts translated the text of the Dominican Cavalca;[34] on the other hand, in the manuscripts this was closely followed (also in the canonical sequence in R1250) by the vernacular translation of the apocryphal legend of Peter and Paul attributed to Pseudo-Marcello.[35]

Other translations

The presence of vernacular apocryphal material within canonical compilations is shown also in F1043 and V7208, which put the Epistle to the Laodiceans among the Pauline Epistles. For the rest, the not insignificant diffusion of vernacular translations of apocryphal books, particularly connected with the New Testament,[36] developed for the most part separately from that of the canonical texts, and spread readily in hagiographical contexts.

The abundant circulation of 'anthology' collections, mostly in verse and designed for prayer, whether personal or communal, was likewise largely independent of the canon. The most widely known work (with more than fifty witnesses in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) was the so-called *Sette salmi penitenziali* ('seven penitential psalms'), whose Dantesque tercets gave rise to a tradition which credited them to Dante himself. Another famous example is Marsilio Ficino's translation of the *Salterio abbreviato* ('Abbreviated psalter'), attributed to St Jerome, which was dedicated to the wife of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

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34 See still ibid., pp. 392–4.
35 E. Barbieri, 'Lo ps. Marcellus brevior in una traduzione italiana del Trecento', *Apocrypha* 7 (1996), 205–24.
36 A. Cornagliotti, 'I volgarizzamenti italiani degli apocrifi neo-testamentari', in Boudreault and Möhren (eds.), *Actes du XIIIe Congrès international*, pp. 669–87.

A third, separate and independent strand of translations, based directly on the Hebrew text, word for word, and written in Hebrew characters, was that which developed in Judaeo-Italian circles, starting from accurate dictionaries as a teaching aid for the use of a public whose knowledge of Hebrew did not go much beyond the alphabet and the more common prayers. Spreading significantly in the sixteenth century, the Judaeo-Italian versions often present strongly archaic features, and in some cases may date back at least to the previous century.[37]

The relationship between the vernacular translations of the canonical books and the versions chosen for lectionaries is much more complex. The presence of liturgical calendars with the readings assigned for every feast-day indicated (as for example in the old M2) and the marking, throughout the text of the Gospels or the whole New Testament, of the pericopes and their liturgical function (as for example in F1043) show that full translations of individual books could be provided to follow the course of the reading *per circulum anni*. But the specific tradition of the lectionary (also in the form of the evangelistary or epistolary), that is, collections of pericopes arranged according to the liturgical calendar, also had a wide circulation in the vernacular, often with appendices listing the feasts of the *temporale* and *sanctorale*.[38] It is a tradition that had numerous witnesses in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was intended for a lay public, though in some cases it also acted as a support for the pastoral activity of priests or the religious orders. The biblical text appears here in varying translations, but without specific analysis it is impossible to establish how far it drew on vernacular translations already in circulation, or whether it was a case of new initiatives to render the sacred text.

The first printed versions

In the same years in which the great manuscript volumes P1–2 and P3–4 were in preparation, the Camaldolese monk Nicolò Malerbi completed his new version of the whole Bible, destined for printing (in Venice, August

37 U. Cassuto, 'Bibliografia delle traduzioni giudeo-italiane della Bibbia', in S. Rappaport and M. Zikier (eds.), *Festschrift Armand Kaminska zum siebzigsten Geburtstage* (Vienna: Wiener Maimonides-Institut, 1937), pp. 129–41; *Un volgarizzamento giudeo-italiano del Cantico dei Cantici*, ed. G. Sermoneta (Florence: Sansoni, 1974); *Una traduzione giudeo-romanesca del libro di Giona*, ed. L. Cuomo (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988); L. Cuomo, 'Traduzioni bibliche giudeo-italiane e umanistiche', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 111 (1995), 206–44.
38 G. Garavaglia, 'I lezionari in volgare italiano fra XIV e XVI secolo. Spunti per una ricerca', in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in italiano*, pp. 365–94.

1471).[39] In part assembled from pre-existing vernacular translations (Cavalca's version was picked for Acts), and in part a reworking based on these, the first printed Bible was mostly the product of a new literal translation, and it had notable success (more than thirty editions by 1567). With this began the modern tradition of the Bible in Italian, in which Antonio Brucioli published the first translation of the Gospels from Greek in 1530 and the whole Bible from Hebrew in 1532.

The medieval versions nevertheless still had a role in the reading of the sacred text. In October 1471,[40] the second printed Bible took up their text in part, even though in some books (at least parts of Psalms and the New Testament) it adopted the recent translation of Malerbi. This edition does not seem to have had any subsequent circulation, but the old manuscripts themselves continued to be used for a long time, as is revealed in the licences that the Inquisition attached in the year 1559 to SF4 (for the use of a confraternity) and Ca (for the use of the Salviati family). The medieval freedom of circulation for the sacred text in Italian had come to an end.

Appendix

Index of manuscript abbreviations

Ang	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1552–3
BA420	Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, 420
BL39844	London, BL, Add. 39844
C1218	Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 1218
C1830	Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 1830
Ca	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 6685
F17	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. X. 17
F39	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. X. 39
F49	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechi XXXIX. 49
F56	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. IV. 56
F173	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. sopp. B. 3. 173
F174	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechi XXI. 174
F175	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. sopp. C. 3. 175

39 For Malerbi and the printed tradition in general, see E. Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento. Storia e bibliografia ragionata delle edizioni in lingua italiana dal 1471 al 1600*, 2 vols. (Milan: Bibliografica, 1992).

40 *La Bibbia in volgare secondo la rara edizione del I di ottobre MCCCCLXXI*, ed. C. Negroni, 10 vols. (Bologna: Romagnoli, 1882–7), would be based on this incunable, with only occasional revisions made with the help of the manuscripts.

F445	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. II. 445
F626	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. sopp. C. 3. 626
F1043	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Nuovi acquisti 1043
FM47	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechi XL. 47
FP6	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 6
L3	Florence, BML, Pl. XXVII. 3
LA415	Florence, BML, Ashburnham 415
LA1102	Florence, BML, Ashburnham 1102
LA1846	Florence, BML, Ashburnham 1846
LP3	Florence, BML, Palatino 3
LR127	Florence, BML, Redi 127
LS10	Florence, BML, Strozzi 10
Ly	Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1367–8
M2	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. I. 2
M3	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. I. 3
M11	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. XIV. 11
M57	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. I. 57
Mo2	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α. W. 1. 2
Mo5	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, γ. F. 7. 5
NY56	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier 56
O63	Oxford, BodL, Canon. Ital. 63
O224	Oxford, BodL, Canon. Ital. 224
P1–2	Paris, BNF, it. 1–2
P3–4	Paris, BNF, it. 3–4
P82	Paris, BNF, it. 82
P85	Paris, BNF, it. 85
P917	Paris, BNF, it. 917
Pd110	Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, 110
Per	Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 1086
Pi	Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale, C. 63
PS60	Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, 60
R1250	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1250
R1252	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1252
R1325	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1325
R1349	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1349
R1538	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1538
R1644	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1644
R1655	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1655
R1658	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1658

R1787	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1787
SF4	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, F. III. 4
SI3	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, I. V. 3
SI4	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, I. V. 4
SI5	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, I. V. 5
SI9	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, I. V. 9
SP	St Petersburg, B. Saltykova-Scedrina, Ital. F. v. I. 1
Up	Uppsala, University Library, C. 805
V112	Vatican City, BAV, Chigiani L. IV. 112
V132	Vatican City, BAV, Rossiani 132
V249	Vatican City, BAV, Chigiani L. VII. 249
V3931	Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 3931
V4011	Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 4011
V4821	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 4821
V7208	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 7208
V7733	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 7733
Vi366	Vicenza, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana, 366

The Bible in Spanish and Catalan

GEMMA AVENOZA

The Hispanic biblical tradition

The undeniable richness of the Iberian biblical tradition is due to the interest of the church and the nobility in sacred texts, as well as to the linguistic variety of the Hispanic kingdoms and their vast possessions in Europe throughout the Middle Ages. The territory to be studied here thus includes the western lands of the crown of Castile – that is, the kingdoms of Leon and Galicia and, at one time, the Lusitanian lands recovered from Muslim domination – the kingdom of Navarre, with its solid ties to the French monarchy, and the lands of the Catalan–Aragonese crown, including its possessions in the south of France, which implies an important presence in the regions where the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies were forged and spread. Last, although it will not be treated in this chapter, is the kingdom of Portugal, where the Bible was also translated. Thus to speak of the Bible in the vernacular means to do so about a text that was circulated in Castilian, Galician, Aragonese or Riojan, Catalan, Occitan and Ladino (after the expulsion of the Jews), and in Latin and Arabic or Hebrew alphabets. It means also to speak of apocryphal and canonical texts, and texts for Christian and Jewish use, for liturgy or private piety, and even for reading and access to historical knowledge about the origins of humanity.

That is to say that Hispanic peoples of diverse languages and nations read, handled, adapted and translated the Bible: Christians, Jews, Albigensians, Waldensians or members of other sects that spread throughout Europe between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Later, in the fifteenth century, when the expulsion of the Jews from the territories of the crowns of Castile and Aragon was completed, it was be the crypto-Jews who found in the vernacular texts a way to follow the religious practices of their elders.

Tolerance and prohibitions

We are dealing, therefore, with various kingdoms, different languages and distinct ways of understanding and tolerating the use of the Bible. In general, kings and great lords promoted the vernacular translations. Alfons III of Aragon (1265–91) commissioned the translation of a French biblical text into Catalan,[1] and in Castile, Alfonso X the Learned (1221–84) ordered various translations of the Vulgate in order to integrate them into his *General estoria* (an attempt to provide a history of the entire world),[2] but this interest collided with political problems and those of social coexistence.

In the crown of Aragon, one notes an early intolerance towards texts in the vernacular, to judge from the decrees issued by the Council of Tarragona in 1233 and ratified by King Jaume I (1208–76), but it was not a prohibition against texts in Catalan, as has been said more than once, but probably against the Occitan texts that circulated in the south of France and whose use by heretical groups was noticed very early on as a threat to the politics of the crown.[3] This thirteenth-century prohibition was followed by others, culminating in the fifteenth century with massive burnings of Bibles (some twenty in Valencia in 1447).

The censorship and destruction of biblical texts in Catalan paralleled the burnings ordered later in Castile by the Inquisition (such as, for example, those of 1492 in Salamanca).[4] Reading the Bible in the vernacular was also seen in Castile as a political and social danger: the Catholic monarchs had made great efforts to unify the kingdom under one crown and one religion, which forced Jews and Muslims into obligatory conversion or exile. Some converted and became fervent defenders of the new faith, such as Pablo de Santa María,

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1 A. Puig i Tàrrech, 'Les traduccions catalanes medievals de la Bíblia', in *El text. Lectures i història* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2001), pp. 107–231, at pp. 113–15.

2 A survey of the manuscripts and the status of the debate about the *General estoria* can be found in I. Fernández-Ordóñez, '*General estoria*', in C. Alvar and J. M. Lucía (eds.), *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española* (Madrid: Castalia, 2002), pp. 42–54, and an exhaustive study in P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, 'La Biblia en la historiografía', in G. Del Olmo (ed.), *La Biblia en la literatura española*, vol. 1.2 (Madrid: Trotta, 2008), pp. 112–54.

3 Prohibitions included those enacted by the Council of Toulouse in 1229; see J. Lorenzo Villanueva, *De la lección de la Sagrada Escritura en lenguas vulgares* (Valencia: Oficina de D. Benito Monfort, 1791), pp. 2–3, and M. Morreale, 'Apuntes bibliográficos para la iniciación al estudio de las Biblias medievales en castellano', *Sefarad* 20 (1960), 66–109, at p. 72.

4 J. Enciso, 'Prohibiciones españolas de las versiones bíblicas romances antes del tridentino', *Estudios Bíblicos* 3 (1944), 540, and F. J. Pueyo Mena, 'Biblias romanceadas y en ladino', in E. Romero et al. (eds.), *Sefardíes. Literatura y lengua de una nación dispersa. XV Curso de Cultura Hispanojudía y Sefardí* (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla–La Mancha, 2008), pp. 193–263.

head rabbi and, after his conversion, bishop of Burgos; but others secretly continued to practise the religion of their elders. Removing vernacular Bibles from the hands of these crypto-Jews became a priority.

The expulsion of the Jews led to the disappearance of the synagogues and of the centres of study, as well as the destruction of Hebrew Bibles. The only means whereby the crypto-Jews could continue to practise the religion of their elders was to use Bibles in their Romance language. Thus, although initially the existence of Bibles in the vernacular was not dangerous in itself, certainly it was in the hands of the crypto-Jews, particularly when it became a key element to the continuation of Jewish worship proscribed by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. Before the expulsion, the Romance texts used by Jews for their liturgy were mostly *aljamiado* texts, that is, they were written in Hebrew characters. Since they were easily identifiable, they fell readily into the hands of the Inquisition and were destroyed.[5]

The few Bibles that have come down to us are suggestive of the wide circulation of the vernacular translations and of the varied interests of their owners, from liturgical use in the synagogue or by Christian preachers to the concept of them as a luxury item, a sign of power or source of knowledge for the lay readers of the high nobility. Only Inquisitorial pressure can explain the scarcity of extant copies. Many of these volumes, as we shall see, were commissioned by nobles who kept them in their houses as objects that might indicate their owners' prestige or serve to shape their education. The indications from inventories of goods, usually made after an individual's death, are telling: those who possessed vernacular Bibles were not always *conversos* or those suspected of crypto-Judaism. The interest was wide, common to the different layers of the population, and was guided by a spiritual or intellectual inclination, whether in Christians, *conversos* or Jews. Taking on the financial costs of ordering a biblical translation into the vernacular, or a deluxe copy of a translation, signified something else. Only people of assured wealth could afford to undertake this enterprise: kings, nobles or well-off merchants, guided by one of the interests described above.

Texts preserved and texts lost

If we compare the contemporary situation and the characteristics of the Catalan and Castilian Bibles that have been preserved, we shall see that the

5 Derived probably from an Arabic expression suggesting 'foreign', *aljamiado* is a term regularly used to describe documents in early Romance languages that were transcribed in Arabic characters, as well as Hebrew.

fates of the two traditions were diametrically opposite: a general dispersion of Catalan bibles, with very few copies in Spain and most spread throughout Europe, and a large concentration of Castilian Bibles within Spain, since, with the exception of one fragment and three incomplete copies, none is found outside the country.

Very few Catalan biblical witnesses have been preserved. They comprise only one complete Bible, the Peiresc Codex (Paris, BNF, esp. 2–4); two incomplete Old Testaments, the Colbert (Paris, BNF, esp. 5) and Egerton (London, BL, Egerton 1526) manuscripts; two New Testaments, the Marmoutier Codex (Paris, BNF, esp. 486) and the *Evangelis del Palau* (Sant Cugat, Casal Borja, A); a verse adaptation (the *Biblia rimada de Sevilla*); a number of manuscript and printed psalters; and fragments of various kinds, dispersed in libraries throughout the world.[6] That is, only two codices of some importance remain today in the Iberian peninsula; nearly all copies left the crown of Aragon's territories at an early date, while the rest fell into the hands of the Inquisition and were destroyed.

This scarcity of Catalan copies of the Bible in Spain contrasts with the status and therefore preservation of the Castilian copies: if the former are found in great libraries far from where they were copied, almost all of the latter have been conserved in Spain. The only exceptions to this general rule are from Portugal – the Bible of Ajuda (Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, 52-XIII-1, here designated AJ), the Bible of Évora (Évora, Biblioteca Pública, CXXIV/1–2: EV), a further fragment discovered in Évora in 2006 (Arquivo Distrital Fundo Notarial de Évora, leg. 836: EV2) – and also an incomplete Bible in the Bodleian Library (Canon. Ital. 177) identified by J. C. Conde. What is curious is that the activities of the Inquisition and royal resolve, the reasons for the dispersal of the Catalan bibles, were precisely what prompted the concentration of Castilian bibles. Felipe II (1527–98) decided to form a large library and carry out a vast historiographical project to write a definitive history of Spain. Thus, encouraged by the group of intellectuals that surrounded him,

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6 For an exhaustive record of Catalan copies, especially of the preserved fragments, see www.abcat.org/cbcat/ (*Pla general de l'obra. Versió detallada*) (consulted 25 September 2011); also see the descriptions in BITECA (Bibliografia de Textos Catalans Antics): http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/biteca_en.html (consulted 25 September 2011). For a complete list of preserved Castilian manuscripts, see G. Avenoza, 'Las traducciones de la Biblia en castellano en la Edad Media y sus comentarios', in Del Olmo (ed.), *La Biblia en la literatura española*, vol. 1.2, pp. 20–31, Pueyo Mena, 'Biblias romanceadas', P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, 'Biblias romanceadas', in C. Alvar and J. M. Lucía (eds.), *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española. Textos y transmisión* (Madrid: Castalia, 2002), pp. 213–16, and BETA (Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos) http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/beta_en.html (consulted 25 September 2011); for the detail of the manuscript tradition of *General estoria*, see Fernández-Ordóñez, '*General estoria*'.

he gathered in as many old books as he could, especially historical texts and Bibles.[7] At this point the Inquisition came into play: Gaspar de Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo and Grand Inquisitor, had collected a certain number of Bibles, after overcoming the dogged resistance of the families that owned them, when Felipe II intervened, claiming them for himself before they could be expurgated or destroyed. The archbishop at first resisted turning them over, but ended up giving in to the monarch's demands, and thus the most important Castilian biblical codices entered the library of El Escorial (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio). For some, it was the first time they had come into the possession of the crown, while others had already belonged to the royal library in the time of Isabel the Catholic (1451–1504).[8] The case of manuscript Escorial I. i. 3 (E3) is unique, since it was in Queen Isabel's book chests, but was sold or perhaps given as a gift and then returned to the court in Felipe II's time.[9]

Because of Felipe II, and with the aid of the Inquisition, the most important group of Castilian bibles was saved from destruction, that is, the seven Escorial copies: E3, E4, E5, E6, E7, E8 and E19.[10] The rest remained in private hands or in religious institutions until several hundred years ago. The Bible which is now Madrid's Real Academia de la Historia, 87 (designated RAH) comes from the collections of the Imperial College of the Jesuits, and those which are now Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, BNM 10288 (designated BNM) (Old Testament) and BNM 9556 (New Testament) remained in the hands of the descendants of the Marquess of Santillana until entering the Biblioteca Nacional in 1886.[11] The Alba Bible was part of the tresaure of Enrique IV (d. 1474) and then among the books of Queen Isabel (according to a document dated 1483),[12] but disappeared from later inventories and was lost to sight until the seventeenth century. Today it belongs to the library of the House of Alba

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7 S. Fernández López, *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia en lengua vulgar. Defensores y detractores* (Universidad de León, 2003), and J. L. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, 'Felipe II y el desarrollo de la Biblioteca Humanística de El Escorial', in F. Buzzi and R. Ferro (eds.), *La Biblioteca Ambrosiana tra Roma, Milano e l'Europa* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2005), pp. 139–90.

8 E. Ruiz, *Los libros de Isabel la Católica. Arqueología de un patrimonio escrito* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004), pp. 402–5.

9 Gonzalo and Ruiz offer slightly divergent explanations of the book's odyssey: see J. L. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *La 'Librería rica' de Felipe II. Estudio histórico y catalogación* (Madrid: Ediciones Escurialenses, 1998), pp. 251–2, and Ruiz, *Los libros*, pp. 403–5.

10 E3 (see above), Escorial I. i. 4 (E4), Escorial I. i. 5 (E5), Escorial I. i. 6 (E6), Escorial I. i. 7 (E7), Escorial I. i. 8 (E8), Escorial J. ii. 19 (E19).

11 J. Martín Abad, 'La colección de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional (nombres propios, fechas y procedimientos y acasos de su formación)', in J. M. Díaz Borque (ed.), *Memoria de la escritura* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1993), pp. 23–6, at p. 32.

12 Ruiz, *Los libros*, p. 118.

(it is the only important copy still in private hands). Chance has intervened in the conservation of the remainder of the texts, which were reused as covers of archival volumes,[13] or bound at the end of other codices of similar content.[14]

The vast majority of the Old Testament codices we have mentioned contain translations based on the Hebrew text. A few, however, were made from the Latin Vulgate text, as in the case of the translations produced in the time of Alfonso the Learned. Most of these belonged to the royal library and since they were the work of the learned king, they were carefully preserved by his successors.

In short, if we leave aside the manuscripts that were understood as historiographical texts (those of the *General estoria*), all the Castilian bibles remained together in the lands of the crown of Castile since they were copied, and, except for three codices and one fragment, never left the country as the Catalan Bibles did.

The Castilian Bible

The classification of the Bibles in Castilian derives from that established by S. Berger, who ordered them according to both the language from which the translators began and the use they made of it.[15] Later, J. Llamas divided them according to their recipient or user, that is, Bibles for Christian, Judaeo-Christian, or Jewish use, a division taken up by M. D. Littlefield with some added nuances. This compartmentalisation has been shown to be of little relevance for the extant manuscripts, which in general contain more than one translation per volume, and Pueyo Mena distinguished only two groups: those Bibles translated from Hebrew and those translated from Latin.[16] It used to be assumed that the vernacular translations from Hebrew were the earlier, but the discovery by P. M. Cátedra of a *Salterio bilingüe* (twelfth to thirteenth century), contemporaneous with the *Fazienda de Ultramar* (see below), placed

13 Such as the Old Testament fragments from Córdoba (Córdoba, Archivo de la Catedral, 167) and Évora (EV2); see G. Avenoza, *Biblias castellanas medievales* (Logroño: CILENGUA – Fundación San Millán de la Cogolla, 2011) pp. 313–29 and 343–54.
14 Such as the New Testament fragment inserted at the end of a codex of the *Traducción compendiosa de los comentarios al Evangelio de san Mateo* by Thomas Aquinas, Toledo, Biblioteca Pública, 83.
15 Some of Berger's classification errors arose from not bearing in mind that St Jerome translated much of the Bible directly from the Hebrew and that therefore many Hebrew forms and even Talmudic additions passed into the Latin text and thence to the vernacular, as Pueyo Mena notes in 'Biblias romanceadas'.
16 Ibid., pp. 206–7.

the appearance of translations from the Vulgate and from the Hebrew Bible in the same period.[17] The text of this psalter unearthed by Cátedra has changed our perception of the Iberian biblical tradition, as we shall see.

The Bible translated from Hebrew

The most numerous group of texts is that made up of the Old Testament translated from the masoretic Hebrew. The first known work is the *Fazienda de Ultramar* (twelfth to thirteenth century), an itinerary of the Holy Land of which some 80 per cent is a translation of the Bible.[18] After two centuries without any known copies preserved, in the fifteenth century enough were produced and survived to allow us to be thoroughly familiar with the Bible that was read in Castilian in the Middle Ages. Pueyo Mena, on the basis of a broad analysis of textual variation, has succeeded in establishing a provisional classification of these translations that gives us a better orientation in such a tangle of texts. A schematic representation of the codices (and portions of them) in which they appear can be seen in the following diagram (Fig. 16.1), in which α represents the hypothetical archetypal translation and the other Greek letters the various sub-archetypes which derived from it.[19] An asterisk indicates that there existed one or more intermediate copies between the sub-archetypes and the fifteenth-century manuscripts. The symbol = indicates close textual equivalence and ∼ textual relationship.

Excluded from the diagram are the *Séfer Tešubá* (Esther, fifteenth century, Salamanca Biblioteca Universitaria, 2015), the fragments of Psalms and the *Siddur Tefillot* written in Arabic characters (fifteenth century, Paris, BNF, esp. 668), the *Megillat Antiochus* (fifteenth century, but a copy of an earlier original, Ajuda), the Bodleian codex and the Alba passages incorporated by Lope García de Salazar in his *Bienandanzas y fortunas* (by 1476) – all of which are discussed below.

It will be seen in the diagram that the majority of the manuscript sigla are accompanied by subscript numerals (for example, $E4_1$, $E4_2$ and $E4_3$). These identify specific sections of the manuscripts and draw our attention to the fact that they are not simple copies from a single integrated exemplar but are collections of parts made from a variety of exemplars, some of them derived

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17 P. M. Cátedra, 'El Salterio bilingüe prealfonsí', in L. Santos Río et al. (eds.), *Palabras, norma, discurso. En memoria de Fernando Lázaro Carreter* (Salamanca: Universidad, 2006), pp. 291–306.
18 M. Lazar, 'La plus ancienne adaptation castillane de la Bible', *Sefarad* 22 (1962), 251–95; see the revision presented by P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, '*Fazienda de Ultramar*', in Alvar and Lucía (eds.), *Diccionario filológico*, pp. 493–7, and Pueyo Mena, 'Biblias romanceadas', who dated *Fazienda* to the twelfth century.
19 Pueyo Mena, 'Biblias romanceadas', pp. 207–8; for the chart see p. 261.
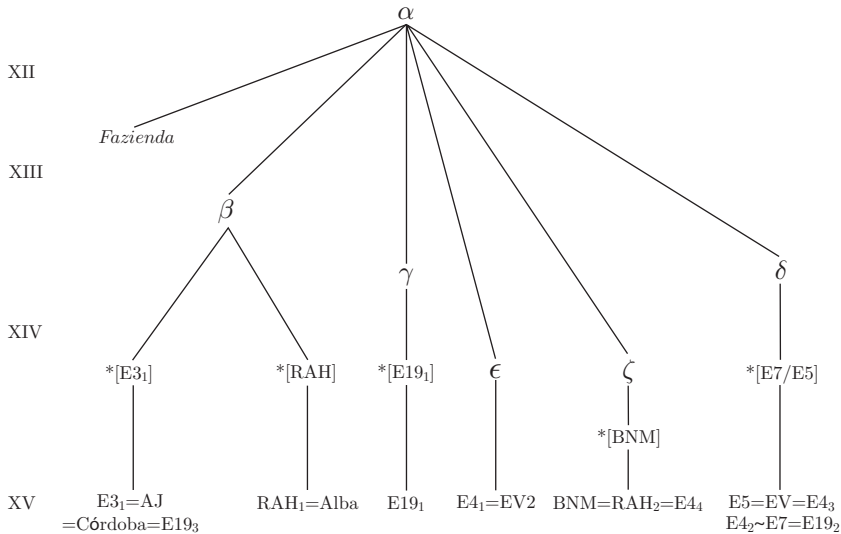
Fig. 16.1 Schematic representation of codices (after Pueyo Mena, 'Biblias romanceadas', p. 261

from non-Hebrew sources.[20] An explanation for this mixing might be that the manuscripts were produced in workshops where various copyists were working on a given volume simultaneously. These scribes had to hand not one but several disbound Bibles, and utilised them indiscriminately, without taking into account that not all of them transmitted exactly the same textual tradition. As a result of this *modus operandi*, in some codices (for instance E3, E4, E5 or E19) we can differentiate various sections; some of these are shared by one or more of the other Bibles, others are not. For example, the copyists of E3 utilised a single original exemplar until Ezra (this is $E3_1$), but for 1–2 Maccabees they went to another exemplar (obviously and necessarily, since $E3_1$ is translated from the Hebrew but 1–2 Maccabees does not belong to the Jewish canon); hence the subsequent section of E3 is not represented on the diagram. For E19, a first exemplar was used which has not left any other descendants and which contained the Pentateuch and Joshua; a second

20 The owners of the manuscripts preserved were nobles who wished to have complete Bibles according to the Christian canon, so although the translators would work essentially with masoretic originals, they also included translations from Latin of the deuterocanonical books (e.g., 1–2 Maccabees).

exemplar for Judith is the same that served for the copyists of E7, and a third coincides with that used by the scribes of E3 for 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings.

It is notable also that some of these manuscripts incorporated a translation of all or part of St Jerome's prologues to the books he translated from Hebrew, taken from the Latin Vulgate (as in RAH). The manuscripts follow the order of the books according to the Vulgate, rather than the Hebrew order, as used for example in E4, or they incorporate texts that do not belong in the Hebrew canon (such as Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus in BNM). In all these cases, there can also occur sporadically revised readings based on the Vulgate text – indicating that the final recipient of the copy as we see it today was Christian.

We can confirm a unified translation for only one of the extant bibles, the Alba Bible, commissioned by Don Luis de Guzmán, Grand Master of the Order of the Calatrava, from Rabbi Mosé Arragel de Guadalajara in 1422, shortly after Alfonso de Algeciras finished translating Nicolas of Lyra's *Postillae* for Don Alfonso de Guzmán, Lord of Lepe and Ayamonte. Don Luis and Don Alfonso shared an interest in understanding the biblical text in all its senses, and wished to procure glosses and commentaries that would serve this purpose. However, the Grand Master demanded not only a gloss, but also a new translation of the Bible based on the Hebrew. The commentary that was to accompany it was to consist of a synthesis of everything that rabbinical erudition had accumulated, as well as the Christian interpretation when the Jewish one differed from church dogma. For that reason a Dominican and a Franciscan were to be entrusted to safeguard the orthodoxy of the end result of Arragel's work. At first, Arragel refused the commission, with an extensive argument that refuted Don Luis point by point, but after several letters had been exchanged between the two, the rabbi reluctantly agreed to carry out the translation, completing it in June 1430.[21]

The history of this volume has been a mystery that shows signs of soon being solved. It was thought that it had not circulated but recently published data disprove this, showing that at least the noble entourage of King Juan II (as Marquess of Santillana) and King Enrique IV and Queen Isabel the Catholic had access to it.[22] Lope García de Salazar, too, seems to have had access

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21 M. Lazar, 'Rabbí Moses Arragel as Servant of Two Masters: A Call for Tolerance in a Century of Turmoil', in C. Carrete et al. (eds.), *Encuentros and Desencuentros. Spanish Jewish Cultural Interaction throughout History* (Tel Aviv: University Publishing Services, 2000), pp. 431–78.
22 F. J. Pueyo Mena, 'La *Biblia de Alba* de Mosé Arragel en las *Bienandanzas e fortunas* de Lope García de Salazar', in E. Romero (ed.), *Judaísmo Hispano. Estudios en memoria de José Luis Lacave Riaño*, 2 vols. (Madrid: CSIC, 2002), vol. I, pp. 228–42, and 'Biblias romanceadas', p. 37; G. Avenoza, 'Algunos libros de la biblioteca de Lope García de Salazar', *Revista de Filología Española* 83 (2003), 5–37, and E. Ruiz, *Los libros*, p. 118.

to the text to write his *Bienandanzas y fortunas* (by 1476), but it was not the copy in the Alba Bible itself, because his text preserves readings closer to the Hebrew text than those chosen by Mosé Arragel, as Pueyo Mena has noted.[23] The connection between the Alba Bible and the Marquess of Santillana lies in the fact that in the Santillana Bible (BNM) Psalms carries some marginal notes written for the Marquess which summarise some of the historical items present in the Alba commentary, together with Christian theological glosses. We know for a fact that the Alba Bible was at one point in the library of Isabel the Catholic, but was sold or given away by the queen. From then on we know nothing of its whereabouts, which might be explained if it became part of a library to which very few had access.[24]

We have seen how unusual it is to find a Bible with a unified text, but we encounter a different problem when we approach the translation and copying of isolated books, as the following examples show.

For the book of Esther, there is a very peculiar independent translation copied in the fifteenth century, in a codex for Jewish use. A strange misidentification saved it from destruction: on the first leaf, which was left blank, there was a note that the book had been revised by Alonso de Madrigal, *el Tostado* (bishop of Ávila), and in the prologue, in a space left blank for the name of the recipient of the copy, the word *Condestable* (constable) was added, which made the book appear to have been dedicated to Don Álvaro de Luna. The fact that the text that opens the booklet is a manual of confession, the *Séfer Tešubá*, and that it begins much like the Tostado's *Breve tratado de confesión*, made the deception more convincing, and thus this curious miscellany escaped the Inquisition. On fols. 43v–50v of the volume, the *Libro de Asueros y la reina Esther* (or *Megillat 'Estēr*) is copied, following a text independent of that of the other Hispanic Bibles, although we find some parallels with the E3 text. Its occurrence outside a Bible is explained because this text was read during the Purim festival (but independently of liturgical readings) and although it was required that all books be read in Hebrew, the Hispanic Jewish communities had in fact tolerated reading in Spanish for several centuries.[25]

The translation of the 'Maccabees' that closes the Ajuda Bible is a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic carried out for the Jewish community's

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23 Pueyo Mena in 'La *Biblia de Alba*', p. 239.
24 A. Enrique-Arias, 'Sobre el parentesco entre la *Biblia de Alba* y la *Biblia* de la Real Academia de la Historia MS 87', *Romance Philology* 59 (2006), 241–64, where it is shown that the Alba text is not isolated in the textual tradition, but is related to that of the RAH, a translation that may have served as a draft for Arragel's work.
25 E. Gurtwirth, 'Religión, historia y las Biblias romanceadas', *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 13/1 (1988), 115–33, at pp. 121–2.

use.[26] It is not in fact a version of 1–2 Maccabees, but rather a literal translation of the *Megillat Antiochus* ('the scroll of Antiochus'), an alternative account of the history of the Maccabees that somehow became substituted for the apocryphal books and was often read in the synagogue during the Hanukkah; the text has even been preserved in some Hebrew Bibles.[27] This is the oldest version of the *Megillat Antiochus* preserved in a vernacular language,[28] dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, though the copy in the Ajuda Bible may be from the fifteenth century.

The Bible translated from Latin

The Vulgate has left fewer representatives in Castilian translations than the masoretic Hebrew text. It is argued that those most interested in the text of Jerome were the members of the clergy, who were generally unenthusiastic about its translation into the vernacular. On the other hand, Latin could present a serious obstacle for nobles wishing to understand the sacred text and it is they who stand behind the most important commissions (which usually derive from the Hebrew text). However, King Alfonso X commissioned translations of the Vulgate when he decided to utilise the Bible as an historical source for the *General estoria*, noted above. He was conscious of his Jewish collaborators' ability to offer him an excellent version of the Hebrew text, but opted for the Latin text as the source for his historical compilation, believing it to be more authoritative.

The oldest Bibles translated from Latin that we know of are related to the learned king's labour: E2[29] and, indirectly, E6 and E8. E2 contains part of the Old Testament and the New Testament and is traditionally linked to the *General estoria*. It is supposed that E8 and E6, chronologically distant manuscripts, have a common ancestor, a complete Bible divided into two volumes. The acephalous Old Testament (beginning at Lev. 6:8) is found in E8, of the late fourteenth or fifteenth century, and extends to Psalms, but is in two parts, Leviticus–Job and Psalms itself (see below). The rest of the Old

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26 Ajuda has a copy of the Heptateuch in the same version as E3.

27 G. Avenoza, 'Versiones medievales de los Macabeos: San Jerónimo, Josefo y la *Megil·lat Antiochus*', in M. Freixas et al. (eds.), *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de la AHLM (Santander, 1999)*, 2 vols. (Santander: Gobierno de Cantabria – AHLM, 2000), vol. I, pp. 245–56, at pp. 253–5, and G. Avenoza (ed.), *La Biblia de Ajuda y la 'Megil·lat Antiochus' en romance* (Madrid: CSIC, 2001), pp. 132–4.

28 There exist Hebrew and Arabic versions dating from the eighth century (the Hebrew *editio princeps* was printed in Guadalajara *c.* 1481–2); the German translation dates from the sixteenth century and the Latin from the seventeenth.

29 Escorial I. i. 2 (E2).

Testament and the New Testament up to Revelation can be found in E6, a beautiful codex from the thirteenth century, used in the compilation of the *General estoria*.

Some books of the Bible appealed particularly to the interests of readers and consequently we have their vernacular translations not only as an integral part of biblical volumes, but as independent versions as well. The case of the book of Job is paradigmatic. Considered to present a model of Christian faith and resignation, it was translated into Castilian by Pero López de Ayala (b. 1407), who also translated Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, with quotations from Job that do not correspond to his own translation. In both cases Ayala began with the Vulgate text and not a Hebrew one.

Psalms also circulated widely, with several independent versions extant. In 2006 a bilingual Latin–Castilian text was brought to light that bids fair to cause a revolution in the field of biblical studies. P. Cátedra has revealed a fragment of a psalter which pre-dates the Alfonsine evidence (twelfth to thirteenth centuries). It is from a bilingual psalter belonging to a tradition otherwise unknown in the Iberian peninsula, linked to European traditions, especially the Anglo-Saxon, according to its discoverer.[30]

Another important translation is that which constitutes the second part of E8: the psalter of Hermannus Alemanus (Hermann the German). This text displays an Aragonese or Riojan linguistic tint,[31] and although it is a copy from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, it dates back to earlier originals. The psalter is textually independent of the previous biblical books (Leviticus–Job) in the manuscript and was bound with them in the volume because it was probably copied in the same scriptorium and because it has a similar format.[32] It is likely that Hermann the German's psalter was translated in Toledo between 1240 and 1256, in a time of great intellectual vitality in the Toledan see, shortly before the compilation of Alfonso's *General estoria* was undertaken.

At the end of the fifteenth century Pedro Núñez de Osma completed a translation of the books of the Maccabees, incorporating materials from Josephus into his account. His intention was to provide his pupil, the noble

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30 Cátedra, 'El Salterio'.

31 M. Morreale, 'Arcaísmos y aragonesismos en el Salterio del Ms. bíblico escurialense I-j-8', *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa* 12–13 (1961–2), 7–23, and M. G. Littlefield, 'The Riojan Provenance of Escorial Biblical Manuscript I. I. 8', *Romance Philology* 31 (1977–8), 225–34.

32 *Biblia Romanceada I. I. 8. The 13th-Century Spanish Bible Contained in Escorial MS. I. I. 8*, ed. M. G. Littlefield (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1983), p. x, casts doubt on the attribution to Hermannus Alemanus.

Lope de Acuña, with a text that could serve to guide his education.[33] The exemplary value of 1–2 Maccabees for knights draws special attention to it; in Núñez de Osma, this results in a free translation amplified with other historiographical works, while in the case of E3 this text receives ten times more illustrations than the rest of the volume.

The Castilian Bible: studies in progress

Currently the still-unpublished texts are few: at present there are editions in preparation of Psalms found by P. Cátedra, and the Old Testament portion of BodL, Canon. Ital. 177. All the others can be read already in more or less reliable editions. However, we can read the Alba Bible only in the less successful edition of A. Paz y Meliá (1920), with M. Lazar's announced edition still unpublished; this lack was palliated at least partially by the publication in 1992 of the facsimile by the Fundación Amigos de Sepharad.

We now have a fundamental tool for the study of the Castilian Bibles, in which philology and a rational use of new technology have combined to construct an internet database (www.bibliamedieval.es). Under the direction of Andrés Enrique-Arias, extant transcriptions of the biblical texts have been revised and others have recently been completed, and it is now possible to consult a specific chapter in a manuscript (in the transcription or the facsimile) or the text of a given passage in all the medieval Castilian Bibles. The Old Testament is already freely available.

The Catalan Bible

There are very few copies of the Bible extant in Catalan, and it is difficult to describe the genesis of the different textual traditions with certainty. In summary, one can speak of three important versions: that of the thirteenth century (lost), that of the fourteenth (transmitted by manuscripts of the fifteenth), and that of the fifteenth (with two stages: the original, only fragments of which remain, and the revised version, of which the complete Psalms and brief fragments of the rest are preserved). Each of these versions has a distinct text and a different concept of translation underlying it; however, the archetypes can only be conjectured from analysis of the extant copies. Apart from these 'complete' Bibles, other texts (isolated books, fragments, adaptations in prose or verse, etc.) have come down to us that demonstrate that

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33 G. Avenoza, 'El romanceamiento de los Macabeos del maestro Pedro Núñez de Osma', *Romanica Vulgaria Quaderni* 15 (1995–7 [2003]), 5–47.

those conjectured versions were not the only ones that translated the sacred texts into the vernacular.

In 1287 Alfons III of Aragon commissioned from Jaume de Montjuïc a translation into Catalan of an illustrated Bible in French, which he had inherited from his father, Pere III. The early death of Jaume de Montjuïc prevented the completion of the project, but the references in inventories, especially that of the royal household, indicate that he and his aides completed part of the task with which they had been charged. However, none of the translation survives.

The earliest Catalan biblical text preserved is a short fragment from the beginning of the fourteenth century (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 470, fols. 87–89), carrying John 12:1–14:23.[34] Its dependence on Occitan originals does not allow us to consider the fragment to be from the translation commissioned from Alfons III to which we have just referred, nor to link it to the second great translation of the Bible, the so-called 'Fourteenth-Century Bible' (*Biblia del s. XIV*) of which we shall speak now.

Once more, the initiative to translate a complete Bible came from the crown, probably from Pere IV of Aragon (1319–87) in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The original having been lost, we know this text from later manuscripts (from the late fifteenth century), with further lost versions in which changes occurred intervening. Today we can approach the Fourteenth-Century Bible via the following codices: Peiresc (Old Testament and New Testament), Colbert (incomplete Old Testament), Egerton (incomplete Old Testament) and Marmoutier (New Testament), most of which remain unpublished. It is assumed that the translation commissioned by the king was based on the Vulgate text, and indeed, Latin readings explain the majority of textual cruces analysed. However, in some books (the Pentateuch of Peiresc and Colbert; the Psalms of Egerton and Colbert, etc.), the influence of the Hebrew text may be perceived, even leading (in Psalms) to the modification of some verses to avoid the passages with a messianic interpretation on which some of the contemporary religious controversies were based.[35]

One of the arguments used in the discussion of the source text of the archetype is the presence of the majority of the prologues of St Jerome in the manuscripts, but one must remember that some Castilian bibles translated

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34 J. Perarnau i Espelt, 'Aportació al tema de les traduccions bíbliques catalanes medievals', *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 3 (1978), 17–98, at pp. 21–35.

35 J. Perarnau i Espelt, 'Noves dades sobre traduccions catalanes de la Bíblia en els segles XIV i XV', *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 2 (1983), 349–64, accepts the existence of Catalan versions that took the Hebrew text into account, although little trace remains in the extant manuscripts.

from Hebrew also contained the prologues (in the body of the text or in the margins as glosses), independently of that source text.

Another interesting feature of the fourteenth-century translation is the virtual absence of glosses, even though the contemporaneous French texts are overrun with them. However, this does not mean that the Fourteenth-Century Bible is wanting trans-Pyrenean influence, for the chapter division of the New Testament is very similar to that found in the Occitan translations completed during the thirteenth century. It would indeed not be strange if, at least for the New Testament, the translators had taken the Occitan text into account.[36] This feature has motivated an interesting discussion initiated by J. Izquierdo, who, starting from the similarity to Occitan texts, asserted that behind the Catalan New Testament is a translation born in heretical Waldensian circles whose imprint may have affected the 'Fifteenth-Century Bible' (the *Biblia del s. XV*).[37] This daring hypothesis has been rejected by other specialists (notably Perarnau and Puig). Until we have to hand complete critical editions of all these texts and can determine the textual relations among the extant manuscripts by examining carefully the *stemma codicum* of each book or group of books, we shall not be able to arrive at definitive conclusions. As regards the hypothetical archetype of the Fourteenth-Century Bible, we can venture little else but the proof of the strong imprint of the underlying Vulgate text and of a translation style that, despite being literal, acts with a certain degree of freedom as much in the syntax and lexicon as in the inclusion of some explanatory glosses and commentaries or interpretations stemming from the Hebrew text.

At the end of the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth, in the Valencian Charterhouse of Portacoeli, a complete translation of the Bible was carried out, the so-called Portacoeli Bible, which established the text of the Fifteenth-Century Bible. Traditional opinion has it that this translation was promoted by Bonifaci Ferrer, prior of the Charterhouse between 1396 and 1402 and brother of St Vincent Ferrer.[38] The Carthusians' aim was to provide a new text, free of glosses and of all that could distance it from the orthodoxy of the Vulgate, such as the insertions from the Hebrew Bible that we have noted

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36 A. Puig i Tàrrech, *La Bíblia a Catalunya, València i les Illes Balears* (Tarragona: Institut Superior de Ciències Religioses St Fructuós, 1997), pp. 205–8.
37 J. Izquierdo, *La Bíblia en Valencià. De la lecció de la sagrada escritura en llengua vulgar* (Valencia: Saó, 1997), pp. 98–107 and 120–31.
38 Ibid., pp. 87–96, discusses the authorship of Bonifaci Ferrer; for him, the presence of Ferrer's name in the colophon is due only to an attempt by the promoters of the edition to use his prestige to protect a text that could encounter serious problems with the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

as characteristic of some parts of the Fourteenth-Century Bible. The text's intelligibility was sacrificed to literalism. In their translation, they adopted a word-for-word approach similar to that used in some Bibles translated from the masoretic text. The fragments surviving from the Portacoeli translation read more like an interlinear version, conceived to accompany the Latin text, than a text designed for independent reading. It is known to us only through brief fragments.[39]

The second stage of the Fifteenth-Century Bible would be represented by the no longer extant Bible printed in Valencia by Lambert Palmart at the expense of Philip de Vizland in March 1478, known as the Valencia Bible. Nicolau Spindeler printed the *Saltiri* (Psalms) of this translation in Barcelona, *c.* 1480 (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc. 1228, with a manuscript copy, Paris, BNF, esp. 376).[40] From the colophon of the 1478 edition and Inquisitorial documentation we know that a manuscript of the Portacoeli Bible was chosen as the base text.[41] The language of this version, as its editors noted, proved to be confusing for contemporary readers, so they decided to update it at the same time as they revised the text to ensure the orthodoxy of the end result. After various versions, and a change of the source manuscript, the Dominican Jaume Borrell (Inquisitor of the kingdom of Valencia) and the *converso* Daniel Vives took charge of the translation, with the help of another Dominican, Bernat Comes, and, for the most delicate passages, in consultation with Jaume Peres, auxiliary bishop of Valencia and an eminent biblical scholar. The work underwent various modifications and finally Vives ended up directly revising the text in the print shop itself. The result was that, according to the colophon, 600 copies were ready for sale in 1478.

Unfortunately for the promoters of this edition, in 1481 the ecclesiastical hierarchy did an about-turn, making the Inquisition's role much harsher. The Dominican Jaume Borrell was replaced by Juan de Monasterio, who, following the order to persecute *conversos* and not to tolerate vernacular bibles, initiated an Inquisitorial trial against the edition that ended with the

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39 C. Wittlin, 'El *Psaltiri* de 1480 i altres restes de la "Bíblia valenciana" dels cartoixans de Portaceli', in *Actes del VIIè col·loqui d'estudis catalans a Nord-Amèrica* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1996), pp. 287–301, at pp. 295–8 lists the known fragments of this version. See also *Corpus biblicum catalanicum*, 'Versió detallada', www.abcat.org/cbcat/plangen.phb (consulted 25 September 2011).
40 The textual relations between all versions of Psalms are complex; see Puig i Tàrrech, 'Les traduccions'.
41 This trial, studied and published by J. Ventura, *La Biblia valenciana. Recuperació de la història d'un incunable en català* (Barcelona: Curial, 1993), offers us very subtle details about how the Bible was prepared for the press and also gives some verses cited in the depositions that allow us to know the result of such revision.

sentencing of Vives and the order to destroy all copies that could be located. All complete copies having been lost, today only the last leaf of the 1478 edition is preserved, inserted inside a manuscript volume of the *Anales* of the Portacoeli Charterhouse (now located at The Hispanic Society of America), a history of the monastery written in the seventeenth century by J. B. Civera.

It is precisely the Psalms that allow us to observe the extreme literalism of the translation, which could not satisfy those who sought careful literary expression as well as doctrine in the biblical text. Such was Joan Roís de Corella, who had also been consulted during the work on the 1478 edition. His unhappiness with the published text, and with that of Psalms that appeared two years later in Barcelona, impelled him to create his own translation of the book, avoiding literalism and constructing the text on a model of elegant and careful language.

A Catalan gospelbook, the *Evangelis del Palau*,[42] copied in the first half of the fifteenth century but transmitting a somewhat earlier text, reminds us of the popularity of the New Testament. Its text, while remaining close to the Vulgate, does not fall into the literalism of the Fifteenth-Century Bible, nor is there the constant recourse to glosses seen in French texts. The translation style keeps closer to the Occitan versions than to any others.

These were not the only attempts to produce biblical texts in Catalan. Repositories of translated fragments include the *Homilies d'Organyà* (twelfth to thirteenth centuries), one of the oldest texts of Catalan literature deriving from Occitan and Latin originals;[43] the huge number of sermons that include canonical or apocryphal texts, such as those of Vincent Ferrer; the compilations of holy scripture that also incorporated apocryphal material, such as the *Compendi historial* (first half of the fifteenth century); the texts created for anti-Jewish polemic, such as the *Bíblia del bisbe de Jaén* (mid-fifteenth century); the stories that revolve around the passion, such as *Gamaliel*, the *Històries i contemplacions* (before 1438) and some drama fragments; the free translation of 1–2 Maccabees (fifteenth century), lost today, that belonged to the Beguine community of S María del Mar in Barcelona;[44] the innumerable

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42 Ed. J. Gudiol as *Una antiga traducció catalana dels quatre evangelis (Còdex del Palau)* (Vic: Fulla Dominical, 1910).

43 M. A. Sánchez Sánchez, 'La originalidad y el supuesto origen agustiniano de las *Homilies d'Organyà*', in Freixas et al. (eds.), *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de la AHLM*, vol. II, pp. 1611–30, and A.-J. Soberanas, A. Rossinyol and A. Puig i Tàrrech (eds.), *Homilies d'Organyà* (Barcelona: Barcino, 2001), pp. 137–322.

44 'Fragmentos de los libros de los Macabeos en lengua catalana', ed. J. B. Codina i Formosa, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 8 (1916), 361–72, and *Història del malvat rei Antíocus*, ed. J. Riera i Sans (Barcelona: Mall, 1981).

psalters (in prose or in verse, for Christian or Jewish use); the *Siddur* of the fifteenth-century *conversos* (before 1475);[45] and an endless list of biblical citations occurring in medieval Catalan literature which derive from the authors' memories or the reading of vernacular texts (although the latter would have been categorically forbidden).

The Catalan Bible: studies in progress

Currently a vast editorial project to edit the Catalan biblical texts is under way, from the origins until the present: it is the *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum* directed and promoted by P. Casanellas and A. Puig, of the *Associació Bíblica de Catalunya*. The *Corpus* will consist of 41 volumes, with volumes 2–33 covering the medieval period. A synoptic presentation has been chosen, so that the first volume published (third of the series) offers the text of Exodus and Leviticus from the Fourteenth-Century Bible in four parallel columns: first the Vulgata Stuttgartiensis with a new critical apparatus that also includes the variants belonging to the Occitan–Catalan tradition, followed by the Peiresc, Egerton and Colbert manuscripts, with the corresponding critical annotation that allows the reader to follow the relationships among the different texts and their possible sources, Latin or Hebrew.[46]

The Jewish role

As we have seen, Hispanic Jews played an important role in the creation of the Castilian versions of the Bible. While their tradition led them to use in the liturgy texts written in Hebrew, they also resorted to Bibles in the vernacular to facilitate the understanding of biblical Hebrew, a level of language not accessible to the whole community. Thus *aljamiado* copies appeared, and beneath the alphabet palpitates a text in the Romance language, and also an oral tradition linked to the liturgy which was eventually going to converge in the Bibles in Ladino. As Rabbi Yona of Gerona (d. 1263) states, 'Read twice each verse of the Hebrew text and once the Aramaic translation, the Targum. And if the Targum is not to hand, let the verse be read twice in Hebrew and once in the vernacular, which is better than reading the verse three times in Hebrew, since the Targum is for understanding the Hebrew for those who are not

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45 *El siddur en català dels conversos jueus (s. XV)*, ed. J. Riera i Sans (Barcelona: Real Acadèmia de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi, 1993).
46 *Bíblia del segle XIV. Èxode. Levític*, ed. J. Riera, P. Casanellas and A. Puig i Tàrrech (Barcelona: Associació Bíblica de Catalunya / Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2004).

educated, and the vernacular even more so'.[47] This recourse to the vernacular for a better understanding of the sacred text put the Castilian rabbis in a privileged position when preparing vernacular translations for the Christian nobles who required them. Christian clerics were also able to translate the Latin Bible into the Romance language, but they were reluctant to do so, since the Catholic hierarchy did not like laypeople to read the Bible in the vernacular, that is, in a version other than the Vulgate of Jerome. Perhaps that is why translated versions of the Latin are confined to Alphonsine and pre-Alphonsine times, when the Latin text was translated into the vernacular as a basic tool to construct a great historiographical work.

In the case of translations into Catalan, it has been proposed that the Jews were involved to a certain extent in the constitution of the text of the Fourteenth-Century Bible, although it will be necessary to wait for more complete textual studies to show whether these 'hebraisms' are truly different from those already incorporated in the Hieronymian text. Although in times of persecution the Jews' prayer book was written in Catalan, not in Hebrew, there is no material evidence to prove that in the fourteenth century the current biblical versions of Christians written in Catalan had anything to do with Jewish texts, and the Fifteenth-Century Bible is a version that depends very closely on the Latin Vulgate.

47 Gurtwitch, 'Religión', p. 122.

PART II

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FORMAT AND TRANSMISSION

The Bibles of the Christian East

GEORGI R. PARPULOV

In 615/16, Thomas of Harqel revised the Syriac text of the New Testament, noting after the Gospels:

> This book is of the four holy evangelists, which was translated from the Greek language into the Syriac with much accuracy and great labour . . . And it was revised afterwards with much care by me, the poor Thomas, on [the basis of] three Greek manuscripts, which [were] very approved and accurate, at the Enaton of Alexandria, the great city, in the holy Convent of the Enatonians; where also I wrote it for myself – for the profit of my sinful soul and of the many who love and desire to know and to keep the profitable accuracy of divine books.[1]

Similar enterprises, not always expressly recorded, were periodically undertaken at multinational monastic centres such as the Egyptian convent where Thomas worked, Mt Athos in northern Greece, or the Black Mountain near Antioch. Successive revisions mark the entire medieval history of Christian scriptural translations in the East. The revisers' invariable aim was to 'keep the profitable accuracy of divine books' by bringing their biblical text into closer agreement with the Greek one. The latter carried the authority of an original for all east Christian versions of the Bible, including those which, like the Armenian, Arabic or Ethiopian ones, were at first partly based on other languages. Hardly any Christian translations of the Old Testament were made from Hebrew.[2]

Manuscript censuses are cited below in abbreviated form (name of the compiler followed by the census number for a specific manuscript). The full titles are given in Appendix 1.

1 W. H. P. Hatch, 'The Subscription of the Chester Beatty Manuscript of the Harclean Gospels', *HTR* 30 (1937), 141–55, esp. pp. 149–55.

2 On an exception, see S. Brock, 'A Fourteenth-Century Polyglot Psalter', in G. E. Kadish and G. E. Freedman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams* (Toronto: Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, 1982), pp. 1–15, esp. pp. 3–11, 13–15.

The Greek texts of the Bible

The Greek biblical text was itself not fully standardised, however. Like Thomas with his three manuscripts, Byzantine scribes faced the problem of reconciling disagreements among their exemplars. The most obvious one was presented by the gospel passage about the woman caught in adultery (John 7:53–8:11).[3] A monk named Ephraem, for example, wrote at the end of a gospelbook he completed in 948:

> The Chapter about the Adulteress: in most exemplars it is not in the text of the Gospel according to John, and it is not mentioned by the holy fathers who interpreted [this Gospel], namely John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria, nor by Theodore of Mopsuestia and the others. I omitted it in the text above. It reads, shortly after the beginning of Chapter 76,[4] following 'Search and you will see that no prophet is to arise from Galilee' [John 7:53] . . . [5]

Although he clearly considered the adulteress passage an interpolation, Ephraem did include it in his volume, together with a number of further variant readings in the page margins: his aim was not to correct the text, but to record its multiple forms. (The one surviving Greek copy of Origen's *Hexapla* dates, to judge from its script, from Ephraem's time.[6]) In another manuscript Ephraem explained:[7]

> Let it be known that the fourteen epistles of the apostle were copied from a very ancient exemplar which we observed to be in correspondence with Origen's surviving volumes, or sermons, on the epistles, for we found its text to agree with the passages in [Origen's] commentaries on either the epistles or other scripture. In those passages where he differs from the current epistles, we added the sign > in the margin, so that it would not be thought that the epistles are wrong with respect to adding or omitting something.[8]

Such scholarly treatment of the text was a luxury. An early tenth-century manuscript, very similar in textual profile to Ephraem's Gospels and, like

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3 D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 342–3.

4 The chapter numbering in Byzantine gospel manuscripts is not identical with the modern system; see n. 78 below.

5 Gregory/Aland 1582, Athos, Vatopedi 949: A. S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels. Family 1 in Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 69.

6 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, O 39 sup.: *Psalterii Hexapli reliquiae*, ed. G. Mercati, 2 vols. (Vatican City: BAV, 1958–62).

7 Gregory/Aland 1739, Athos, Lavra B 64, Acts and Epistles: T. C. Geer, *Family 1739 in Acts* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994).

8 E. A. von der Goltz, *Eine textkritische Arbeit des zehnten bzw. sechsten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899), pp. 7–8.

it, with variants noted in the margin, is penned in gold ink upon purple-dyed parchment.[9] It was for expensive books of this sort that scribes would search out ancient and venerable exemplars. A volume made in 1072 for Emperor Michael VII[10] and one bearing a portrait of Emperor John II (1118–43)[11] contain numerous idiosyncratic readings that must have come from much older codices.

The imperial provenance of manuscripts such as the last two shows that the authorities in Constantinople did not seek to promulgate an 'official' scriptural text. Nonetheless, Ephraem referred to 'the current epistles' as the standard against which he compared the unusual readings of his ancient exemplar. The books mentioned above stand out as exceptions among the mass of Greek New Testament manuscripts from the ninth to fifteenth centuries. Systematic comparison shows that most of these have very similar texts that can, in their entirety, be considered to represent a koine ('common') or 'Byzantine' version of the Greek New Testament.[12] This version's homogeneity increased over time, so that a group of mostly fourteenth-century witnesses labelled 'the revised koine' (K^r) are practically identical.[13]

The uniformity of the Byzantine text was due to its continuous and frequent copying. Scribes were prone to use as exemplars recent manuscripts rather than the much rarer ancient ones, which, because of changes in writing style, must also have been difficult for them to read. As a consequence, even if two or more exemplars were consulted, their readings were likely to come from a single pool of variants. The more frequently a text was

9 Gregory / Aland 565, St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 53: V. D. Likhachova, *Byzantine Miniature. Masterpieces of Byzantine Miniature of IXth–XVth Centuries in Soviet Collections* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977), pls. 3–4; cf. K. Aland, B. Aland and K. Wachtel, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: Das Johannesevangelium*, 2 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005–6), vol. 1, pp. 63, 80.
10 Gregory / Aland 2138, Moscow, University Library, 2280, Acts, Epistles, Apocalypse: C.-B. Amphoux, 'Quelques témoins grecs des formes textuelles les plus anciennes de l'épître de Jacques. Le groupe 2138 (ou 614)', *NTS* 28 (1981), 91–115; E. N. Dobrynina (ed.), *The Greek Illuminated Praxapostolos Dated 1072 in the Scientific Library of Moscow State University* (Moscow: Severnyi Palomnik, 2004).
11 Gregory / Aland 157, Vatican City, BAV, Urbin. gr. 2, Gospels: H. C. Hoskier, 'Evan.157 (Rome, Vat. Urb. 2)', *JTS* 14 (1913), 78–116, 242–93, 359–84; F. D'Aiuto, G. Morello and A. M. Piazzoni (eds.), *I Vangeli dei popoli. La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia* (Rome: Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo / Vatican City: BAV, 2000), pp. 260–4.
12 K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament. An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, 2nd rev. edn (Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 128–42, 229–30.
13 K. Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text der katholischen Briefe: Eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der Koine des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), pp. 136–41; Aland, Aland and Wachtel, *Text und Textwert. Johannesevangelium*, vol 1, pp. 9*, 55.

copied, the sooner this pool submerged the earlier, independently running streams of textual transmission. For the Gospels, the koine is first attested by a small group of luxury codices datable to *c*. 550–600.[14] In the case of the Catholic Epistles, which, judging from the smaller number of extant witnesses, were copied less often than the Gospels, it is first observable later, in the ninth century.[15] The great majority of Greek Old Testament manuscripts are psalters, and accordingly, psalter texts from the ninth century onward contain far fewer variants than any other Old Testament book.[16] Conversely, Byzantine codices of those parts of the Bible that were copied relatively seldom, such as the Apocalypse, Pentateuch or Prophets, fall into distinct textual families.[17]

Although it forms a homogeneous and recognisable text type, the koine does not possess seamless uniformity. Even koine manuscripts made by the same person are not always in agreement. Two mid-twelfth-century gospelbooks are the work of a single hand, yet their texts differ.[18] The same obtains for a pair of manuscripts signed by John Tzoutzounas, dating, respectively, from 1087 and 1092.[19] Parallel New Testament texts copied by Theodore Hagiopetrites in 1292 and 1295 diverge in 183 places.[20] This cannot be due to careless copying, since in the rare instances when comparable books made by a single scribe within a single year survive, their texts are identical: two

14 E. g. Aland 022, primarily Patmos, Saint John 67, and St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 537: *Ho Porphyrous Kōdix tōn euangeliōn Patmou kai Petroupoleōs*, ed. A. Tselikas, 2 vols. (Athens: Miletos, 2002); Aland 042, Rossano, Museo Diocesiano, s.n.: *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, ed. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont and W. C. Loerke, 2 vols., Codices Selecti 81–81* (Rome: Salerno, 1985–7).
15 Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text*, pp. 144–6.
16 A. Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1907).
17 J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, 2 vols. (Munich: Zink, 1955–6); J. W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Genesis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1974); *Ezechiel*, ed. J. Ziegles (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1952), pp. 7–88.
18 Gregory / Aland 1194, Sinai, St Catherine, Gr. 157, datable between 1127 and 1158; Aland 2409, University of Chicago, Regenstein Library, 141: M. M. Parvis, 'The Janina Gospels and the Isle of Patmos', *Crozer Quarterly* 21 (1941), 30–40, esp. p. 32: 'The two manuscripts were not copied from the same exemplar'.
19 Gregory / Aland 104, London, BL, Harley 5537, Acts, Epistles, Revelation; Gregory / Aland 459, Florence, BML, Plut. IV, 32, Acts, Epistles, Revelation; see K. Aland, B. Aland and K. Wachtel, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. Die Paulinischen Briefe*, 4 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 44, 55.
20 Gregory / Aland 484, London, BL, Burney 21, Gospels; Gregory / Aland 483, Williamstown, Williams College, De Ricci 1, Gospels, Acts, Epistles: R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites. A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 131–3; see F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 4th edn, 2 vols. (London: Bell, 1894), vol. 1, p. 257, cat. 571.

gospelbooks penned by Hagiopetrites in 1300/1 clearly differ in textual profile from his earlier production and fully agree between themselves.[21] The text of manuscripts, then, varied with the exemplar a copyist used at different points in time. Scribes, moreover, did not always work at the same place: in 1392/3 and 1396/7 the Russian deacon Spyridon copied, respectively, a gospel lectionary at Serpukhov and a psalter in Kiev, more than 400 miles apart;[22] in 1438 the Greek cleric Sophronius penned a volume in distant Ferrara, where he was evidently one of the Byzantine representatives at the Ecumenical Council.[23]

The copying of books

All but a few scribes were men, yet Hagiopetrites had a daughter who inherited his profession.[24] And bookmaking was not the exclusive preserve of monks: Emperor Michael VII, for example, commissioned a volume from the notary Michael Panerges.[25] The one common characteristic of scribes was that they were usually associated with the state bureaucracy or the church. Whether they were clerics or laypeople, the continuous demand for biblical manuscripts sustained their craft. Book production throughout the Christian East was normally organised in small workshops. In 680, a calligrapher named Theodore is mentioned running one near the church of Saints John and Phocas in Constantinople.[26] In the late tenth century, a few Georgian monks on Mt Sinai copied biblical texts solely for the needs of their tiny community.[27] In the mid-1100s, the scribe John worked 'on the Isle of Patmos, in the cave where Saint John the Theologian saw the Revelation'.[28] Slavonic manuscript production in Moldavia was single-handedly started by the calligrapher Gabriel Uric (fl. 1424–50) at the monastery of Neamţ.[29]

21 Gregory/Aland 1394, Athos, Pantokrator 47; Gregory/Aland 412, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. I. 19: Nelson, *Hagiopetrites*, vol. I, pp. 133–5, vol. II, pls. 24–32, cat. 10–11; see Aland, Aland and Wachtel, *Text und Textwert. Johannesevangelium*, vol. I, pp. 62, 77.
22 St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, F. п. I. 18 and ОЛДП F. 6: G. I. Vzdornov, *Iskusstvo knigi v Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1980), cat. 48–9.
23 Gregory/Aland /l 277, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. I. 55 (coll. 967).
24 P. Schreiner, 'Kopistinnen in Byzanz', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, NS 36 (1999), 35–45.
25 Above, n. 10.
26 *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, ed. R. Riediger, 2 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990–2), vol. II, pp. 652–3.
27 Sinai, St Catherine, Georg. 39, Acts and Epistles, dated 974; 58 and 31 and 60 and N. 8, Epistles and Acts, dated 977; 15, Gospels, dated 978; 30 and 38, Gospels, dated 979; 42, Psalter; N.15, Psalter.
28 Above, n. 18.
29 E. Turdeanu, *Études de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des principautés roumaines* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 86–112, 434–7.

In 1331, an Armenian named Nerses bought paper in Tabriz and then travelled to the monastery of Glajor, south of Lake Sewan, where he placed an order for a Bible with two 'expert scribes', the monks Ephraem and David.[30] Between 1280 and 1346, some forty copyists were active at Glajor, which housed a famous theological school.[31] This, however, does not mean that they were organised in a large scriptorium and that work was subdivided among them according to speciality. Nerses had to bring his own paper and to negotiate directly with the two scribes how much he would pay them for the copying. He later took the Bible to be bound elsewhere. Detailed study of another book made at Glajor, a Gospel, shows that its text is by two different hands but 'the second scribe probably never knew the first'.[32] Manuscripts were made on order, rather than for an anonymous market: Hagiopetrites, for instance, varied the text of his colophons depending on whether the volume's commissioner was a priest or a layman.[33] Dispersed, small-scale book manufacture remained customary in the Christian East until the advent of printing.[34]

The fact that book production was not tied to large institutional centres made it relatively immune to the political upheavals which affected eastern Christendom in the course of the Middle Ages. The copying of Christian manuscripts continued under Muslim rule: in 1226, the notary Basil from Melitene wrote at the end of a gospelbook that he had completed it in Caesaria 'in the reign of my most pious lord, the most exalted great sultan of the Roman lands, of Armenia, of Syria, and of all the regions of the Turks, as well as of the sea', Kayquab I.[35] The most decisive effect of Islam upon book manufacture was the gradual adoption of a Chinese invention, paper, as writing material, following the eighth-century Arab conquest of Central Asia. The earliest dated paper codices in Christian Arabic (909),[36] Syriac (932),[37] Armenian (981),[38]

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30 Rhodes 360, Venice, S Lazzaro 1007/12: *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301–1480. A Source of Middle Eastern History*, ed. A. S. Sanjian (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 11–12; *An Album of Armenian Paleography*, ed. M. E. Stone (Aarhus University Press, 2002), pp. 356–9.

31 T. F. Mathews and A. K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography. The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), pp. 197–205.

32 Ibid., p. 41.   33 Nelson, *Hagiopetrites*, vol. I, pp. 26, 131–6.

34 On a notable exception: J. Featherstone, 'A Note on Penances Prescribed for Negligent Scribes and Librarians in the Monastery of Studios', *Scriptorium* 36 (1982), 258–60.

35 Gregory/Aland 1797, Athens, Gennadius Library, 1. 5, Gospels: A. Mitsani, 'The Illustrated Gospelbook of Basil Meliteniotes (Caesaria, 1226)', *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias*, 4th ser. 26 (2005), 149–64.

36 Sinai, St Catherine, Arabic 309, sermons.

37 Lund, Universitetbiblioteket, Oriental Literature, s.n., religious miscellany.

38 Erevan, Matenadaran 2679, religious miscellany.

Coptic (987),[39] Georgian (1031),[40] Greek (1042/3)[41] and Slavonic (1344/5)[42] mark the course of its spread through the Christian East. Less expensive than parchment, paper allowed for copying books in greater quantity. Parchment, however, was sturdier and more pleasing to the eye, so it remained the preferred vehicle for biblical texts long after paper was being widely used in other cases.

A second major change in bookmaking was the transition from majuscule to minuscule handwriting, the former composed of unconnected capital letters fitted between two imaginary horizontal lines, the latter, of smaller characters aligned with four imaginary horizontal lines. Minuscule successively made its appearance in Greek (835),[43] Georgian (954),[44] Armenian (981)[45] and Syriac (991/2)[46] manuscripts (the medieval Slavs, Copts and Ethiopians did not adopt it). It saved time and page space, since a character, and sometimes several at once, could be written with a single movement of the pen. Minuscule also affected the process of reading, as it facilitated the grouping of letters and thus, the graphic articulation of individual words. Word division, however, was fully introduced only with typography.

The rise of the new script put out of use volumes written in the older majuscule: in 1218, for example, the leaves of the magnificent early Codex H were used as pastedowns for bindings.[47] Minuscule furthered the production of small manuscripts for personal reading, primarily gospelbooks and psalters.[48] Ultimately, it was also introduced in the most traditional of books, liturgical ones: the last dated Greek majuscule (995) is a gospel lectionary.[49] This delay throws into relief two distinct formats in which the biblical text was transmitted: one meant for private, the other, for ecclesiastical use.

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39 London, BL, Or. 7021, homily.
40 Sinai, St Catherine, Georg. 78, fols. 31–288, Chrysostomica and Acta Pilati.
41 Athos, Iveron 258, Chrysostomica.
42 Moscow, State Historical Museum, Syn. 38, miscellany, copied in Bulgaria.
43 Gregory/Aland 461, St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 219 (the 'Uspenski Gospels'), probably copied in Bythinia: K. Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in den UdSSR* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966), 84–7.
44 Sinai, St Catherine, Georg. 26, fols. 148v–185r, church hymns, probably copied in Palestine.
45 Above, n. 38.
46 Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Syr. 176, Gospel of John.
47 Aland 015, primarily Paris, BNF, Coislin 202 and suppl. gr. 1074, fragments from the Pauline Epistles.
48 A. Weyl Carr, 'Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts,' *Codices Manuscripti* 6 (1980), 130–61; *Album*, ed. Stone et al., pp. 168–9.
49 Gregory/Aland *l* 150, London, BL, Harley 5598: *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, ed. I. Spatharakis, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1981), vol. I, pp. 15–16, vol. II, fig. 60.

Types of manuscript

Lectionaries

Since the first centuries of Christianity, select scriptural passages have been read aloud during the liturgy. With the standardisation of church calendars these readings began to be systematically organised. One finds them marked in Syriac gospelbooks as early as the sixth century (586);[50] in Greek (835)[51] and Arabic (873)[52] ones, no later than the ninth. Once such readings were excerpted from the continuous biblical text and rearranged according to their liturgical timing, a new type of volume, biblical lectionaries, came into being. A small, fragmentarily preserved Georgian codex datable on linguistic grounds to the seventh century is the oldest known example.[53] The first completely surviving lectionaries in Coptic (*c.* 822–914),[54] Syriac (824),[55] Greek (878/9)[56] and Arabic (901)[57] are notably later. Armenian and early Georgian lectionaries mix biblical passages with other texts used in the liturgy and with instructions for its performance. Syriac, Coptic, Greek and Slavonic ones contain exclusively biblical readings, accompanied only by short rubrics.[58]

In the eleventh century, lectionaries of the type current in Constantinople became the norm for all Chalcedonian churches in the East.[59] This Constantinopolitan type comprises three kinds of volume containing, respectively,

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50 Florence, BML, Plut. I, 56 (the 'Rabbula Gospels'): A. Merk, 'Die älteste Perikopensystem des Rabulakodex', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 73 (1913), 202–14.

51 Above, n. 44.

52 Sinai, St Catherine, NF Arab. membr. 14 and 16: D. A. Morozov, 'K datirovke drevneishei arabskoi rukopisi Evangeliia', *Kapterevskie Chteniia* 6 (2008), 19–23; see also G. Garitte, *Scripta disiecta, 1941–1977*, 2 vols. (Leuven: Université Catholique, 1980), vol. II, pp. 722–37.

53 Outtier 47, primarily Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 2058. 1: *Xanmeti lekcionari. Pototipiuri reprodukcia*, ed. A. Šanize (Tbilissi: Sakartvelos Mecnierebata Akademia, 1944).

54 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 573: K. Schüssler, 'Analyse der Lektionarhandschrift sa 530 L', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 4 (2002), 133–66.

55 London, BL, Add. 14485–7: O. Heiming, 'Ein jakobitisches Doppellektionar des Jahres 824 aus Harran', in P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann (eds.), *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, 2 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970), vol. II, pp. 768–99.

56 Gregory/Aland *l* 844, primarily Sinai, St Catherine, Gr. 210 and NF MΓ 12: K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 17–19.

57 Sinai, St Catherine, NF Arab. membr. 7.

58 S. G. Engberg, 'Les lectionnaires grecs', in O. Legendre and J.-B. Lebigue (eds.), *Les manuscrits liturgiques. Cycle thématique 2003–2004 de l'IRHT* (Paris: IRHT, 2005); online at: http://aedilis.irht.cnrs.fr/liturgie/05_1.htm (consulted 22 April 2010); C.-B. Amphoux and J.-P. Bouhot (eds.), *La lecture liturgique des Épitres catholiques dans l'Église ancienne* (Lausanne: Zebre, 1996).

59 B. M. Metzger, *New Testament Studies. Philological, Versional, and Patristic* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), pp. 114–26; G. Garitte, 'Analyse d'un lectionnaire byzantino-géorgien des Évangiles (Sin. géorg. 74)', *Le Muséon* 91 (1978), 105–52, 367–447.

passages from the Old Testament (primarily the Prophets),[60] from the Acts and Epistles,[61] and most important, from the Gospels.[62] In the latter, a series of lessons for the movable feasts (whose dates change each year with the date of Easter) is followed by one for the fixed feast days. The extent of these series varies: most probably, lectionaries which contain readings for weekdays were meant for monasteries (where the liturgy is celebrated daily), while shorter ones that only have texts for Saturdays and Sundays were used in regular churches. Very few lectionaries have the exact same set of passages. At the same time, the biblical text in them shows practically no variant readings. Normally, it is copied on relatively large pages in two columns and is accompanied in Greek manuscripts (and in a few Slavonic and Armenian ones) by simple musical notation for chanting (Fig. 17.1).[63] Individual lections are often introduced or followed by psalm verses.

Psalters

Because of their poetic character, the psalms held a special place among the biblical texts used in Christian worship. Their division in sense lines was always observed by scribes; in earlier, parchment manuscripts, each of these verses forms a new paragraph. From the ninth century on, psalms, selected and rearranged for use in daily prayer, are found in books of hours.[64] In general, however, the psalter was copied entirely, since it was recited, as a devotional observance, in its entirety.[65] The psalms in east Christian manuscripts are divided into sections by marking the points at which pauses in their recitation may occur.[66] Because of its prophetic significance and its devotional use, the psalter was, judging from the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus,[67] the first

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60 S. G. Engberg, 'The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 54 (1987), 39–48.

61 K. Junack, 'Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Überlieferung der katholischen Briefe', in K. Aland (ed.), *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972), pp. 498–591.

62 E. Velkovska, 'Lo studio dei lezionari bizantini', *Ecclesia Orans* 13 (1996), 253–71.

63 S. G. Engberg, 'Ekphonetic Notation', in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. VIII, pp. 47–51.

64 E.g. Sinai, St Catherine, Gr. 864, ninth century, and Georg. 34, dated 932: *Livre d'heures ancien du Sinaï*, ed. M. Ajjoub (Paris: Cerf, 2004); S. R. Frøyshov, 'L'horloge "georgien" du Sinaiticus Ibericus 34', unpubl. PhD thesis, Sorbonne (2003).

65 G. R. Parpulov, 'Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium', in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), pp. 77–105.

66 J. Mateos, 'Office de minuit et office du matin chez St. Athanase', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 28 (1962), 173–80, esp. pp. 175–6; S. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd edn (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006), p. 141.

67 Rahlfs A, Aland 02, London, BL, Royal 1. D. V–VIII.

Fig. 17.1 Single leaf from a Greek gospel lectionary (237 x 176 mm), Constantinople, *c*. 1060–90 CE (Paris, École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Mn. Mas 1). The square ornament on this page marked the beginning of a new section in the lectionary, hence the heading in the upper margin: 'On the Monday of the New Year: Gospel [reading] from Luke'. The small painting shows John the Baptist before King Herod, thus illustrating the contents of the lection, Luke 3:19–22, which begins here with: 'At that time Herod the ruler, who had been rebuked by John because of Herodias . . .'

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scriptural book to receive Christian prefaces.[68] Psalters also contain as appendices the odes, or canticles (select poetic excerpts from the rest of the Bible), as well as the Lord's Prayer, Nicene Creed, prayers recited at Communion and other similar additions.[69] The earliest dated psalters in Syriac (873/4),[70] Greek (878)[71] and Georgian (1008 or 1016)[72] already abound in supplementary texts. Toward the end of the eleventh century a new kind of Greek psalter emerged, specially adapted for devotional use by adding short hymns and prayers after each section.[73] A similar type of Armenian psalter, with biblical canticles following each section, appeared by the thirteenth century.[74] Superstition spawned a series of prognostic sentences (one attached to each psalm) found at first in Greek codices[75] and subsequently, in Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic ones.[76] The private use of psalters is also indicated by their generally small size.[77]

New Testament manuscripts

Small formats were common also among New Testament manuscripts, which after the emergence of lectionaries tended to be used for personal rather than public reading. The customary liturgical rubrics are found even in tiny pocket-size books, probably so as to enable their owners to follow the course of church services. For more sustained perusal, the Gospels, Acts and Epistles were

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68 G. Mercati, *Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio di Origene, Ippolito, Eusebio, Cirillo Alessandrino e altri, con frammenti inediti* (Vatican City: BAV, 1948); S. Ajamian, 'An Introduction to the Book of Psalms by David Anhaght', in C. Burchard (ed.), *Armenia and the Bible* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 15–21.

69 H. Schneider, 'Die biblischen Oden', *Biblica* 30 (1949), 28–65, 239–72, 433–52, 479–500; 40 (1959), 199–209; *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version* (Leiden: Brill, 1972–), vol. iv.2, pp. ii–xv; J. Mearns, *The Canticles of the Christian Church, Eastern and Western, in Early and Medieval Times* (Cambridge University Press, 1914).

70 Peshitta 9t3, London, BL, Add. 17109, copied in Edessa: *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, ed. W. H. P. Hatch (repr. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2002), p. 121.

71 Rahlfs 1156, St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 216 (the 'Uspenski Psalter'), copied in Palestine: D. A. Morozov, 'The Alexandrian Era in Jerusalem in the Ninth Century and the Date of Profiriy Uspenskiy's Psalter', *Montfaucon* 1 (2007), 89–93.

72 Tbilisi, Kekelidze Institute, A-38 (the 'Mcʿxeta Psalter'): Garitte, *Scripta disiecta*, vol. i, pp. 339, 345.

73 Earliest dated example (1104/5): Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Gr. 3: *Byzantine Monastic Hours in the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. J. C. Anderson and S. Parenti (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, forthcoming).

74 Earliest dated example (1269): Rhodes 699, Erevan, Matenadaran 142, copied in Rome.

75 Earliest dated example (1070): Rahlfs 1140, Paris, BNF, gr. 164, copied in Antioch.

76 B. Outtier, 'Réponses oraculaires dans des manuscrits bibliques caucasiens', in Burchard (ed.), *Armenia and the Bible*, pp. 181–4; M. N. Speranskii, *Iz istorii otrechennykh knig. Gadaniia po Psaltiri* (St Petersburg: OLDP, 1899), appendix, pp. 1–14.

77 J. Lowden, 'Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters', *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), 242–60, esp. pp. 245–8.

divided into standard chapters.[78] The intimate bond between such volumes and their owners is illustrated by the oldest known Byzantine book epigram, a dialogue found in the sixth-century Codex H[79] and in several later biblical manuscripts, Greek, Armenian and Georgian:[80]

> Address: 'I am [of all books] the crown, teacher of divine doctrines. If you lend me, take another book in exchange, for borrowers [can be] bad.' Response: 'I hold you as a good spiritual treasure, desirable to all men and decorated with harmonies and coloured letters. Indeed, I shall not give you casually to anyone, but neither shall I begrudge your use. I shall give you to friends, taking another book in trustworthy exchange.'[81]

'Harmonies' are the extended concordance tables to the four Gospels composed by Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–339/40).[82] They were usually decorated (in Armenia, their ornament became the subject of elaborate symbolic interpretation),[83] and in correspondence with them, the gospel text was subdivided into short numbered sections. Similar apparatus, comprising indications of Old Testament quotations, chapter lists and headings, was supplied for the Acts and Epistles by Euthalius (fl. c. 410/490) and is first attested in Codex H.[84] Starting with the ninth century, this rudimentary prefatory material was extended for the benefit of readers with numerous explanatory prologues, containing biographical notes on the evangelists, apostles and prophets, or summaries and interpretations of their text.[85] Most such prefaces were excerpted from works of the patristic period, but some were composed in the Middle Ages, for example, the Greek gospel forewords by Theophylact of Ohrid (c. 1050–c. 1126)[86] or the Armenian introductions to the Old Testament books by George of Skewra (1246–1301).[87]

78 For the Gospels, this division is first seen in the Codex Alexandrinus (n. 67 above): Parker, *Introduction*, p. 316.
79 Above, n. 47.
80 J. N. Birdsall, *Collected Papers in Greek and Georgian Textual Criticism* (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2006), pp. 220–1.
81 A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and C. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, 3 vols. (Academy of Athens, 1978–97), vol. I, pp. 17–19.
82 M. Geerard (ed.), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. and suppl. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–98), vol. II, pp. 262–3, suppl., p. 186, cat. 3465.
83 *Xoranneri mekunut'yunner*, ed. V. Ghazarian (Erevan: Khachents, 1995); Matthews and Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography*, pp. 206–11.
84 L. C. Willard, *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009).
85 R. S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York University Press, 1980), pp. 93–107.
86 *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, ed. H. von Soden, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1911–13), vol. I, pp. 321–6.
87 M. Ter-Movsessian, *Istoriia perevoda Biblii na armianskii iazyk* (St Petersburg: Pushkinskaia Skoropechatnia, 1902), pp. 268–73.

Old Testament manuscripts

The Gospels and the Acts-cum-Epistles were the two principal units of textual transmission for medieval New Testament manuscripts. Normally, the two formed separate volumes; less often, they were combined in a single one; rarely, the Apocalypse or Psalms was added to them.[88] Old Testament books were, generally speaking, joined together according to contents. Apart from the Pentateuch and the Prophets, known among all eastern Christians, their grouping varied. Syriac had the so-called *Beth Mawtabhe* (literally 'Sessions', a name of unclear significance),[89] the Apocrypha,[90] and the 'Book of the Women'.[91] Greek scribes would gather the first eight books of the Old Testament in Octateuchs. In other traditions, such as the Slavonic or the Georgian, no stable combinations of Old Testament books were ever formed. Lack of regularity also characterises the chapter divisions of the Greek Old Testament, which, unlike those for the New Testament, vary from one manuscript to another.[92] About 1292–5, the chapter division of the Latin Bible formerly attributed to Stephen Langton was adopted in Cilician Armenia.[93]

Complete Bibles

Also in Cilicia, pandect Bibles began to be copied after Nerses of Lambron (1153–98) compiled the first Armenian corpus of scriptural books.[94] In general, however, large biblical pandects like those known from Late Antiquity (e.g., the Greek Codex Alexandrinus or the Syriac Codex Ambrosianus)[95] were exceptional in the medieval Christian East.[96] Much more expensive than smaller books, they were made solely upon the special order of rich patrons.

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88 K. Aland, K. Hannick and K. Junack, 'Bibelhandschriften: Neues Testament', in G. Krause and G. Müller (eds.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 36 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1977–2004), vol. VI, pp. 114–31.

89 Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Song of Songs, Sirach, Job.

90 1–3 Maccabees, 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Esther, Susanna, Epistle of Jeremiah, Epistle of Baruch, Baruch.

91 Ruth, Esther, Susanna, Judith.

92 H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 2nd edn, rev. R. R. Ottley (Cambridge University Press, 1914), pp. 351–6.

93 Ter-Movsessian, *Istoriia*, pp. 126–7, 281; V. Nersessian, *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition* (London: BL, 2001), p. 30.

94 Nersessian, *Bible*, p. 30; C. P. Cowe, 'A Typology of Armenian Biblical Manuscripts', *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 18 (1984), 49–67.

95 Above, n. 67; Peshitta 7a1, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B. 21. inf.

96 I. Hutter, 'Eine verspätete Bibelhandschrift (Paris, *Bibl Nat. gr.* 14)', *Palaeoslavica* 10/2 (2002), 159–74; Brock, *Bible*, pp. 42–4, 115–17.

Examples include a ninth-century Bible produced for a certain Abbot Basil[97] and a large Old Testament, originally bound in three volumes, dedicated to a monastery as a 'prayer-offering' by the retired Georgian general Tornik in 978 and penned by Michael, George and Stephen.[98]

Biblical commentaries

Even short texts like the Apocalypse or the book of Job could fill entire volumes if accompanied by commentary. The latter might be the work of a single author, or consist of excerpts from several interpreters, combined in a 'chain' (catena).[99] Commentaries go back to two methods of scriptural interpretation – one oral, through sermons, the other written, in the form of marginal glosses. The layout of Greek manuscripts reflects this division: the biblical text there either alternates with commentary passages in a single column, or is isolated in the centre of the page and surrounded by gloss on three sides.[100] The latter mise-en-page was difficult for the scribes, who had to ensure that each scriptural passage was located on the same page as the corresponding interpretation.[101] Once a satisfactory balance between central and marginal text had been achieved, manuscripts were replicated with almost typographic fidelity: for example, two large Greek psalters with the same catena, one commissioned perhaps by Emperor Constantine VII (reigned 945–59), the other, by Emperor Basil II (reigned 976–1025), are, page by page, virtually identical.[102] Extended marginal commentary is not found in other east Christian manuscripts besides Greek ones. In the earliest dated copy of the Boharic Gospels, for instance, text and catena are intermixed in one column,[103] while the psalms and their commentary in a Slavonic codex dated c. 1230–41 run in two parallel columns.[104]

97 Rahlfs V, Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 2106, and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. 1: G. Cavallo (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria scritta. Manoscritti, incunaboli, libri a stampa di Biblioteche Statali Italiane* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1994), pp. 446–8.
98 Athos, Iveron, Georg. 1 (the 'Oški Bible'): R. P. Blake, 'The Athos Codex of the Georgian Old Testament', *HTR* 22 (1929), 33–56.
99 Geerard (ed.), *Clavis*, vol. IV, pp. 185–259, suppl., pp. 485–91.
100 G. Dorival, 'Des commentaires de l'Écriture aux chaînes', in C. Mondésert (ed.), *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 361–86.
101 Aland 040, Cambridge, University Library, BFBS 213 is 'palaeographically the earliest surviving example of a marginal catena', datable c. 700: D. C. Parker and J. N. Birdsall, 'The Date of Codex Zacynthius (Ξ). A New Proposal', *JTS* 55 (2004), 117–31.
102 Rahlfs 1133, Paris, BNF, gr. 139 (the 'Paris Psalter'); Rahlfs 1215, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. 17.
103 London, BL, Or. 8812, dated 888/9 (the 'Curzon Catena').
104 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2499, copied near Ohrid: *Bolonski psaltir*, ed. I. Duichev (Sofia: BAN, 1968).

Unlike smaller books for personal use, biblical volumes with commentary usually belonged to institutional libraries such as that of the Laura of St Athanasius on Mt Athos, where one of the earliest accessions was a large psalter with catena, copied by the monastery's own scribe in 984.[105] But books continued to circulate even after they had found a permanent home. In the 1290s the Armenian scholar Moses of Erzinjan wrote in a large Bible presented to a convent on Mt Sepuh (Kara Dağ) in eastern Asia Minor:

> May he who out of jealousy refuses to lend this Holy Bible or other divine books found in the [monastery of] Saint [Gregory the] Illuminator to the schools in nearby monasteries be cursed like that slave who hid away his master's talent [Matt. 25:25] and like those who do not themselves go in and stop the ones who want to go in [Matt. 23:13].[106]

Conversely, private books, including small, devotional ones, would ultimately find their way into ecclesiastical foundations. It is thanks to monastery libraries that most of the manuscripts discussed in this chapter have survived.

Appendix 1

Censuses of manuscripts

Aland, K., *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd edn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994); see also http://egora.uni-muenster.de/intf (consulted 22 April 2010)

Eliott, J. K., *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*, 2nd edn (Cambridge University Press, 2000); supplemented in *Novum Testamentum* 46 (2004), 376–400; 49 (2007), 370–401

Esbroeck, M. van, 'Les versions orientales de la Bible. Une orientation bibliographique', in J. Krašovec (ed.), *The Interpretation of the Bible. The International Symposium in Slovenia* (Ljubljana: SAZU / Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 399–508

Garzaniti, M., *Die altslavische Version der Evangelien. Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001), pp. 509–84

Gregory, C. R., *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900–9), vol. I, pp. 16–478, vol. III, pp. 1017–1292

Mathieses, R., 'A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Church Slavonic Translations from the Old Testament', *Polata Knigopisnaia* 7 (1983), 3–48

Outtier, B., 'Essai de répertoire des manuscrits des vieilles versions géorgiennes du Nouveau Testament', *Langues Orientales Anciennes. Philologie et Linguistique* 1 (1988), 173–9

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105 Rahlfs 1026, Athos, Lavra Δ 70: J. Irigoin, 'Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins (2)', *Scriptorium* 13 (1959), 177–209, esp. pp. 196–200.

106 Rhodes 667, Erevan, Matenadaran 177: Ter-Movsessian, *Istoriia*, p. 110.

Rahlfs, A., *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2004–)

Rhodes, E. F., *An Annotated List of Armenian New Testament Manuscripts* (Tokyo: Rikkyo University, 1959)

Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden / Peshitta-Institut, *List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1961); supplemented in *Vetus Testamentum* 12 (1962), 127–8, 337–9, 351; 18 (1968), 128–43; 27 (1977), 508–11; 35 (1985), 466–7

Schüssler, K., *Biblia Coptica: Die koptischen Bibeltexte. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995–)

Voicu, S. J., and S. D'Alisera, *I.M.A.G.E.S. Index in manuscriptorum graecorum edita specimina* (Rome: Borla, 1981)

Appendix 2

Facsimile collections

www.csntm.org / Manuscripts.aspx (consulted 22 April 2010)

Hatch, W. H. P., *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951)

Hatch, W. H. P., *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* (University of Chicago Press, 1939)

Metzger, B. M., *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible. An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (Oxford University Press, 1981)

Vogels, H. J., *Codicum Novi Testamenti specimina. Paginas 51 ex codicibus manuscriptis et 3 ex libris impressis collegit ac photo typice repraesentatas* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1929)

Vööbus, A., *Early Versions of the New Testament. Manuscript Studies*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 6 (Stockholm: ETSE / Louvain: Durbecq, 1954), pp. 370–409

Carolingian Bibles

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In the first set of dedicatory verses composed by Audradus Modicus for the First Bible of Charles the Bald, Charles is reminded that the Bible 'conveys what you love, what you should want to love, what it would be good to learn, what you should take up, believe in, and frequently do. It corrects, admonishes, repairs, chastises, dignifies, blames, implores, rebukes, adorns, nourishes. It brings together eloquence, morals, study and action; it is our sustenance, drink, rule, way, arms and salvation.'[1] Alcuin had described his recension of the Bible as 'the fountain of life, the precepts of salvation which the saints wrote at God's dictation'.[2] The Bible was considered to be the perfect source of instruction and of wisdom, and though works of Carolingian exegesis seldom achieved the popularity and influence of patristic commentaries, they were composed throughout the empire of Charlemagne (reigned 768–814), often originally as conferences on the text, sometimes at the request of rulers or bishops.[3] This exegesis might include discussion of the biblical text, and it was accompanied by a concern with the correct text, shown in the collations (and occasionally recordings of variant readings) which were involved in the preparation of Carolingian Bible manuscripts.[4]

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1 P. E. Dutton and H. L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 104–5. Much more is said about the virtues of the Bible in the poems it contains.

2 MGH Poet. lat. 1, p. 285, and see pp. 288–92.

3 J. J. Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Studies', in U.-R. Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays. Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), pp. 71–98, and J. J. Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Culture', in G. van Riel, C. Steel and J. McEvoy (eds.), *Johannes Scottus Eriugena. The Bible and Hermeneutics* (Leuven University Press, 1996), pp. 1–23.

4 B. Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*, VLB 11 (Freiburg: Herder, 1985) discusses the textual families of Carolingian biblical manuscripts, and the textual work involved in the preparation of Tours Bibles and the influence of the Tours text. See also in this volume Bogaert, pp. 80–7.

Before the ninth century, Latin Bibles were most commonly copied in a series of volumes, though at Monkwearmouth–Jarrow the single-volume *Codex grandior*, made in the late sixth century for Cassiodorus, was imitated in the three great pandects copied for Abbot Ceolfrith. One of these has survived complete as the Codex Amiatinus, with 1,030 leaves and the text copied in two columns of 44 lines.[5] The St Riquier library catalogue of 831 contained both a *Bibliotheca integra ubi continentur libri LXXII in uno volumine* and a *Bibliotheca dispersa in voluminibus quattuordecim* ('a complete Bible where 72 books are contained in one volume' and 'a Bible divided into 14 volumes'). Most early biblical volumes were copied in uncials, though a seventh-century example (now a palimpsest) in the cathedral of León is a portion of a complete Bible in half-uncial, in two columns of some 72 lines,[6] and there is a Merovingian cursive minuscule manuscript of the entire New Testament, which has escaped the attention of scholars (Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat 1063).[7] Both books show that there were one- or two-volume Bibles before the Carolingian age, but in the course of the ninth century such pandects became much more common. Insular copies of biblical books were most commonly copied in Insular half-uncial or in Insular minuscule.[8]

The systems of gospel readings assigned to particular days throughout the liturgical year were taken over from Roman practice, and lists of these readings were frequently copied at the end of Carolingian gospelbooks.[9] Only a handful of surviving books, however, are marked in the margins in such a way that the reading can be found easily.[10] Readings from the Pauline Epistles

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5 B. Fischer, 'Codex Amiatinus und Cassiodor', in Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 9–34; also P. Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 827–83.

6 León, Archivo Catedralicio, 15 (*CLA*, vol. XI, 1636). Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 70–80, notes the existence of a Spanish seventh-century Bible recension, in addition to the lost recension made by Isidore.

7 Copied in two columns of 28 to 33 lines, it has contemporary liturgical notes in the Gospels and Epistles (*CLA*, vol. v, 679).

8 For a survey of Latin Bible manuscripts before 800, covering script, layout, page size, corrections and contents, see P. McGurk, 'The Oldest Manuscripts of the Latin Bible', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration, and Use*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1–23.

9 A. G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 26–43, and C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy. An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. W. S. Storey and N. Rasmussen (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1986), pp. 314–55.

10 Among some 160 complete gospelbooks listed in B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2004), gospel pericopes are marked in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 249, copied in western Germany; in the western French gospelbooks, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 348 and Cologne, Dombibliothek, 13; in Gniezno, Biblioteka Kapitulna, 1, copied by a Rheims

are listed at the front of the epistle text in Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Bonifat. 1, a sixth-century New Testament manuscript which came to Fulda, and the readings are noted as well in the margins of the text. There are also marginal notes indicating readings in the late eighth-century copies of the Pauline Epistles in Montpellier, Bibliothèque Municipale 6, from Aniane, and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6229, from Freising. Complete texts of the Bible were not found in village churches: the priest would have had a lectionary and a psalter.[11] Most Carolingian gospel lectionaries, which presented the readings in the order of the liturgical year, have survived only as fragments, but complete copies dating from Charlemagne's reign survive from Corbie and Chelles, and from the court.[12] Full Mass lectionaries (known as the *Liber comitis*) are rarer.[13] The office readings from the whole Bible throughout the year are listed in the accounts of Roman practice copied north of the Alps known as the *Ordines Romani XIII* and *XIV*, and copies of *Ordo Romanus XIIIA* are found in the Carolingian Bibles Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 14, and Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale 1.[14] The Heptateuch was read until Holy Thursday, then Jeremiah until Easter, Acts and the canonical epistles from Easter to the octave of Pentecost, Kings and Paralipomenon (Chronicles) until the first Sunday of August, the wisdom books through August, Job, Tobit,

scribe with the notes by an Irish scribe; and in Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V. App. 43b, copied at Lorsch.

11 Haito of Basel (before 812), MGH Capit. episc. 1, p. 211, Ghaerbald of Liege (before 809), ibid., pp. 39–40, and Radulf of Bourges (853–66), ibid., p. 237, all mention a lectionary and a psalter, plus a sacramentary and a homiliary. The decree is repeated in Ansegis I, 103, in *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis*, ed. G. Schmitz, MGH Cap. reg. Franc., NS 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1996), p. 496. Walter of Orléans (869–70), MGH Capit. episc. 1, p. 189, and Riculf of Soissons (889), MGH Capit. episc. 2, p. 103, include a gospelbook.

12 Gospel lectionaries copied *c*. 800 are: from Corbie, Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 172 (*CLA*, vol. VI, 710); from Chelles, Oxford, BodL, Douce 176 (*CLA*, vol. II, 238); from Charlemagne's court, the lectionary copied by Godescalc, Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1203 (*CLA*, vol. V, 681), and Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig IV. 1 (*CLA*, vol. XI, 1671); from Alsace, Epinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, 105 (*CLA*, vol. VI, 761); from Freising, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6333 (*CLA*, vol. IX, 1277). A Tours gospel lectionary in the library of Williams College, Williamstown, MA, Chapin Library 7 (*CLA*, vol. XI, 1668), dating from *c*. 800, remains unstudied. Later Tours gospel lectionaries, from the 820s and 830s, are Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 274, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 1260, and the mid-eighth-century Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 24, discussed by A. Wilmart, 'Le lectionnaire de Saint-Père', *Speculum* 1 (1926), 269–78. The earliest surviving epistle lectionary is St Petersburg, Public Library, Lat. Q. v. I, 16, from Corbie.

13 Paris, BNF, lat. 9451. See R. Amiet, 'Un comes carolingien inédit de la Haute Italie', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 73 (1959), 335–67. The *Liber comitis* is prescribed for study in the Murbach Statutes of 816: Hallinger (ed.), *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, vol. 1, ed. K. Hallinger (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1963), p. 442. The term is used as the title of several ninth-century manuscripts.

14 *Les ordines romani du haut moyen-âge*, ed. M. Andrieu, 5 vols., Études et Documents 11, 23–4, 28, 29 (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931–61), vol. II, pp. 481–8, and vol. III, pp. 39–41.

Esther and Esdras in September, Maccabees in October, Ezekiel, Daniel and the Minor Prophets in November, Isaiah in December, and from 29 December until Septuagesima the Epistles of Paul.

Only in one set of Carolingian episcopal statutes, those of Bishop Willbert of Chalons, *c.* 868, was there mention of priests being required to read and understand well-punctuated copies of the Pauline Epistles, the Gospels and the psalter.[15] All other statutes before 868 refer only to readings from the lectionary. The experience of the liturgy and the wording of biblical readings in liturgical texts often determined how the Bible was quoted, as Bullough has demonstrated for Alcuin's biblical quotations.[16]

Multi-volume Bibles

In most cathedrals and monasteries the text of the Bible was studied in several volumes containing individual books. At the monastery of St Gall the library has preserved books of the Old Testament copied under Abbot Werdo (784–812); Stiftsbibliothek 6 contained Paralipomenon, Judith and Esther, while codex 12 contained Proverbs, Job and the books of Maccabees. Codices 28, 39 and 43 were all copied by the scribe Wolfcoz (*c.* 820–40) and contain Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom and Sirach, Isaiah, Jeremiah (to which a text of Baruch was added by a later scribe), Ezra, the Minor Prophets and Daniel. Under Abbot Hartmut (872–83) the so called 'kleine Hartmut Bibel' was copied, of which codex 7 contains Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom and Paralipomenon with verses in praise of Hartmut; codex 19 the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*; codex 42 Isaiah and Jeremiah; codex 46 Ezra, Minor Prophets and Daniel; and codex 68 Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther and the prologue of Ezra, as well as the Pauline Epistles. The 'grosse Hartmut Bibel', also copied for Abbot Hartmut but in a larger format, comprises codex 77, with Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and Ruth; codex 78, with 1–2 Samuel and 3–4 Kings; codex 79, with 1–2 Paralipomenon, Judith, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah and 1–2 Maccabees; codex 81, with Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Job and Tobit; codex 82, with Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and the Minor Prophets; and codex 83, with the Pauline Epistles, Acts and Revelation. Under Abbot Grimald (841–72) a multi-volume glossed Bible was copied, of which codex 41,

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15 MGH Capit. episc. 2, p. 93. The so-called Capitularia Corbiensia, probably issued at a diocesan synod of 803–5, require the priest to have memorised the psalter; MGH Capit. episc. 3, p. 11.
16 D. A. Bullough, *Alcuin. Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 187–92.

with Isaiah, Hosea, Zechariah and Daniel, has survived. In addition the abbey owned an Irish gospelbook and an Irish-made copy of St John's Gospel, as well as a copy of the Pauline Epistles and one of the earliest single-volume pandects from Tours. All these manuscripts can be viewed on line at the website Codices Electronici Sangallenses (www.cesg.unifr.ch/virt_bib/manuscripts.htm).

Outside St Gall, surviving copies of biblical books other than the psalter and gospelbooks are much rarer. A late eighth-century copy of all the prophetical books has survived from Fleury, in Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 17 (*CLA* V, 796). There is a mid-ninth-century copy of Job in Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 471, from north-eastern France; Job and Ezra from St Bertin in London, BL, Arundel 125; and Isaiah and Jeremiah from the Rhineland in Cologne, Dombibliothek, 49. Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 2, from Lorsch, contains the Octateuch, 1–4 Kings and 1–2 Paralipomenon. The version of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles in the mid-ninth-century Montpellier, Bibliothèque Municipale, 6, from Aniane, with liturgical marginalia, is from a Spanish textual family.

Most Carolingian gospelbooks contained the prefatory letter from Jerome to Pope Damasus, the Eusebian canon tables, most commonly set out under arches, and sets of chapter lists. Full Bibles contained prefaces (often by Jerome), as well as chapter lists for the separate books. The distinctive contribution of the Carolingian period was the copying of one- or two-volume complete pandects, and the concern shown by some Carolingian scholars for the quality of the biblical text.

During the reign of Charlemagne, the earliest large format pandect was made for Archbishop Angilram of Metz, before his death in 791.[17] Single-volume Bibles were copied for Bishop Theodulf of Orleans and for Alcuin at Tours after 796/7. Theodulf's Bibles included non-biblical texts relating to biblical chronology and interpretation. Six have survived, measuring 330 × 240 mm, the earliest laid out in three columns of 61 or 62 tiny lines, with later copies using a two-column layout. Their biblical text depended on manuscripts from Italy, and Theodulf continued to work on the biblical text until his death. His Bibles record the variants of the Alcuin Bibles, and of the Spanish family of texts, but also include some corrections deriving from the Hebrew.[18] The luxury copy of Theodulf's Bible now in Le Puy has Psalms and

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17 Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 7 (*CLA*, vol. VI, 786), in two columns of 40 lines, destroyed in 1944. For traces of Italian pandects from Verona and elsewhere, see Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, p. 248.
18 Fischer, *Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 137–49. The fullest account of Theodulf's Bibles remains A. Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas. Typologische Exegese und isidorianisches*

the Gospels copied in silver on purple parchment.[19] Theodulf's Bibles were portable reference works, following the order of the biblical books as given by Isidore. Like Alcuin, Theodulf included verses in his Bible stressing the salvific message of the biblical text, but also drawing attention to the small format of the volume.[20]

Alcuin and the Tours Bibles

From the year 800, the scriptoria of the abbeys of St Martin and Marmoutier at Tours copied large, single-volume Bibles. Though the earliest of these have not survived, the dedicatory poems by Alcuin reveal that a copy of a Tours Bible was presented by Alcuin to Charlemagne in 800 and a second copy was presented to him at Christmas 801.[21] Charlemagne, in the letter establishing the use of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary in his realms, said that he had previously corrected the errors which the ignorance of scribes had introduced into all the books of the Old and New Testament.[22] In a letter to Charlemagne, Alcuin informed the king that he was sending him a copy of the scriptures, 'gathered together in the sanctity of a single and most illustrious corpus and scrupulously emended'.[23] Alcuin's emendations were grammatical and stylistic: he did not edit the text, and the orthography of the earliest Tours Bibles is inferior to that in the Bibles from Metz and Corbie. M.-H. Jullien has suggested that Alcuin's gospel text drew on the sixth-century Italian gospelbook now in the British Library as Harley 1775,[24] and he perhaps also used the late eighth-century copy of the Octateuch, Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 10.[25] Angelomus of Luxeuil, in his commentary on Genesis presented to Charlemagne's grandson, Emperor Lothar, referred to

Geschichtsbild bei Theodulf von Orleans (Cologne: Böhlau, 1975), pp. 39–61. See also in this volume, Bogaert, pp. 82–4.

19 Le Puy, Cathédrale, Trésor, s.n. (*CLA*, vol. VI, 768). The Theodulf Bible, Paris BNF, lat. 9380 (*CLA*, vol. V, 576), which belonged to the cathedral of Orleans, is comparably luxurious.

20 MGH Poet. lat. 1, pp. 532–41.

21 Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 213–18; on the idea of a single-volume pandect, see pp. 246–50.

22 MGH Cap. reg. Franc. 1, p. 80. On the date, see Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 109–10.

23 Ep. 261, in MGH Epp. 2, p. 419.

24 M.-H. Jullien, 'Alcuin et l'Italie', in P. Depreux and B. Judic (eds.), *Alcuin, de York à Tours. Écriture, pouvoir et réseaux dans l'Europe du haut moyen âge* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 2004), pp. 394–406.

25 Unfortunately the text of the Octateuch in the earliest Tours Bibles has not been collated, but Tours 10 does agree with the readings in the Bamberg and Moutier Grandval Bibles; Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 128–30, 350–7.

'the Bible which Alcuin had corrected for Charlemagne and took pains to emend, which we have carefully examined'.[26] This suggests that Charlemagne's copy was available for consultation at Aachen, and had a normative status. Alcuin also wrote verses for Bibles copied for Bishop Gerfrid of Laon, and for an abbess named Ava.[27] Several of these poems mention that the whole Bible is present in a single volume, which would have been an innovation, and in one case Alcuin stressed that the book was properly called a pandect.[28]

Eighteen complete or near complete Tours Bibles and twenty-eight fragments have survived, suggesting that at least two Bibles were copied at Tours every year until the Viking raids of 853. (Vikings burned Tours again in 872 and 903.) As a poem of Alcuin makes clear, the Bibles were copied for public reading in church, and Alcuin's Bible verses repeatedly mention the reader. However, the liturgical reading of Psalms and the Gospels was done from psalters and gospelbooks, and in Tours Bibles the psalter and Gospel texts were copied in a much smaller minuscule format than the rest of the book. In addition to the complete Bibles, some twenty-five gospelbooks copied at Tours have survived, many of which were presentation volumes.

A complete Tours Bible consisted of some 450 folia, measuring *c.* 480 × 375 mm, in two columns of around 51 lines per page. The St Gall Tours Bible (Stiftsbibliothek 75), at 540 × 395 mm, has a larger format than the Codex Amiatinus (505 × 340 mm in two columns of 44 lines). In Tours Bibles, each book began with an enlarged decorated initial. The title of the book was often copied in elegant written display capitals which were close to the letter forms of Roman inscriptions. A few lines of somewhat heavy uncials were used at the start of the text of each book. The Gospel prologues were copied in half-uncial script. Explicits were always in a small *capitalis* script. Red was used for the capital letters at the start of sections of the text, and for the incipit and explicit (opening and closing words). Each chapter of a book usually began on a new line, though this was not the uniform practice in the St Gall and Monza Bibles. In a number of places at the end of a quire, the script was compressed in order to make sure that the text did not run over into the next scribe's section.[29]

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26 *PL* 115, col. 180.
27 MGH Poet. lat. 1, p. 286; Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, p. 225.
28 'Nomine pandecten proprio vocitare memento'; *Carmen* 65, MGH Poet. lat. 1, p. 283.
29 The clearest discussion of the layout of Tours Bibles is by P. Petitmengin, 'La Bible de Rorigon', in H.-J. Martin and J. Vezin (eds.), *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit* (Paris: Cercle de la Librairie-Promodis, 1990), pp. 78–83.

The earliest surviving Tours Bibles, probably copied during Alcuin's lifetime, are Paris, BNF, lat. 8847,[30] Monza Biblioteca Capitolare, g–1/1 and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 75, along with the volumes represented by the fragments in Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1, fols. 99–104, and the pastedowns in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. fol. 260, and Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 756, pages 59, 70 and 71. In these early Bibles the text script used both a half-uncial *cc*-shaped 'a' and the minuscule form of 'a', and 'r' entered into ligature with a following 'a' or 'e'. Word separation was uneven, designed to justify both margins of the column of text. In the course of the ninth century there was an improvement in the script and decoration of Tours Bibles. The copy of the New Testament in Paris, BNF, lat. 250, dating from around 830–4 and later at St Denis, has particularly uniform initials, and a superb deployment of a hierarchy of scripts.[31]

Fischer has shown that the chronology of Tours Bibles cannot be established on textual grounds. The scriptorium worked on several copies of the Bible at once, and did not always copy the same exemplar.[32] The order of the biblical books and the presence of prefaces and chapter lists were not fixed. The Bibles included the Hieronymian prefaces, used the *Gallicanum* psalter text, and gave various chapter lists for the chapters of selected individual books. Different sets of chapter lists are found for the Gospels and the Epistle to the Hebrews in various manuscripts.[33] From the abbacy of Fridugisis (804–34), the Bible text was preceded by Jerome's Letter 53 (the letter to Paulinus). Fischer showed that the text used in Tours Bibles was revised during the abbacy of Adalhard (834–43), when the Gospel text was adapted to accord with that used at the court, the text of the Pauline Epistles and of Acts incorporated more *Vetus Latina* readings, and the order of the epistles changed.[34]

Pandects and gospelbooks from Tours served as gifts to prominent figures, including emperors and their relatives, and to important religious foundations. Paris, BNF, lat. 1 has a full-page illustration accompanied by a poem showing the presentation of the Bible to Charles the Bald.[35] Emperor Lothar, Charles's brother, presented a complete illustrated Bible to the abbey of Prüm when he entered it as a monk in 852. Abbot Hilduin of St Denis, the chancellor of the emperor Louis the Pious, may have presented Paris, BNF, lat. 250 to St Denis. Count Rorigo, the grandson of Charlemagne, owned Paris, BNF, lat. 3 and

30 M. C. Ferrari, 'Der älteste touronische Pandekt. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 8847 und seine Fragmente', *Scriptorium* 53 (1999), 108–14.

31 Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, p. 209.   32 Ibid., pp. 128, 276.

33 Ibid., pp. 301–5.   34 Ibid., pp. 319–85.

35 Dutton and Kessler, *First Bible of Charles the Bald*, pp. 71–87.

presented it to the abbey of Glanfeuil on the Loire. St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 75 appears to have reached St Gall by the mid-ninth century. Paris, BNF, lat. 8847 was at Echternach, and Cologne, Dombibliothek 1 was presented to Cologne by Archbishop Hermann (890–925), though it was probably copied some thirty years before he became archbishop. The lay abbot Luitfrid, a nephew of Louis the Pious's queen Irmingard, may have presented London, BL, Add. 10546 to Moutier Grandval.[36]

The number of scribes involved in the copying of a single Bible varied. Rand suggested that about a dozen scribes copied the first part of the pandect which is now London, BL, Harley 2805; again about a dozen worked on Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Car. C. 1, perhaps including some whose hands are found in the Bamberg Bible, and fourteen on Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 82; six scribes copied the First Bible of Charles the Bald, eight copied the Rorigo Bible, while about a dozen hands are found in the surviving portion of Paris, BNF, lat. 68 and some sixteen in the incomplete Paris, BNF, lat. 11514. Bruckner distinguished twenty-four scribal hands in the Moutier Grandval Bible. Of all these scribes, the only ones named are Amalricus in the Monza Bible, and Hildebertus, who left his name beside the quire signature on a bifolium from a Tours Bible now in Munich. All the scribes wrote in a very similar way, but might form 'r' with a longer or shorter tongue, 'g' with a large or smaller bowl, capital 'M' more or less symmetrical about the central shaft, with the left-hand compartment sometimes closed at the base. Dold showed that there was an evolution in the ruling of the page layout, from two columns with a central margin to inner and outer ruled marginal columns on either side of the column of text.[37] There is some evidence that scribes each copied a single quire, and if their exemplar was disbound, different scribes could have been working at the same time, making the copying faster. Full-page illustrations, copied on inserted leaves, are found in the Bamberg and Moutier Grandval Bibles and in the First Bible of Charles the Bald.[38] After copying, the Bible text was checked quire by quire, and each quire was marked 'REQ', or with the Turonian shorthand for *requisitum est*, 'collated with the original'.

In the reign of Charlemagne, Alcuin and Theodulf were innovators in copying single-volume pandects. Multi-volume Bibles were copied for Corbie

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36 For this paragraph, see Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 388–403.

37 A. Dold, 'Neuentdeckte Blätter einer unbekannten Bibelhandschrift von Tours', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 48 (1931), 169–76.

38 H. L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 7 (Princeton University Press, 1977).

under Abbot Maudramnus[39] and for Salzburg under Bishop Arno.[40] But the idea of a single-volume pandect, under the influence of Theodulf and Alcuin, spread to Paris,[41] Corbie,[42] Rheims,[43] St Amand,[44] Lyon,[45] Reichenau,[46] St Gall,[47] Freising[48] and Corvey,[49] as well as other unidentified centres.[50] Alcuin's text was used to correct the local text of Bibles at Aniane, St Germain des Près, Metz, Rheims and the Reichenau, but it was never authoritative.[51] Alcuin himself did not use it for his biblical quotations and commentaries. Theodulf in his Bibles recorded readings in Alcuin's Bible with a marginal 'a'.[52]

Fischer records some twenty-four surviving Breton gospelbooks, seven from the court school of Charlemagne and three from the court school of Louis the Pious, some forty-six Bibles and gospelbooks from Tours, seven from western France, five gospelbooks from Lyon and its region, five from Burgundy, three from Metz, six from Lorsch, seven from Lotharingia, fifteen from northern France, eight from north-eastern France, fifteen from St Amand, twelve from Rheims, six from Mainz and six from Freising.[53]

Manuscripts and the study of the Bible

In the twelfth century the Bible was studied in separate volumes in which important patristic passages of commentary on each verse were copied on

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39 Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 6, 7, 9, 11 and 12. See D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), pp. 45–6, 132–3.
40 Salzburg, St Peter, Stiftsbibliothek, a. IX (*CLA*, vol. X, 1462) has survived, together with fragments of other books.
41 Paris, BNF, lat. 11504–5, dated 822, and Paris, BNF, lat. 11553, from St Germain des Prés.
42 Paris, BNF, lat. 11532–3.   43 Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1–2, copied for Hincmar.
44 Paris, BNF, lat. 2.
45 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale, 1, from Lyon at the time of Florus, and Paris, BNF, lat. 4.
46 Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Aa 10–11.
47 Sections of St Gall 1398b are fragments of a two-volume Bible apparently copied by Italian scribes at St Gall; Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, p. 206.
48 The destroyed leaf, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, R. 52, and two bifolia, Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Schloss Friedenstein, Mbr. I, 156; Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, p. 188.
49 Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Cod. frag. 2, with additional leaves in New York and Chicago. Colour plate in C. Stiegemann et al., *799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), p. 515.
50 Paris, BNF, lat. 16739–40, from north-eastern France; the so-called Bible of St Riquier, Paris, BNF, lat. 41 and 93; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1190 from northern France; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Depot Breslau 4; and the three-column Bible in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B. 6.
51 Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 388–403.   52 Ibid., pp. 101–202.
53 B. Fischer, *Die lateinsche Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols., VLB 13, 15, 17, 18 (Freiburg: Herder, 1988–91) lists all surviving pre-tenth-century gospelbooks on pp. 13*–35*.

either side of the scriptural text. Such glossed Bibles were first laid out in the Carolingian age, copying the layout of glossed school texts of Virgil. Surviving books of the Bible with ninth-century marginal and interlinear Latin glosses include the psalter in Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Barth. 32, from Fulda *c*. 800, and the St Gall manuscripts, Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, 30, and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 27.[54] Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 14 is a glossed psalter with 27 lines of text and 53 lines of gloss on each page, and Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 48, from western France, is a psalter with two levels of glossing. There are fragments of a gospelbook with contemporary interlinear glosses in London, BL, Harley 7551, fols. 33–6, from the Paris region. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 640 is a gospelbook copied in the late ninth century in the region of Liège, and Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 93 (A. I. 16) is a glossed gospelbook from Lorsch. Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 82 is a glossed text of the Pauline Epistles copied at Flavigny by the scribe Rahingus. At Wissembourg, Abbot Otfrid was engaged in a systematic project to gloss the whole Bible, drawing on the work of his teacher Hrabanus.[55] The Herzog August-Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel contains the following manuscripts copied at Wissembourg with Otfrid's glosses: Weiss. 26, glossed Gospels; Weiss. 32, Jeremiah; Weiss. 33, Isaiah; Weiss. 36, Minor Prophets; and Weiss. 47, glossed Pauline Epistles. The glosses quote lines of exegesis from the writings of Gregory, Origen, Jerome, John Chrysostom and Hrabanus, set beside the verses to which they refer.[56] St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 41 is a glossed copy of Isaiah, Hosea, Zechariah and Daniel, and Stiftsbibliothek, 50 is a glossed gospelbook.[57] In addition to Latin glosses, there are some in Old High German, the majority of them dated to the tenth century.[58] They almost always provide a vernacular translation of a single Latin word in the scriptural text.

In the Carolingian age, in a few centres, Psalms, the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles were studied in bilingual Greek–Latin copies.[59] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8407 is a bilingual psalter copied by the Irish scholar Sedulius Scottus

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54 All three manuscripts were discussed and illustrated by M. T. Gibson, 'Carolingian Glossed Psalters', in Gameson (ed.), *Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 78–100.
55 *Otfridi Wizanbvrgensis Glossae in Matthaevm*, ed. C. Grifoni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).
56 H. Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1964).
57 Both may be viewed on the St Gall library website.
58 All the manuscripts with Old High German glosses are catalogued in R. Bergmann and S. Stricker, with Y. Goldammer and C. Wich-Reif, *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2005).
59 A. Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (Munich: Filser, 1949), pp. 24–32.

in the mid-ninth century. Another is in Basle,[60] while the gospelbook St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 48, and a copy of the Pauline Epistles in Dresden, Sächische Landesbibliothek, A. 145b are probably copies of manuscripts from the circle of Sedulius made by Irish scribes.[61] St Gall also has a bilingual psalter (Stiftsbibliothek, 17), a fragment of another bilingual psalter (Stiftsbibliothek, 1395), and a bilingual gospelbook (Stiftsbibliothek, 18). Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 17. 1 contains a bilingual copy of the Pauline Epistles which is closely related to that in the Dresden manuscript. St Petersburg, Public Library, Greek 20 is a ninth-century copy of the sixth-century bilingual Codex Claromontanus, containing the Pauline Epistles. A bilingual psalter from south-western Germany survives as Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Schloss Friedenstein, Mbr. I, 17. The catalogue from St Riquier lists a bilingual gospelbook and the ninth-century Fulda catalogue in Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1877, lists bilingual Gospels of John and Luke, a bilingual psalter and bilingual Pauline Epistles. But even at St Gall no Carolingian scholar was able to match Bede in the study of the Greek text of the Bible.

In addition to the extensive copying of individual books of the Latin Bible (including some copies of Old Latin versions) in the Carolingian age, it must be emphasised that in this period works of patristic exegesis, including the lengthy commentaries of Augustine on Psalms and of Gregory on Job, became standard in monastic and cathedral libraries. Late Antique Latin translations of exegetical works by Origen, John Chrysostom and the Cappadocian fathers were also widely copied. The scriptural commentaries of Bede found a place alongside these earlier works. In at least one case we know that Jews were consulted for information about the text of the Old Testament. Theodulf incorporated Hebrew readings into his Bible text and Hrabanus Maurus claimed to have consulted 'a certain Hebrew of modern times' who understood some of the principles of rabbinic exegesis.[62]

The Carolingian period saw extensive copying of complete pandects, multi-volume Bibles, gospelbooks and books of biblical readings. Fischer lists some thirty-three one- or two-volume Bibles and 260 gospelbooks copied in the

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60 *Psalterium Graeco-Latinum, Codex Basiliensis A VIII 3*, ed. L. Bieler (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1960).

61 B. M. Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age: The St. Gall Manuscripts* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1988), pp. 75–98, with a list of St Gall bilinguals at pp. 127–30; and P. Radiciotti, 'Manoscritti digrafici grecolatini e latinogreci nell'Alto Medioevo', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 40 (1998), 49–118.

62 A. Saltmann, 'Hebrew Scholarship in the Carolingian Renaissance', in her edition *of Pseudo-Jerome. Quaestiones on the Book of Samuel* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 1–29.

ninth century. This was when biblical readings for Mass and Office were standardised, and when the Bible text, with its prefaces and chapter divisions, became established and was widely available. For the earlier Middle Ages we must extrapolate from inadequate evidence; sufficient evidence survives from the Carolingian age to make our speculation far more substantial.

The Latin gospelbook, *c.* 600–1200

DOROTHY SHEPARD

In the Latin West between 600 and 1200, the four books of the Christian Gospels were copied more often and received more elaborate decoration than any other Christian text, except perhaps for Psalms. The importance given to the production of medieval gospelbooks – manuscripts containing the four Gospels and their associated texts – reflects the importance of the Gospels themselves in narrating the earthly life of Christ and the fact that they are the simplest expression of the 'good tidings' of salvation (Mark 1:1, quoting Isa. 61:1). During the medieval period, their texts appeared in many other types of manuscript, too, apart from gospelbooks. These include, obviously, Bible pandects and complete New Testaments, but also, because readings from the Bible were used in most forms of medieval worship, the Gospels were copied into various types of book used in the performance of the liturgy. In the daily round of services throughout the liturgical year, the use of a specific passage (pericope) assigned to each day had replaced the practice of reading the four Gospels sequentially from beginning to end (*lectio continua*) by the seventh century.[1] Catering for this need were evangelistaries (also called gospel lectionaries or pericope books), volumes containing the full gospel readings for the Mass arranged according to the liturgical year, as well as readings from the Old Testament and the Pauline Epistles, all of which are written out in full for each Mass or Office. They became increasingly popular from the Carolingian period onwards. A few surviving sacramentaries, books setting out the words to be spoken by the priest celebrating Mass, also contain gospel readings.

Gospelbooks are among the most striking manuscripts of the Middle Ages. The texts were usually accompanied by introductory materials such as St Jerome's prologues, Eusebius' canon tables and chapter lists (*capitula*). The physical characteristics of the manuscripts varied considerably according to

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1 See further Dyer in this volume, ch 34.

where, when and for what purpose they were made. They ranged from simply decorated and quite small pocket Gospels to large and imposing volumes with jewelled bindings. Their shapes evolved quickly from the roughly square codices of Late Antiquity into the rectangular form that remained customary through most of the Middle Ages. Their scripts in turn developed from Roman uncials through a series of permutations to the proto-gothic scripts of the twelfth century. Surveying the contents and uses of gospelbooks involves looking at such characteristics as their sizes, their bindings, the scripts in which they were written, the layout of the pages, the auxiliary texts included and the level of their decoration.

Uses of gospelbooks

Perhaps the medieval gospelbooks most familiar to modern scholars are the most richly decorated ones, such as the Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College, 58 (A. I. 6)) and the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000).[2] Such deluxe productions were commissioned by wealthy patrons, both secular and religious, who wanted copies of the Gospels for their own use or to present as lavish gifts. Charlemagne, for example, ordered the Ada Gospels (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 22) for a lady of that name. The abbot of the monastery of St Riquier claimed that Charlemagne was the donor of the Abbéville Gospels (Abbéville, Bibliothèque Municipale, 4).[3] Judith, countess of Flanders, ordered four Anglo-Saxon gospelbooks some time between 1046 and 1066, all copied by the same scribe in an English caroline script.[4] Two of these, now in New York's Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 708 and M. 709), still have their silver-gilt bindings, and presumably the other two were bound with similarly rich materials. The books, probably used in Judith's personal chapel during her lifetime, were bequeathed to the monastery of Weingarten on her death in 1094. Another gospelbook in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Golden Gospels (M. 23), is one of the finest surviving manuscripts on purple parchment, although practically nothing is known about the circumstances of its production. The text shows evidence

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2 Facsimiles of many of the illuminated gospelbooks have been published; a list is appended to this chapter.

3 P. McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800*, Les Publications de Scriptorium 5 (Paris and Brussels: Éditions Érasme, 1961), p. 22.

4 P. McGurk and J. Rosenthal, 'The Anglo-Saxon Gospelbooks of Judith, Countess of Flanders. Their Text, Make-Up and Function', *ASE* 24 (1995), 251–308, at p. 285.

of hasty copying, making it likely that the volume was made at short notice, perhaps as a gift for some special occasion.[5]

Many of the richly illuminated gospelbooks bound in precious materials, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, BL, Cotton Nero, D. iv), were intended to be the principal ceremonial gospelbook for their communities – in this case made to adorn the shrine of the great Northumbrian saint, Cuthbert.[6] Other gospelbooks were associated with particular saints, too, either because the books were their personal copies or because they were copies the saints themselves had made. Enshrining a gospelbook in a saint's coffin honoured the saint, and gospelbooks came to be considered relics by association. A tiny copy of the Gospel of St John, known as the Stonyhurst Gospel (London, BL, Loan 74, 135 × 93 mm), was discovered with the body of St Cuthbert when he was translated to a new tomb in 1104.[7] The Irish honoured the holiness of the gospelbooks themselves by placing them in shrines (*cumdachs*).

All of these uses explain why gospelbooks, of all Christian texts, received such costly and elaborate treatment. They were a particular way in which the word of God took material form for worshippers to see and contemplate. Deluxe gospelbooks, the achievement of the greatest of scribes and artists, were creative masterpieces and therefore were exceptional when made – though they account, as we shall see, for only a small percentage of the Gospel manuscripts produced in the Middle Ages.

Gospelbooks came to serve more purposes than display and veneration. They were often used for record keeping because they were considered safe places for entering documents and charters,[8] and treasury inventories were routinely entered in them.[9] Many of these documents still remain in the volumes, giving valuable evidence of ownership, dating and provenance. Often gospelbooks were used as registers for distinguished visitors. Manumissions, formal releases from servitude, were entered in them as well; a particularly

5 L. Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe', in J. Williams (ed.), *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 121–78, at p. 176.
6 R. Gameson, 'The Royal 1. B. viii Gospels and English Book Production in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration, and Use* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 24–52, at p. 42.
7 C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd edn (London: Phaidon, 1994), pp. 36–7.
8 McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, p. 19.
9 R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 162.

clear one remains in the margin of a Welsh gospelbook, where it was written in the early ninth century.[10]

Gospelbooks were placed on every altar in every church.[11] Some part of the Gospels was read in nearly every service, so those volumes designed for liturgical use contained either marginalia or *capitularia* (lists of the beginning and concluding words of liturgical readings) to indicate what was to be read on which occasion. Gospelbooks containing marginal and interlinear glosses were intended for study.[12] There is some evidence that the smallest copies were worn as amulets.[13] Every cleric needed a copy of the Gospels, as did every monastery and priory, and they were essential equipment for missionaries. In short, gospelbooks were the most important and widely distributed tool of the Christian religion in the Middle Ages.

The overall number of gospelbooks produced must therefore have greatly exceeded the comparatively small number of large, finely copied and richly decorated manuscripts of the sort which have survived disproportionately and with which students are most familiar. Most medieval gospelbooks were in fact modest manuscripts, destined to be working copies.[14] These were often the lesser productions of great scriptoria or the creations of humbler ones. The parchment used for them was whatever was available locally and thus was not always of the highest quality. Modest gospelbooks were smaller than the finer volumes, often in fact too small to serve for public reading, and had few (if any) illustrations. For the sake of portability, the books were sometimes left as unbound quires rather than being bound between wooden boards.

Few complete copies of the more modest productions have survived; many more are represented by mere fragments. How many others simply wore out and were discarded over the centuries we cannot know, but it has been estimated that at least 300 gospelbooks would have been needed for England alone in the first two centuries after the conversion.[15] Despite their rarity and poor condition, modest gospelbooks provide crucial insights into how the greater number of manuscripts in the early Middle Ages must have looked,

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10 J. M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome. A New Cultural History 500–1000* (Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 157–8.

11 Nees, 'Form and Function', p. 174.   12 McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, pp. 17–18.

13 Ibid., pp. 7–8, 20–1.   14 Gameson, 'Royal 1. B. viii Gospels', p. 48.

15 Gameson, 'Royal 1. B. viii Gospels', pp. 43–5. See also the comments of R. Marsden, 'Anglo-Saxon Biblical Manuscripts', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 1, (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 406–35, at 432–5.

and they give additional information about the norms of liturgical book production, especially in the seventh and eighth centuries.[16]

They also provide valuable evidence about the administrative structure of the early medieval church. The survival of modest as well as deluxe gospel-books reveals a sense of the hierarchy of personnel within the church from an early period, particularly in England. Indeed, these books were conscious instruments for designating a position within that hierarchy and maintaining the divisions between the various levels. What was necessary and proper for a bishop or abbot was not needed by a local cleric and his small church or by an ordinary monk. Prosperous monastic foundations were very different from tiny local churches and the organised secular church in general. The books used at each level of the religious hierarchy were material expressions of it, and they reflected the fact that wealth was concentrated at the top. But the existence of even modest gospelbooks also indicates organised efforts to develop an effective network of Christian centres and thus extend effective pastoral care beyond the areas around the large foundations.[17]

Gospel texts and accessory texts

The gospel texts

The physical characteristics of gospelbooks varied considerably according to where they were produced, their patrons and the purpose for which they were intended. While the unique authority of the four Gospels had been firmly established by the mid-second century, the gospel texts themselves and the ancillary texts included with them showed a wide diversity in detail. The order in which the Gospels were copied also varied. That in common use now (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John) was established by Jerome in the last quarter of the fourth century. The earlier Greek order (Matthew, John, Luke and Mark) was preserved in some parts of Europe long after his time. Jerome also established the Latin text of the Gospels in the officially sanctioned form that we now know as the Vulgate. Before Jerome, what we now call the Old Latin (or *Vetus Latina*) text was available in a variety of versions, now loosely categorised as the African, the European and the Italian, though there was probably never a complete Old Latin Bible in any version.[18] Jerome based his

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16 Gameson, 'Royal 1. B. viii Gospels', p. 49.   17 Ibid., pp. 49–52.

18 C. S. C. Williams, 'The History of the Text and Canon of the New Testament to Jerome', in *CHB II*, pp. 27–53, at pp. 38–9. On the general question of Old Latin/Vulgate mixing, see R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 15 (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 5–11; also Bogaert in this volume, ch. 4. See also the brief overview of Insular

revision on the Italian tradition, which was among the earliest translations from the original Greek. But the Old Latin versions lingered in many parts of Europe. They were especially well established in Ireland, both in the services of the church and the affections of the people, and the Vulgate first arrived there only in the second quarter of the seventh century. Mixed texts, those which have a significant number of Old Latin readings mixed with Jerome's revision, were produced during the transition to a more or less standardised Vulgate text.

Recent scholarship has been very helpful, especially for studying the transmission of Old Latin texts before 900. Between 1987 and 1991, Bonifatius Fischer of the Vetus Latina Institut at Beuron published the results of his study of the Old Latin text of the Gospels and established a framework for tracing its transmission up to the tenth century.[19] He focused specifically on sixteen passages (four from each of the Gospels), all of about the same length, and collated the versions of them in 466 manuscripts, which had been organised into related groups. He and his helpers worked with complete Bibles, volumes of the New Testament and evangelistaries (also known as lectionaries or pericope books), as well as gospelbooks.

Fischer's list gives detailed information about the 466 manuscripts analysed, including the identification of fragments and palimpsests. Perhaps more valuably, the list organises the texts into twenty-six groups of related manuscripts, beginning with those of the fourth century containing Old Latin texts. The Insular manuscripts are divided into four groups: those associated with Northumbria, a looser group of English origin, those produced in Celtic areas, and those copied on the Continent in Anglo-Saxon scripts. Manuscripts of the Carolingian period and up to 900 are listed in fifteen sections based on approximate dates and places of origin, as far as known. The list also includes separate sections for Spanish, Roman and Ambrosian liturgical readings. The Beuron publications provide a valuable tool for establishing the date and location of the production of particular Latin gospelbooks from the earlier medieval period, although the complexities of transmission and the unevenness of the surviving record remain formidable obstacles.

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textual traditions by P. McGurk, 'The Gospel Text', in *The Book of Kells, MS 58, Trinity College Library Dublin*, ed. P. Fox, 2 vols. (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1990), vol. I, pp. 59–152, at pp. 61–2.
19 B. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols., VLB 13, 15, 17 and 18 (Freiburg: Herder, 1988–91), and 'Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes der Evangelien', in R. Gryson and P.-M. Bogaert (eds.), *Recherches sur l'histoire de la Bible* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de la Faculté de Théologie, 1987), pp. 51–104; the same lists appear in all of Fischer's publications listed here.

Accessory texts

Accessory texts included in the Latin gospelbooks also have the potential to provide important evidence for their dating, their origin and their place in one of the textual groups noted above. The use of prologues, the most common accessory text, follows the tradition established by St Jerome, who had introduced his revision of the Gospels with a scholarly apparatus to coordinate the four books. It included not only an explanatory prologue (S 595)[20] but also ten canon tables and corresponding marginal numbers copied alongside the gospel texts themselves.

Biblical prologues were drawn from many traditions, and contain a range of information: they give biographical sketches of the author of each book, explain its characteristics or importance and/or describe its creation. Jerome himself wrote a number to introduce the Gospels. In the mid-twentieth century, Friedrich Stegmüller compiled and published a comprehensive list of biblical prologues, seventy-four for the Gospels alone, a list so useful that biblical prologues are usually referred to now by an 'S' followed by the number Stegmüller assigned them.[21] Each of the Old Latin Gospels was introduced by a prologue called an *argumentum*, which was ideological in approach. Known as the Monarchian prologues (S 590–1, S 607, S 620 and S 624), these begin by describing the author of each Gospel in mystical terms. Although containing some heretical elements, they quickly became standard texts.[22] The so-called Anti-Marcionite prologues (S 604, S 612 and S 623), among the oldest used to introduce the Latin Gospels, are highly polemical. Affixed to Mark, Luke and John (if there was such a prologue for Matthew, it has been lost), they refer to Marcion's heretical beliefs in one way or another. The anti-heretical slant of all three once led scholars to believe that the same person had written them, although now it seems more likely that they were written by different authors at different times.[23] Some of the Gospel prologues relate to all four Gospels, but the majority are specific to a single gospel, such as the *Plures fuisse* (S 596), which prefaces Matthew and was originally Jerome's introduction to his commentary on that book.

The canon tables referred to all four Gospels and were placed before Matthew, the first of them. Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine had developed

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20 For 'S' numbers, see below and n. 21.   21 Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, vol. I.

22 J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), pp. 217–53; *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Durmachensis* [Durham Gospels], ed. A. A. Luce, 2 vols. (Olten: Urs Graf, 1960), pp. 11–12.

23 E. Gutwenger, 'The Anti-Marcionite Prologues', *Theological Studies* 7 (1946), 393–409.

the tables in the fourth century to help readers find their way around the Gospels.[24] He assigned a number to each successive event or episode in each of the four Gospels, the numbers in each starting from 'one' and running consecutively throughout; Matthew has 355 resulting 'sections', Mark has 233, Luke has 342 and John has 232. Eusebius arranged the section numbers in ten tables designed to identify passages that were parallel in the four different gospel narratives. The first canon table lists the numbers of the passages referring to events that occur in every Gospel. The second, third and fourth tables refer to events that occur in three of the Gospels. The fifth through to the ninth list events that are described in only two, while the last lists those mentioned in only one Gospel. To make this system really useful, the Eusebian numbers for each event and for the corresponding location in the other Gospels were copied into the margins of the text of each Gospel.

Several gospel prologues describe this system. Eusebius' letter to Carpianus (S 581) is one; its incipit (opening words), translated from the Greek, is *Ammonius quidem*. His letter usually appears in Old Latin gospelbooks, and is also quite common in Vulgate ones. When Jerome adopted the Eusebian system, he wrote (in 383) a letter to Pope Damasus explaining how the canon tables worked. He then used that letter (S 595, the *Novum opus*) – which speaks also of the great labours he undertook in compiling his new version from Greek and Latin sources – as his general prologue to the Gospels. Another prologue that discusses the system (S 601, beginning *Sciendum etiam*) was also often later attributed to Jerome but was not in fact composed until the eighth century.[25]

Other types of accessory texts in gospelbooks are rarer and more local in occurrence. Glossaries of Hebrew personal names (*Interpretationes nominum ebrorum*) sometimes preceded each Gospel and interpreted, often fantastically, the Hebrew names found within. Although these glossaries were specifically associated with Old Latin texts, they also passed into the Irish family of Vulgate texts.[26] *Capitularia*, as noted above, are lists of liturgical readings that contain the beginning and end of each Gospel passage set out in the sequence of the church year, which thus adapted gospelbooks for liturgical use. Chapter lists (*breves causae* or *capitula*) are short accounts or summaries of each section of sacred text.[27] They were gathered at the beginning of each Gospel and their

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24 C. Nordenfalk, 'The Apostolic Canon Tables', in his *Studies in the History of Book Illumination* (London: Pindar, 1992), p. 30.

25 J. A. Harmon, *Codicology of the Court School of Charlemagne* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1984), p. 45.

26 *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Durmachensis*, ed. Luce, p. 10.

27 T. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1972).

corresponding numbers were inserted in the text or the margins alongside it. In collating these in their edition of the New Testament, Wordsworth and White found six major groups for three of the Gospels but only five for Mark.[28] They also found that sets of chapter lists vary greatly in length, numbering and style of composition, so these can aid in the dating or locating of a manuscript. For example, the Irish group, which Wordsworth and White designate as their 'D' group, contains essentially Old Latin summaries in their earliest form.[29]

Colophons and dedicatory inscriptions are often found in gospelbooks, either original to the manuscript or added later. Colophons, usually found at the end, provide a variety of information about the books themselves and/or the people who made them, since they often contain the names of the patron, scribe and binder, the completion date, and where they were made. Not always mere statements of the facts of production or simple closing formulas, they may also contain biblical passages or prayers. Even if added to a manuscript later, they may provide helpful information about its provenance. The extensive colophon at the end of the Lindisfarne Gospels is an excellent example of what a colophon might say and do. Probably added to the manuscript in the third quarter of the tenth century by a priest named Aldred, when he provided its Old English interlinear gloss, the colophon announces that this gospelbook was written for God, St Cuthbert and all the saints whose bones were on Holy Island (that is, Lindisfarne). It then lists the names, positions and contributions of those who worked on the manuscript. Confirmed by other sources, it indicates that this gospelbook was copied on the occasion of the translation of Cuthbert's relics from Farne Island, where he had died, to Lindisfarne itself soon after 698.[30]

Dedicatory inscriptions most often appear at the beginning of a manuscript, although occasionally they were copied elsewhere in it. Like the colophons, they name the people associated with the making of the volume and often accompany portraits of the donor or the person for whom it was made. As is also the case with the colophons, these inscriptions sometimes include additional material such as honorific phrases or prayers.

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28 *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi*, ed. J. Wordsworth and H. J. White, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889–1954), vol. i.
29 Chapman, *Vulgate Gospels*, p. 179.
30 J. Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), pp. 7–13.

A brief survey of gospelbooks by period and area

Old Latin gospelbooks

Old Latin texts of the Gospels continued to be copied sporadically throughout the period 600–1200. The order of gospels in these books (Matthew, John, Luke and Mark) is a distinctly western order that reflected the supposed ranking of the writers, although the order differs from what is now usual. Nine manuscripts with an Old Latin text copied after 600, most of them fragmentary, have survived but only three are strictly gospelbooks.[31] Of the nine, one is an Irish manuscript, four are Italian, and one is from southern France; the origin of the others has not been established. The four Italian manuscripts were copied in uncials, while the others exhibit various different calligraphic and decorative approaches. These gospelbooks for the most part are medium-sized codices with an average text-block height of *c.* 178 mm.[32] Plain large initials, sometimes coloured, often introduce the various texts, but in some cases the initials are decorated with simple rope motifs, geometric patterns or animals. Several of these books retain their colophons and one has some line drawings.

Italian gospelbooks

In addition to the four Italian Old Latin manuscripts mentioned in the previous section, twenty-six more gospelbooks produced in Italy before 1200 have survived. These contain essentially the Vulgate text but some continue to transmit more or less substantial elements of Old Latin texts. Italy continued to be a major centre for the production of gospelbooks throughout the period and had a great influence on those copied in other areas.[33] The eight gospelbooks with Vulgate texts which Fischer lists as copied in Italy between 600 and 800 share many characteristics.[34] They are rectangular and fairly large, with an average text-block height of *c.* 240 mm. Seven have colophons and to one was added later a group of charters. Although two of the manuscripts were written in minuscule, the uncial script was preferred. Half contain canon tables, but

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31 Fischer, 'Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes', pp. 54–6.
32 The text block is a better comparative measure to use because pages have often been cut down.
33 Fischer, 'Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes', pp. 57–60.
34 E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores. a Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols. and suppl. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934–71; 2nd edn of vol. ii, 1972), is the best resource for those produced up to 800 CE.

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only one has evangelist portraits. Aside from the canon tables and colophons, decoration, if any, is simple. Initials, when decorated, are given geometric or rope patterns, or are of the hollow type partly or completely filled with colour.

The variety of designs and decoration applied to canon tables during the Middle Ages is astounding. These columns of numbers were either placed in grids or in architectural frameworks. They used both structural and ornamental elements associated with architecture, especially columns, capitals, bases and arches. The columns which separate the lists of numbers were themselves organised in a number of ways.[35] A single arch might surmount each table, each column in each table might be topped with an arch, or larger arches might encompass two to four smaller ones. With the structure determined, their artists chose decorative motifs; these ranged from simple to elaborate, from abstract to naturalistic. Those embellished with plants and animals suggest paradise gardens. Many have the evangelists' symbols placed in the arches above the numbers while others use busts of apostles in or on the arches. Finally, figural imagery, even narrative scenes, occurs occasionally.

Merovingian gospelbooks

Between 600 and about 800, a distinctive style of manuscript illumination developed in the Merovingian territories of France. The scriptoria at the monasteries of Luxeuil and Corbie were the best-known centres of production. Seven Merovingian gospelbooks have survived wholly or in part.[36] More were produced in monasteries founded on the Continent by Irish or English monks, and are therefore discussed below with the Insular manuscripts. Gospelbooks from purely Merovingian foundations were copied primarily in uncials, although minuscules and cursives were eventually incorporated. The text-block height averages 219 mm, with the text copied in two columns in all but one case. All have some kind of decorated initials; some of these are hollow letters touched with colour, while others are formed from or are decorated with fish, flowers, leaves, birds, plaits, etc. First lines of texts are sometimes set off by coloured ink or distinguished by the size of their initials. Some manuscripts have colophons and/or canon tables. The Merovingian

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35 Nordenfalk, 'Apostolic Canon Tables', pp. 31–2.
36 Fischer, 'Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes', p. 70.

gospelbooks generally lack evangelist portraits, perhaps reflecting the Icono-
clastic currents of the time.

Breton gospelbooks

The number of gospelbooks produced in Brittany in the medieval period
was surprisingly large, although they are little known to scholars.[37] Fischer
lists twenty-six manuscripts probably made there from *c.* 800 through to the
tenth century, when the Normans gained control of the region.[38] Most were
scattered when their owners fled from the Norman incursions. The location
of Brittany opened it to both Carolingian and Celtic influences. In fact, Fischer
puts a few manuscripts once considered Breton in his Insular list, arguing that
they seem to fit better there. Initial letters in the Breton books, both full-page
and smaller, exhibit a mix of Insular interlace and plant motifs in the style of
Tours. Many of them, but not all, contain canon tables. Some have *capitularia*
to adapt them for liturgical use and some have colophons. Because the various
Breton scriptoria drew on a wide range of models for their imagery and used
an equally wide range of scripts, it is hard to generalise about the decoration
of this group of gospelbooks beyond characterising it as essentially linear.

In contrast to Merovingian manuscripts, a significant number of Breton
gospelbooks contain portraits of the evangelists. They fall into two groups:
figures with beast heads and figures with human heads. In the first group, the
head of the evangelist was replaced by his particular symbol – man, lion, ox
and eagle. The association of these symbols with the evangelists drew from a
long tradition. Based on Ezekiel's vision of the cherubim (Ezek. 1:10) and the
four living creatures of the Apocalypse (4:7), the linking of a specific beast with
an evangelist was made by Victorinus. Favoured by Jerome, this symbolism
prevailed in the West.[39] The man represents Matthew because his Gospel
begins with the human ancestors of Christ. The lion represents Mark since
the phrase used in his Gospel (1:3) to characterise John the Baptist, 'the voice
of one crying in the wilderness', alludes to the lion. An ox represents Luke
because his Gospel opens with the sacrifice of Zechariah. An eagle represents

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37 A useful overview is in *An Early Breton Gospel Book, a Ninth-Century Manuscript from the
Collection* of H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, ed. F. Wormald and J. J. G. Alexander (Cambridge:
Roxburghe Club, 1977), pp. 14–23.
38 Fischer, 'Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes', pp. 65–7.
39 M. Werner, 'On the Origin of Zoanthropomorphic Evangelist Symbols. The Early Christian
Background', *Studies in Iconography* 10 (1984–6), 1–35.

John because of the mystical overtone of his Gospel: John, like the eagle, 'flew' closest to heaven.

Insular gospelbooks

Insular gospelbooks were one of the high points of medieval manuscript production, and indeed of medieval art. They had no rivals in the Europe of their time and their artistic influence lasted for centuries. Under the rubric of 'Insular' fall gospelbooks produced by both Celtic and Anglo-Saxon scribes and artists between *c.* 650 and the Scandinavian disruptions of the mid-ninth century. Celtic manuscripts were produced in Ireland, Scotland (including Iona) and Wales, and on Lindisfarne; Anglo-Saxon manuscripts originated in southern England and Northumbria, especially at Monkwearmouth–Jarrow. This was a time of close cultural cooperation between the two traditions, mainly because both were reacting to an alien naturalistic style of art that had recently reached the Insular area from the Mediterranean.[40]

Some fundamental differences between Celtic and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (whether the latter were produced in Northumbria or in southern parts of England) are apparent, however. Those produced in Celtic areas tended to use the half-uncial script, while Romanising centres, such as the Anglo-Saxon foundations of Canterbury and Monkwearmouth–Jarrow, preferred the uncial script in all its variants.[41] Insular manuscripts share many characteristics, however, that distinguish them from those produced on the Continent. Insular parchment is thicker and has a suede-like finish with little hair/flesh contrast, while Continental parchment has a polished surface that shows a marked contrast between hair and flesh. Quire arrangements also differ. Insular scribes pricked and ruled their sheets after folding, while Continental scribes prepared the sheets before folding them into quires. Insular scribes used more abbreviations and Turonian signs and were more scrupulous about word-division than Continental scribes.

Insular scribes often decorated the manuscripts they copied, and the result was the intimate relationship between script and decoration that is their hallmark. Letter forms are often hard to recognise amidst their ornamentation because they were embellished to be revered as well as transcribed to be read. Perhaps the most striking examples of such decorative treatment are the 'XPI'

40 J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts from the 6th to the 9th Century*, SMIBI 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), p. 9.
41 D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 1984), p. 32; M. P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 49.

pages introducing Matt. 1:18 in many of the gospelbooks, which were based on the Chi-Rho monogram (the first two Greek characters of Christ's name).[42]

Introducing abstract ornament to enrich the pages of gospelbooks was the most original achievement of Insular scribes and artists; doing so on such an unprecedented scale created the great initials and carpet pages that are the chief marvel of their manuscripts. Their decorative vocabulary drew on Germanic animal motifs, especially animal interlace. From the Mediterranean world they adopted strapwork interlace and other patterns such as fretwork, key, diaper and stepped patterns. They used the trumpet and semicircular pelta patterns of the Celtic world. Insular artists tended to convert natural forms (such as human beings, animals, plants) into patterns. Even their use of colour was abstract.[43] Within the range of Insular decoration, however, the designs of the Celtic artists were more stylised than those of Anglo-Saxon artists, who seemed more comfortable with Mediterranean models.

Fischer's division of Insular gospelbooks into four groups (noted above) reflects current scholarship, although research and debate continue. Script, adornment and textual arrangement, as well as the texts themselves, are among the features used to distinguish between them.[44] Fischer's first group, the Northumbrian, contains those that are based on a specific textual tradition of the Gospels. His second, his English group, consists of those copied in England but not based on that particular tradition. His third contains Gospel texts copied in Celtic areas; and his last includes the Continental manuscripts copied in Anglo-Saxon scripts.

The Northumbrian group, with eight complete or fragmentary gospel-books, reveals textual characteristics derived from a sixth-century Neapolitan gospelbook.[45] The best-known of the group, the Lindisfarne Gospels,[46] was made at Lindisfarne *c.* 698, but it was copied in a fine half-uncial instead of the uncial so often used in Northumbria at this time. One of its evangelist portraits is much like that of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus, which suggests that its artist knew the manuscripts produced at Monkwearmouth–Jarrow. It also contains a complete set of decorated canon tables, four carpet pages, five full-page initials and many smaller ones.

Fischer's English group includes nine Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, or fragments clearly identified as gospelbooks. Some but not all of these are associated with southern England. The Codex Aureus (Stockholm, Royal Library, A. 135),

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42 Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, p. 7.   43 Ibid., p. 12.
44 McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, p. 4; Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, pp. 15–6.
45 Fischer, 'Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes', pp. 60–1.
46 Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, pp. 35–40.

the best-known of these, was probably made at Canterbury in the mid-eighth century.[47] Its likely model was the sixth-century St Augustine Gospels (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 286; see Fig. 25.3), which was made in Italy and transported to Canterbury by missionaries. Distinct in its alternation of purple with white pages and individually designed gospelbook openings, the Stockholm Codex Aureus retains two of its evangelist portraits, some of its canon tables, pages with rows of enlarged and/or decorated capitals and smaller decorated initials.[48] In its text, its many Old Latin variants set it apart from the more regular Vulgate texts that predominated in the other gospelbooks made in England in this period.[49]

Fischer's Celtic group includes seventeen gospelbooks, some now only fragments. A few were made in Scotland or Wales, but the majority were produced in Ireland. The most elaborate of these is the Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College, 58 (A. I. 6)). Scholars now generally agree that it was made in Iona in the late eighth or early ninth century, although some debate continues. Copied in Insular majuscule, it mixed the Vulgate text with some Old Latin variants and included the full panoply of accessory texts. It is still 330 mm tall, but its pages have been trimmed and at least thirty are missing. Nevertheless, its extensive and richly coloured illumination is impressive.[50] Surviving decorative features include decorated canon tables, a carpet page, evangelists' portraits, full-page initials and numerous remarkably inventive smaller ones scattered throughout the text. It also contains full-page evangelists' symbols preceding each of the four Gospels, a portrait of Christ, another of the Virgin and Child, and two full-page narrative scenes. The polished abstract linear style of the numerous human figures and the imaginative splendour of its initial pages combine to make the Book of Kells the decorative climax of Insular gospelbook production.

Eight of the Celtic manuscripts are so-called 'pocket Gospels'.[51] They are rectangular and small, ranging between 125 and 175 mm in height, so that they were easily portable. Their texts mix Old Latin variants with the Vulgate or retain a strong Old Latin flavor. Incipits and colophons are rare, probably because their scribes wanted to save space. They do not contain prologues and chapter lists, despite the fact that those accessory texts had become routine

47 *The Codex Aureus. An Eighth-Century Gospel Book, Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotek, A. 135*, ed. R. Gameson, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 2001–2).
48 Ibid., vol. i, pp. 11, 63–5.   49 Ibid., vol. i, pp. 24–9.
50 Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, pp. 70–6; and *The Book of Kells, MS 58, Trinity College Library Dublin*, ed. P. Fox, 2 vols. (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1990).
51 P. McGurk, 'The Irish Pocket Gospel Book', *Sacris Eruditi* 8 (1956), 249–69.

in the seventh century and remained so thereafter. The script in the pocket books incorporates many abbreviations, often beginning in minuscule and quickly shifting to cursive. The gatherings are assembled so that each Gospel has its own quire or quires. A picture (either an evangelist or his symbol) and an initial page usually precede each Gospel. Some of the later examples have XPI pages as well, illustrating that initial pages had grown in number and complexity during this period. The pocket Gospels in particular, and the large number of Insular gospelbooks produced in general, reflect the missionary role that the Insular church played, first at home and then on the Continent. Irish and English missionaries to the Continent, and the settlers who followed them, took manuscripts with them and had more produced in the same style when needed.

Fischer's last Insular group lists five Continental gospelbooks with close Insular ties that were copied before the Carolingian period.[52] They average 286 mm in height, much larger than the pocket Gospels. All adopted not only the Insular script but also the Insular decorative vocabulary for their canon tables, carpet pages, evangelist portraits and large initial pages. Echternach is the likely place of origin for many of these gospelbooks. The best-known of the five is the Echternach or Willibrord Gospels (Paris, BNF, lat. 9389), copied around 690.[53] Enchantingly stylised evangelists' symbols superimposed on cross-carpet backgrounds are its most striking feature, and it also has a full set of canon tables and many smaller initials.

In the process of their development, Insular manuscripts in general evolved away from Late Antique scribal conventions. They came to use different scripts for first lines, to diminish the size of capitals progressively in first lines, to elaborate the initials and to reduce the size and decoration of colophons.[54]

Carolingian gospelbooks

Many luxurious gospelbooks were produced in the Carolingian scriptoria, most of them the products of courtly patronage and decorated with elaborate canon tables, evangelist portraits and large decorative initial pages. The efforts Charlemagne sponsored to correct the text of the Bible and circulate uniform copies of it included revision of the Gospels. Master copies were produced and distributed throughout the empire as examples of textual correctness and high

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52 Fischer, 'Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes', p. 71.
53 Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, pp. 42–3.
54 McGurk, 'Irish Pocket Gospel Book', pp. 256–7, 268.

production standards, which encompassed the layout, script and decorative approaches.

In these gospelbooks, Charlemagne's goal of producing manuscripts that were reliable and easy to refer to was realised. The Carolingian minuscule script, which made it easier both to read and to copy manuscripts, was evolving and became one of great successes of the Carolingian period. Using and alternating the various Roman scripts for display texts, titles, incipits and explicits, gave clarity to the pages. Important titles and phrases were often copied in elegant Roman square capitals, with other levels in the hierarchy of presentation given in rustic capitals or caroline capitals. The Gospel text itself was usually copied either in uncials or in the new Carolingian minuscule. The texts of the prologues and chapter lists, now regularly included in these gospelbooks, were often set off by the type or size of script in which they were copied, as were the *capitularia* when included.

A large number of gospelbooks were copied in scriptoria throughout the Carolingian empire.[55] Fischer lists 249 manuscripts containing Gospel texts made during the Carolingian period.[56] That total does not include complete Bibles or strictly liturgical manuscripts but it does include fragments, where they are identifiable as gospelbooks. His subdivision of the list, as far as possible, into smaller groups enables local or regional similarities between manuscripts to be observed.

The imagery in these volumes reflects a deliberate choice to use the classical Roman painting style with its three-dimensional figures, illusionistic techniques and architectural elements, just as scribes chose to employ Roman scripts wherever useful. The revival of these classical forms and techniques during Charlemagne's reign was part of the effort to use ancient Roman practices to set up direct political and symbolic links with the current Christian Roman empire. The canon tables, decorated to resemble ancient classical architecture and a feature of all these Carolingian gospelbooks, are a good example of this effort. The revival sponsored by Charlemagne in his own scriptoria spread rapidly to other centres in his empire. The ornament of the gospelbooks was adopted from Insular usage, especially their great initial pages. Linearly decorated initials face monumental figures of evangelists, who look much like ancient philosophers. Full pages devoted to decorated initials were not unusual either. However, the Insular approach to the human figure

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55 B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. M. M. Gorman (Cambridge University Press, 1994).
56 Fischer, 'Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes', pp. 72–97.

and the use of carpet pages was abandoned. The copying and decoration of gospelbooks during the Carolingian period was a continuously evolving process that reached a number of high points. Looking at these manuscripts as complete books rather than as vehicles to impress reveals how quickly scribal and artistic skills improved. When they were to be decorated, their artists adopted varying combinations of the ancient classical style and the Insular style. Different models must have been available in different scriptoria because a number of local styles have been identified.[57] A few representative examples will suffice here to show the variety of Carolingian gospelbooks.

The earliest of these schools of painting was attached to Charlemagne's court and so is known as the Court Group.[58] The scriptorium became active in the 790s and died when he did. Its manuscripts convey both an imperial aspect and classical repose with their powerful evangelist figures, splendid architectural canon tables, theologically based introductory miniatures and monumental initial pages. A good example is the Soissons Gospels (Paris, BNF, lat. 8850) produced in the early ninth century.

At least one more group of manuscripts, known as the Coronation Group, is associated with Charlemagne himself. All of its surviving products are gospelbooks, of which the best known is the Vienna Coronation Gospels (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Schatzkammer, Inv. XIII. 18). They are decorated in a completely different style from that of other schools, one with monumental, dignified and very Hellenistic-looking evangelists. Architectural and landscape elements in the same style make the miniatures very harmonious in appearance. They are often copied on parchment painted purple, presumably to symbolise Christ's blood.[59] Luxury purple gospelbooks had been associated with cathedrals from an early date and had a crucial role in validating decisions at councils and assemblies. The Coronation Gospels, made in the late eighth century, was the manuscript used for centuries in the coronation of German kings.

Another school for manuscript production developed in Rheims early in the ninth century. It reached its greatest heights while Ebbo was archbishop from 816 to 835. He is named as patron and donor in the dedicatory poem in the Ebbo Gospels (Épernay, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1). The evangelists

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57 Surveys are available in C. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800–1200* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), and J. Hubert, J. Porcher and W. F. Volbach, *The Carolingian Renaissance* (New York: Braziller, 1970).

58 Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, p. 52; its traditional name, the Ada group, derives from an inscription in one of its gospelbooks.

59 McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, p. 23.

in the Vienna Coronation Gospels seem to have been the starting point for those in the Ebbo Gospels but they have been transformed into agitated, expressive figures by the use of multiple lines. This style was also applied to the evangelists' symbols and their background landscapes.

The gospelbooks made under the influence of Theodulf, bishop of the diocese of Orléans, were modest compared to those produced in other Carolingian centres. Manuscripts produced under Theodulf were not illustrated with figural images, owing to his Iconoclastic leanings. For example, the Fleury Gospels (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 348), *c.* 820, was introduced by a single miniature of the apostles' symbols.

The scriptorium at Tours functioned for over fifty years beginning in the late eighth century, but not until *c.* 830 did it produce illustrated gospelbooks. A fixed cycle of images to illustrate them was developed there, consisting of a full-page *Maiestas Domini* (Christ in Majesty) surrounded by symbols of evangelists and four full-page evangelist portraits. Perhaps the finest Tours gospelbook is the Lothair Gospels (Paris, BNF, lat. 266), made in 849–51, finished only two years before the Normans plundered and destroyed the town (in 853).

The second half of the ninth century was dominated by two Carolingian schools. The best-known is the court school of Charles the Bald, noted for the luxurious manuscripts and treasure bindings it produced and particularly for the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000). This tall gospelbook (420 × 330 mm), dated 870, has gold relief and gems on its covers. In addition to the cycle of five miniatures now usual in gospelbooks, it begins with two more: Charles the Bald enthroned, facing the twenty-four elders adoring the lamb. The other Carolingian school active in the second half of the ninth century is known as the Franco-Saxon school. This is an umbrella term covering the monastic scriptoria near the coast of northern France that employed primarily the linear repertoire found in Insular manuscripts. Because figural images are so seldom included in these codices, they seem to be a reaction against the world of images. However, the two most notable of them in fact go against this trend. The monastery of St Amand produced a number of gospelbooks, but the only one known widely, the Gospel Book of Francis II (Paris, BNF, lat. 257), contains figural miniatures. Similarly, the most famous example from the abbey of St Vaast, known now as the Prague Gospels (Prague, Knihovna Metropolitni Kapitoly, Cim. 2), introduces each Gospel with a pair of full-page miniatures. Soon after it was completed, the Vikings attacked St Vaast and the monks fled far inland for safety.

Ottonian gospelbooks

Along with the western imperial title (Holy Roman Emperor) for their kings, the Ottonian dynasty of Germany inherited the Carolingian interest in gospelbooks. The first Otto came to power in 936, and his descendants ruled for the rest of that century and into the eleventh. Mayr-Harting's extensive study of seventy of the most important Ottonian illuminated manuscripts arranged them by scriptorium, identifying fifteen scriptoria that were active during this period. His list showed that Corvey and Echternach were the centres most active in the production of gospelbooks. In addition, it revealed that the Ottonians made almost as many pericope books (14) as gospelbooks (19), and some were just as richly decorated.[60]

Many of the manuscripts that the Ottonians commissioned were designed to manifest their imperial power and splendour. Consequently their gospelbooks were large and richly decorated with gold and opaque paints, and many were encased in golden bindings. In some cases Carolingian manuscripts clearly served as models.[61] The Ottonians borrowed from them the *Maiestas* pages, the placement of opening titles and the horizontal bands of colour for their rubrics. In addition, the triple bands containing scenes from the life of Christ in the Ottonian manuscripts were based on the narrative pages in Carolingian Bibles. Very quickly the Ottonian artists expanded the Carolingian visual repertory. Not only did they evolve their own painting style but they also added two types of image to their gospelbooks: imperial portraits and extensive series of miniatures narrating the life of Christ.

Three manuscripts will demonstrate the major decorative choices that Ottonian scribes made for their gospelbooks. Two of these, lavishly decorated to emphasise his power, were made for Otto III. In the Aachen Gospels (Aachen, Domschatz, s.n., *c.* 996) two miniatures that face each other honour him. In the first, its scribe Liuthar extends the gospelbook to the emperor, depicted in the second. There Otto receives his crown from the hand of God, seated 'in majesty', just as Christ is often shown.[62] To this image, the evangelists' veil is added to suggest his divinity by grace and his humanity by nature. This glorification of the emperor emphasises his sacral kingship and the full-page scenes from the life of Christ that follow extend this concept. The second example, the Gospelbook of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische

60 H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1991), vol. I, pp. 232–3, and vol. II, pp. 272–3.
61 Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, p. 134.
62 Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. I, pp. 60–1.

Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453, *c.* 998–1001), contains a more secular double-page imperial portrait, showing Otto himself faced by personifications of his provinces. Also included in it are twenty-nine full-page narrative miniatures of the life of Christ, extraordinary portraits of evangelists which were inspired by the Old Testament, and elaborate incipit initials.

The third example, the Codex Aureus of Echternach (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 156142, *c.* 1031), is the tallest of the three at *c.* 408 mm. A *Maiestas* page faces the elaborate title page. Most notable, however, are its ensembles of imagery that introduce every Gospel: a double-page decoration simulating textiles, like curtains, follows four pages of narrative miniatures organised into three horizontal bands, and an evangelist portrait faces its title page. Finally, full-page incipit pages with elaborate frames face the opening words of the Gospel text. This is probably the most richly decorated of all the Ottonian gospelbooks.

Later Anglo-Saxon gospelbooks

At roughly the same time as the Ottonians were producing such magnificent gospelbooks on the Continent, the Anglo-Saxons began to make manuscripts again in England. Most of them were made in the monasteries, which had been reinvigorated in the second half of the tenth century after a lengthy period of decline provoked in part by Viking incursions. To judge by the eleven examples that have survived and are currently attributed to its monasteries, Canterbury was the main Anglo-Saxon centre for the production of gospelbooks.

Anglo-Saxon gospelbooks show, as did Ottonian ones, the influence of Carolingian manuscripts, which the Anglo-Saxon artists also interpreted creatively. Broadly speaking, they stayed close to the earlier traditions, including beautiful canon tables and evangelist portraits facing elaborate title pages. However, they did not include as many illuminated pages in their gospelbooks as the Carolingian and Ottonian artists had. Their artists did not return to the abstract Insular style, probably because reforming ideas of the time advocated straightforward illustration. Instead they concentrated on developing individual pen-drawn figural styles. The Carolingian gospelbooks that arrived in Anglo-Saxon England, often as wedding gifts, provided models for this new generation of artists. The mid-tenth-century drawing of Matthew added to a ninth-century gospelbook (Oxford, St John's College, 194), for example, adopted the full-bodied figures characteristic of one group of Carolingian manuscripts. An early eleventh-century drawing added to the Besançon Gospels (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 14) shows an interpretation by

an Anglo-Saxon artist of the agitated multiple-line style of manuscripts associated with Rheims.

At the same time, Anglo-Saxon artists were remarkably innovative. They assimilated models but also transformed them, in the process developing two different approaches. The first used the technique of coloured outline drawing. Sometimes this was combined with colour washes, as in the Arenberg Gospels (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 869, *c.* 990–1000). The other major approach, associated with Winchester, was characterised by fully painted swirling scenes with large linearly treated figures. They were set in elaborate frames with rosettes at the corners and exuberant acanthus leaves. They made extensive use of gold. The best example of the Winchester style is the Trinity Gospels (Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 10. 4, *c.* 1000–25).

Some of these gospelbooks originally had gold and/or jewelled bindings, although few have survived. We know of their existence and eventual fate only through documentary sources.[63] For half a century after the Norman Conquest few manuscripts were produced in England, and many of the costly Anglo-Saxon manuscripts were carried off to Normandy. When the monks returned to manuscript production after this profound break, they inaugurated a new, Romanesque, style.[64]

Romanesque gospelbooks

The Romanesque period, *c.* 1050–1200, considered the greatest age of monasticism in western Christendom, was also a great age for producing manuscripts in and for monasteries. Although most of them were commissioned by monks and made in monastic scriptoria, lay artists began to do much of the decoration. The work of these artists shared so many characteristics, especially flattened linear figures and abstract patterns, that their style is rightly considered an international one.

In this period the production of giant Bibles began to overshadow the copying of gospelbooks in England, France and the Holy Roman Empire, and the gospelbooks produced had many fewer illuminations. Although the Pembroke Gospels is the largest surviving English Romanesque gospelbook (Cambridge, Pembroke College, 120, *c.* 1130–40), at 416 mm tall, it counts only five fully painted initials in its original decoration. The twelve pages of outline drawings of gospel scenes currently bound with it are generally believed

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63 C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art. A New Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 22.
64 See in this volume Shepard, pp. 392–403.

to have been intended for another manuscript. None of the seven English gospelbooks discussed by Kauffmann in the standard survey approaches the number of figural images, whether evangelist portraits or narrative scenes, customary in illuminated examples of the previous 300 years.[65] Only one of the seven has canon tables. Romanesque artists preferred to portray the evangelists in fully painted historiated, or decorated, initials rather than in framed portraits and to indicate the beginning of each Gospel with a decorated initial. Although many modest gospelbooks contained at least a few decorated initials, more included outline initials only or had no figural imagery at all.

Of the thirteen gospelbooks that Cahn identified as having been illuminated in France during this period, most incorporated both evangelist portraits and symbols, although some chose one or the other.[66] Most, but not all, were framed compositions. Although each Gospel began with a historiated initial, none of these manuscripts had elaborate initial pages facing the evangelist portraits. Only eight of those now known had canon tables and only two included additional imagery.

As did England and France, the Holy Roman Empire produced many more complete Bibles than gospelbooks, and most of the latter were commissioned and produced by monasteries. These, too, in general, had many fewer illuminations than earlier gospelbooks. One outstanding exception was the gospelbook that Henry the Lion of Saxony had made in the monastery of Helmarshausen, which he gave to Brunswick Cathedral in the 1180s.[67] It contains twenty-four full-page miniatures rich with gold and colour and much other decoration as well. This commission was fully within the tradition of the Ottonians, who had governed Saxony nearly two centuries earlier, and through them, in the tradition of the Carolingians. As grand as it is, the gospelbook of Henry the Lion was a swansong for the long and rich history of gospelbooks in the Latin West. They had been among the most important manuscripts produced during the period between 600 and 1200, yet by the end of the Romanesque period their production was dwindling dramatically. A number of reasons have been offered for this. Complete Bibles were more widely available, and the use of gospel lectionaries as the principal source for the lessons read during Mass lessened the need for gospelbooks.[68] Many

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65 C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190*, SMIBI 3 (London: Harvey Miller, 1975).
66 W. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts. The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1996).
67 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Guelf. 105, Noviss. 2°. Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, pp. 284–6.
68 R. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 150.

more books of different types began to include the Gospels; by the end of the thirteenth century excerpts from them were usually included in books of hours. The number of books being copied in general was growing rapidly, among them secular as well as sacred texts. The increasing demand for books with vernacular texts must have been another factor in the decline in the production of Latin gospelbooks.

Conclusion

Whether deluxe or modest in their presentation, a large enough number of gospelbooks have survived and in good enough condition that they can provide much useful information about their production. In particular, they enable us to chart developments in such areas as script, decoration, page layout and binding. They provide a basis for determining the origin of other manuscripts from a particular scriptorium and give a way to establish probable ranges of dates. The gospel texts themselves allow us to track the eventual predominance of Jerome's Vulgate version of the Latin Bible. Evidence about the patronage of gospelbooks makes it possible to differentiate among those designed to display wealth, to honour saints, to facilitate the liturgy or to support missionary efforts. Ultimately, these books broaden our knowledge of the various medieval uses of gospel texts and deepen our understanding of the symbolic nature of the Gospels themselves.

Appendix

Selected facsimiles of Latin gospelbooks

An Early Breton Gospel Book. A Ninth-Century Manuscript from the Collection of H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, ed. F. Wormald and J. J. G. Alexander (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1977) [partial facsimile]

[Book of Kells] *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Cenannensis*, ed. E. H. Alton and P. Meyer, 3 vols. (Berne: Urs Graf, 1950–1)

The Book of Kells, MS 58, Trinity College Library Dublin, ed. P. Fox, 2 vols. (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1990)

[Codex Aureus of Canterbury] *The Codex Aureus. An Eighth-Century Gospel Book, Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotek, A. 135*, ed. R. Gameson, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 2001–2)

[Codex Aureus of Echternach] *Das goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach. Codex Aureus Epternacensis Hs. 156 142 aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, ed. R. Kahsnitz, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1982)

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[Codex Aureus of St Emmeram] *Der Codex Aureus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, ed. G. Leidinger, 6 vols. (Munich: Hugo Schmidt, 1921–5)

[Durham Gospels] *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Durmachensis*, ed. A. A. Luce, 2 vols. (Olten: Urs Graf, 1960)

The Durham Gospels together with Fragments of a Gospel Book in Uncial, ed. C. D. Verey et al. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1980)

[Golden Gospels of Henry III or Speyer Gospels] *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III*, ed. A. Boeckler (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1933)

[Goslar Gospels] *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis. A Facsimile Edition of an Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. A. J. Nordenfalk, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1971)

[Gospelbook of Henry the Lion] *Evangeliarium Heinrici Leonis. Authorisiertes vollständiges Faksimile des Codex Guelf. 105, Noviss. 2° der Herzog August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, und zugleich CLM 30055 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, München*, ed. D. Kötzsche, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Insel, 1988–9)

[Gospelbook of Otto] *Das Evangeliar Ottos III Clm. 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, ed. F. Dressler, F. Mütherich and H. Beumann, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1977–8)

The Gospel Book of St Margaret, Being a Facsimile Reproduction of St Margaret's Copy of the Gospels Preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, ed. W. Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1896)

[Lindisfarne Gospels] *Das Buch von Lindisfarne. Cotton Ms Nero D. iv der British Library, London*, ed. M. P. Brown, 3 vols. (Lucerne: Facsimile Verlag, 2002)

[Lindisfarne Gospels] *Evangelium quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis. Musei Britannici Codex Cottonianus Nero D. iv*, ed. T. D. Kendrick et al., 2 vols. (Olten and Lausanne: Urs Graf, 1956–60)

The Lorsch Gospels, ed. W. Braunfels, 2 vols. (New York: Braziller, 1967)

The Stonyhurst Gospel of St John, ed. T. J. Brown (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1969)

The York Gospels. A Facsimile with Introductory Essays, ed. N. Barker (London: Roxburghe Club, 1986)

The Glossed Bible

LESLEY SMITH

The Glossed Bible is the meeting place for all the themes of this volume. Its history encompasses the selection of a particular Bible text; its content is inseparable from its format; it is a keystone of biblical interpretation; it poses difficult questions about the way the Bible was used; and its confluence of text and glosses makes a physical statement of the Bible transformed. For the schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the *sacra pagina* – sacred page – as scripture was known, consisted not merely in the biblical text on its own, but in the text surrounded by a panoply of post-biblical glosses.[1] Together, they were included in sacred scripture as defined by Hugh of St Victor: the Old and New Testaments, the decrees of canon law and the writings of the fathers and doctors of the church.[2] Bibles with short glosses, or explanations, written in the margins, were not new; but the Gloss (*Glossa* or *Glosa* in Latin)[3] produced in the twelfth century took this basic concept and turned it into the ubiquitous text of the scholastic world. How and why this happened is a tangled tale, which we will need to unravel without oversimplifying, for there are genuine complexities to this story.

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1 In an attempt to avoid a potential difficulty in terminology, I use the capitalised 'Gloss' to refer to the standardised text known in Latin as the *Glos(s)a* or *Glos(s)a ordinaria*, whether of the whole Bible or of one or more books of it; lower case 'gloss' is used for individual glosses on particular biblical lemmata, or other commentaries on biblical texts which are not the standard *Glossa*. There is no modern edition of the whole of the Gloss, but a facsimile of the first printed edition has been edited with an introduction by K. Froehlich and M. T. Gibson, *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria. Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps (Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480–81)*, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992). For a comprehensive overview, see L. Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria. The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).
2 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, bk. 4, ch. 2, in *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor*, ed. J. Taylor (New York and Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1991), pp. 103–4; and see B. Smalley, 'Les commentaires bibliques de l'époque romane. Glose ordinaire et gloses périmées', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 4 (1961), 15–22, at p. 15.
3 The title *Glossa ordinaria* – 'Ordinary Gloss' – does not appear before the fourteenth century, according to Smalley.

The story has two main stages: the first covers the genesis and making of the Gloss and its early circulation among a small group of scholars in northern France; the second outlines the mushrooming spread of the Gloss in mass-produced copies all over Europe. If this second phase had not happened, we would barely be interested in the first; but in fact from about 1135 to the end of the century so many copies of Glossed Bibles were made that they are amongst the most common twelfth-century manuscripts extant today, heavily outnumbering copies of the unglossed biblical text.

Origins and sources

What then was the Gloss, and how did it come to be made? These questions are harder than they seem, for the Gloss illustrates vividly the medieval scholar's conception of the Bible as a *bibliotheca* – a library – rather than a single book, and the various parts of the Bible all have rather different histories as part of the Gloss.[4] Broadly stated, however, the Gloss is a group of volumes containing the whole text of the Vulgate Bible, written continuously and distinctly, surrounded both in the margins and between the lines by a mass of individual explanatory 'glosses' or short comments, culled from the works of the church fathers and later scholars, with the occasional gloss added by the compiler. Format and content are inseparable, and the characteristic look of the pages is one of the clues that a manuscript might contain the Gloss text. It is a substantial work: a set of glossed books covering the whole Bible usually comprises at least twenty volumes.[5]

It is now generally agreed that the beginnings of the Gloss are to be found at the school attached to the cathedral in Laon, at the hands of its pre-eminent master, Anselm (d. 1117).[6] He was a renowned teacher of the Arts of the

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4 'Pandects' or single-volume Bibles were not common until the thirteenth century; usually, a Bible consisted of several volumes, each containing single books or groups of books. Some books, such as Psalms, were a single entity; others, like the books of the Pentateuch (Genesis–Deuteronomy), generally travelled together; yet others, such as the so-called sapiential books of Solomon (containing minimally Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Job, with the optional addition of the Song of Songs, Wisdom or Ecclesiasticus), are rarely found except as a group.

5 Surprisingly, there are no extant matching sets of the entire Gloss. Many institutions or individuals had a few volumes but not a whole set, and those who did have whole sets seem to have put them together from a variety of sources.

6 An erroneous late fifteenth-century attribution of the Gloss to Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) was largely accepted until questioned by A. Wilmart, and conclusively proved to be false by J. de Blic, 'L'oeuvre exégétique de Walafrid Strabo et la *Glossa ordinaria*', *RTAM* 16 (1949), 5–28. The attribution to Anselm was argued by B. Smalley in a series of articles in the 1930s, especially 'Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128–1134), and the Problem of the "Glossa ordinaria"', *RTAM* 7 (1935), 235–62; 8 (1936), 24–60.

trivium (grammar, rhetoric and logic), as well as of theology. Sometime in the late eleventh century, he seems to have shifted from producing commentaries on scripture in the form of a short quotation or lemma from the Bible followed by comment and explanation, and to have applied to his Bible teaching the manner of teaching used in the Arts subjects – that is, teaching by means of a glossed text. Not surprisingly, he started with the psalter and the Epistles of Paul. These were the most commonly taught parts of scripture: the psalms because of their use in the liturgy and for their perceived christology; and the Epistles because of Paul's central place in the working out of Christian theology.[7] A late twelfth-century library catalogue, which includes descriptions of the authors of the works it lists, says that Anselm 'clarified the scriptures by a new type of exposition of both testaments – an interlinear and marginal gloss drawn from the writings of the fathers'.[8] The note suggests that Anselm covered the whole Bible, but Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), who must have known former pupils of Anselm teaching in Paris, says that life intervened: 'We ought to bewail the fact that master Anselm was not permitted to complete the glossing of the whole of the sacred page, as he began, because the canons of whom he was dean, and many others, often drew him away from this study . . . compelling him to become involved in the business of his chapter'.[9] Peter implies that Anselm intended to gloss the whole Bible, but that pressure of work at the cathedral – and his own death in 1117 – prevented him. In fact, as well as Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, Anselm seems to have glossed only the Gospel of John and, perhaps, that of Luke.[10] For the Gloss on Paul, at least, he seems to have worked from an earlier compilation, rather than starting from scratch, and this is probably the case for a number of other biblical books. Mary Dove, who edited the Gloss on the Song of Songs, pointed to two earlier collections of interlinear and marginal glosses from around 1100, as forming the basis of it.[11]

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7 The Psalms were also often the text through which Christian children were taught to read, making them immensely familiar to all literate people.

8 N. Häring, 'Two Catalogues of Mediaeval Authors', *Franciscan Studies* 26 (1966), 195–211, at p. 208.

9 Paris, BNF, lat. 12011, fol. 173v, quoted in B. Smalley, 'La Glossa ordinaria. Quelques prédécesseurs d'Anselme de Laon', *RTAM* 9 (1937), 365–400, at p. 400.

10 B. Smalley, 'Some Gospel Commentaries of the Early Twelfth Century', *RTAM* 45 (1978), 147–80.

11 See B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), p. 65; *Glossa ordinaria pars 22 In Canticum Canticorum*, ed. M. Dove, CCCM 170 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 28–33.

By the mid-twelfth century, the Gloss covered almost the whole Bible;[12] clearly someone – or some others – had finished what Anselm began. We know of two of those who were definitely involved: Anselm's brother Ralph, who, according to Peter Comestor, was responsible for the Gloss on Matthew (and who may also have glossed Luke);[13] and Gilbert of Auxerre, known, probably because he was a canon lawyer as well as a theologian, as 'the Universal'. We know almost nothing about Ralph (d. 1131/33),[14] and little more about Gilbert (d. 1134). Gilbert was either a pupil or a colleague of Anselm at Laon; his name appears amongst the clergy of Auxerre in 1110 and he was made bishop of London, possibly as a reward for legal services rendered to Henry I at the papal curia, in 1128. If we are seeking a workhorse for the production of the rest of the Gloss, Gilbert is a good candidate. His nephew, also called Gilbert, remarked that he 'expounded the Old Testament with clarity' before he became a bishop,[15] and his obituary from Auxerre goes further, crediting him as 'master Gilbert of venerable memory; distinguished glossator of the Old and New Testaments, who was deservedly called "the Universal"'.[16] In all probability, Gilbert glossed the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges and Kings, the Major and Minor Prophets and Lamentations – much of the 'Old Testament', as suggested by his nephew.

We know very few other contemporary references to possible collaborators. A note in a manuscript from Buildwas Abbey of the Gloss on Acts credits it to 'magister Albericus'.[17] It is possible that this is Alberic of Rheims, one of Anselm's pupils. Mary Dove thinks that the Gloss on the Song of Songs is attributable to Anselm or his close circle; Guy Lobrichon comes to a similar conclusion for Revelation; the Gloss on Job appears early, although we know nothing about who made it.[18] A final piece of negative evidence comes from

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12 Baruch seems never to have been glossed; the lack of Maccabees was supplied by copying Rabanus Maurus' commentary in Gloss format. See G. Lobrichon, 'Une nouveauté. Les gloses de la Bible', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 95–114, at p. 111.
13 Smalley, 'Some Gospel Commentaries', p. 151. That *either* Anselm or Ralph must have glossed Luke is an inference by Smalley from Peter Comestor's note that *neither* of them glossed Mark. The argument runs that, since we know that they glossed Matthew and John, if Comestor wanted to exclude Luke too, he would have mentioned it – but he does not.
14 Even the date of his death is uncertain: J. R. Williams, 'The Cathedral School of Reims in the Time of Master Alberic, 1118–1136', *Traditio* 20 (1964), 93–114.
15 Smalley, 'Gilbertus Universalis' (1935), pp. 247–8.
16 Ibid., p. 247. 17 Smalley, 'La Glossa ordinaria', p. 366.
18 *Glossa ordinaria*, ed. Dove, introduction. The Gloss on Job is almost entirely a reworking on Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* and must have been easy to compile. Lobrichon, 'Une nouveauté', quoting his unpublished doctoral thesis.

Peter Comestor, who tells us in his own commentary on Mark that neither Anselm nor Ralph attempted this Gloss; but he does not suggest who did.[19]

Our uncertainty is not merely the result of modern confusion or lost attributions. Twelfth-century writers were not always sure of who had written what in the Gloss.[20] Anonymity is common in medieval writings, as is misattribution to ancient writers or more famous contemporaries. Perhaps it is unsurprising that the Gloss becomes known as 'Master Anselm's Gloss', or indeed, mostly simply 'the Gloss', since as long as the glosses surrounding the text were known to be orthodox and authentic, who they were by was less important. We might also ask the question of whether a text which is in large part made up of cut-and-paste quotations from earlier texts can be said to have an 'author' at all. Medieval contemporaries did distinguish between 'authors' who composed from scratch and others who drew from the '*originalia*' of others, and who were known as expositors (*expositores*) or compilers (*compilatores*). Certainly, the authors of the Gloss were generally said to compile (*compilare*) or order (*ordinare*) the text, rather than to write it. Nevertheless, since no medieval writer on a scriptural text or subject could envisage working without drawing heavily upon the work of those who had approached the subject before him, this distinction is not quite as strong as it might be today. As we shall see, it might be better for us to regard all biblical commentaries of this period as 'new editions' of patristic material rather than singular works in their own right; this seems to be closer to the attitude that medieval scholars themselves took. Moreover, even a cut-and-paste selection – if it is halfway decent – requires thought; some things are put in and some left out. The decision about what to omit and what to include is the work of the author.

Who were the authors of the individual marginal and interlinear opinions and explanations? Each book or set of books, such as the Pentateuch, has a different set of sources, depending on what already existed.[21] For a book like Job, for instance, where there was a single giant of a commentary in the form of Gregory the Great's *Moralia*, there was no contest: the Gloss is a reworking of Gregory's text. Augustine on Genesis looms similarly large for that book. Elsewhere, all the major patristic commentators are represented: Jerome, Ambrose (and his medieval pseudo-self Ambrosiaster) and

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19 Smalley, 'Some Gospel Commentaries', p. 151.   20 Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, p. 61.
21 For a survey of the sources of each book see Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria*, ch. 2, and E. A. Matter, 'The Church Fathers and the *Glossa ordinaria*', in I. Backus (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1993–7), vol. I, pp. 83–111.

Origen. Gregory is quoted both from original works and via the compilation of extracts from his works made by his notary Paterius. Post-patristic authors include Cassiodorus (especially but not exclusively on Psalms), Bede (for much of the New Testament) and Isidore of Seville. A major source of material was the biblical commentaries of Rabanus Maurus, who commented on almost the entire Bible whilst master of the school at the abbey of Fulda, and there are contributions by other Carolingian authors such as Paschasius Radbertus (especially his commentary on Lamentations), Remigius and Haimo of Auxerre and Walafrid Strabo. The way these sources are used is a very difficult area for Gloss studies. The authors of some individual glosses are identified; but the extent, and even existence, of these citations varies widely between biblical books: some identify no sources at all. This must give us pause for thought about the nature of the Gloss and its use.

A difficult issue is the ancestry of the quotations: do they come from the patristic authorities directly, or via a later florilegium or commentary? What seems to come from Jerome, for instance, may in fact come from Rabanus, whose commentaries are often verbatim Jerome. It seems to be the case that, where there is a Carolingian reworking of the patristic sources by a respected commentator, the twelfth-century compilers generally preferred it to the original. It is not clear why this might be. Was it simply that access to these more recent works was easier, or that their pre-selection made the Gloss compiler's work more straightforward? Or did the Gloss compilers think of these 'modern' authors as providing the equivalent of the latest edition of the older works? Given Anselm's reputation as a punctilious scholar, the latter is the more likely theory, which leaves us with an interesting picture of the value of 'originals' to the twelfth-century schools. We should register, however, that the Gloss is more likely to note the type of comment a gloss contains – that is, whether it is an 'allegorical' or 'mystical' reading of the text, for instance – than who is its author.

Libraries in the earlier Middle Ages were small. Even a particularly extensive library like that of Laon numbered only about 400 books, and some of these were very rare.[22] Its earlier history meant that Laon had – and retained in the eleventh and twelfth centuries – a copy (probably a unique copy, then as now) of the commentary on the Gospel of John by John Scottus Eriugena, Charles the Bald's palace scholar, and a substantial portion of Eriugena's work finds its way into the John Gloss and thence into common exegetical currency.

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22 J. J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930. Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1978).

Thus a single library and its contents could affect subsequent intellectual history.

The Gloss on Psalms and the Pauline Epistles

Few copies of any part of the Gloss survive from before the 1130s. Only then, when almost all the biblical books were covered, did copies of individual books or groups of books start to appear more frequently in medieval libraries. However, the text did not remain static. In particular, the two sections glossed earliest, Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, were subject to special scholarly interest. Histories of biblical interpretation generally say that Anselm's original Gloss on these books – which became known as the *parva glosatura* (the little Gloss) – was reworked twice, first by Gilbert de la Porrée (d. 1154) and then by Peter Lombard (d. 1160), both famous Paris masters. Their revisions were known as the *media glosatura* (the middle Gloss) and *magna glosatura* (the great Gloss) respectively. In this telling, each of these versions expanded upon and replaced its predecessor, so that, after *c.* 1160, the Gloss comprised Peter's *magna glosatura* instead of Anselm's *parva glosatura* for Psalms and the Pauline Epistles. But the story is more complicated than this. Gilbert's Psalms Gloss was written in Anselm's lifetime, and the pupil read it to his teacher 'in order for him to correct it'.[23] Judging from the number of known manuscripts, it was very successful. However, Theresa Gross-Diaz has shown that Gilbert's Gloss has more editorial intervention than Anselm's Gloss, and is textually independent of it. Gilbert went back to the original sources (largely Augustine and Cassiodorus for both him and Anselm) and made paraphrases, rather than extracts. Gross-Diaz argues that where there are verbatim similarities between the two texts the borrowing is from Gilbert to the Gloss, rather than the other way round.

We thus have a much more complicated picture than the earlier one: Anselm did not compile the *parva glosatura* on Psalms, which was then revised into the *media glosatura* by Gilbert de la Porrée. Rather, it seems that Anselm both wrote a commentary on Psalms and, later, compiled an early version of the Gloss on Psalms;[24] meanwhile, Gilbert wrote his own commentary and read it to Anselm shortly before Anselm's death. This was the state of play in 1117 when Anselm died. But sometime before about 1130 (the first

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23 T. Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers. From lectio divina to the Lecture Room* (Leiden, New York and Cologne: Brill, 1996), p. 32.

24 A. Wilmart, 'Un commentaire des Psaumes restitué à Anselme de Laon', *RTAM* 8 (1936), 325–44.

surviving manuscripts), Gilbert or another scholar revised Anselm's Gloss with Gilbert's commentary at his side, and it is this that became the *parva glosatura* on Psalms. Hence, although Gilbert's commentary is called the *media glosatura*, it was not later in time than the *parva glosatura*, and indeed, both circulated independently and simultaneously: the set of glossed books made for Prince Henry of France, for instance, has copies of both Gilbert's commentary and the *parva* Gloss.

There is a further development in the story. Early in his teaching career, Peter Lombard began making commentaries on Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, using the Gloss as a source.[25] Herbert of Bosham tells us that he did this for his own private study; but around the time of his death in 1160, they began to circulate and became known as the *magna glosatura*. Although, again judging by the number of extant manuscripts, this *magna glosatura* was very successful, nevertheless it did not completely supersede the *parva* or *media glosaturae*. All three can be found circulating at the same time, and indeed, the manuscript copy of the Gloss that Adolph Rusch used *c.* 1480 to make the first printed edition of the Gloss has the *parva glosatura* on Psalms and the Epistles.

What this serpentine tale serves to point up is the difficulty of knowing what exactly the Gloss consists of. Histories of exegesis generally say that the Gloss text stabilised in the 1130s, and that from about 1140 to 1220 a series of virtually identical manuscripts of it was mass-produced.[26] But there is no critical edition of the whole text to allow us to test this assertion, and the editor of a modern edition of one book of the Gloss – Dove on the Song of Songs – was careful to say that she regarded her text as the Gloss that circulated between about 1120 and 1170, although she dated the first extant manuscript not much earlier than 1135.[27] Her study illustrates the fluidity of the text: 'All the selected manuscripts [for her edition], and Rusch [the first printed edition] omit some glosses included in some or all of the other texts, and all the selected manuscripts include one or two (or more) glosses not recorded in any other manuscript I have seen'.[28] Alexander Andrée, editor of part of the Lamentations Gloss, pointed to a similar serious revision in

25 *Magistri Petri Lombardi . . . Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. I. F. Brady, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata [Rome]: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1971), vol. I, pp. 46*–93*; but see also D. Van den Eynde, 'Essai chronologique sur l'oeuvre littéraire de Pierre Lombard', in *Miscellanea Lombardiana* (Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1957), pp. 45–63.
26 F. Stegmüller's great *Repertorium*, vol. IX: *Glossa ordinaria* gives incipits and explicits of each book of the Gloss, as though it were a simple matter to recognise them.
27 *Glossa ordinaria*, ed. Dove, p. 3.   28 Ibid., p. 26.

the text made around the middle of the twelfth century.[29] Beryl Smalley, the most knowledgeable modern Gloss scholar, noted manuscripts that are, in the words of one cataloguer, 'partim ordinaria' – 'partly the Gloss'.[30] Similarly, Laura Light described five copies catalogued as 'the Gloss' on different biblical books in the Houghton Library at Harvard. Four out of five have variations on Stegmüller's listings: they are the Gloss, but not without discrepancies.[31] The task of sorting out what is the 'real' Gloss and what is not is hampered by deficiencies of cataloguing, both medieval and modern, although cataloguers must be forgiven for not being able to check all the glosses in a text to see how far it conforms to a standard text. Indeed, without a critical edition, there is no standard text to judge against, and yet it is not clear how exactly a standard text might be defined. Thus, although it remains broadly correct to say that the text of the Gloss was in place by the 1130s, when it began to be mass-produced, it is false to think of this text as being unchanging.

Reception and use: Paris and St Victor

What made the Gloss catch the eye? Other glossed biblical books were produced in this format at much the same time: Smalley has termed these similar commentaries which fell by the wayside 'gloses périmées'.[32] Neither did the existence of the Gloss stop some twelfth-century scholars, such as Stephen Langton, making their own, independent, biblical commentaries, sometimes mining the Gloss for material. Instead, perhaps other factors came into play: its relationship to the celebrated Anselm of Laon; its comprehensive coverage of the Bible; and the usefulness of a common text in forming the basis of a common scholarly conversation. Certainly, its success cannot be separated from its distinctive format, which has two characteristic phases. The first, 'simple' format, from the earliest copies to around 1170, divides each page into three unequal columns – the innermost column being narrower than the other two.

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29 *Gilbertus Universalis. Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie Prophete. Prothemata et liber I. A Critical Edition with an Introduction and Translation*, ed. A. Andreé, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 2005).

30 H. A. Coxe quoted in Smalley, 'Gilbertus Universalis' (1936), pp. 47–8.

31 L. Light, *The Bible in the Twelfth Century. An Exhibition of Manuscripts at the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1988): Houghton Typ 260, on the Psalms, 'lacks most of the introductory glosses listed by Stegmüller'; Houghton Typ 204, on Leviticus, has Stegmüller's glosses 'although they appear in a different order'; Houghton Lat. 334, on Numbers, has 'most of the glosses listed by Stegmüller . . . but the texts are not identical'; Houghton Lat. 6, on the sapiential books, is described merely as having a text 'generally similar to that described in Stegmüller'.

32 Smalley, 'Les commentaires bibliques'.

The central column hosts the biblical text, written in a large script on lines widely spaced to allow for interlinear glosses; the outer columns house the marginal gloss, written two to three times smaller than the text. Depending on the ratio of gloss to text, some pages appear packed, with gloss written into the upper and lower margins, but other pages can be almost blank, apart from the text. In the second phase – the 'complex' format – the columns are not static; commentary can spread into text, and vice versa, so that the entire page is always filled, and the larger text script and the smaller gloss appear interwoven.[33] Although the three-column layout was striking, it did not originate with Anselm or the Laon school. We have extant books of the Bible (most often the psalter) with planned glosses (not adventitious notes in the margins written by the reader – a practice probably as old as reading) dating from the late eighth or early ninth century, and examples of glossed texts of Arts books from even earlier.[34] These survivors come from the important and wealthy monastic schools of the eastern Carolingian empire, such as Fulda and St Gall. Their existence illustrates the essential link between glossed books and schools. These were not abbey or cloister texts, even though they came from monastic schools; it was the classroom milieu that gave rise to the glossed text. As an Arts teacher, Anselm would have been used to the marginal-interlinear gloss format for those texts, and it is possible that he had also seen biblical glosses arranged in the same way in Laon's excellent library. He put together layout and content to make a book eminently suited to the oral exposition of an authoritative text – the teaching style of the medieval classroom.

And yet, the Gloss was not an immediate – or at least, not a runaway – success and, noting this, we must remember that even the best ideas will not stand on their own without the context to support and nourish them. At Anselm's death in 1117, few glossed books seem to have existed. Anselm's 'new type of exposition' was useful for him and for those he trained to become masters, but it did not take off until there were sufficient numbers of other users interested enough to buy copies. Many of the earliest surviving manuscripts can be localised to Laon, but for the Gloss as a ubiquitous text we must look to the milieu of the schools of Paris.[35] The cathedral schools of

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33 See C. F. R. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1984), ch. 2, and Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria*, ch. 3. There are, of course, 'transitional' layouts which straddle the simple and complex forms.

34 Some examples are given by M. T. Gibson, 'The Place of the *Glossa ordinaria* in Medieval Exegesis', in M. D. Jordan and K. Emery, Jr. (eds.), *Ad litteram. Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), pp. 5–27.

35 P. Stirnemann, 'Où ont été fabriqués les livres de la Glose ordinaire dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle?', in F. Gasparri (ed.), *Le XIIe siècle. Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première*

northern France each enjoyed a Roman-candle type of fame: they blazed only for short periods, when they were served by a teaching master exceptional enough to attract students from further afield than the local diocese. For that brief time, a generation, a school would have its place in the sun; but when the master died, the school returned to mediocrity. Laon was no different; after Anselm's death, it lost its lustre. But the schools of Paris, because of the size, wealth and growing importance of the city, were able to break this mould. They formed a virtuous circle: the variety and number of schools was able to attract a larger number of students, and the critical mass of students kept the schools in business. Further, the schools were complementary, with masters of very varied sorts, reputations and interests to keep the student engaged. This was a period before settled curricula, when students moved from master to master, as the fancy took them. In Laon one might study with Master Anselm, but in Paris one could move from the cathedral schools, to those of the Petit Pont, to those on Mont-Sainte-Geneviève, to the abbey school at St Victor, and so on. Where there were teachers and schools, there was likely to be a need for books.

Yet how was it that Anselm's Gloss was known in Paris? A constellation of Anselm's pupils, or those influenced by the Laon style, became masters in Paris, or had careers which took them there. Gilbert de la Porrée, Gilbert the Universal, William of Champeaux, Walter of Mortagne, Lutolf of Novara, Peter Lombard, Peter Abelard, Alberic of Rheims, Clarembald of Arras and Thierry of Chartres all passed through Paris or stayed there and taught. Gilbert de la Porrée and Peter Lombard in particular were influential teachers, and William left his teaching duties as chancellor of the cathedral school to found, in 1108, what was to become the important abbey and school of St Victor. It is the confluence of Gilbert, Peter and the Victorine school at Paris that seems to have been responsible for the Gloss's success.

Gilbert, perhaps at Chartres and definitely at Paris, was teaching with Glossed books with an innovative layout. The school at St Victor was open both to its own canons, based in Paris and elsewhere, whose life was a mixture of study, contemplation, preaching and pastoral work (for all of which the Gloss would prove useful) and to non-Augustinians. Together they formed a constituency of serious theological pupils, not those who were simply out to

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moitié du XIIe siècle (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1994), pp. 257–301. Stirnemann's dating is earlier than most other assessments. Oddly, the two books we know definitely to be associated with Anselm, the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, are not amongst those dated and localised by Stirnemann to Laon at this early date. The importance of Paris to the story is argued by de Hamel in *Glossed Books of the Bible*.

get an education in order to get a better job. St Victor was also building up an important library: we know from its own regulations (pre-1139) that the abbey copied its own books and hired outside scribes as well.[36] William of Champeaux had been a pupil of Anselm in Laon; he may well have brought glossed books with him when he came to teach in Paris.

The abbey school rose to its greatest fame under the leadership of Hugh of St Victor. Although he did not become head of the school until the death of his predecessor, Thomas, in 1133, Hugh was an acclaimed teacher there from about the mid-1120s.[37] The Gloss illustrates all that Hugh taught about scripture in his influential treatise on reading, *Didascalicon*. He told his readers that no biblical study could be fruitful unless it began with the literal text; and, as we noted earlier, he defined 'scripture' as more than just the Bible: for him, it included the fathers and other, more modern authorities. This is close to a description of the Gloss itself – a progressive revelation of exegesis. Further, Hugh believed that it was through the opinions of approved expositors that the reader could move beyond the literal into the spiritual understandings necessary if he was to grow in understanding himself. Again, this is exactly what the Gloss provides.[38]

Another keen user of the Gloss was a particular friend of St Victor, Peter Lombard. Peter came to France too late to be taught by Anselm, but for a Novarese, as Peter was, an added attraction of these northern French schools may have been the presence of Lutolf of Novara, one of Anselm's pupils. We know that Peter taught from a glossed text, and he is one of the first masters to quote the Gloss in his own work. The success of his *Four Books of Sentences*, which uses the Gloss by name, must have helped to cement the place of the Gloss in teaching in Paris. Since he did not come to Paris until around 1134, it seems unlikely that he was behind the initial promotion of the Gloss, but his association with St Victor and subsequent fame as teacher and bishop would have made him a powerful advocate of its utility.

One problem with the idea that Hugh of St Victor was a promoter of the Gloss is the fact that, as Smalley noted, he did not apparently use it in his own

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36 *Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, ed. L. Jocqué and L. Milis, CCCM 61 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), c. 19 *De officio armarii*, pp. 78–86. R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse note that St Victor provided exemplars of texts for others to copy: *Manuscripts and their Makers. Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller and Brepols, 2000), vol. I, p. 27.
37 J. Taylor, *The Origins and Early Life of Hugh of St. Victor. An Evaluation of the Tradition* (Notre Dame, IN: Mediaeval Institute, 1957); J. Longère (ed.), *L'Abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au moyen âge* (Paris and Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).
38 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, bks 5–6; *Didascalicon*, ed. Taylor, pp. 120–51.

biblical exegesis.[39] One might take this as evidence that Hugh preferred to ignore the Gloss, or it might also be that, although he himself had no need of such an aide-memoire – Hugh is notable for the wide range of his sources and the depth of his knowledge of them – he realised that those he taught needed rather more help. The Gloss indeed is the sort of 'help' that a very learned and clever teacher might think of giving his students, not realising just how much prior knowledge the Gloss itself demanded. Nevertheless, we should also bear in mind the possibility that Hugh actively opposed the use of the Gloss while he was alive, and only with his death could Peter Lombard (perhaps employing the resources of St Victor) ensure its wide acceptance.

Wittingly or unwittingly, the books brought by Gilbert, the book-commissioning abbey of St Victor and the advocacy of Peter Lombard must all have boosted the stock of the Gloss in Paris. Moreover, both Gilbert's and Peter's own works circulated in their own distinctive formats which, in different ways from the Gloss and from one another, contained the whole biblical text, as well as their commentaries on it. De Hamel does not think that either could have been personally involved in choosing these formats, but Gross-Diaz's work on Gilbert makes her less sure, inclining her to credit Gilbert with at least an interest in how his work would best serve the audience he wanted to reach: his commentary on Boethius' *Opuscula sacra*, for instance, can be found in the same distinctive two-column layout as his biblical commentary, suggesting that he had some hand in the appearance of his works and did not leave it to scribes and stationers to decide.

Both Gilbert and Peter are examples of masters teaching with the Gloss in mid-twelfth-century Paris, and their work survives in books with innovative layouts. This in turn points to a student clientele used to being taught by means of Glossed texts and to a commercial booktrade sufficient to produce Glossed books in some numbers. So should our picture here be of Peter Lombard teaching out of the Gloss and recommending it to his pupils as a textbook to buy? For a number of reasons, I do not think this is the case. The manuscript evidence does not show us, at least until the next century, copies of the Gloss produced in cheap, student editions, with scribbles in the margin and obvious signs of hard use; the copies we have tend to be smarter and more elegant. But were there enough masters teaching out of the Gloss to fuel the expansion of Gloss production? The simple answer to this is no; but it forces us to consider next the tricky question of how the Gloss was used. One

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39 Smalley, 'La Glossa ordinaria', p. 367.

thing is clear: the use to which the Gloss was put changed, and this ability to be employed by different people at different times was part of its success.

To begin with, the Gloss (or whatever books of it existed at this point) was a text for Anselm and his followers to teach from. Layout is a key here: the earlier, 'simple' format was ideal for the oral teaching of an authoritative text that was the hallmark of the medieval schools. The presence of the whole biblical text meant the teacher was not confined to commenting only on those lemmata which had already been glossed, but the gloss could nevertheless be distinguished from the text at a glance. For a knowledgeable master, the Gloss would provide an aide-memoire, jogging the memory during a lecture. At this point, the Gloss is a master's workbook and classroom aid. In Peter Lombard, we see a master using the Gloss in just such a way, though revising it in part to produce his own version – the *magna glosatura*.

The change in format in the 1160s shows that the Gloss was no longer a master's schoolroom tool. The 'complex' format was far better suited to private reading. The packed, woven nature of the page made it much more difficult simultaneously to keep one's place and speak to a class. This was a format made for personal consultation, for gathering information or taking one's own notes. To become a theologian in the schools entailed hearing and giving lectures on selected Old and New Testament books, and for this a budding master could prepare by consulting the relevant part of the Gloss. At this stage, the Gloss had become more of a reference work; as a commonly agreed starting point, it set out (set to one side, almost) a lot of material, so that an exegete could move forward to something new.

The second half of the twelfth century saw more trained masters entering monasteries, taking their Glossed books with them and encouraging the commissioning of others by their communities.[40] Others joined cathedral communities and passed their books to the libraries there. Monasteries were also given sets or part-sets of the Gloss as gifts, for monks' private reading and perhaps for the kudos of owning the fashionable new means of teaching in Paris. How much these manuscripts were read in monastic houses is not clear, for some copies seem barely to have been opened.

By the end of the century, what the Gloss had to offer looked old-fashioned. The Gloss on at least one book, Revelation, was thoroughly revised around this time to try to bring it up to date.[41] But when the Dominican Hugh of St

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40 See for examples, R. M. Thomson, 'The Library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey', *Speculum* 47 (1972), 617–45; R. M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey 1066–1235*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1982).
41 Lobrichon, 'Une nouveauté'.

Cher produced a new commentary on the entire Bible in the 1230s, the Gloss had, in effect, outlived its usefulness in the schools. Subsequent copies were made only for those engaged in study or contemplation of the biblical text away from the cutting edge of knowledge. Many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Gloss manuscripts have wide margins especially ruled for the addition of more systematic glossing. By the 1480–1 first printing, the text can only have been of antiquarian interest, a book for collectors rather than users, and the Gloss text was never again printed by itself without the addition of the *Postillae* of either Hugh of St Cher or the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra.

It is questionable how useful the Gloss was to non-academic readers. Anyone who has tried to use it will know how difficult it can be to understand. The earlier manuscripts often have no chapter numbers or running titles, as well as lacking citations to authorities or biblical cross references; the individual glosses are not linked to their relevant texts. It was only in late twelfth-century copies that these sorts of aids to students were included, and then sporadically. The syntax of the individual glosses can make them hard to understand: space was at a premium in the margins, and the compilers left out what they considered to be inessential words; quotations may begin mid-thought, if not mid-sentence, and it is hard to know sometimes what the subject of the sentence might be. And it is not only our modern deficiencies in understanding its idiosyncratic and telegraphed Latin, or a less thoroughgoing biblical knowledge than the medieval masters possessed, that make reading the Gloss difficult. Twelfth-century scholars observed it themselves. Peter Comestor, for example, noted on a particular lemma 'the Gloss is not well-ordered (*ordinata*) here', and elsewhere he said, 'note because the Gloss is brief (*curta*) here, it cannot be easily read without extra material (*sine supplemento*)'.[42] Herbert of Bosham said that Peter Lombard prepared his own commentary on the Gloss 'to elucidate the opaque brevity of the older glossator, master Anselm of Laon'. Smalley showed that Lombard often added explanatory material to make the dense glosses easier to understand.[43] Similarly, Gilbert de la Porrée was said, in a twelfth-century catalogue, to have made a 'fuller and clearer' gloss because 'master Anselm of Laon's method of glossing . . . because of its extreme brevity, could only be understood by those schooled in the expositions of the Fathers'.[44] The editors of the Gloss on the Song of Songs and on Lamentations each noted twelfth-century revisions trying to iron out the difficulties of reading the text, but the complications of the Gloss are such that

42 Smalley, 'La Glossa ordinaria', pp. 367–68.   43 Ibid.
44 Häring, 'Two Catalogues', p. 210.

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these attempts were not always successful: 'Not infrequently . . . a reading that was intelligible in the first recension, albeit perhaps somewhat demanding, has been "corrected" into a less intelligible, or even unintelligible version in the second recension'.[45]

What of the text itself? Much more work is needed before we can speak authoritatively about the controlling ideas behind the selections, but two interesting patterns have been discerned. Lobrichon's work on the Revelation Gloss points to a smoothing out of opinions as the Gloss text became more standardised in the twelfth century. He believes that the text closer to that of the Laon school was much more 'reform' minded, pointing up clerical abuses and local political debates; but by the time the Gloss was copied in Paris, these had been edited out to produce a much blander product.[46] Michael Signer, on the other hand, has studied the interlinear glosses on the story of Joseph and demonstrated that they take an anti-Judaic polemical tone, much closer, in his opinion, to the anti-Jewish climate of northern France in the later eleventh century than the more tolerant air of Paris in the twelfth.[47] Perhaps the interlinear glosses atrophied – too trivial to bother with? – when the marginal gloss was revised.

Conclusion

In summary, what does the existence and success of the Gloss tell us? It reminds us that a book is successful only in a particular milieu, and it was the milieu of the schools that made the Gloss first come to life. It reminds us that a book does not have to be perfect, or even the best it could be, to be a success: as Smalley said of Comestor using the Gloss, 'He takes the usual attitude of teachers to their textbooks; he uses it because it is practical not because it is perfect'.[48] For scholars to hold a common conversation they required a common text, and the Gloss, for all its imperfections, provided that. It has been suggested that the inclusion of the complete biblical text alongside the exposition signalled a new importance for the literal words of the Bible; and yet the omission of references seems to show that the glosses were considered

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45 *Gilbertus Universalis*, ed. Andrée, p. 95; *Glossa ordinaria*, ed. Dove, introduction.
46 Lobrichon, 'Une nouveauté', pp. 106, 109.
47 M. A. Signer, 'The *Glossa ordinaria* and the Transmission of Medieval Anti-Judaism', in J. Brown and W. P. Stoneman, (eds.), *A Distinct Voice. Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 591–605.
48 Smalley, 'La Glossa ordinaria', p. 369.

to be as authoritative as the text itself: schoolmen did not think of the biblical text without its surrounding Gloss.

The Gloss also shows us the beginnings of a commercial booktrade in Paris, and this was undoubtedly a factor contributing to its success. The relationship may, in fact, have been symbiotic, since many of the earliest productions of the secular, commercial trade were volumes of the Gloss: Rouse and Rouse judge that the abbeys of Paris, such as St Victor, encouraged the growth of the booktrade by commissioning books and hiring lay scribes, illuminators and binders to stock their own shelves, and much of what they ordered was the Gloss. Some early 'sets' of the Gloss, such as that made under the auspices of St Victor and given by Prince Henry of France to the abbey of Clairvaux, were luxury items; similar sets were still being made well into the thirteenth century.[49]

Seventy-five years after Smalley's groundbreaking work on the Gloss, we can still only echo her cry that more needs to be done. The very vastness of the Gloss and its monolithic centrality in the life of the schools have effectively deterred all but the most determined scholars. Paradoxically, it stands as witness both to the depth of twelfth-century knowledge of the Christian exegetical tradition and to the novelties in teaching and learning that the thirteenth century would bring.

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49 See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, and de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible*. Although it is commonly said or implied by scholars that manuscripts of the Gloss virtually ceased to be made after about 1220, this is far from the case. There are many more extant copies of the Gloss from the thirteenth century than the twelfth century, as well as fourteenth-century and even fifteenth-century manuscript copies.

The thirteenth century and the Paris Bible

LAURA LIGHT

Overview

The thirteenth century stands out in the history of the medieval Bible for three fundamental developments – the number of Bibles copied, the fact that most of these Bibles are pandects (complete in one volume) and the appearance of a new format, the small portable Bible. For the first time in the Middle Ages, the Bible became a book owned and used by individuals, ranging from the students and masters of the new and rapidly growing universities, to the bishops and priests of a church that was emphasising its pastoral role as never before, to the wandering preachers of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Moreover, although the language of the Latin Bible meant its use and study were primarily the province of the clergy, the existence of many finely illuminated copies suggests that Bibles were also owned and treasured by wealthy members of the nobility and urban elite.

It is impossible to overemphasise the importance of the number of thirteenth-century Bibles that survive from all parts of Europe. Although there is no general census of these Bibles, a few statistics illustrate the trend. In the first volume alone of the *Catalogue général* of the Latin manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, there are ninety-one complete thirteenth-century Bibles.[1] Robert Branner catalogued approximately 177 illuminated Bibles in his survey of manuscripts illustrated in Paris in the thirteenth century.[2] In 1960, Josephine Case Schnurman surveyed a broad range of catalogues of European libraries and compiled a list of 642 Bibles dating from *c*. 1200 to the mid-fourteenth century. She was primarily interested in listing

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1 P. Lauer, *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits latins. Vol. 1: Nos. 1–1438* (Paris: BNF, 1939).
2 Numbers are approximate, based on manuscripts in the appendices to R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis. A Study of Styles*, California Studies in the History of Art 18 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 201–39; see also p. 109.

examples of small Bibles, and therefore more than 420 of her manuscripts are less than 200 mm in height.[3]

It is easy to miss the implications of the adoption of the pandect as the predominant format.[4] The pandect underlined the fact that the Bible was seen as a unified whole, rather than as a collection of disparate texts, an attitude also reflected in teaching practices. The one-volume Bible was a searchable volume. Thirteenth-century works of theology, and in particular sermons, abound with chains of scriptural passages. The thirteenth century was an age of tools such as alphabetical distinction collections (guides to the figurative meanings of biblical words) and biblical concordances that made it possible to search the Bible efficiently; historians need to remember that the one-volume Bible was the fundamental reference book.[5] Finally, the predominance of the pandect has implications for the history of the text of the Vulgate. Scholars studying Bibles from earlier in the Middle Ages recognise that a Bible may have been copied from numerous separate volumes, each with its own textual affiliation.[6] This remained a possibility in the thirteenth century, but as one-volume Bibles multiplied it became more likely that any given Bible was copied from a single exemplar.

The history of the changing format of the Bible in the thirteenth century can be divided into two phases. During the first period, *c.* 1200–30, the increase in the number of pandects is notable. Many were large books, such as the substantial Bible copied in Paris *c.* 1210–20, London, BL, Add. 15253, measuring 479 × 300 mm. Others are smaller: Paris, BNF, lat. 15475, also copied in Paris, *c.* 1210–30, is 268 × 180 mm. Large outer dimensions sometimes mask an important innovation – smaller script and less space between the lines resulted in less space devoted to the text on each page (the measurement scholars give

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3 J. C. Schnurman, 'Studies in the Medieval Book Trade from the Late Twelfth to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century with Special Reference to the Copying of the Bible', unpubl. B.Litt. thesis, St Hilda's College, Oxford (1960), p. 41 and appendices 1, 2 and 3.

4 I allude here to Bibles without the Gloss; manuscripts of the *Glossa ordinaria* continued to be copied in the thirteenth century, but the complete work was necessarily in many volumes. It also circulated in discrete volumes each including only a few biblical books. See Smith in this volume, ch. 20; also M. Zier, 'The Development of the *Glossa ordinaria* to the Bible in the Thirteenth Century. The Evidence from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris', in G. Cremascoli and F. Santi (eds.), *La Bibbia del XIII secolo. Storia del testo, storia dell'esegesi. Convegno della Società Internazionale per to studio del Medioevo Latina (SISMEL) Firenze, 1–2 giugno 2001* (Florence: SISMEL, 2004), pp. 155–84, at pp. 157–8 and 160–3.

5 M. A. Rouse and R. H. Rouse, 'The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century', in their *Authentic Witnesses. Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), pp. 221–55.

6 P. Meyvaert, 'Bede's *Capitula lectionum* for the Old and New Testaments', *RB* 105 (1995), 348–80, at p. 354 and nn. 27 and 81, and works cited.

as a manuscript's 'written space') and wider margins, often used for copious notes, both formal and informal. A Bible from this period that foreshadows the pocket Bible of the period following *c.* 1230 is Paris, BNF, lat. 16267, which measures only 160 × 110 mm. Because its parchment is still relatively thick (at least compared with that of later pocket Bibles), its compact size was instead achieved by dramatic abbreviation: whole phrases were omitted.[7]

The second period, beginning *c.* 1230, saw the invention of a new format, the portable, 'pocket' Bible, of which many hundreds survive. There is no absolute definition of a pocket Bible, but an upper range of around 200 mm in height is convenient.[8] Paris, BNF, lat. 17954 is one of the larger examples, measuring 183 × 122 (text area 121 × 80) mm, with two columns, fifty lines and 470 folios. Astonishingly tiny examples also exist, such as Paris, BNF, lat. 233, which is 138 × 86 (89 × 60) mm, with two columns, forty-six lines and 586 folios. It was possible to copy the entire biblical text in one thick, but not hopelessly cumbersome, volume because of the invention of extremely thin, almost translucent parchment. This is a true technical innovation, and it did not appear before *c.* 1230. We do not know how this parchment was made. The use of uterine vellum, a traditional explanation, would have been impractical and costly. One can speculate that it was made either by shaving the parchment to the desired thinness or, perhaps, by splitting the skin.[9] Also important was the use of a minute compressed gothic script – generally descended from the glossing script found, for example, in manuscripts of the *Glossa ordinaria* – and a condensed page layout.

The pocket Bible was an international phenomenon. The evidence suggests that the format originated at virtually the same time in France and England. One of the earliest French examples, and the earliest dated copy, is Dôle, Bibliothèque Municipale, 15, copied in 1234 by Thomas, 'clericus de Pontisara', most likely in Paris.[10] An early English pocket Bible, Oxford, BodL, Lat. Bib. e. 7, was painted by William de Brailles for a Dominican, and is datable between

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7 C. de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London and New York: Phaidon, 2001), p. 118, pl. 83.

8 Schnurman, 'Book Trade', pp. 49–51.

9 C. de Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 16; see also de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 132. Other scholars have suggested that the skins of miscarried animals or newborns could have been used; see R. Fuchs, 'Des widerspenstigen Zähmung – Pergament in Geschichte und Struktur', in P. Rück (ed.), *Pergament. Geschichte, Struktur, Restaurierung, Herstellung* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), pp. 263–77, at pp. 265–6; or even the skins of very small mammals, such as rabbits or squirrels.

10 C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* (Paris: CNRS, 1959–), vol. v, p. 41, pl. xxiii.

1234 and 1240.[11] Pocket Bibles appear almost as early in southern Europe.[12] Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 836 was copied in Spain in 1240.[13] The earliest dated Italian copy known to me is slightly later (London, BL, Add. 31830, copied in Naples *c.* 1253–60),[14] but Italian examples exist which were probably copied in the second quarter of the century, such as San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 1083.[15] The earliest document that may have a reference to a pocket Bible is the list of books bequeathed to the abbey of S Andrea in Vercelli by Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, who died in May 1227. Guala owned five copies of the Bible, including 'a costly small Bible in Parisian script with gold letters and purple ornament'.[16] The Dominicans and Franciscans embraced the format, so perfect for the travelling preacher.[17] Many pocket Bibles, however, are exquisitely illuminated – tiny jewels, treasured by someone of wealth, whether a member of the laity or an important prelate.[18] It is important to remember, however, that the pocket Bible never became the only type of Bible; Bibles of all sizes were copied in the thirteenth century.

The Paris Bible

Although it has often been stated that the great achievement of the thirteenth century was introducing order and uniformity into the chaotic history of the post-Carolingian Vulgate, uniformity was not in fact a characteristic of the thirteenth-century Bible – at least, not uniformity in the modern sense of the word.[19] To understand this, we must now turn to a new topic, the Paris

11 L. Light, 'The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy', *Viator* 18 (1987), 275–88, at p. 277 and n. 10 (with discussion of relevant literature).

12 R. Miriello, 'La Bibbia portabile di origine italiana del XIII secolo. Brevi considerazioni e alcuni esempi', in Cremascoli and Santi (eds.), *La Bibbia del XIII secolo*, pp. 47–77, at p. 51, notes the existence of a copy dated 1235: Florence, BML, Acq. e doni 149; see also table II, p. 68. I have not seen this manuscript.

13 F. Avril et al., *Manuscrits enluminés de la péninsule ibérique* (Paris: BNF, 1982), pp. 71–2, no. 79, pl. XLI.

14 A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 700–1600, in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library*, 2 vols. (London: BL, 1979), p. 74, no. 348.

15 Light, 'New Thirteenth-Century Bible', p. 277.

16 R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers. Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller and Brepols, 2000), vol. I, pp. 29–30; A. Hessel and W. Bulst (eds.), 'Kardinal Guala Bichieri und seine Bibliothek', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 (1932), 772–94, at pp. 781–2.

17 Light, 'New Thirteenth-Century Bible', p. 279, and works cited.

18 G. Lobrichon, 'Les éditions de la Bible latine dans les universités du XIIIe siècle', in Cremascoli and Santi (eds.), *La Bibbia del XIII secolo*, pp. 15–34, at p. 33.

19 S. Berger, *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate*, L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Mémoires, 1st ser. 1, II.2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902),

Bible, a term used to describe one type of Bible, copied in northern France, and in particular in Paris, beginning in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[20] The term denotes a general textual type, having nothing to do with physical format. Many copies of the Paris Bible are pocket Bibles, but others are large, and some are multi-volume. They range in quality from expensive, illuminated volumes, to plain, utilitarian ones.

The books in the Paris Bible are arranged according to a new order, essentially that of the modern Vulgate: Octateuch, 1–4 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, 2 Ezra (=3 Ezra), Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, the sapiential books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus), the Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve Minor Prophets), 1–2 Maccabees, the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, Acts, the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse. This order is not found in manuscripts of the Latin Bible before c. 1200.[21] The short Prayer of Manasses follows 2 Chronicles.[22] The books usually labelled in the manuscripts as Ezra, Nehemiah and 2 Ezra correspond to the books now referred to as 1, 2 and 3 Ezra (or Ezra, Nehemiah and 3 Ezra). The Paris Bible does not include 4 Ezra.[23] Baruch, although included in the ninth-century Theodulfian Bibles, was uncommon in manuscripts of the Vulgate before the thirteenth century;

pp. 27–9; S. Berger, *Histoire de la vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1893; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1976), pp. 329–30.

20 The pioneering studies of the Paris Bible were by S. Berger, J. P. P. Martin and H. Denifle; their views are summarised in L. Light, 'Versions et révisions du texte biblique', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 55–93, at pp. 77–8. More recent studies include my own articles, and Lobrichon, 'Les éditions', S. Magrini, 'La Bibbia all'università (secoli XII–XIV). La "Bible de Paris" e la sua influenza sulla produzione scritturale coeva', in P. Cherubini (ed.), *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia* (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2005), pp. 407–21, and S. Magrini, 'La "Bible parisienne" e i Vangeli', in F. D'Aiuto, G. Morello and A. M. Piazzoni (eds.), *I Vangeli dei popoli. La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia* (Rome: Rinnovamente dello Spirito Santo / Vatican City: BAV, 2000), pp. 99–105. De Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 114–39 includes unparalleled illustrations.

21 L. Light, 'French Bibles c. 1200–30. A New Look at the Origin of the Paris Bible', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration, and Use* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 155–76, at pp. 159–63.

22 S 93.2 (see n. 26 below); printed in *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber et al., 2 vols., 4th edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), vol. II, p. 1909, edited from the Paris manuscripts and the Sixto-Clementine edition.

23 P.-M. Bogaert, 'Les livres d'Esdras et leur numérotation dans l'histoire du canon de la Bible latine', *RB* 110 (2000), 5–26, esp. pp. 21 and 23, but note that Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 5, and the Sixto-Clementine edition do include 4 Ezra. (Discussing this, my 'Roger Bacon and the Origin of the Paris Bible', *RB* 111 (2001), 483–507, at p. 498, n. 56, incorrectly cites Bibliothèque Mazarine, 5 as 31.) See also P.-M. Bogaert, 'La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions', *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 19 (1988), 137–59 and 276–314, at pp. 298–9.

it is included in the Paris Bibles, and concludes with the Epistle of Jeremiah (ch. 6).[24] Psalms is the Gallican version.

Accompanying the biblical text are sixty-four prologues.[25] Prologues were associated with the Vulgate text throughout its history; many were written by Jerome to introduce the books of his new translation, and they were supplemented by others of diverse origins.[26] Those associated with the Paris Bible are of special interest, because they are found in so many Bibles. This set is also distinguished by six new prologues, which are not found in manuscripts of the unglossed Vulgate before the thirteenth century: the prologue to Ecclesiastes, 'Memini me' (S 462) from Jerome's commentary on Ecclesiastes; the prologue to Amos by an unknown author, also found in manuscripts of the *Glossa ordinaria*, 'Hic Amos' (S 513); two prologues to Maccabees by Rabanus Maurus, 'Cum sim promptus' and 'Memini me' (S 547 and 553); the prologue to Matthew, 'Matheus cum primo' (S 589), which is a revision of the longer prologue by Jerome to his commentary on the Gospels; and the prologue to the Apocalypse, 'Omnes qui pie' (S 839).[27]

The text in the Paris Bible is divided according to numbered chapters in a system that differs only slightly from that still used today. Its creation is traditionally credited to Stephen Langton, who taught in the Paris schools from *c.* 1180 until 1206, when he left to become archbishop of Canterbury.[28] Recent research suggests, however, that Langton was probably not the creator of this system, but rather that he promoted the use of an existing set of chapter

24 P.-M. Bogaert, 'Le nom de Baruch dans la littérature pseudépigraphique. L'Apocalypse syriaque et le livre deutérocanonique', in W. C. van Unnik (ed.), *La littérature juive entre Tenach et Mischna*, Recherches Bibliques 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 56–72, at pp. 61 and 66–70.
25 Listed in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969–2002), vol. 1, pp. 96–8, and in Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 154–5.
26 Prologues are identified by an 'S' followed by the number assigned to them in Stegmüller, *Repertorium*. Editions of the prologues are in *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem . . . cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in urbe O. S. B. edita*, ed. H. Quentin, et al., 18 vols. (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis / Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1926–95), and in *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, ed. D. de Bruyne (Namur: Godenne, 1920). For general discussion, see Berger, *Les préfaces*, and M. Schild, *Abendländische Bibelvorreden bis zur Lutherbibel*, Quellen und Forschungen zum Reformationsgeschichte 39 (Gütersloh: Mohr, 1970).
27 Often incorrectly attributed to Gilbert de la Porré; see Lobrichon, 'Les éditions', p. 21, n. 32. Paris prologues are discussed in Berger, *Les préfaces*, p. 28; Light, 'French Bibles', pp. 164–6; and Lobrichon, 'Les éditions', pp. 20–1 and 29.
28 O. Schmid, *Über verschiedene Eintheilungen der Heiligen Schrift insbesondere über die Capitel-Eintheilung Stephan Langtons im XIII. Jahrhunderte* (Graz: Leuschner and Lubensky, 1892), pp. 56–103; J. P. P. Martin, 'Le texte parisien de la Vulgate latine', *Le Muséon* 8 (1889), 444–66, at pp. 458–65; and A. d'Esneval, 'La division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l'édition parisienne du XIIIe siècle', *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 62 (1978), 559–68, at p. 561.

divisions.[29] Division of the biblical text into 'chapters' had in fact been the practice since the early years of the Latin Bible, but many different systems had been in use. The practice of identifying biblical citations by book and chapter, however, was new, and dates only from the middle of the twelfth century.[30] (The use of numbered verses as well is later and dates only from the sixteenth century.) Paris masters had used a variety of systems in their theological works, as had Langton himself until *c.* 1203,[31] but the modern system was fairly common in their writings by *c.* 1225.[32] As early as the opening decades of the thirteenth century it is found in Bibles also, but alongside older chapter divisions. Only in Bibles copied after *c.* 1230 do the modern chapters typically replace older divisions completely, and from that point on two traditional features of the Vulgate that were closely tied to the older systems of division – the Eusebian canon tables and *capitula* lists (which preceded the books of the Bible and summarised the contents of the book, chapter by chapter) – became obsolete and were absent.

Following the biblical text in the Paris Bible is the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum*, beginning 'Aaz apprehenden'.[33] This text, which may also be Langton's, is based on a work by Jerome, considerably expanded and reorganised so that it lists in complete alphabetical order the Hebrew names in the Bible and their meaning.[34] With only a few exceptions, the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum* is found in Bibles dating after *c.* 1230; earlier versions of it are found in non-biblical manuscripts.[35]

The manuscript evidence demonstrates that the question of the origin of the Paris Bible is really the question of the origin of two Bibles. The first, the proto-Paris Bible, dates from as early as *c.* 1200 and was the result of a significant revision of the Vulgate, including the creation of a new order of the biblical books, a new set of prologues and a unique series of *capitula* lists, assembled

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29 See van Liere in this volume, p. 104.

30 A. Landgraf, 'Die Schriftzitate in der Scholastik um die Wende des 12. zum 13. Jahrhundert', *Biblica* 18 (1937), 74–94, at pp. 80–3.

31 B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd. edn (University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), pp. 223–4.

32 Landgraf, 'Die Schriftzitate', p. 88. 33 S 7709.

34 Martin, 'Le texte parisien', pp. 66–70; A. d'Esneval, 'Le perfectionnement d'un instrument de travail au début du XIIIe siècle. Les trois glossaires bibliques d'Étienne Langton', in G. Hasenohr and J. Longère (eds.), *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: CNRS, 1981), pp. 163–75; cf. G. Dahan, 'Lexiques hébreu/latin? Les recueils d'interprétations des noms hébraiques', J. Hamesse (ed.), in *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge*, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 4 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996), pp. 480–526, at pp. 486–9.

35 For example, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 65, a Bible from before *c.* 1230, includes an early version of the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum*.

from new texts, revised versions of older texts and unrevised older texts. The text of these Bibles is divided according to older chapters, but modern chapters are sometimes found in the margins, occasionally in the hand of the original scribe, or as early additions.[36] They do not include the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum*. We do not know who created this Bible but it was well adapted for the needs of Paris theologians.[37] The second revision – the mature Paris Bible of *c.* 1230 – in contrast, was the product of relatively minor revisions, including a slight adjustment of the prologues, the replacement of the *capitula* lists and older chapter divisions with modern chapters and the addition of the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum*.

Our knowledge of the actual text of the Paris Bible and its precursor, the proto-Paris Bible, is still incomplete, owing to the large numbers of extant manuscripts and the fact that the modern editors of the Vulgate have focused on earlier manuscripts as the important witnesses to Jerome's text. Nonetheless, one can cautiously observe that Bibles with these extra-biblical characteristics often, though by no means always, circulated with an identifiable text that descended from Alcuin's Bibles, influenced by the Theoldulfian and Italian recensions. In the critical edition of the Old Testament prepared in Rome between 1926 and 1995, three manuscripts were chosen as examples to represent this text, which Quentin called the 'University Bible'.[38] They demonstrate that the text was not confined only to Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 5, is probably English), nor to books with all the extra-biblical elements of the Paris Bible (Mazarine, 5 is arranged in another order and includes other prologues; the Dominican Bible, Paris, BNF, lat. 16719–22, also does not include the exact set of Paris prologues). It was a common textual type, current in the schools, and its relationship with the text often found in twelfth-century glossed Bibles and commentaries has emerged as one of the most important discoveries of recent scholars.[39]

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36 Light, 'French Bibles', pp. 159–72; proto-Paris Bibles include all the new prologues, but lack S 372 (2 Chronicles) and 468 (Wisdom), and exhibit some variation in prologues to Pauline Epistles.

37 Light, 'French Bibles', pp. 155–73, esp. pp. 172–3.

38 H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie: Octateuque*, Collectanea Biblica Latina 6 (Rome: Desclée / Paris: Gabalda, 1922), pp. 385–8. Quentin also collated Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 7664, not included in the critical apparatus of the Rome *Biblia sacra*; see further the introductions to the various volumes.

39 First suggested in H. H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon, Being an Inquiry into the Text of some English Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels* (Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp. 259–84 (esp. pp. 262–3, 267 and 277); Light, 'Versions', pp. 81–2, summarised and critiqued Glunz. See also H. Schneider, *Der Text der Gutenbergbibel zu ihrem 500 jährigen Jubilaum*, Bonner biblische Beiträge 7 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1954), pp. 19–78; N. Haastrup, 'Zur frühen Pariser Bibel – auf Grund skandinavischer Handschriften', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 24 (1963), 242–69; 26

The earliest dated example of the Paris Bible is the portable Bible, already discussed, copied in 1234 by 'Thomas' (Dôle, Bibliothèque Municipale, 15).[40] The earliest copies of the mature Paris Bible, however, probably date from the 1220s. For example, the Bible sold at Sotheby's, London, 22 June 2004, lot 52, is probably earlier than the Dôle Bible. The order of the books and the choice of prologues are typical of the Paris Bible except that the prologue to 2 Chronicles (S 327) is lacking. It does not include *capitula* lists, and its text is divided into modern chapters. It does include the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum*, although this may be a subsequent addition.[41]

To assess the importance of the Paris Bible fairly, we have to ask how influential it was, both in Paris and in the rest of Europe, and to what degree it can be said to have introduced a new uniformity to the manuscripts of the Vulgate. It is true that many Bibles that we can assign to Paris on the basis of script, illumination and the style of the minor decoration are copies of the Paris Bible. For example, in a sample of fifty-nine volumes dating from *c.* 1230 to the end of the century, chosen randomly from collections in Paris, England and the United States, thirty-three are examples of the Paris Bible and include the new book order, the new set of prologues, characteristic textual variants, modern chapters and the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum*. All the remaining twenty-six Bibles are arranged according to the new order and include modern chapters, and all but eight include the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum*. Thirteen of them are closely related to the Paris Bible, sharing textual readings, and the Paris prologues, with some variation. The remaining thirteen are not copies of the Paris Bible in terms of their text or the prologues included.[42]

This is not uniformity in the modern sense of the term, but it is significant. In Paris in the thirteenth century the majority of the Bibles produced were copies of the Paris Bible, especially if we include, as we should, those with the characteristic textual variants and with the essential set of prologues, even if with some variation. It is also important, however, that Bibles were still copied from exemplars unrelated to the Paris Bible. This pattern of circulation is easy to understand if we remember the number of Bibles produced in Paris from the second quarter of the century on. Every one had to be copied from a pre-existing copy; in the context of greatly increased demand (and the prevalence

(1965), 394–401; and R. Berndt, *André de Saint-Victor (d. 1175). Exégète et théologien*, Biblioteca Victorina 2 (Paris and Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. 119–48.

40 See above, p. 382.

41 M. M. Nishimura, *Important Illuminated Manuscripts* (Akron, OH: Bruce Ferrini / Paris: Les Enluminures, 2000), pp. 18–22, no. 1; Sotheby Catalogue, June 22, 2004, lot 52. Its current location is unknown; the present author has studied photographs only.

42 Light, 'Roger Bacon', pp. 502–3.

of the pandect), it was inevitable that some relative degree of uniformity resulted.

This depiction of the history of the Bible in Paris in the thirteenth century concurs with what we find in the manuscripts. Missing from this version is any idea that the Paris Bible was the official Bible of the Paris theologians, an idea that dates back to nineteenth-century scholars and still has a tendency to appear in modern accounts, although documentary evidence is lacking. Instead, a simple scenario can explain the origin of the Paris Bible. Someone, perhaps a student or master of theology, perhaps a Franciscan or Dominican, commissioned a Bible from a Paris bookseller and specified that it include the features that were to become those we now associate with the Paris Bible. In the context of a flourishing and lively commercial booktrade numerous Bibles more or less like this one were then produced.[43]

The writings of the thirteenth-century Franciscan Roger Bacon are often cited in this context. In the famous passage from the *Opus minus*, written in 1266–7, Bacon said that forty years earlier, many theologians and booksellers in Paris published a copy of the Bible (*hoc proposuerunt exemplar*). Because the booksellers were careless and lacking in knowledge, this Bible was very corrupt (*vitiosissima*), and through the years scribal errors made it even worse. Theologians, and in particular the mendicant orders, began to make corrections: 'But because there was no one in charge, everyone corrected the text just as they pleased; a practice that continues to this day'.[44]

Examined carefully, this passage does not contradict the version of the origin of the Paris Bible told by the manuscripts. Bacon does not say that the Paris Bible was the official Bible of the Paris schools. He does link it to both the masters of theology and the commercial booksellers, but he provides no details about the exact nature of this link. Moreover, it is also important that Bacon's passage cannot be interpreted as evidence that the Paris Bible was disseminated by means of 'pecia' exemplars early in the thirteenth century. This special type of book production, which was regulated by the University to ensure students could rent master copies of needed texts in sections (*peciae*) to make their own transcripts, began in the 1260s in Paris.[45] Although the

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43 Ibid., p. 501; Lobrichon, 'Les éditions', pp. 33–4. Cf. de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 131–8, emphasising the role of the mendicant orders.
44 Roger Bacon, *Opus minus, in Opera quaedam hactenus inedita. Vol. 1: Containing I. Opus tertium; II. Opus minus; III. Compendium Philosophiae*, ed. J. S. Brewer, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 15 (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859; repr. London: Kraus, 1965), p. 333; often cited. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, vol. 1, p. 32; Lobrichon, 'Les éditions', p. 17; Light, 'Versions', p. 76.
45 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscriptts and their Makers*, vol. 1, pp. 75–8, 85–9.

Bible is included in two lists of exemplars available from university stationers from 1275–6 and 1304, the manuscript evidence for Bibles copied in pieces is both very slight (three Bibles and a possible exemplar) and puzzling.[46] None of these manuscripts has been investigated thoroughly, and further research is needed.

It is also important to remember why Bacon was discussing the Paris Bible; his overriding concern was not with its origin but with attempts to correct the text, and with the biblical 'correctoria' – manuals listing variant readings from different manuscripts of the Latin Bible, and sometimes from the Greek and Hebrew, mostly by Dominican or Franciscan authors. The correctoria are invaluable windows into medieval textual criticism. Certainly, medieval exegetes were aware of variant readings of the scriptures. It is not clear, however, that the correctoria were ever used to alter the text of biblical manuscripts. Their chief function seems rather to have been to aid in the composition of biblical commentaries, and indeed they may often have been valued for the choice of readings they provided.[47]

How influential was the Paris Bible outside Paris? Although preliminary, my acquaintance with Bibles copied in England, Germany, Spain and Italy, leads me to suggest that modern chapters and the inclusion of the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum*, and to some extent the new order of the biblical books, were adopted very early and widely outside Paris. This is demonstrated by a sample of forty-one Bibles from these countries; in only seven of these are the books arranged in an order differing from the Paris order (sometimes only slightly), all include modern chapters and all but four include the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum*. The Paris prologues and the text itself were much less influential. Only two of the fourteen English Bibles are copies of the Paris Bible; one additional manuscript includes some readings related to the Paris text, but has a different order of the biblical books and prologues. One of the two German Bibles shows some relationship with the Paris Bible. None of the eight Spanish Bibles is a copy of the Paris Bible, although two show some influence. Of seventeen Italian Bibles, twelve are uninfluenced by the Paris Bible, three are copies of it and two show some influence.[48]

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46 Light, 'Roger Bacon', pp. 503–4, and works cited; Magrini, 'La Bibbia all'università', p. 414, n. 25, listed an additional example from Bologna.

47 H. Denifle, 'Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte* 4 (1888), 263–311, 474–601; Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 220–1; G. Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval XIIe–XIVe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1999), pp. 175–228, and G. Dahan, 'Sorbon II', in Cremascoli and Santi (eds.), *La Bibbia del XIII secolo*, pp. 114–53.

48 Light, 'Roger Bacon', p. 505.

These results are admittedly based on a very small sample. Studies by other scholars provide additional insight. Adelaide Bennett compared the order of books and choice of prologues in forty-two English Bibles dating from the 1230s to the 1280s. Of these, the books in twenty-three were arranged according to the Paris order (some with minor variations); only three included prologues that substantially correspond to the Paris set.[49] Bennett observed that none of these Bibles included a 'different but fixed repository of prologues that can be justified as a distinct counterpart to the Parisian Vulgate'.[50] Sabina Magrini has studied Italian Bibles and concluded that the most widely disseminated features of the Paris Bible were the order of books and the modern chapters. There are some Italian Bibles that are more closely linked to the Paris Bible, and, interestingly, this is more common in Bibles from Bologna.[51]

Outside Paris, therefore, Paris Bibles were available (the Franciscan and Dominican friars, as well as other travellers, carried their Bibles with them), and some of these were copied. Nonetheless, if someone needed a Bible, most often they copied (or had copied) whatever was locally available. The widespread adoption of modern chapters is an exception to the rule of independence from Paris, and is easily understandable, since use of the new chapters in commentaries and reference tools such as the concordance mandated their adoption everywhere. The success of the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum* and even the new order of the biblical books may be due to the fact that these features, too, were disseminated independently of the Bible itself.

The Paris Bible thus emerges as only one of numerous textual types copied in the thirteenth century. Since it was the direct ancestor of many early printed Bibles, however, starting with Gutenberg, as well as of the Sixto-Clementine Bible of 1592, the official Bible of the Catholic church until the twentieth century, its impact on the modern world was considerable.[52] Nonetheless, while it will remain important to examine its influence throughout Europe, the richness and variety of Bibles copied there should be studied in their own right.

49 A. Bennett, 'The Place of Garrett 28 in Thirteenth-Century Illumination', unpubl. PhD thesis, Columbia University (1973; Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1976), pp. 47–9; appendix 1, A (order of books), B (prologue chart) and C (comparison of prologues with Paris set).
50 Ibid., p. 49.
51 Magrini, 'La "Bible parisienne"', pp. 103–4; Magrini, 'La Bibbia all'università', pp. 418–19; and S. Magrini, 'Production and Use of Latin Bible Manuscripts in Italy during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Manuscripta* 51 (2007), 209–57, at pp. 236–52.
52 Schneider, *Der Text der Gutenbergbibel*; Quentin, *Mémoire*, pp. 93–4.

Romanesque display Bibles

DOROTHY SHEPARD

Romanesque display Bibles are monumental luxury codices, most of which were produced between 1060 and 1200 – the period dominated in western Europe by a distinctive style in architecture and art inspired by ancient Roman precedent, and therefore characterised as 'Romanesque' by nineteenth-century scholars. They constitute probably the most elaborate, expensive and beautiful group of Bibles ever made. Containing in one to five volumes the complete Vulgate text and many accessory texts, they were produced in all parts of Europe and even in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Although costly in terms both of the materials required and the time needed for copying and decoration, hundreds were made. Many have survived complete and others in part.[1]

Although display Bibles form a distinct category of manuscript production in the Romanesque period, they were for the most part individually conceived and executed. The number of volumes, the size of the page, the page layout and the amount of decoration vary widely. They comprise from fewer than 400 pages to over 700. Characteristically, they are large folio-sized productions, many being over 500 mm high and 300 mm wide. Most were even larger when new but have been trimmed during rebinding; only a few have retained their jewelled bindings. The size of the pages allows for forty or fifty or more lines of text per column as well as ample margins between columns and around the text-blocks. The largest single Romanesque Bible known is the Codex Gigas, 900 mm tall, made in Bohemia early in the thirteenth century (Stockholm, Royal Library, Holm. A. 148). Many middle-sized examples in the range of 300–350 mm tall were produced as well. Copied on the highest-quality parchment in a large rounded minuscule script, these Bibles project a feeling of spaciousness and monumentality.

1 W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), discusses 150, and many more are known.

Most of the seventy-three books now accepted in the Vulgate are routinely included, especially the core group that Jerome considered authentic and designated as canonical, which in the case of the Old Testament are the books that he translated from Hebrew.[2] Variations in the biblical books included do occur, primarily in connection with those Jerome considered apocryphal; thus Baruch and the Epistle to the Laodiceans appear irregularly. However, Psalms also is omitted in a number of cases. Occasionally two versions of a biblical book are found in one manuscript; for example, the so-called 'Auct.' Bible (Oxford, BodL, Auct. E inf. 1–2), contains Jerome's two versions of Job and both Vulgate and Old Latin versions of Judith.[3] The biblical books were copied in various sequences, presumably chosen by the planners in each case, but within groups of books (such as the Prophets) the order is usually consistent. The placing of Apocalypse at the end of the New Testament was by no means standard. In his great study of the medieval Bible, Samuel Berger listed the sequences of books he had found; surprisingly, there are 212 different arrangements.[4]

Individual Bibles were often copied from multiple exemplars, which might be necessary to produce a complete sequence of books, especially for the earliest Romanesque productions. As well as the biblical texts, extra-biblical materials were brought together; the latter primarily included prologues, chapter lists and concordances of references. The monastic manuscript collections which had survived the turmoil that followed the Carolingian period seem to have been the main sources of the exemplars. Part-Bibles had continued to be copied in some parts of Europe into the thirteenth century, and these provided additional and / or alternative texts when the move to produce complete Bibles gained momentum. The need to acquire texts from diverse sources existed longer in some parts of Europe than others. The process of searching seems to have evolved into a desire to find and include as many of the texts, especially the biblical prologues, as possible and may account for several prologues being copied out in a group at the end of the first half of the Bury Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 2), rather than in their proper places in the volume.[5]

Production

The planners of the Romanesque display bibles were faced with many decisions about their production. These included the procurement of textual

2 See Bogaert in this volume, p. 70.
3 See W. Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), pp. 139–40.
4 S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1893; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1976), pp. 331–62.
5 It was most likely produced in the monastery of Bury St Edmunds, hence its name.

exemplars just discussed and the materials needed for the project, as well as choosing the craftsmen who would copy and decorate each manuscript. The planners wanted the best-quality large skins that were available; the skin of one animal usually provided only two folios, or four pages in modern terms. Eight-folio gatherings were the norm and each volume usually contained thirty or forty of those. There were most often two columns of text per page but occasionally a three- or four-column layout was chosen for special purposes, such as the copying of the four Gospels in parallel columns (as in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 48).

Romanesque Bibles are distinguished by their clear hierarchies of types of decoration, which were again determined by the planners. The beginnings of the Old and New Testaments received the richest illumination. The openings of individual books were next, also being embellished fairly richly. The initial letters of prologues, the next step down, received simpler treatment, but with at least some decoration. Framed miniatures were an option for the highest levels of decoration, too, but only if a painter who could execute figures and narrative scenes was available. Secular painters as well as monastic ones were active in the Romanesque period.[6] Where miniatures were included, the first letter of the biblical book also received elaborate decoration. It was usually large and often historiated, containing an identifiable figure or scene, sometimes related to the text. Such initials were typically fully painted, often with gold and rare pigments, but sometimes, rather than being historiated, they received purely decorative treatment. Such decoration usually consisted of various combinations of vine scrolls, leaves, blossoms and interlace; the scrolls were sometimes inhabited with human figures, birds, animals and/or grotesques. The next step down in the hierarchy might reduce the size of the initial, eliminate the use of gold and ground colour and/or restrict the number of colours used. Additional steps down reduced the size of the initial again and the number of colours used even more, winding up with small initials in a single colour. By the second half of the twelfth century, miniatures were included less frequently, but the opening of every book of the Bible was accorded a significant initial more often.

Each of the biblical books and its accessory texts is introduced by short introductory and concluding passages, the incipits and explicits, copied in red ink, a process known as rubrication. Many of the explicits include stichometry, a calculation of the length of the book according to the number of lines of

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6 C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190*, SMIBI 3 (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), pp. 15–16.

a specific length (often fifteen or sixteen syllables) that it contained; this was usually shown in Roman numerals. Stichometry may have been used to manage the allotment of texts in gatherings or to calculate scribal pay.

A number of scripts are used in these display Bibles. The main text script, a large and rounded one, is based on caroline letter forms and is classified as proto-gothic. By the late twelfth century, the individual letters had become more elongated and were copied closer together, which was part of the move towards the gothic system of scripts.[7] The easily legible text script in these manuscripts makes them very good for the public reading for which they were designed. Other scribal features that contribute to their clarity include the rubrication of incipits and explicits and the clear marking of text divisions by larger letters. The copying of incipits and explicits was often allotted to a specific scribe known as a rubricator. Monastic scriptoria in the Romanesque period did not hesitate to hire secular scribes when they needed and could afford them.[8]

In addition to the text script, a number of other letter forms and special markings appear in the manuscripts. These include rustic capitals, uncials and Roman block letters, used in various combinations. They sometimes accompany historiated and decorated initials; at other times they serve as titles or first words of books. Their use helps to clarify the layout of the page. Some texts, such as apocryphal passages, required other special markings.

Great efforts were made to eliminate mistakes from the Latin Vulgate text of the Romanesque Bibles. Because it was impossible to avoid misspellings and dropped words and even whole passages, text correction was a necessary step in production. Correctors had various ways of indicating textual changes, and marginal additions or emendations to the text were sometimes linked by pairs of symbols. The changes were sometimes placed in frames, which in effect added another decorative element to the page. The history of the Vulgate during the Middle Ages is characterised by recurring efforts to purify it by eliminating mistakes caused both by the process of transmission and by questionable doctrinal emphases.[9]

The makers of some Romanesque Bibles were sufficiently aware of the Hebrew language to incorporate parts of its alphabet. The opening words of the Bible in both Hebrew and Latin appear on the Genesis initial in the Tuscan

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7 N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), pp. 34–5 and 38.
8 R. M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey 1066–1235*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1982), vol. I, p. 13.
9 See, in this volume, Bogaert, p. 80, and van Liere, pp. 95–9, 103, 106–7.

Montalcino Bible.[10] Occasionally the whole Hebrew alphabet is set out as a special feature in the manuscripts although it is much more common to find the alphabet transliterated. In Lamentations 1–4 and Proverbs 31, where the Vulgate traditionally retained indications of the acrostic structure, linked to the Hebrew alphabet, found in the original texts, the Hebrew letter-forms are sometimes substituted for their usual transliterations. In a group of English Bibles, the transliterated Hebrew alphabet, plus two interpretative phrases for each letter, follows Lamentations 4, and in at least one case the actual Hebrew letter-forms accompany the transliterations.[11]

Extra-Biblical texts

Romanesque Bibles contain many prefatory materials. Among these, the prologues form the largest single category. They are introductions of varying length to biblical books, derived primarily from the writings of the fathers of the church, especially Jerome; a number by Isidore of Seville are included as well. They have been adapted from a variety of sources, including correspondence and commentaries, as well as those that Jerome wrote for his translation of the Vulgate itself. Some prologues offer theological amplifications of the literal biblical text that point readers to issues beyond the text itself. No standard group of prologues was in use in the Romanesque period; some Bibles contain over 100 of them, while others have less than half that number. Certain prologues do seem to be ubiquitous, however. Three of these began life as letters by Jerome. The prologue adopted for the whole Bible is his letter to Paulinus that begins *Frater Ambrosius* (S 284).[12] The prologue to the Old Testament is his letter to Desiderius (S 285) and his letter to Pope Damasus (S 595) is typically used as a prologue to the New Testament. As early as the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, BML, Amiatino 1), copied by 716, the *Frater Ambrosius* was subdivided, and Jerome's discussions of individual biblical books were incorporated as prologues to many of them.

The term prologue is generally applied to these passages whether they precede or follow a book. In Romanesque Bibles themselves they are variously labelled *prologus*, *prefacio* or *argumentum*, but since the same passage may be labelled a 'prologue' in one manuscript but an 'argument' in another, the terms

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10 Montalcino, Biblioteca Communale, 1, fol. 5v; see Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 137–9.

11 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 48, fol. 121r.

12 The prologues are routinely identified today by their 'S' number, that is, the number assigned to them in Stegmüller, *Repertorium*; see also below.

do not seem to have been carefully differentiated in the twelfth century. In fact, according to Neil Ker, Eton, Eton College Library, 26 (a late twelfth-century Bible given to St Albans Abbey by its prior Matthew) stands out as a rare example of a manuscript in which the copyist made a clear distinction between prologue and argument.[13]

In the late nineteenth century, Berger began the modern scholarly effort of collecting all the prologues or prefaces accompanying books of the Vulgate. His lists of these and the manuscripts in which they occur led others to continue the research.[14] De Bruyne prepared a modern edition of their complete texts in the first quarter of the twentieth century.[15] Wordsworth and White included many of the prologues to the books of the New Testament in their edition of it,[16] and for the Old Testament the multi-volume critical edition of the *Biblia sacra* made at Rome prints a comprehensive range.[17] Stegmüller collected the prologues and developed a usable, numbered organisation of them based on the first and concluding phrase of each, and his system is widely adopted today.[18] Occasionally he gave separate numbers to prologues which differ by only a word or so, which may create problems in identification.

The selection of prologues for individual books became one of the major areas of choice in the planning of a Bible. For example, there were four main alternatives for introducing the Minor Prophets – each book could be introduced by a prologue excerpted from Jerome's *Frater Ambrosius*, a pseudo-Jerome prologue, both of these, or neither. Multiple prologues preceding the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles were customary in twelfth-century Bibles. For the Pauline Epistles the choice was usually between two sets of prologues: the Marcionite ones and those that de Bruyne identifies as 'French'.[19] Some

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13 N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969–2002), vol. II, p. 653.

14 S. Berger, *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate*, L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Mémoires, 1st ser. II.2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), pp. 1–78.

15 *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, ed. D. de Bruyne (Namur: Godenne, 1920).

16 *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi*, ed. J. Wordsworth and H. J. White, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889–1954). Some prologues are put into English in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd. ser., ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, 14 vols. (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1890–1900). Translations of prologues taken from the *Frater Ambrosius* are in D. M. Shepard, *Introducing the Lambeth Bible. A Study of Texts and Imagery* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

17 *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem . . . cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in urbe O. S. B. edita*, ed. H. Quentin et al., 18 vols. (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis / Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1926–95).

18 Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, vol. I, pp. 253–306, includes 558 prologues and more are in vols. III and VIII.

19 *Préfaces*, ed. de Bruyne, pp. 245–6.

biblical books – the five books of the Pentateuch, the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, the Minor Prophets, the Catholic Epistles and the Pauline Epistles – were treated as groups. Jerome composed a general prologue for each, and these are still part of the core collection of prologues found in almost every Vulgate Bible. Many others were available to the planners of Romanesque Bibles, and the study of the choices made, especially of rare prologues, aids scholars in identifying volumes copied in the same scriptorium.

The fact that the decision-makers availed themselves of a wide range of choices of prologues indicates particular interest in these extra-biblical texts during the Romanesque period. The later addition of extra prologues is another measure of interest. Roughly contemporary additions occasionally occurred, for instance, in the Bury Bible and the Trinity Bible (Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 5. 1). The most extensive addition of prologues may be the three folios added to the Lobbes Bible (Tournai, Bibliothèque du Séminaire, 1) in the twelfth century that contain prologues to each of the Minor Prophets. When this manuscript was planned in the 1080s, no introductory texts for these books were included. The addition suggests that prologues may have been deemed more desirable during the twelfth century than previously.

Canon tables, providing a concordance of readings in the four Gospels, are among the most common accompanying texts in Romanesque Bibles. Placed at the beginning of the New Testament, these usually consist of arched frameworks enclosing the concordance of passages among the Gospels. Four columns under arches organise references to events recounted in all four Gospels; events found in three Gospels are in three-column frames, followed by those for events in two and those in only one of the Gospels. The events in the Gospels are numbered and each number placed in the margin of the Gospel text beside the narrative as well as in its proper place in the tables. Both the architectural framework and the spandrel area above it are often decorated. Sometimes the animal symbolising each evangelist is pictured above the references to events in his Gospel.

Eusebius of Caesarea developed this complex canon-table system to navigate between the Gospels.[20] His Epistle to Carpianus, which begins *Ammonius quidem*, copied as a prologue to the Gospels (S 581), explains the system. In the most carefully planned Bibles, a different ruling pattern, narrowing the width of the text columns, was adopted for the Gospels to allow room for these references. Romanesque Bibles that today lack canon tables often contain the

20 H. Oliver, 'The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus. Textual Tradition and Translation', *Novum Testamentum* 3 (1959), 138–45. On canon tables, see also in this volume, Shepard, pp. 344–5.

Eusebian numbers in the margins next to the gospel texts, indicating that the tables had been present – or had at least been planned – but had subsequently been lost.

An extremely rare concordance, the *Concordia Epistolarum* (S 646), occasionally precedes the Pauline Epistles in Romanesque Bibles. It lists fifty-six themes of Christian living and designates where references to them occur in the Epistles, much as the canon tables organise parallel gospel narratives for easy reference. The *Concordia*, however, seldom received the rich decorative treatment that the canon tables often did. Nor are references to it copied in the margins of the Epistles. The development of the *Concordia* is attributed to Pelagius, a contemporary of Jerome ultimately branded a heretic, or one of his followers. This text is found in both English and Continental Bibles but slightly more often in the latter group.

The other significant type of prefatory material found in Romanesque Bibles is the chapter list, the assembled *capitula* for an individual book. *Capitula* originated as rubrics that either summarised the contents of each section of the book or highlighted the first phrase of each division of the text. The composition of many of these lists has been attributed to Cassiodorus.[21] Because the biblical books themselves, when copied, were usually divided into the number of sections corresponding to the number of *capitula* in the series, scholars have supposed that the lists functioned like tables of contents. Yet the sections within a book were not consistently numbered, nor were the chapter lists always numbered. The suggestion that chapter lists were intended to provide a summary of the contents of the books but that no specific correspondence between list number and section of the biblical book was intended seems to be confirmed in the cases where numbers are missing.[22]

Chapter lists were usually but not always copied out before the book. They were distinguished from the other texts in these Bibles by the way they were copied, typically in a slightly smaller text script. Each *capitulum* was introduced by a coloured letter and usually a red number, whether the *capitula* were copied as discrete items in lists or continuously in paragraph form. The chapter lists for the four books of Kings provide examples of the variety of ways and places they could be copied in Romanesque Bibles. The traditional format was for them to precede the individual books. Occasionally, however, the chapter lists for all four books of Kings were copied before 1 Samuel, or

21 Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 307–8.
22 L. Light, 'French Bibles c. 1200–30', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration, and Use*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 155–76, at pp. 170–1.

those for 1 and 2 Samuel were placed before 1 Samuel while those for 3 and 4 Kings preceded 3 Kings.

A system of listing similar groups of *capitula* for each biblical book in parallel was developed for modern editions of chapter lists; this was used by de Bruyne,[23] in the three-volume edition of the New Testament by Wordsworth and White, and by the editors of the the Old Testament volumes in the Rome *Biblia sacra*. In the Romanesque period, deviations from word-for-word correspondence to the edited lists occurred from time to time but more often for the books of the New Testament than for the Old. The selection of chapter lists to precede the biblical books was a matter of choice for planners of individual manuscripts during this period. It seems to have been done on an ad hoc basis with lists favoured by the monastery or scriptorium producing the bible chosen more often than not. Houses with multiple biblical exemplars provided more choices for the planners. Study of the choice of chapter lists, especially of rare lists, is another tool for scholars in identifying which Bibles were copied in the same scriptorium.

Purpose and use

After looking at Romanesque display bibles as physical objects, it is important to ask why they were produced, when and where they were actually made and how they were used. What factors stimulated the production of these large display Bibles? During the turmoil associated with the fall of the Carolingian empire in the late ninth century and in the ensuing years, the production of biblical manuscripts was, for the most part, confined to parts only of the Bible and especially to the production of gospelbooks and psalters. Production of pandects, requiring much more in the way of materials and skilled craftsmen, began again in the early eleventh century. The major stimulus for this seems to have been the eleventh-century Gregorian reform.[24] One goal of this movement was to counter the arguments of heretics who rejected much of the Old Testament, and thus the copying and decoration of complete Bibles at this time was probably designed to declare the canonicity of the Old Testament as well as the New. Brieger describes the way the illumination of the Arras Bible (Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 559) honoured the Old Testament.[25] The choice to illustrate some Old Testament books in the Lambeth Bible

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23 D. de Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions, et rubriques de la Bible latine* (Namur: Godenne, 1914).
24 P. Brieger, 'Biblical Illustration and Gregorian Reform', in G. J. Cuming (ed.), *Studies in Church History*, 2 vols. (London: Nelson, 1965), vol. II, pp. 154–64, at pp. 162–3.
25 Ibid., vol. II, pp. 154–9.

(London, Lambeth Palace Library, 3) with scenes from the New may be a part of this same effort.

The general call for reform in northern Europe was concerned with strengthening the faith and practices of both the monks and the secular clergy. For many Benedictine monks this meant a return to the practices laid out in their rule, which required the reading of the Bible throughout the year.[26] New orders of monks emphasising reform aims were established in this period. The Gregorian reform of the secular clergy centred on a return to the *vita apostolica* or communal life as a remedy for moral decadence; priests, deacons and so on were to live much like monks. Each monastery and church, new or restored, required manuscripts for use in its religious services, the Mass and the Office, and the large-scale Bibles, containing all the biblical readings needed for the liturgy, met that need. By the end of the eleventh century, the quantitative and qualitative leap in manuscript production that had taken place was noticeable.

This facet of the Gregorian reform movement was designed not only to enhance the power of the papacy but to revitalise the institutions of the western church. The number of large illuminated pandects made in all parts of Europe that survive from the Romanesque period testifies to its effectiveness. The major donors of Bibles to the clerical communities associated with cathedrals were their bishops or the pope himself. Such patronage is better recorded in Italy than in northern Europe.[27] Abbots were the other major donors of display Bibles. They either built scriptoria in their monasteries to produce the manuscripts needed for their services and study, or ordered these from other sources. A few aristocratic and lay donors are known as well, yet only a small percentage of the surviving Romanesque display Bibles have any specific evidence of where they were made or who commissioned them.

Colophons are the primary source of our knowledge of the circumstances of the production of individual Bibles. They sometimes name the donor, the scribes, the place for which it was made and/or the date when made or presented. They have preserved much other information as well, often recording contemporary historical events or issues in the production history of the volumes concerned. The one in the Stephen Harding Bible (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 12–15) announces that Harding initiated its production and gives a completion date of 1109. The following *monitum* (reminder) explains that Harding consulted Jewish experts to eliminate mistakes in its text; thus it is

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26 *The Rule of St Benedict in English*, ed. T. Fry (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), chs. 9–13 and 17, pp. 21–4 and 26.
27 L. M. Ayres, 'The Italian Giant Bibles. Aspects of their Touronian Ancestry and Early History', in Gameson (ed.), *Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 151–4.

not surprising to find that the order of its Old Testament books follows the order of books in the Hebrew canon.[28] The Stavelot Bible (London, BL, Add. 28106–7) is another that has informative colophons; in addition it contains a long poem stressing the importance of reading both Testaments and the prologues.[29]

In many cases, however, evidence from the manuscript itself is the only resource available. Many kinds of such evidence have proved useful, among them bindings, specific contents, inscriptions and evidence of liturgical use.[30]

These Romanesque display bibles were such monumental productions that the answer to the question of their use seems self-evident. They were surely intended for display as well as regular use. They were definitely designed for communal ownership, either by monasteries or cathedral chapters, so the altar would seem to have been the logical place to keep them. They were also treasures, heavenly as well as earthly, not just reading matter.[31] A Bible on an altar was a symbol as well as a physical object. It contained the sacred word of God and represented the belief that Christianity is a religion of the word that medieval Christians encountered on a number of sacramental levels. Bibles were symbols of God[32] in a time when the Christian faithful believed that the divine could be encountered in physical objects that then became holy by association. In the Romanesque period, Bibles were valued as much for their symbolic and sacramental meanings as they were for the materials from which they were made and the meaning of the actual words they contained. The magnificence of these volumes reflects the importance of their role in societal worship.

Yet much more evidence exists for their use than for their display. Monastic customaries specify biblical readings in the daily Office,[33] and oral reading during meals is often mentioned. Contemporary images of these Bibles on altars would be helpful, yet such depictions are usually later ones. Not many Romanesque pandects appear in medieval monastic library catalogues, the usual explanation for this being that such volumes were kept on the altar rather than in the library. We certainly assume that many had become objects for display by large and wealthy institutions before the mid-twelfth century.

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28 Light, 'French Bibles', pp. 159–60.   29 Brieger, 'Biblical Illustration', vol. II, pp. 162–3.

30 N. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. x–xx.

31 M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (London: Blackwell, 1993), p. 155.

32 H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1991), vol. I, p. 158.

33 Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 95–6.

Those of the large Romanesque Bibles that are not richly decorated with gold and figures raise other questions. Was the more modest character of their decoration due to the minimal resources available for the project, or to some specific purpose for which the volumes were intended? Were these, in fact, the Bibles destined for reading aloud to the community in the refectory? Textual evidence survives that shows that some Romanesque Bibles were produced for that express purpose.[34]

However they were used and wherever they were kept, Romanesque display Bibles remain among the most treasured of all medieval manuscripts.

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34 Oakeshott, *Two Winchester Bibles*, pp. 34–5.

Latin and vernacular Apocalypses

NIGEL MORGAN

The final book of the New Testament canon, the Apocalypse of John (or Book of Revelation), is part of the visionary and prophetic genre which was characteristic of both Jewish and Christian writings of the first century CE. The Greek word 'apokalupsis' means 'revelation' or 'unveiling' and such texts aimed to reveal things that were hidden and also to present prophecies of future events. The date of composition of this 'revelation' of John is controversial, as is the identity of its author, who gives his name as John. The dating ranges from *c.* 65 to 95.[1] Some have considered that it was written before the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Titus in the year 70, but many others think it dates from the reign of Domitian (81–96), with others suggesting somewhere in between. The dates most usually proposed are in either the late 60s or the early 90s. The 'revelation' of John is presented in a prophetic and eschatological framework ending with the judgement and the appearance of the New Jerusalem. Although the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul make several important eschatological statements, they contain very little prophecy; the Apocalypse of John is the most exclusively eschatological and prophetic text of the New Testament, and because of that occupies a very special position in biblical interpretation.

When the eschatological predictions in the Gospels came to be seen by the early church as not so imminent as might have been expected, the Apocalypse of John assumed a particular importance as a text prophetic of future times which would lead up to the 'last things'.[2] As its text refers to periods of rule by the beast that rises from the sea, whom the earliest commentators were quick to identify as the Antichrist, who would reign for a time before the

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1 See D. E. Aune, *Revelation 1–5; Revelation 6–16; Revelation 17–22*, 3 vols., Word Biblical Commentary 52a–c (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1997–8), I, pp. xlvii–lxx, and P. Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of John* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2001), pp. 36–9, 68–84, for the most recent assessment of authorship and dating.

2 Aune, *Revelation*, I, pp. lxx–lxxxi, and Prigent, *Commentary*, pp. 1–22, 84–103, discussed eschatological and prophetic aspects of the text.

final judgement, the interest in the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages is closely linked to prophecies of the coming of the Antichrist, and who he might be. Perhaps the most famous candidate for the Antichrist in the Middle Ages was the Emperor Frederick II in the thirteenth century, to whom Pope Gregory IX referred in language derived from the Apocalypse in his letter of 1239 to Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, as 'The beast filled with the names of blasphemy has risen from the sea . . . this beast Frederick, called emperor'.[3]

Such use of the Apocalypse text continued with varying degrees of importance at various times and in various circles throughout the Middle Ages. Subsequent interpreters from the Reformation onwards (Luther, for example) have played down or rejected the statements of Christ as the origin of the revelations, but throughout the Middle Ages there was an acceptance of the literal meaning, and few would have denied the very special divine authority of this text. It states in 1:1: 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to make known to his servants the things which must shortly come to pass: and signified, sending by his angel to his servant John'. In 22:16, in John's final vision of Christ, there is a repetition of this statement: 'I Jesus, have sent my angel to testify these things in the churches'. Also, throughout the Middle Ages, its authorship was accepted by all as being that of the author of the fourth Gospel, the apostle and evangelist John. The Apocalypse may have been neglected or even rejected by some at certain times in the history of the Church, but for the period covered by this volume it is very difficult to find any detractors who would have wished to banish it from the New Testament. Rather, it was seen in the early church and the Middle Ages as a fundamental, essential and appropriate final statement of holy scripture as prophecy.[4] Although the Old Testament is full of prophecies, this important aspect of scripture, apart from a few prophetic statements in the Gospels, was lacking from the New, and the inclusion of the Apocalypse in the canon provided such a text.

This genre of 'apocalypses' produced other writings in the first centuries of the church which were denied inclusion as part of the canon of the Bible, but are important as apocryphal writings both for the early church and the Middle Ages. Of these the Apocalypse of Paul (*Visio Pauli*) was extremely influential,

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3 On the Antichrist, see R. K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Manchester University Press, 1981), B. McGinn, *Antichrist. Two Thousand Years of Human Fascination with Evil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); on Frederick, B. McGinn, *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), pp. 173–4.
4 R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing, 3. History as Prophecy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 22 (1972), 159–80, gave a perceptive overview of prophecy in the Middle Ages.

as, to a much lesser extent, were the Apocalypses of Peter and Thomas.[5] From the Middle Ages there are many extant manuscripts of the Apocalypse of Paul both in Latin and many vernacular translations, whereas of the other two apocryphal apocalypses very few manuscripts survive.

The Apocalypse of John was written in Greek in Asia Minor in a style whose grammar and vocabulary have been characterised as far from elegant.[6] The identification of its author as the apostle John was controversial in the early church, but more readily accepted in the Latin West than in the Greek East. The association of its author with the apostle and evangelist was accepted by Justin Martyr (d. *c*. 165) in the first half of the second century, to be followed by Irenaeus (d. *c*. 200) and Tertullian (d. *c*. 225) later in that century.[7] By the end of the second century the various Old Latin versions of the Bible had accepted the book in the New Testament canon, but it was rejected for the Greek.[8] Old Latin versions were used by some of the early commentators such as Victorinus, Tyconius and Primasius.[9] Following Jerome's extensive reworking of the Latin text of the Bible in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, a slightly revised text of the Apocalypse (probably not by Jerome) came to be the standard and would eventually become part of the Vulgate; almost all commentators from the fifth century onwards used it.

Commentaries in patristic times

The separation of the Apocalypse of John as an individual book apart from the New Testament as a whole very likely resulted from the frequent interest

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5 Biblical prologues nos. 265–83 in Stegmüller, *Repertorium* I (hereafter 'S'), and *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, vol. II (Cambridge: Clarke, 1965), pp. 579–803, for these apocryphal apocalypses. For Paul, see T. Silverstein, *Visio sancti Pauli. The History of the Apocalypse in Latin* (London: Christophers, 1935); *Apocalypse of Paul. A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions*, ed. T. Silverstein and A. Hilhorst (Geneva: Cramer, 1997); C. Carozzi, *Eschatologie et au-delà. Recherches sur l'Apocalypse de Paul* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1994). For Peter, see R. Bauckham, 'The *Apocalypse of Peter*. A Jewish-Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhbar', *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), 7–111.

6 It has even been described as 'barbaric' in its Greek original, though its textual transmission to the Middle Ages was of course almost solely in the more elegant Latin versions of the *Vetus Latina* and Vulgate.

7 N. P. Stonehouse, *The Apocalypse in the Ancient Church. A Study of the History of the New Testament Canon* (Goes: Oosterbaan and Le Cointre, 1929), pp. 10–11, 74–81, 98.

8 Stonehouse, *Apocalypse*, for the fullest account of interest in the book in the early church, and *Apocalypsis Johannis*, ed. R. Gryson, VL 26/2 (Freiburg: Herder, 2000–3), pp. 78–96, 771–3, for its early history in *Vetus Latina* and other texts.

9 A. Souter, 'Tyconius's Text of the Apocalypse. A Partial Restoration', *JTS* 14 (1913), 338–58, R. Gryson, 'Fragments inédits du commentaire de Tyconius sur l'Apocalypse', *RB* 107 (1997), 189–206, and, on the Latin texts used by these commentators, *Apocalypsis Johannis*, ed. Gryson, pp. 81–9.

in exegesis of its text, whose complex language and difficult imagery particularly necessitated explanation. Although they occasionally referred to its text and quoted other commentators, neither of the great exegetes of the early church, Jerome (*c.* 342–420) and Augustine (354–430) wrote on the text as a whole, but Jerome did 'edit' the commentary of Victorinus to expurgate any Donatist elements in it[10] and Augustine quite often commented on texts from the Apocalypse in other works, notably in his *City of God*, and later writers, such as Bede, sometimes incorporated Augustine's interpretations.[11] Jerome's letter to Paulinus, which later came to be used as a prologue to the Vulgate, thus giving credence to the idea that he had been responsible for the whole revision, pointed to the particular importance given to the book in his time, an importance which continued throughout the Middle Ages and during the period of the Reformation: 'The Revelation of John contains as many mysteries as words. I have said too little, and indeed all praise is insufficient in proportion to the merit of the book: in each of its words are concealed many meanings.'[12] That exegesis is essential to reveal the many mysteries which this profound text of prophecy contains is the inevitable message of Jerome's words. This section of the general prologue of the Vulgate was later transferred to become a prologue for the Apocalypse itself.

The very frequent accompaniment of the Apocalypse of John, more perhaps than other biblical texts, with a commentary provides an indicator of changes of attitude to the text in various different times and contexts, and is a comment also on the expectations of an explication by the readers of its text. Thus thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Apocalypse commentaries,

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10 For analysis of the commentary, see M. Dulaey, 'Jérôme "editeur" du Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse de Victorin de Poetivio', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 37 (1991), 199–236, and her *Victorin de Poetovio, premier exégète latin* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1993); for an edition, *Victorin de Poetovio. Sur l'Apocalypse suivi du fragment chronologique et de la construction du monde*, ed. M. Dulaey, SC 423 (Paris: Cerf, 1997).

11 P. Fredriksen, 'Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse', in R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 20–37, and for Bede's debt to Augustine, J. W. Mackay, 'Augustine and Gregory the Great in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse', in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 396–405.

12 'Apocalypsis Iohannis tot habet sacramenta quot uerba; parum dixi, et pro merito uoluminis laus omnis inferior est: in uerbis singulis multiplices latent intelligentiae', *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem . . . cura et studio monachorum abbatiae portificiae Sancti Hieronymi in urbe O.S.B. edita*, ed. H. Quentin et al., 18 vols. (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis / Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1926–95), vol. I, *Liber Genesis*, p. 34, and for text variants *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, ed. D. de Bruyne (Namur: Godenne, 1920), p. 7, S 829, and S. Berger, *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate*, L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Mémoires, 1st ser. 11.2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 1–78, at p. 69, no. 311.

mainly by mendicants, or those of the ninth century, mainly by Benedictines, or of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, by Benedictines, Cistercians and Augustinian canons, some of them nascent scholastics, are significant indicators of their theological and spiritual beliefs, or didactic intentions. Differences of emphasis, from the basic eschatological viewpoint of the Apocalypse text towards ecclesiological or moral issues of the contemporary era of their authors, is evident in many of these commentaries. In the later Middle Ages many of the illustrated Apocalypses with commentaries were made for laypeople, and there was a change from the exclusively clerical audience who read such books up to the early thirteenth century.

In the early Christian centuries commentaries on the full text of the Apocalypse were first written by Hippolytus (*c.* 170–*c.* 236) early in the third century in Rome,[13] and in *c.* 260–70 by Victorinus, bishop of Ptuj (Pettau) in Slovenia (martyred in 304).[14] The text of Victorinus was edited in a new version by Jerome.[15] There was the late fourth-century commentary of the North African Donatist layman, Tyconius (d. *c.* 400), which does not survive and is known only from frequent quotations by later authors, enabling partial reconstruction.[16] In the sixth century Caesarius, archbishop of Arles (d. 542), wrote eighteen homilies on the Apocalypse, which together constitute a commentary,[17] and Primasius, bishop of Hadrumetum in North Africa (d. 560) wrote an influential commentary on the whole text.[18] The monk and former Roman senator, Cassiodorus (*c.* 485–*c.* 580), wrote his *Complexiones in Epistolas Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsin* at the monastery of Vivarium, which

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13 For the Hippolytus text, known only in quotation in later writers, see P. Prigent, *Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1959), pp. 3–6, and E. A. Matter, 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', in Emmerson and McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse*, pp. 38–50; Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio*, pp. 129–47, 339–65; and R. Gryson, 'Les commentaires patristiques latins de l'Apocalypse', *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 28 (1997), 305–37, 484–502, for general discussion and textual interrelationships of these early commentaries.
14 S 8301–2; Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio*; and *Victorin de Poetivo*, ed. Dulaey.
15 Dulaey, 'Jérôme editeur'.
16 S 8265–6, and for the text see M. Gómez, 'El perdido Comentario de Ticonio al Apocalipsis. Principios de critica literaria y textual para su reconstrucción', in *Miscelánea Bíblica B. Ubach* (Montserrat: [no publ.], 1953), pp. 387–411; F. Lo Bue, *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation* (Cambridge University Press, 1963); K. B. Steinhauser, 'Bemerkungen zum pseudo-hieronymianischen Commemoratorium in Apocalypsin', *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 26 (1979), 220–42; and Fredriksen, 'Tyconius and Augustine'.
17 S 1495; G. Morin, 'Le commentaire homilétique de St. Césaire sur l'Apocalypse', *RB* 45 (1933), 43–61; *Sancti Caesarii opera II*, ed. G. Morin (Maredsous: [no publ.], 1942), pp. 209–77; and G. Langgärtner, 'Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Caesarius von Arles', *Theologie und Glaube* 57 (1967), 210–25.
18 S 6988; *Primasius. Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, ed. A. W. Adams, CCSL 92 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985).

he founded near his home town of Squillace (Calabria).[19] This is essentially short notes on words or phrases from the Apocalypse text, and is not a full commentary. Apringius, bishop of Beja in Portugal, wrote his *Tractatus in Apocalypsin* in the mid-sixth century, a commentary which influenced only that of the Spanish monk, Beatus of Liébana in the late eighth century.[20] These commentators were spread over the full extent of the territory of the early church and laid the foundations of future interpretations of the text, as well as establishing its transmission as a discrete volume.

Medieval commentaries

By the beginning of the seventh century single books must have been disseminated containing these commentaries, but there also existed copies of the Apocalypse text alone without commentary. Certainly by the early ninth century there were manuscript copies containing illustrations but lacking any commentary, and it has been convincingly argued that these were based on lost fifth- or sixth-century manuscripts, probably made in Italy rather than in the eastern part of the Roman empire. Examples are the Trier (Stadtbibliothek, 31) and Valenciennes (Bibliothèque municipale, 99) Apocalypses, the latter perhaps deriving from an early eighth-century Northumbrian illustrated manuscript of the time of Bede.[21] A significant aspect of the Apocalypse as a single book during the Middle Ages is the relatively high proportion of copies which contain illustrations, of which the earliest surviving copies are these two from the early ninth century.

In regard to the early eighth-century commentary of Bede (672–735), the scholar monk of Monkwearmouth–Jarrow in Northumbria,[22] and to early illustrations of the text, it is significant that when Benedict Biscop returned to Jarrow from Rome in *c.* 675 he brought back with him pictures of the Apocalypse, as recorded by Bede in his *Historia abbatum*.[23] These seem not to

19 *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Iohannis*, ed. R. Gryson, CCSL107 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 101–29.
20 Ibid., pp. 13–97.
21 J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts from the 6th to the 9th Century*, SMIBI 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), no. 64. On these early illustrated Apocalypses, see below.
22 G. Bonner, *Saint Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalypse Commentary* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Bealls, 1966); J. F. Kelly, 'Bede and the Irish Exegetical Tradition on the Apocalypse', *RB* 92 (1982), 393–406; Mackay, 'Augustine and Gregory', for discussion of his commentary, and *Beda Venerabilis. Opera exegetica, 5. Explanatio Apocalypseos*, ed. R. Gryson, CCSL 121A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), for an edition.
23 *The Age of Bede*, trans. J. H. Webb and D. H. Farmer (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), pp. 190–1.

have been contained in an illustrated manuscript, because they were set up on the north wall of the church of Monkwearmouth–Jarrow. Paintings on wood of the usual forty or more pictures in illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts seem unlikely, and other media might be suggested such as paintings on cloth. Bede had access to Primasius' commentary, which extensively used Tyconius, and they both influenced his approach. The other commentators of the eighth century were the Spanish monk Beatus of Liébana (writing *c.* 776–86)[24] and Ambrosius Autpertus, abbot of S Vincenzo al Volturno (writing *c.* 758–67).[25] Beatus was much influenced by the commentaries of Victorinus, Tyconius and Apringius of Beja.[26] The very long commentary of Ambrosius Autpertus, also influenced by Tyconius and Primasius, was used by writers of the Carolingian period but seems to have been little read in later centuries, while that of Beatus was almost exclusive to the Iberian peninsular both in manuscripts of its text and in its influence.

In the ninth century the most important commentaries were those written at Tours, Orléans and Auxerre, by Alcuin (*c.* 730–804), Theodulf (*c.* 760–821) and Haimo (c. 840–60).[27] Of these, only the very important commentary of Haimo was widely read in future centuries, with many manuscripts surviving, and there is much evidence of its influence on eleventh- and twelfth-century commentators such as Berengaudus and Rupert of Deutz.[28] Some consider the commentary of Berengaudus to be of the late ninth century, identifying him with Berengaudus, monk of Ferrières, near Sens, but increasingly opinion has considered the style of writing to be more in keeping with those commentaries written in the period *c.* 1075–1125.[29] From the tenth century there is one very

24 S 1597. For editions, see *Beati in Apocalypsim libri XI*, ed. H. A. Sanders (Rome: American Academy, 1930) and *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Sancti Beati a Liebana*, ed. E. Romero-Pose, 2 vols. (Rome: Typis Officinae Polygraphicae, 1985).

25 S 1274–5; S. Bovo, 'Le fonti del Commento di Ambrogio Autperto sull'Apocalisse', *Studia Anselmiana* 27/8 (1951), 372–403, for sources, and Ambrosius Autbertus, *Expositionis in Apocalypsin libri I–X*, ed. R. Weber, CCCM 27–27A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975–9).

26 For the sources of Beatus and his text divisions, see Y. Christe, 'Beatus et la tradition latine des commentaires de l'Apocalypse', in *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1978), pp. 53–73; S. Álvarez Campos, 'Fuentas literarias de Beato de Liébana', in *Actes del simposio*, vol. 1, pp. 119–62; and E. Romero-Pose, 'Beato de Liébana y el comentario al Apocalipsis', in A. Franco Mata (ed.), *Beato de Liébana. Codice del Monasterio San Pedro de Cardeña* (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2001), pp. 290–321.

27 For an edition of Theodulf's commentary, see *Commentaria minora*, ed. Gryson, 299–337, and, for Alcuin and Haimo, S 1102, 3122.

28 See G. Lobrichon, 'Conserver, réformer, transformer le monde. Les manipulations de l'Apocalypse au moyen âge central', in P. F. Ganz (ed.), *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, Bibliologia 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), pp. 78–94, on commentaries from Haimo until the end of the twelfth century.

29 S 1711; D. Visser, *Apocalypse as Utopian Expectation (800–1500). The Apocalypse Commentary of Berengaudus of Ferrières and the Relationship between Exegesis, Liturgy and Iconography* (Leiden:

significant text, not an Apocalypse commentary but of great relevance to its exegesis, namely Adso of Montier-en-Der's influential work on the Antichrist, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, written *c.* 949–54 for Gerburga, wife of King Lothar of France.[30] In the period from *c.* 1075 to 1200 commentaries multiplied. The most important are by the Benedictines, the *Glossa ordinaria* (Anselm of Laon, d. 1117 and the school of Laon)[31] and Rupert of Deutz (*c.* 1075–1129),[32] the Cistercian Joachim of Fiore (*c.* 1132–1202),[33] and the Augustinian canon Richard of St Victor (d. 1173).[34] Joachim of Fiore often referred in his other writings to the Apocalypse and these were as influential for the future as his commentary on the complete text.

The many commentaries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were almost exclusively by mendicant authors, the majority Franciscan, of which only the main ones are listed:[35] the Franciscans Alexander of Bremen (fl. *c.* 1230–50),[36] Pietro di Giovanni Olivi (1247/8–96)[37] and Nicholas of Lyra

Brill, 1996), pp. 87–94 (for a ninth-century date), and G. Lobrichon, 'L'ordre de ce temps et les désordres de la Fin. Apocalypse et société du IXe à la fin du XIIe siècle', in W. Verbeke et al. (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, Mediaevalia Lovanensia 15 (Leuven University Press, 1988), pp. 221–41, at pp. 226–8, nn. 15, 17 (for the second half of the eleventh century, north-east France or the Rhineland).

30 D. Verhelst, 'La préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antichrist', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 40 (1973), 52–103, and *Adso Dervensis. De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976). On the dearth of commentaries in this period, see G. Lobrichon, 'Stalking the Signs. The Apocalyptic Commentaries', in R. Landes et al. (eds.), *The Apocalyptic Year 1000. Religious Expectation and Social Change 950–1050* (Oxford: University Press, 2003), pp. 67–79.

31 S 1361, and *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria. Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps (Adolph Rusch of Strasbourg 1480–81)*, ed. K. Froehlich and M. T. Gibson, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), vol. IV, pp. 547–78.

32 S 7581; W. Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie. Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore* (Berlin: Ebering, 1935), pp. 75–114, and J. H. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 275–82.

33 S 4016; Kamlah, *Apokalypse*, pp. 115–29; E. R. Daniel, 'Joachim of Fiore. Patterns of History in the Apocalypse', in Emmerson and McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse*, pp. 72–88, *Joachim of Fiore. Enchiridion super Apocalypsim*, ed. E. K. Burger (Toronto: PIMS, 1986).

34 S 7343; Kamlah, *Apokalypse*, pp. 105–14.

35 D. Burr, 'Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse', in Emmerson and McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse*, pp. 89–102, for an overview of the many mendicant commentaries. On individual writers, see S 1115, 3161, 3771, 4920, 5810, 5923, 6422, 6725, 8111.

36 J. P. Gilson, 'Friar Alexander and his Historical Interpretation of the Apocalypse', *Collectanea Franciscana* 2 (1922), 20–36; *Alexander minorita. Expositio in Apocalypsim*, ed. A. Wachtel (Weimar: Böhlau, 1955); S. Schmolinsky, *Der Apokalypsen-kommentar des Alexander Minorita. Zur frühen Rezeption Joachims von Fiore in Deutschland* (Hanover: Hahn, 1991); and S. Lewis, 'Parallel Tracks – Then and Now. The Cambridge Alexander Apocalypse', in P. Binski and W. Noel (eds.), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures. Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), pp. 367–88.

37 R. Manselli, *La 'Lectura super Apocalypsim' di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1955); D. Burr, 'Bonaventure, Olivi and Franciscan Eschatology', *Collectanea Franciscana* 53 (1983), 23–40; D. Burr, 'Olivi, Apocalyptic Expectation and Visionary

(*c.* 1280–1349),[38] and the Dominican Hugh of St Cher (*c.* 1190–1263).[39] The mendicants' interest in the Apocalypse came to a large extent from the identification of the witnesses of chapter 11 as prophetic of the mission of their own orders and also, for the Franciscans, from the identification of Francis as the angel of the sixth seal 'having the sign of the living God' (7:2), an idea supported by Bonaventure.[40] There is one anonymous Wycliffite commentary, which again suggests an interest in the text inspired by the reforming mission of their preaching.[41]

Most of these commentaries only survive in fewer than ten manuscripts, but some others seem to have have been widely read, as suggested by their much greater survival rate. These are the commentaries of Bede (over 75), Beatus of Liébana (34), Berengaudus (60), Haimo of Auxerre (94), Hugh of St Cher (42 of the two versions), Richard of St Victor (37) and Nicholas of Lyra (34).[42] To these should be added the commentary of the *Glossa ordinaria*, for which the number of extant manuscripts is difficult to assess, but may be at least seventy. Haimo's commentary was hardly read in England, and from that country there are more manuscripts of Berengaudus, many of them illustrated, than from other regions, whereas Richard of St Victor seems to have been read much more in France than elsewhere. The manuscripts of Beatus of Liébana are almost entirely of Spanish origin, and twenty-five of these have many illustrations. The popularity of the book in the Middle Ages assuredly resulted from those passages of its text given particularly significant theological, historical and eschatological interpretations in these writings, which set the context for readership and understanding.

The twenty or so major commentaries on the text of the Apocalypse are diverse in their theological approaches, but can be grouped to some extent as following certain traditions of interpretation. The theological viewpoint of a particular writer on key passages, such as the Angel of the Sixth Seal of

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Experience', *Traditio* 41 (1985), 273–88, and D. Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).
38 P. D. W. Krey, *Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse Commentary* (Kalamazoo: MIP, 1997).
39 Two commentaries are associated with him; see D. M. Solomon, 'The Sentence Commentary of Richard Fishacre and the Apocalypse Commentary of Hugh of St Cher', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 46 (1976), 367–77, and R. E. Lerner, 'Poverty, Preaching and Eschatology in the Revelation Commentaries of "Hugh of St Cher"', in K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 157–89.
40 Burr, 'Mendicant Readings', p. 97.
41 A. Hudson, 'A Neglected Wycliffite Text', *JEH* 29 (1978), 257–79.
42 These numbers are from Stegmüller's lists, supplemented by Gryson, *Beda Venerabilis*, ed. Gryson, Visser, *Apocalypse*, and R. Goy, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke Richards von St. Viktor im Mittelalter* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

chapter 7 whom the Franciscans linked to Francis, following Bonaventure in the *Legenda maior*,[43] the Woman in the Sun and the Dragon in chapter 12,[44] and the vision of chapter 20 was always important. Chapter 20 has the crucial passage of the thousand-year reign of Christ after the Dragon has been locked up, which gave rise to millenarist views.[45] The explication of passages in terms of the Antichrist and his reign was also always significant. Although for most commentators the Antichrist was the beast from the sea of chapter 13, there was great diversity in the ways of interpreting the reign of the Antichrist at the end of time, linked to the exegesis of chapter 20, when at the end of a thousand years Satan is loosed from his prison and with Gog and Magog attacks the holy city. Furthermore, for some writers there was not just the one Antichrist at the end of time but other antichrists foreshadowing him in the course of history.[46] Beginning with Primasius, followed by Bede, many commentators divided the text into sections, in some cases as defined periods of history, and the way they did this is significant for their interpretation.[47] Bede's system, followed, for example, by Berengaudus, the *Glossa ordinaria* and Richard of St Victor, was to divide it into seven visions.

Tyconius, who had much influence on future writers, interpreted the text in terms of Christ and his church, the earthly kingdom of Christ in the struggle between good and evil, and the followers of Christ against the Devil and the Antichrist.[48] He avoided emphasis on eschatology and millenarian interpretation and presented an ecclesiological interpretation. The text was interpreted by other commentators variously according to past, present and future time, with some explaining its allegories as events which could recur (recapitulation), and not as a continuous linear temporal sequence proceeding through the period of the persecutions of the church to the end times, as narrated in chapters 20–22. The chiliastic/millenarian approach gave special significance to Rev. 20:1–5, the binding of Satan for a thousand years, and that period was

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43 S. da Campagnola, *L'angelo del sesto sigillo e l''Alter Christus'* (Rome: Edizioni Laurentium, 1971), and Burr, 'Mendicant Readings', p. 97.

44 Prigent, *Apocalypse 12*, for a survey of the exegesis of this chapter by all commentators.

45 See R. Lerner, 'The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath', in Emmerson and McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse*, pp. 51–71, and Lobrichon, 'Stalking the Signs', on the interpretation of ch. 20.

46 R. Lerner, 'Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore', *Speculum* 60 (1985), 553–70, discussed this in relation to Joachim of Fiore.

47 See Christe, 'Beatus et la tradition latine', Lobrichon, 'L'ordre de ce temps', and Burr, 'Mendicant Readings', pp. 93–5, for these divisions.

48 For the tradition of Tyconius in the early Middle Ages, see K. B. Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius. A History of its Reception and Influence* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1987), and Fredriksen, 'Tyconius and Augustine'.

interpreted as a thousand-year reign of Christ.[49] The way the Apocalypse was interpreted in terms of history was crucial, as was the way its text was divided according to ages of historical time. Haimo had a *contemptus mundi* attitude in regard to earthly powers and politics, in which the elect struggled against the reprobates. For him predestination was an important issue, as it was later for Berengaudus, who seems to have been much influenced by Haimo in emphasising the role of the *reprobi* as agents of the Devil and the Antichrist in their influence on the affairs of the world. Spiritual emphasis interpreted the text in general terms of moral issues of virtue and vice, the struggle between those influenced by the Devil and the faithful followers of Christ: that is, between the reprobates and the elect. Berengaudus, however, had a more historical interpretation than Haimo. As an extreme contrast to the spiritual interpretation of early medieval commentators, some of the Franciscan writers of the the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had a completely sequential historical interpretation of the text, beginning with the early church and ending with near-contemporary history. Such an approach obviously became involved in presenting criticism of the contemporary state of the church and society, which could cause problems for the authors.[50] The Franciscan Pietro Olivi's Apocalypse commentary of 1296 was condemned in 1326, after his death, by Pope John XXII for, amongst other things, interpreting the text in terms of the Franciscans as the spiritual men who were reforming the corrupt and worldly practices of the church, from which the pope himself was not excluded.[51]

Historical interpretation, often aimed at individual prelates and rulers of the time, was above all characteristic of many writers from the late eleventh to the fourteenth century, and had its roots in much earlier commentaries, notably those of Victorinus and, especially, Bede. Victorinus, martyred under Diocletian in 304, was the only commentator from the era of persecution of the church. It is hardly surprising that at such a time he interpreted parts of the text in historical terms, seeing Nero, for instance, as the Antichrist. Bede, although to some degree foreshadowed by Tyconius and also in the writings of Eusebius, Augustine and Isidore of Seville, was the first systematically to introduce a theology of history in Apocalypse commentary. Such a theology demanded a definition in terms both of the ages of the world, from the creation until the second coming of Christ, and of the periods in the history of

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49 Lerner, 'Medieval Return'.
50 E.g., on the Franciscan Gerard of Borgo San Donino and his interpretation in the 1250s of 'the eternal gospel' in Rev. 14:6, see Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, pp. 14–21.
51 Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, has an exhaustive interpretative discussion.

the church, from the incarnation to the second coming.[52] The predominance of septenary divisions in the Apocalypse text inevitably suggested a seven-fold system for both divisions of time.[53] Historical time for many commentators was conceived in terms of universal history from the creation, and involving the Old Testament, including Greek and Roman history, thus interpreting the Apocalypse text not only in terms of the history of the church. The commentaries made clear that God's plan for humanity included not only the Christians, but also the Jews and the pagans.

Vernacular Apocalypses

From the time in the twelfth century when vernacular translations and para-phrases of biblical books became popular, the Apocalypse was translated into many European vernaculars, usually in prose but occasionally also in verse. The numbers of such manuscripts are significant compared with those in Latin, and it would be a misrepresentation not to discuss them in parallel with the Latin texts. In its vernacular versions the Apocalypse was frequently accompanied by illustrations, to a greater extent than were the Latin texts with commentary. A commentary was also provided for the vernacular texts, usu-ally translated from a Latin version. One difference, also found for some of the Latin illustrated Apocalypses, was the use of only short excerpts of a lengthy commentary, set beside the sections of the scriptural text. The compiler of the excerpts was like a secondary commentator, in that his own theological and doctrinal views were revealed in the contents of the excerpts he chose and the readership audience he had in mind. Almost all the vernacular commentaries derived from Latin originals, although a few were independent new versions, albeit indebted to the abundant tradition of Latin texts.

In Continental French and Anglo-Norman, the first prose translations of the Apocalypse date from the first half of the thirteenth century, both as part of a translation of other books of the Bible and also as a single book.[54]

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52 R. Schmidt, 'Aetates mundi. Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1955–6), 288–317, discussed views on the ages of the world from Late Antiquity to the twelfth century.

53 Lobrichon, 'L'ordre de ce temps', pp. 226–7, has two useful tables comparing Bede's divisions with those of eleventh- and twelfth century commentators.

54 L. Delisle and P. Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en français au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1900–1); *Apocalypse Anglo-Normande (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.16. 2)*, ed. Y. Otaka and H. Fukui (Osaka: Centre de Recherches Anglo-Normandes, 1977); *Apocalypse (Bibliothèque nationale Fonds Français 403)*, ed. F. Lecoy, Y. Otaka and H. Fukui (Osaka: Centre de Recherches Anglo-Normandes, 1981); R. J. Dean and M. B. M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature. A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999), pp. 257–63, nos. 473–8.

The complete Bible was translated into Old French, the so-called Bible of St Louis, in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and this included the Apocalypse;[55] it was based on a revised Parisian text of the Vulgate of *c.* 1226. Verse translations were also made in both Continental French and Anglo-Norman in the thirteenth century or early in the fourteenth,[56] notably in the Bible of Macé de la Charité.[57]

In England, Anglo-Norman was more prevalent as a vernacular literary language than Middle English until the fourteenth century, so it is hardly surprising that the first Middle English versions of the Apocalypse are almost a hundred years later than those in Anglo-Norman. The manuscripts date from *c.* 1350–1400, the earliest (London, BL, Harley 874) probably *c.* 1350–70,[58] and precede only by a few decades the English translation in the Wycliffite Bible.[59] Just as in the Anglo-Norman versions, these to some extent paraphrase. This is not, however, the case for the Wycliffite Bible. Its prologue makes abundantly clear how the text was considered a direct revelation from God as a book of prophecy and a revelation of the history of the church:

> Wherfore this book is seid apocalips: that is to sey revelacioun. For heere it is conteyned that god schewide to ioon, and ioon to hooli chirche, hou grete thingis hooli chirche suffride in the firste tyme, and now suffrith, and schal suffre in the laste tymes of antecrist . . . Therfore this booke among othere scripturis of the newe testament is clepid bi the name of prophecie: and it is more excellent than prophetis. For as the newe testament is worthiere than the olde, and the gospel than the lawe, so this prophecie passith the prophecies of the olde testament.[60]

55 H. R. Jauss (ed.), *La littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique*, 2 vols., Grundriss der roman-ischen Literaturen des Mittelalters 6 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1968–77), vol. I, p. 29; vol. II, 36–7, no. 1412. See also Sneddon in this volume, pp. 256–7.

56 P. Meyer, 'Version anglo-normande en vers de l'Apocalypse', *Romania* 25 (1896), 174–257, and B. A. Pitts, 'Versions of the Apocalypse in Medieval French Verse', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 31–59, for the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman verse translation, and *An Anglo-Norman Rhymed Apocalypse with Commentary*, ed. O. Rhys, Anglo-Norman Text Society 6 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1946), for the fourteenth-century version.

57 *La Bible de Macé de la Charité. Vol. VII: Apocalypse*, ed. R. L. H. Lops (Leiden: Brill, 1982), for an edition and commentary.

58 *A Fourteenth-Century Biblical Version*, ed. A. C. Paues (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), pp. xxi–xxx, J. H. Morey, *Book and Verse. A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), pp. 351–3, and *An English Fourteenth Century Apocalypse Version with a Prose Commentary*, ed. E. Fridner, (Lund: Gleerup, 1961), for an edition.

59 *King Henry's Bible. MS Bodley 277. The Revised Version of the Wyclif Bible*, ed. C. Lindberg, 4 vols., Stockholm Studies in English 9, 94, 98, 100 (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1999–2004), vol. IV, pp. 330–50.

60 *King Henry's Bible*, ed. Lindberg, vol. IX, p. 330. This is a translation from Gilbert de la Porrée's (wrongly attributed) Latin prologue frequently found from the mid-thirteenth century onwards: Berger, *Les préfaces*, no. 320; de Bruyne, *Préfaces*, pp. 262–3.

In Germany, too, the text was translated into both prose and verse. The verse translation of Heinrich von Hesler, made *c.* 1300, perhaps in Thuringia, exists in illustrated copies which came from the lands of the Teutonic knights.[61] The first prose translations are the Augsburg New Testament of 1350 (Augsburg, Stadtbibliothek, 3)[62] and an illustrated Thuringian version of *c.* 1360–70 (London, BL, Add. 15243).[63] Several versions in the vernacular are found in Italy, notably the commentary of Federico Renoldo da Venezia, a Tuscan version based on Pietro di Giovanni Olivi's commentary, and a translation from Tuscany, perhaps deriving from the French translation in the Bible of St Louis.[64]

One of the apocryphal Apocalypses, that of Paul, the *Visio Pauli*, was also much translated into most European languages, particularly English, French and German, and on rare occasions was provided with illustrations in England and France.[65]

Illustrated Apocalypses

Of all books of the Bible, with the sole exception of Psalms, the Apocalypse of John is most frequently found as a single-volume illustrated book.[66]

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61 *Heinrich von Hesler. Apokalypse, aus der Danziger Handschrift*, ed. K. Helm (Berlin: Weidmann, 1907); T. Herrman, *Der Bildschmuck der Deutsch-Ordensapokalypsen Heinrichs von Hesler* (Königsberg: Gräfe und Unzer, 1934); N. H. Ott and G. Fischer-Heetfeld, 'Apokalypse', in their *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich: Beck, 1988–9), pp. 232–40.

62 K. Ruh, 'Augsburger Bibelhandschrift', in B. Wachinger, G. Keil, K. Ruh and W. Schröder (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978–2008), vol. 1, cols. 517–19.

63 A. Hatto, 'Eine deutsche Apokalypse des 14. Jahrhunderts', *Bibel und deutsche Kultur* 6 (1936), 175–99; H. Beckers, 'Apokalypse', in Wachinger et al. (eds.), *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1, cols. 406–7; and Ott and Fischer-Heetfeld, 'Apokalypse', pp. 244–6.

64 Jauss (ed.), *La littérature didactique*, vol. 1, p. 41; vol. 11, p. 71, no. 1536; and in this volume, Leonardi, pp. 272–3.

65 For versions in Old English, French and Middle High German see A. DiP. Healey, *The Old English Vision of St Paul* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978); P. Meyer, 'La descente de Saint Paul en Enfer, poème français composé en Angleterre', *Romania* 24 (1895), 357–75; D. D. R. Owen, 'The Vision of St Paul. The French and Provençal Versions and their Sources', *Romance Philology* 12 (1958), 33–51; L. Leonardi, 'La *Visio Pauli* di Adam de Ross', *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 11 (1997), 25–79. On illustrated English copies, see N. J. Morgan, 'The Torments of the Damned in Hell in Texts and Images in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in N. J. Morgan (ed.), *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom, Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 12 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2004), pp. 250–60.

66 R. K. Emmerson and S. Lewis, 'Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts Containing Apocalypse Illustrations ca. 800–1500', *Traditio* 40 (1984), 339–79; 41 (1985), 367–409; and 42 (1986), 443–72, supersede the very outdated lists in M. R. James, *The Apocalypse in Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

Gospelbooks were of course very numerous up to *c.* 1200, but most contained only portraits of the four evangelists and not illustrations of the text. The Apocalypse presents a vivid dramatic narrative which both artists and readers found of great appeal in illustrations. Manuscripts with pictures constitute almost a third of all surviving single-volume Apocalypses, with the remaining two thirds in Latin with full commentary. By far the majority of these illustrated Apocalypses also contain a commentary on the text, albeit in most cases heavily abbreviated from the full version. Of known authors, the commentaries of Beatus of Liébana and Berengaudus were those most frequently used to accompany the pictures.[67] The excerpts from Berengaudus were sometimes translated into Anglo-Norman, but more commonly exist in Latin, and Beatus of Liébana is always found in Latin. Also frequently used for illustrated copies was a Latin commentary probably written in Paris *c.* 1220, which is known from the excerpts in the Latin versions of the *Bibles moralisées*. It is more often found in a French prose translation in the single-volume illustrated Apocalypses.[68] This translation of the Latin commentary also accompanies the manuscripts which have the Apocalypse text in French verse.[69]

The earliest surviving illustrated Apocalypses are of the Carolingian period, produced in the early ninth century in France, but many features suggest that they are copies of Italian manuscripts of the sixth or seventh centuries and perhaps also a Northumbrian manuscript of of the time of Bede, *c.* 700.[70] They fall into two groups: Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 31, from north France, *c.* 800–25, and its later copy, Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 386, perhaps made in

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67 For the Berengaudus extracts with translations see *The Lambeth Apocalypse. Manuscript 209 in Lambeth Palace Library*, ed. N. J. Morgan and M. Brown (London: Harvey Miller, 1990), pp. 127–246; *Apocalipsis Gulbenkian*, ed. N. J. Morgan et al. (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2002), pp. 243–349; *The Trinity Apocalypse*, ed. D. McKitterick et al. (London: BL, 2005), CD-ROM, pp. 1–80; and *L'Apocalypse figurée des ducs de Savoie*, ed. C. Gardet (Annecy: Gardet, 1969), pp. 43–74.

68 For this important Latin commentary, see G. Breder, *Die lateinische Vorlage des altfranzösischen Apokalypsenkommentars des 13 Jahrhunderts (Paris, B.N. MS fr. 403)* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1960), pp. 16–54; *The Bible of St Louis. Complete Facsimile Edition in the Original Format of MS M. 240 from the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Commentary*, ed. H.-W. Stork (Graz: ADEVA, 1996), pp. 39–42, 50–78; Y. Christe, 'L'Apocalypse dans les Bibles moralisées de la première moitié du 13e siècle', *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* 25 (1997), 7–46; *Biblia de San Luis, Catedral primada de Toledo*, ed. R. Gonzálvez Ruiz (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 229–43, 472–88, 507; and J. Bradley, *The Apocalypse, its Commentators and Illustrators, with Special Reference to the Morgan Manuscript* (London: [privately printed], 1906), pp. 18–30.

69 Dean and Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, pp. 262–3, nos. 477, 478.

70 See P. K. Klein, 'Les cycles de l'Apocalypse du haut moyen âge (IX–XIIIe siècles)', in *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Traditions exégetiques et iconographiques IIIe–XIIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque de la Fondation Hardt 1976* (Geneva: Droz, 1979), pp. 135–86, with a stemma of iconographic relationships.

Cambrai, *c.* 900–25; and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 99, *c.* 800–25, from north-east France or Liège, and the related Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1132, *c.* 900–25, possibly from St Amand.[71] All these have the text without accompanying commentary, although interlinear and marginal commentary was added to the Paris manuscript in the fourteenth century. The Trier Apocalypse has an almost square book format, with full-page miniatures framed by plain thin orange bands, and these features are the best evidence for a sixth-century model.[72] The earliest manuscript of the second group is that in Valenciennes. The first picture has a wide frame filled with panels of interlace and resembles the *c.* 700 Cassiodorus on Psalms (Durham, Cathedral Library, B. II. 30), which has led to the suggestion that its model may have been a lost early eighth-century Northumbrian illustrated Apocalypse.[73] But that manuscript, too, may have originated from an Italian model, quite plausibly the pictures of the Apocalypse brought back by Benedict Biscop from Rome to Monkwearmouth–Jarrow, *c.* 675.

Over a century after Beatus of Liébana had written his commentary (*c.* 785) illustrated copies appeared, and they continued until the mid-thirteenth century, presenting the longest iconographic tradition of any form of illustrated Apocalypse. His commentary may have been originally intended to have pictures, in part derived from an illustrated Apocalypse without commentary of two or more centuries earlier, in Late Antiquity.[74] As with the Carolingian ninth-century Apocalypses, the Beatus pictures were adaptations rather than original creations, and the model was probably of the sixth or seventh century. This prototype for the Beatus Apocalypse pictures resembled the seventh-century Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 2334), made in Spain or North Africa.[75] The earliest Beatus manuscript,

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71 On these see H. Omont, 'Manuscrits illustrés de l'Apocalypse aux IXe et Xe siècles', *Bulletin de la Société française pour Reproduction des Manuscrits à Peintures* 6 (1922), 64–93; *Trierer Apokalypse*, ed. R. Laufner and P. K. Klein, 2 vols., Codices Selecti 48–48* (Graz: ADEVA, 1975); Klein, 'Cycles de l'Apocalypse'.

72 This format is in the early fifth-century Vatican Vergil (BAV, Vat. lat. 3225): K. Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York: Braziller, 1977), pls. 1–4.

73 For this Northumbrian manuscript, see Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, pp. 82–3, no. 64.

74 P. K. Klein, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr 14–1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid. Studien zur Beatus-Illustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1976), pp. 652–6, revised the schema of iconographic manuscript relationships given in W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration. Das Problem der Beatus-Handschriften* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1931). See also J. Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus. A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols. (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 1994–2003), vol. 1, pp. 19–100.

75 Weitzmann, *Late Antique Illumination*, pls. 44–7.

c. 875–900, survives only as a fragment of one leaf,[76] and the first extant complete copy is of *c.* 940–45 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 644).[77] Seven more copies are from the tenth century, five from the eleventh, nine from the twelfth, and two from the first half of the thirteenth.[78] All were made in the north of Spain, save for one from south-west France, one from central Italy and one from Portugal. Sixty-nine framed or unframed illustrations of the Apocalypse of varying size are placed at various positions within the text pages.

During the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, although many of these illustrated Beatus Apocalypses were produced in Spain in a continuous tradition, elsewhere in Europe the manuscripts of commentaries hardly ever received any illustration. The Bamberg Apocalypse of the early eleventh century, made at the abbey of Reichenau, a rare example of this period, has fifty pictures, mostly full-page, which illustrate the Apocalypse text without any accompanying commentary (Bamberg, Staatsbiliothek, Bibl. 140 (A. II. 42).[79] Its illustrations are in an iconographic tradition different from that of the Beatus Apocalypses, but were also perhaps based on sixth- or seventh-century Italian models.

The *c.* 1100 English or Norman Berengaudus commentary at Longleat House (Collection of the Marquess of Bath, 2) has a frontispiece showing John writing below Christ but no pictures in the text.[80] Haimo of Auxerre's commentary exists in a unique illustrated copy (Oxford, BodL, Bodley 352) made in north Germany *c.* 1100–25. This contains eighteen full-page pictures preceding the text, most of them containing several separate narrative scenes, which derive from a similar source to the set of Apocalypse illustrations in the *Liber Floridus*, an encyclopaedic compilation made by Lambert of St Omer, *c.* 1120, which originally contained sixty-one scenes.[81] One manuscript of

76 Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, vol. II, pp. 19–20, figs. 1–2.
77 *A Spanish Apocalypse. The Morgan Beatus Manuscript*, ed. J. Williams (New York: Braziller, 1991), and Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, vol. II, pp. 21–33, figs. 3–118.
78 On these see Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, vols. II–V.
79 E. Harnischfeger, *Die Bamberger Apokalypse* (Stuttgart: Urachhaus, 1981); *Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, ed. G. Suckale-Redlefsen and B. Schemmel, 2 vols. (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 2000); and G. Suckale-Redlefsen and B. Schemmel, *Das Buch mit 7 Siegeln. Die Bamberger Apokalypse* (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 2000), with chapter by Klein, pp. 105–36, on the iconographic sources.
80 M. A. Michael, 'An Illustrated "Apocalypse" Manuscript at Longleat House', *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984), 340–3, thought this suggested the existence of twelfth-century fully illustrated copies of Berengaudus' text, but the frontispiece is in the manner of an author portrait, as in opening initials to the Apocalypse in Bibles.
81 P. K. Klein, 'Der Apokalypse-Zyklus der Roda-Bibel und seine Stellung in der ikonographischen Tradition', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 45–7 (1972–4), 267–333, and Klein, 'Cycles de l'Apocalypse', for discussions of the iconographic relationships beween all pre–1200 manuscripts,

Rupert of Deutz's commentary, made *c.* 1150–75 at Heiligenkreuz in Lower Austria, has twelve historiated initials, with drawings at the beginning of each of the twelve books of the commentary, illustrating major subjects such as the vision of Christ standing between the Candlesticks and the Seven Stars, the Woman in the Sun and the Whore of Babylon.[82] Compared with most other illustrated Apocalypses, this is a very limited set of images. A copy of *c.* 1160–70, possibly from Ramsey Abbey, of Bede's commentary (Cambridge, St John's College, H. 6) is illustrated by four prefatory drawings of John writing, John as bishop, a candelabra and the seated Apocalyptic Christ with the sword in his mouth.[83] These frontispiece illustrations with the author and the opening vision of the text are comparable with the prefatory picture of the Longleat copy of Berengaudus, and in no way constitute an illustrated Apocalypse, as in the unique German copy of Haimo of Auxerre's commentary.

It is a paradox that in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, when so many commentaries were written, there were so few illustrated Apocalypses outside the Beatus tradition in Spain. The contrast with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is marked: over seventy copies survive from this period, with the number of illustrations ranging from about sixty to over a hundred. These are almost all from England and France, with the French copies being much fewer in number than the English.[84] Almost all have a commentary accompanying the biblical text.[85] About half this number are in Latin, with the remainder in Anglo-Norman and various Continental French dialects, in both prose and verse.[86] Several, both in Latin and in French, are documented as belonging to lay owners, and it is likely that the majority of these illustrated books were destined for lay readership rather than for clerics or members of the religious orders.[87] The social status of the owners of Apocalypses had

including that of Haimo and the *Liber Floridus*. On the latter's iconography, see also H. Swarzenski, 'Comments on the Figural Illustrations', in A. Derolez (ed.), *Liber Floridus Colloquium* (Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1973), pp. 21–30.
82 P. K. Klein, 'Rupert de Deutz et son commentaire illustré de l'Apocalypse à Heiligenkreuz', *Journal des Savants* (1980), 119–39.
83 C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190*, SMIBI 3 (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), p. 112, no. 86.
84 Emmerson and Lewis, 'Census and Bibliography', pt 2, nos. 38–117, for these English and French thirteenth-/fourteenth-century books.
85 S. Lewis, 'Exegesis and Illustration in Thirteenth-Century English Apocalypses', in Emmerson and McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse*, pp. 259–75, on the relation between exegesis and illustration in the English manuscripts.
86 J. C. Fox, 'The Earliest French Apocalypse and Commentary', *Modern Language Review* 7 (1912), 447–68, discussed the themes of the French prose commentary.
87 Lewis has argued in several publications, not always convincingly, for several of the early copies being designed for clerical ownership.

changed from the time when the audience was monastic, up to *c.* 1200. This reflects a change in level of readership from a theological one to that of basic religious instruction. The imagery of these books derives only in part from the early medieval and Romanesque illustrated manuscripts, and frequently presents an innovative set of pictures.[88]

The origin of these English and French thirteenth-century Apocalypses with commentary may be in the *Bibles moralisées*, of which the first copy was made *c.* 1220, containing an extensive set of pictures for the Apocalypse.[89] These were Bibles intended for the religious instruction of the French royal family, with selections of biblical text, each accompanied by a commentary, and both illustrated by a picture. The Apocalypse in these *Bibles moralisées* was given a fuller set of illustrations than for most other books of the Bible. These French Bibles were followed in England by books of the Apocalypse in single volumes with excerpts of commentary text – not always the same commentary but in most cases that of Berengaudus. They evolved in the decade *c.* 1240–50, the earliest extant copies being of the 1250s, and they continued to be produced in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[90] Their patrons were also mainly members of the high aristocracy and the royal family, and they served a similar purpose of religious instruction as the *Bibles moralisées*. By the end of the thirteenth century copies modelled on the English manuscripts appeared in France.[91] Numerous manuscripts survive from both

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88 See P. K. Klein, *Endzeiterwartung und Ritterideologie. Die englische Apokalypsen der Frühgotik und MS Douce 180* (Graz: ADEVA, 1983), pp. 166–70, for the best schema of iconographic relationships in many of these manuscripts.

89 For facsimiles, see de Laborde, *La Bible moralisée illustrée conservée á Oxford, Paris et Londres*, ed. A. de Laborde, 5 vols. (Paris: Société Francaise de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, 1911–27), pls. 587–624; *Biblia de San Luis*, ed. Gonzálvez Ruiz; and *Die Bibel Ludwigs des Heiligen*, ed. H.-W. Stork, 2 vols., Codices Selecti 102–102* (Graz: ADEVA, 1995–6).

90 N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1250–1285*, SMIBI 4.2 (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), nos. 103, 107–10, 122, 125–7, 153–4, with iconographic tables on pp. 201–14. S. Lewis, *Reading Images. Narrative Discourse and Reception of the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 58–199, has excellent discussion of all images in the pictorial cycles of these books. For fourteenth-century copies, see L. F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, 2 vols., SMIBI 5 (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), nos. 7, 34, 46, 54–5, 61, 72, 92–3, 103, 153, with iconographic tables on pp. 182–7.

91 See N. J. Morgan, 'Some French Interpretations of English Illustrated Apocalypses c.1290–1330', in J. Mitchell (ed.), *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages. Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 7 (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), pp. 137–56, on these French Apocalypses. For facsimiles, see *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, ed. F. Deuchler et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971); *Lothringische Apokalypse, Das Manuscript Oc. 50 aus dem Bestand der Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden*, ed. R. Behrends, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1982); and *Apocalipsis 1313*, ed. C. Chadelve and J. A. Caneda Goyanes (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2000). On the last see also S. Lewis, 'The Apocalypse of Isabella of France', *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), 224–60.

countries, but in England the last is of the late fourteenth century,[92] although in France and Flanders a few copies were produced in the fifteenth century.[93]

The formats of these books varied. The most common had at the head of each page a rectangular picture of the Apocalypse narrative, and below in two columns was set the accompanying passage of text with an appropriate section of commentary.[94] Others had framed pictures of varying size within the text, which was sometimes set in two columns. A third format, essentially a picture-book, had passages of the Apocalypse text and accompanying commentary set on scrolls or placards within the picture, analagous to a modern 'comic strip'.[95] It was this format that was followed when the block-book Apocalypses first appeared in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. An interesting aspect of these picture-books is that they interpolate scenes from the life of Antichrist, which was not in the biblical text, at chapter 11 in the section telling of the persecution and killing of the two witnesses.[96] In all these formats the sections of text and commentary varied between the manuscripts, depending on the number of pictures. The relationship between the picture cycles of the approximately seventy manuscripts of these thirteenth- and fourteenth-century illustrated Apocalypses is complex and has been the subject of much debate.[97] The commentary extracts sometimes conditioned special features in the pictures, but only in two English copies of *c.* 1265–75 were the commentary passages specifically illustrated in themselves, just as in the *Bibles moralisées*.[98]

92 Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 153.
93 Examples are Emmerson and Lewis, 'Census and Bibliography', pt 2, no. 88; *L'Apocalypse figurée,* ed. Gardet; S. Lewis, 'The Apocalypse of Margaret of York', in T. Kren (ed.), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and the Visions of Tondal* (Malibu, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), pp. 77–88; R. Haussherr, 'Eine verspätete Apokalypsen-Handschrift und ihre Vorlage', in I. Lavin and J. Plummer (eds.), *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss* (New York University Press, 1978), pp. 219–40; and L. R. Ciavaldini, *Imaginaires de l'Apocalypse. Pouvoir et spiritualité dans l'art gothique européen* (Paris: Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 2007).
94 For transcriptions and translations of the text, see n. 67.
95 *The Apocalypse of St John the Divine*, ed. H. O. Coxe (London: Roxburghe Club, 1876); Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1250–1285*, nos. 122, 131.
96 These were also added as an afterthought as bas-de-page pictures to the Lambeth Apocalypse, not quite in the correct position according to the text: *Lambeth Apocalypse*, ed. Morgan and Brown, pp. 47–8, 163–9. J. Poesch, 'Antichrist Imagery in Anglo-French Apocalypse Manuscripts', unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania (1966), and R. M. Wright, *Art and Antichrist in Medieval Europe* (Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 115–43, for full discussion of Antichrist imagery in these and other English thirteenth-century Apocalypses.
97 Klein, *Endzeiterwartung*, pp. 166–70, has been the most successful in proposing a convincing stemma, followed in adapted form by *Lambeth Apocalypse*, ed. Morgan and Brown, pp. 39–43.
98 Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1250–1285*, pp. 106–10, nos. 127–8. For the Gulbenkian manuscript, see *Apocalipsis Gulbenkian*, ed. Morgan et al., pp. 85–168, 213–38, 243–349.

Block-book and incunable Apocalypses

As a prelude to the printed book, in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the so-called block books appeared, made from woodcuts, and one of the earliest of these to be printed was the Apocalypse. This was essentially a recreation of the picture-book type which had originated in mid-thirteenth-century England, in which excerpts from the biblical text and excerpts from Berengaudus' commentary were inserted in a series of ninety-two (or ninety-four) pictures. Manuscripts similar to the two English copies of *c.* 1250–60 seem to have been available as models in the Netherlands and Germany when the first block book appeared *c.* 1430–50.[99] Indeed, there are Continental manuscript copies of such English manuscripts of *c.* 1375, one from Flanders,[100] another of *c.* 1420–40 of uncertain provenance, possibly Dutch or German,[101] and a third from Germany of *c.* 1460 which seems to be a manuscript copy of one of the earliest block-book Apocalypses.[102] The block books are in six different versions, but with relatively minor differences in the pictures.[103] Although the earliest printed complete Bibles in German translation, such as the Cologne Bible of 1478–9, followed by the Strasbourg Bible of 1485, contained nine illustrations, a single-volume illustrated printed Apocalypse did not appear until 1498, with Dürer's famous series of fifteen prints.[104]

The Apocalypse as an illustrated single volume, both in Latin and the vernacular versions, was the form in which the text very often occurred throughout

99 For the origins of these books, see G. Bing, 'The Apocalypse Block Books and their Manuscript Models', *JWCI* 5 (1942), 143–59, and N. J. Morgan, 'A Model Sheet from Mons, the Tradition of the Morgan-Bodleian Picture-Book Apocalypse and the Early Dutch Block Book Apocalypse', in Binski and Noel (eds.), *New Offerings*, pp. 389–416.

100 F. Carey (ed.), *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come* [exhibition catalogue] (London: British Museum, 1999), pp. 88–9.

101 L. von Wilckens, 'Hinweise zu einigen frühen Einblattholzschnitten und zur Blockbuch-Apokalypse', *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1978), 7–23.

102 Carey (ed.), *Apocalypse*, pp. 125–8.

103 The iconography of the six editions is compared in W. L. Schreiber, *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur métal au XVe siècle. Vol. IV: Un catalogue des livres xylographiques et xylo-chirographiques* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1902), pp. 160–216. For more recent discussion, see E. Purpus, 'Die Blockbücher der Apokalypse', and 'Die Vorläufer der Blockbücher der Apokalypse', in S. Mertens, E. Purpus and C. Schneider (eds.), *Blockbücher des Mittelalters* (Mainz: von Sabern, 1991), pp. 81–97, 99–118, and E. Purpus and C. Schneider, 'Die Szenenabfolge der Blockbuch-Apokalypse', in Mertens, Purpus and Schneider (eds.), *Blockbücher des Mittelalters*, pp. 59–74.

104 W. Worringer, *Die Kölner Bibel 1478* (Munich: Piper, 1923); W. Eichenberger and H. Wendland, *Deutsche Bibeln vor Luther. Die Buchkunst der achtzehn deutschen Bibeln zwischen 1466 und 1522* (Hamburg: Wittig, 1977); and F. van der Meer, *Apocalypse. Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1978), pp. 282–305.

the Middle Ages. Going back to the sixth and seventh centuries, it is again in an illustrated format that it is found in the earliest single volumes of the text which have come down to us. The commentaries on the text doubtless initiated the single-volume format, and this long tradition of exegesis paralleled the production of illustrated copies. It seems that the nature of the text, with its complex allegorical imagery, not only necessitated explanation in words but could be given enhanced understanding when supplemented with pictures. It is this need for supplementary explication that sets the special single-volume format of the Apocalypse text in a different category from the other books of the Bible.

Appendix

Select Apocalypse manuscript facsimiles

Apocalipsis 1313, ed. C. Chadelve and J. A. Caneda Goyanes (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2000)

Apocalipsis figurado de los Duques de Saboya Cod. Ms Vitrina I de la Biblioteca de El Escorial, ed. C. Santiago Agut (Madrid: Edilan, 1980)

Apocalipsis Gulbenkian, ed. N. J. Morgan et al. (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2002)

Apocalipsis Yates Thompson (MS 10), London, British Library, ed. N. J. Morgan et al. (Madrid: AyN Ediciones, 2008–10)

Apocalisse (di Dublino), ed. S. Lewis et al. (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1993)

Apocalypse (Bibliothèque nationale Fonds français 403), ed. F. Lecoy, Y. Otaka and H. Fukui (Osaka: Centre de Recherches Anglo-Normandes, 1981)

Apocalypse Anglo-Normande (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 16. 2), ed. Y. Otaka and H. Fukui (Osaka: Centre de Recherches Anglo-Normandes, 1977)

L'Apocalypse en francais au XIIIe siècle, ed. L. Delisle and P. Meyer (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1900–1)

L'Apocalypse figurée des ducs de Savoie, ed. C. Gardet (Annecy: Gardet, 1969)

The Apocalypse of St John the Divine, ed. H. O. Coxe (London: Roxburghe Club, 1876)

Apokalypse. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift MS Douce 180 der Bodleian Library, Oxford, ed. P. K. Klein, Codices Selecti 72–72∗ (Graz: ADEVA, 1981–3)

Die Bamberger Apokalypse, ed. G. Suckale-Redlefsen and B. Schemmel, 2 vols. (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 2000)

Beato de Liébana, Códice de Fernando I y Doña Sancha, ed. M. Sánchez Mariana and J. Yarza Luaces (Barcelona: Moleiro, 1994)

Beato de Liébana, Códice de Girona, ed. G. Roura i Güibas and C. Miranda García-Tejedor (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2003)

Beato de Liébana, Códice del monasterio Cisterciense de San Andrés de Arroyo, ed. M. C. Vivancos et al. (Barcelona: Moleiro, 1999)

Beato de Liébana, Códice del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos, ed. M. C. Vivancos (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2004)

Beato de Liébana, Códice del monasterio San Pedro de Cardeña, ed. A. Franco Mata et al. (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2000–1)

Beato de Liébana, Códice de Manchester, John Rylands Library, ed. P. K. Klein (Valencia: Patrimonio Ediciones, 2002)

Beato de Liébana, Códice de Lorvão, ed. P. K. Klein (Valencia: Patrimonio Ediciones, 2004)

Die Bibel Ludwigs des Heiligen, ed. H.-W. Stork, 2 vols., Codices Selecti 102–102* (Graz: ADEVA, 1995–6).

La Bible moralisée illustrée conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres, ed. A. de Laborde, 5 vols. (Paris: Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, 1911–27)

The Bible of St Louis. Complete Facsimile Edition in the Original Format of MS M. 240 from the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Commentary, ed. H.-W. Stork (Graz: ADEVA, 1996)

Biblia de San Luis. Catedral Primada de Toledo, ed. R. Gonzálvez Ruiz, 5 vols. (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2001–4)

The Cloisters Apocalypse, ed. F. Deuchler et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971)

Comentario al Apocalipsis: edicion facsimil de Códice de Gerona (Madrid: Edilan, 1975)

The Dublin Apocalypse, ed. M. R. James (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1932)

The Getty Apocalypse. Facsimile of MS Ludwig III 1 in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, ed. N. J. Morgan (London: Folio Society, 2011)

The Lambeth Apocalypse. Manuscript 209 in Lambeth Palace Library, ed. N. J. Morgan and M. Brown (London: Harvey Miller, 1990)

Lothringische Apokalypse. Das Manuskript Oc. 50 aus dem Bestand der Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden, ed. R. Behrends, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1982)

Die Oxforder Apokalypse, MS Douce 180 der Bodleian Library, Oxford, ed. P. K. Klein (Graz: ADEVA, 2010)

A Spanish Apocalypse. The Morgan Beatus Manuscript, ed. J. Williams (New York: Braziller, 1991)

Trierer Apokalypse, ed. R. Laufner and P. Klein, 2 vols., Codices Selecti 48–48* (Graz: ADEVA, 1975)

Die Trierer Apokalypse. Codex 31 der Stadtbibliothek Trier, ed. P. K. Klein (Graz: ADEVA, 2001)

The Trinity Apocalypse, ed. P. H. Brieger (London: Eugrammia Press, 1967)

Die Trinity Apokalypse. Faksimile Ausgabe der Handschrift MS R. 16.2 aus dem Trinity College, Cambridge, ed. D. McKitterick et al. (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 2004)

The Latin psalter

THERESA GROSS-DIAZ

The psalter contains the complete book of Psalms, comprising 150 poems originally composed in Hebrew between the tenth and third centuries BCE. For monastics, secular scholars and the laity alike, this was arguably the single most important book of the Bible. Among Christians of medieval Europe, it was generally agreed that the psalms were immediately and obviously about Christ: Aquinas summed up a millennium of exegetical opinion when he held that the psalms comprised 'all theology' and 'everything concerning the Incarnation'.[1] The psalter was at the core of both monastic and secular liturgy. For monks, it was the foundation of prayer and the sovereign guide to contemplation; for church writers, it was the cardinal text for trying out new approaches and teaching new ideas; for preachers, it was an inexhaustible handbook for constructing sermons. Clergy and laity knew the psalter better than any other book; and they knew it *as* a book – that is, not only orally, through sermons and liturgy, but in written form, for they owned it, commissioned it, even learned to read from it. The language of the Latin psalter was the language of the Middle Ages, its phrases so well known that they echo throughout sacred and profane literature of the time, and enrich the vocabulary not only of medieval Latin but of Romance languages. Its verbal images form a significant part of the artistic heritage of medieval Europe.

Text and versions

Though the history of the text of the Latin Bible is covered elsewhere in this volume, two points can usefully be emphasised here. The first is that the book of Psalms presents an exception to the gradual but ultimately overwhelming

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1 Thomas Aquinas, *In psalmos Davidis expositio*, in *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis opera omnia*, vol. XIV (Parma: Typis Petri Fiaccadori, 1863; photographic repr. New York: Musurgia, 1949), p. 148.

acceptance across Europe of Jerome's translation of the canonical Old Testament according to the Hebrew text. Instead of his final 'Hebrew' version of Psalms, his earlier 'Gallican' translation prevailed. The second point is that the text of this Gallican psalter was itself not entirely stable in the Middle Ages, largely due to its very importance in the liturgy and lives of western Christians. Both of these points need some explanation.

From the earliest years of Christianity, Latin translations of the Bible from the Greek (especially Psalms and the Gospels) had appeared somewhat haphazardly throughout western Europe and North Africa, in versions later known collectively as *Vetus Latina* or Old Latin. Augustine relates that anyone who thought they had a smattering of Greek and Latin did not hesitate to whip up a translation.[2] By around 600 these had been largely replaced by Jerome's translations and revisions (known later as the Vulgate, 'popular') in most of Europe.

However, Jerome had produced three Latin translations – or more accurately, two emendations and a translation – of the book of Psalms. The later two are known as the Gallican (*Gallicanum*) and the Hebrew (*Hebraicum*). The first, made while Jerome was in Rome (383–4), was a somewhat hasty emendation of current Latin versions, corrected against one or more Greek versions (as Jerome says in his preface to his second version of Psalms).[3] It was once believed that this was the so-called *Psalterium Romanum*, a translation employed in and around Rome until the time of Pius V,[4] and in the Basilica of St Peter until Vatican II. This attribution has been more or less rejected since the work of de Bruyne,[5] though the fact that the Roman psalter seems closer than any *Vetus Latina* version to Jerome's second revision means that it is not without interest.[6]

Whatever the origin of Jerome's first redaction of the psalter, he considered it to be inadequate. His second was made between 389 and 392, while he was living in the Holy Land. This was not a new translation of the Greek Septuagint; rather, Jerome qualified it as a thorough revision of existing Latin translations (possibly the *Romanum*). He based it on the 'critical edition' of

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2 *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. J. Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), pp. 1–167, at p. 42.
3 'Psalterium Romae dudum', in *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber et al., 2 vols., 4th edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), vol. 1, p. 767.
4 V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Macon: Protat Frères, 1940–1), p. xxx; Pius decreed its replacement by the Gallican version in his encyclical *Quo primum*, 1570.
5 D. de Bruyne, 'Le problème du psautier romain', *RB* 42 (1930), 101–26.
6 C. Estin, *Les psautiers de Jérôme. À la lumière des traductions juives antérieures*, Collectanea Biblica Latina 15 (Rome: San Girolamo, 1984), p. 27.

the Greek Septuagint as included in Origen's *Hexapla*, and possibly on other materials available to him in Caesarea.[7] Following Origen, Jerome supplied asterisks (indicating words left out in the Septuagint) and obelisks (signalling words wrongly added in the Septuagint). In the course of later manuscript transmission of this version, these signs suffered grave misadventures, being either copied erroneously or omitted entirely. This second Hieronymian version is called either the Hexaplaric psalter, *iuxta Septuaginta*, or most frequently, the *Gallicanum* or Gallican psalter.

Jerome returned to Psalms a third time, *c.* 392, producing this time a fresh translation from the 'Hebrew truth'. The *Hebraicum* version, however, is now considered to be less reliant on any actual Hebrew text than it is on the Greek translations from the Hebrew by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, as preserved in Origen's *Hexapla*, along with yet another Greek version apparently added to some versions of the *Hexapla* and known as the *quinta editio* ('fifth edition'). In his preface to this psalter *iuxta Hebraeos*, Jerome explains the need for a text of the psalms that would be useful in polemical confrontations with the Jews, whose text differed significantly from the commonly available Septuagint; and he says that he was therefore asked to prepare a new Latin 'edition' *post Aquilam, Symmachum et Theodotionem*.[8] In this version, Jerome dared to stray far from the time-honoured phrases so familiar from contemporary liturgical use; he saw this as a psalter meant for study and argument.

Jerome's and other early Latin psalters had a complicated history in the Middle Ages. Whatever the origin of the *Romanum*, it was fairly widespread in early medieval Europe until around 800. Exceptions to this were Spain, where a close relative of the *Romanum* called the Mozarabic psalter predominated, and the region around Milan, which used the so-called Ambrosian psalter. The Roman psalter was used and quoted by St Benedict of Nursia and by Pope St Gregory the Great, whose missionaries brought the version to England. However, the reforms of the liturgy and of the Bible effected under Carolingian rule displaced the Roman psalter from its predominant position. The expression *Psalterium Romanum* did not itself appear until this period, when it was so identified in order to differentiate it from the newly preferred *Gallicanum* version. Surviving examples of the Roman version outside Italy are thus either very early (such as the psalter from St Augustine, Canterbury, *c.* 700 – London, BL, Vespasian A. i), or included as a comparison text for study in double,

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7 Estin, *Psautiers*, pp. 28, 34. Origen's great work (which survives only in a few fragments and by report) had six parallel columns of Hebrew and Greek versions of the Old Testament.
8 Estin, *Psautiers*, p. 30.

triple or quadruple psalters (for example the eleventh-century triple psalter – *Gallicanum, Romanum, Hebraicum* – Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 15, fols. 50–214v).

On the other hand, since the popularity of the *Romanum* coincided with the spread of Benedictine monasticism in western Europe, phrases from it became deeply embedded in monastic liturgy, especially in sung antiphons and collects (themselves derived from the psalms) where the music would help to preserve the phrases for which it was written. In similar fashion, echoes of a pre-Mozarabic, indeed pre-Visigothic, psalter are found in the Antiphonary of Leon.[9] A half-millennium of development of monastic and secular liturgy had already made sure that local usages were firmly entrenched. Jerome himself had foreseen resistance to his various recensions, noting that it would be seen as great presumption on his part to tell an old man that he had been singing the psalms wrong all his life.

While Jerome believed his *Hebraicum* version of Psalms to be the most accurate one, and though it did eventually find currency in some regions (notably Spain, and arguably for precisely the polemical reasons Jerome mentions), his earlier psalter translated from the Septuagint was the one that eventually dominated in most of medieval Europe, through its inclusion in Carolingian Bibles. Religious reform was at the heart of Carolingian political and educational *renovatio*; correct liturgy and an educated clergy demanded reliable texts, and the *Admonitio generalis* (789–90) and *Epistola ad litteris colendis* (shortly before), among other imperial legislation, called both for correct copies and for assiduous study of scriptural books. Several scholars in Carolingian courts answered the call. Among them was the Visigoth Theodulf, bishop of Orléans (d. 821), who used Jerome's *Hebraicum* for Psalms in his critical editions of the Bible (whose six surviving complete *exempla* include the St Hubert Bible, London, BL, Add. 24142). Theodulf compared the *Hebraicum* to Spanish (Visigothic) psalters and antiphonaries with which he was familiar, as well as Alcuin's recension, and supplied the manuscripts with critical apparatus.

Adoption of the Gallicanum

Alcuin's work was less scholarly but more influential. As Charlemagne's chief scholar in residence, he busied a team in the search for reliable biblical manuscripts, sending to Rome and England for *exempla*. He chose Jerome's translation from the Septuagint, not the *Hebraicum* or *Romanum*, as the version

9 L. Brou, 'Le psautier liturgique wisigothique et les éditions critiques des psautiers latins', *Hispania Sacra* 8 (1955), 337–60.

of Psalms to be used in the biblical books produced for Charlemagne's court school (from *c.* 782) and afterwards in the influential scriptorium at Tours, where he was abbot of the monastery of Saint Martin, *c.* 796–804. His 'edition' was hardly critical in spirit: he corrected obvious errors and made stylistic improvements but did not raise any serious scholarly questions regarding the text.[10] It was sustained production and dissemination of high-quality scriptural books from Tours, rather than any official endorsement by Charlemagne (much less any ecclesiastical authority), that made Jerome's translation *iuxta Septuaginta* the most widely accepted psalter translation in Charlemagne's realm; it is for this reason that it became known as the Gallican. In the earliest extant pandect of Alcuin, the St Gall Bible, the psalms are Gallican,[11] as they are also in the Dagulf Psalter, one of the so-called 'Ada group' of biblical manuscripts connected with Charlemagne's court.[12] While rare examples preserve Jerome's obelisks and asterisks (more or less inaccurately), the vast majority do not, with the result that the words Jerome meant to expunge worked their way back into the Gallican text of Psalms. Ironically, this lent Jerome's authority to the very errors which he worked so hard to eradicate. Similarly, phrases familiar to the monastic scribes from psalm-derived liturgy dating back to various *Vetus Latina* versions also floated back into the text.

It is not entirely clear why Alcuin chose the *iuxta Septuaginta* text for his 'corrected' Bibles. The *Romanum* had long been predominant in Gaul, though the *iuxta Septuaginta* and *Hebraicum* versions were not unknown. The popularity of the psalter *iuxta Septuaginta* in Gaul is sometimes attributed to Gregory of Tours (d. 594), but this has not been proven. The importance of Rome both symbolically and concretely for Carolingian reform makes one wonder why Alcuin did not opt for the already widespread *Romanum* version.[13] The Franks were well aware of liturgical practices at Rome and would have known that the *Romanum* was the psalter current there. In the context of this question, Bonifatius Fischer adduced the Dagulf Psalter,[14] which includes among its complementary materials a remark that seems to indicate that

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10 J. J. Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Studies', in U.-R. Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays. Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), pp. 71–98; repr. in J. J. Contreni, *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 1992), item v.
11 St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 75.   12 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 1861.
13 D. A. Bullough, 'Roman Books and Carolingian *Renovatio*', in his *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (New York and Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 1–38, esp. pp. 2–8.
14 B. Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*, VLB 11 (Freiburg: Herder, 1985), p. 344–5.

Pope Damasus claimed that this psalter had the true and correct text of the Roman church, though it seems unlikely that Alcuin would be so influenced by a single and rather dubious letter. Complicating the question further, the selection and order of biblical canticles which follow the psalms in the Dagulf manuscript – and in subsequent Carolingian psalters – were apparently taken from the eighth-century Vespasian Psalter, made in Canterbury, which itself contains not the *Gallicanum* but the *Romanum* text.[15] This suggests that the choice of *Gallicanum* (and the rejection of the *Romanum*) was quite conscious.

Other influences are possible. As in Gaul, the *Romanum* had predominated in England, but it seems to have had no impact whatsoever in Ireland, where psalters switched rather suddenly from Old Latin (for example, the Cathach Psalter fragment, *c.* 600 – Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 12. R. 33) to being overwhelmingly *Gallicanum* about 600.[16] Jerome's *Hebraicum* was also known in Ireland, where it was studied in comparison to the *Gallicanum* (for instance, the double psalter of Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 24), but the *Romanum* is unrepresented in surviving Irish manuscripts. It is possible that the strong influence of Irish scholars at Charlemagne's court helped to incline Alcuin towards the *Gallicanum* version, though he famously complained (in 803) of the 'daily increasing influence' of the Irish at the court school, and his own education at York had been very Rome-oriented.

Whatever his reasons, Alcuin's choice had far-reaching repercussions. From France the Gallican psalter was introduced into England in the mid-tenth century with the Benedictine reform, and was firmly established by the end of the eleventh century.[17] A remarkable witness is the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 17. 1), created at Christ Church, Canterbury in the middle of the twelfth century. It presents the *Romanum*, *Hebraicum*, and *Gallicanum* versions in three columns, along with Anglo-Norman and Old English translations in two further columns. The column width and script of the Gallican text are nearly twice the size of the competing versions, as if to declare its dominance.[18] The Eadwine Psalter's probable exemplar, the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 32) has all three versions but they are

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15 R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 335–6.

16 M. McNamara, *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church* (Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 98–103.

17 M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE 25 (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 21–3.

18 M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop and R. W. Pfaff (eds.), *The Eadwine Psalter. Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury* (London and University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

presented in the same script size. A mid-eleventh-century, pre-Conquest, double psalter made in England may also be compared (the 'Paris Psalter', Paris, BNF, lat. 8824), in which the two Psalms texts are *Romanum* and Old English (the first fifty psalms in prose, translated by King Alfred in the late ninth century, the rest in a metrical version). The *Romanum* text is contaminated with many *Gallicanum* readings, however, presumably reflecting a period of transition in the use of the two versions in England.[19]

From France the *Gallicanum* was introduced into Spain, along with Roman liturgical practices, in the eleventh century, through Cluniac and Cistercian influence during the reconquest period. More surprisingly, the *Gallicanum* was reintroduced to Rome in connection with ecclesiastical reform in the eleventh century. The so-called 'Atlantic' Bibles of the mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century, the earliest of which were produced in Lazio, if not in Rome itself, were pandects commissioned by ecclesiastical reformers as both source and symbol of Roman apostolic legitimacy.[20] Not only were they copied in Caroline minuscule, but the reformers settled on the Gallican version for the book of Psalms – seemingly to align themselves with Carolingian imperial ideals and possibly northern monasticism. Over a dozen of these giant books survive. Their use of the Gallican version, however, did not interfere with Rome's continued use of the Roman psalter for liturgical purposes. As in Spain, where free-standing psalters continued to be Mozarabic, in central Italy psalters (when not part of pandects) remained overwhelmingly Roman during the Middle Ages.

The impact of Alcuin's choice of the text of Psalms reaches across the medieval and into the modern era. Since the *Gallicanum* was the version in the medieval Vulgate Bible, the numbering of the psalms in medieval manuscripts differs slightly from translations deriving directly from the Hebrew Bible (which includes most modern ones). The *Gallicanum* was, *mutatis mutandis*, the text copied with the *Glossa ordinaria*, and disseminated from the Victorine scriptoria in Paris. It became the basis of the Psalms text of the Paris Bible, which was essentially that printed by Gutenberg.[21]

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19 *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. P. P. O'Neill (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 2001), pp. 31–4. See also Marsden in this volume, pp. 221–2.

20 G. Lobrichon, 'Riforma ecclesiastica e testo della Bibbia', in M. Maniaci and G. Orofino (eds.), *Le Bibbie atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione* (Milan: Centro Tibaldi, 2000), pp. 15–26.

21 G. Dahan, 'La critique textuelle dans les correctoires de la Bible du XIIIe siècle', in A. de Libera, A. Elamrani-Jamal and A. Galonnier (eds.), *Langages et philosophie. Hommage à Jean Jolivet*, Études de Philosophie Médiévale 74 (Paris: Vrin, 1997), pp. 365–92.

Post-Carolingian textual criticism

Alcuin's 'correction' of Jerome's second revision of the psalter thus became the norm in western Europe, though this did not preclude continued interest in improving the accuracy of the text. The existence of an impressive number of double, triple and quadruple psalters dating from the Carolingian period and peaking in the twelfth century is evidence of this. Psalms commentaries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries reveal awareness of the pervasive presence of variants. However, most pre-scholastic commentators exhibited no desire to emend the received text of Psalms or determine which of the available texts was more correct. Nevertheless, while the vast majority of them gloss the Gallican psalter (with its own variants) as a matter of course, their use of earlier biblical scholarship from the patristic and Carolingian periods constantly exposed them to alternative texts. This posed some interesting problems for the glossators. Operating under the assumption that the book of Psalms (like the rest of the Bible) was the word of God, and realising that they were working with several Latin translations of a Greek translation of a Hebrew translation of divine language, there was understandable concern over what that 'word' was. But the legend of the Septuagint gave them a good starting point. That story, as related by Augustine,[22] reported that the seventy[-two] Greek scholars assembled by Ptolemy II Philadelphus to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek were isolated in separate cells and yet, by divine dispensation, managed to produce identical translations. Augustine allowed that the story of the separate cells might be hyperbole, but insisted that getting seventy scholars to agree unanimously on anything was miraculous in itself. His explanation was that these men were given a single voice by the Holy Spirit to create a document that, even where it seemed to disagree with the Hebrew, was authoritative and in some mysterious way reliable.

The salient (and reassuring) point that medieval commentators took from this legend was the idea that translators, like the authors of all the different books of the Bible, were directly inspired by God, and thus the three major versions of Psalms and their countless minor variants were all somehow true and all carried God's message. This had a two-fold effect: it liberated and encouraged the commentators to explore interpretative avenues, and it stimulated serious thought about language. The variants found in the different versions and within the *Gallicanum* text made medieval commentators think about the gaps between human and divine languages. From that awareness

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22 *De doctrina Christiana*, II, 15; ed. Martin, pp. 47–8.

arose the need to articulate the mechanisms by which human language could transmit ineffable utterances. The very plurality of biblical language, more pronounced in the psalter than in any other book, made Psalms a text that demanded that its exegetes address these issues.

Despite (or because of) this plurality, there remained among some scholars an acute concern for accuracy. One finds somewhat isolated ventures into textual criticism in the twelfth century, though not always where one might expect – that is, not among the early schoolmen. Stephen Harding, later abbot of Cîteaux (1110–33; d. 1134), 'corrected' the text of Psalms (among other books of the Bible) with the help of the Jews of Troyes, whom he consulted in French (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 12–15; completed in 1109, according to a colophon). The Psalms text he corrected was the Gallican, more or less as transmitted by Alcuin,[23] but his corrections do not seem to have been taken up even within the Cistercian order.[24] Nicolas Manjacoria, another Cistercian, worked from the abbey of Tre Fontane just south of Rome. With help from the Jews of Rome, he compared the texts of the three psalters available to him, as well as excerpts from Psalms found in the commentaries of Augustine and Ambrose, with the Hebrew text used by the Jews. He declared that Jerome's *Hebraicum* text was better than any of the others but that all fell short of *hebraica veritate*.[25] The interest of the Cistercians in correcting Psalms cannot be attributed to a desire to standardise the text for the convenience of secular masters and students, as was later claimed by Roger Bacon in respect of the Paris Bible. Rather, the critical work of these Cistercian scholars followed the tradition of the monastic concern for this most central of liturgical texts.

Thirteenth-century textual criticism of Psalms follows on the heels of the still poorly understood development of the Paris or University Bible in the mid-1220s. According to Roger Bacon's reiterated complaints, the Parisian text of the Bible was selected arbitrarily in order to accommodate the need of masters and scholars for a readily available, uniform text.[26] However, the

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23 L. Light, 'Versions et révisions du texte biblique', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 55–93; and on Harding see also Shepard in this volume, pp. 401–2.

24 G. Lobrichon, 'La Bible des maîtres du XIIe siècle', in *Bernard de Clairvaux. Histoire, mentalités, spiritualité. Colloque de Lyon-Cîteaux-Dijon*, SC 380 (Paris: Cerf, 1992), pp. 209–36; K. P. A. Lang, *Die Bibel Stephan Hardings. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der neuetestamentlichen Vulgata* (Bonn: Neuendorff, 1939).

25 *Libellus de corruptione et correptione psalmorum*, in Montpellier, École de médecine, 294; see A. Wilmart, 'Nicolas Manjacoria, Cistercien à Trois-Fontaines', *RB* 33 (1921), 136–43; R. Weber, 'Deux préfaces au Psautier dues à Nicolas Maniacoria', *RB* 63 (1953), 3–17.

26 See his *Opus minus*, *Opus maius* and *Opus tertium* (1266–8); L. Light, 'Roger Bacon and the Origin of the Paris Bible', *RB* 111 (2001), 483–507.

alleged arbitrariness of the choice seems exaggerated, for Psalms at least, since the text seems to follow that already largely represented in the glossed psalters coming out of Paris, especially from St Victor, before 1220; these are essentially the Alcuinian psalter.[27]

The text of the Paris Bible, to the degree that it exists at all as an identifiable text (apart from the Bible's characteristic uniform chapter divisions, running headers, prologues and other scholarly apparatus), was itself neither entirely accurate nor entirely stable. The problem of poor biblical text had already been attacked by a number of *correctores* in the thirteenth century, who revealed a sophisticated, sustained and scientific approach to textual criticism. These correctors seem to have been primarily mendicant; they include Hugh of St Cher (Dominican) in the 1230s and William de la Mare (Franciscan) in the early 1260s. But the earliest evidence of the work of the correctors, such as in the Bible of Saint-Jacques (Paris, BN, lat. 16719–16722), pre-dates the Paris text of the Bible, suggesting that their work was not in reaction to Bacon-style complaints, but part of a continuous state of 'critical alertness' in regard to the text of scripture.[28] Some of their most intensive and sophisticated work (including explanatory prologues) concerned the complex textual tradition of Psalms. The correctors were bent on highlighting all the faulty readings they could find, by identifying and comparing not only the three Hieronymian versions of Psalms, but also those of the *Vetus Latina*, along with the variant lemmata that turn up in patristic and Carolingian commentaries and in liturgical use, and readings in the *Glossa ordinaria*. They recorded their findings in catena fashion, giving the biblical lemmata followed by the erroneous readings, often with explanations of how the errors originated.

There are indications that the work of the correctors was acted on, for Bibles in the Paris region sometimes reflect corrections made according to the suggestions in these lists of errors. However, they did not result in anything like a new or official edition of Psalms, much less of the Bible. The correctors seemed only to wish to keep the worst errors out, while providing preachers and commentators with the most reliable material.

Psalms as public and as private prayer

By the time that Benedict of Nursia (fl. 520) regularised the chanting of the entire psalter over the course of a week in Monte Cassino, Psalms had

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27 Dahan, 'La critique', pp. 372–4.
28 G. Dahan, *Lire la Bible au moyen âge* (Geneva: Droz, 2009), pp. 176–7.

already been long used by Christians in both public and private prayer. The early Christian watchword 'pray without ceasing' (1 Thess. 5:16) was enacted partly by communal recitation of the psalms. The timing of this daily public prayer – in the morning and evening – was probably influenced as much by practical considerations as by Jewish practice, while its content was owed almost entirely to this most poetic of Jewish scripture. Episcopal churches used psalms which suited the time of day, for example Pss. 50 and 62 for matins or morning services (62:7: 'I will meditate on thee in the morning'), to which were soon added the psalms of praise (Pss. 148–150); similarly, evening services (vespers) included Ps. 140 ('Let my prayer be directed as incense in thy sight; the lifting up of my hands, as evening sacrifice'). This choice of appropriate readings had to compromise with another impetus, that of *lectio continua* – the sequential reading through of books of scripture. By *c.* 500, in the churches of Rome, some form of *lectio continua* of Psalms (usually over the course of a week) seems already to have been in use for the Divine Office, interspersed with other readings and responses.[29] Psalms also played an important role in the early Christian liturgy of the Mass, featuring in the introit, gradual or tract, offertory and communion, although by the early Middle Ages these had mostly either been reduced to a verse or phrase, or (in the case of the offertory and communion) had disappeared entirely.

Monastic establishments were able to dedicate even greater portions of the day to prayer than secular churches, and the recitation of the entire psalter came quickly to form the fundamental part of the monastic Divine Office. Cathedral practice influenced the choice and timing of some of the psalms, while *lectio continua* of the entire psalter, sometimes over very short periods of time, remained an important spiritual exercise. In the sixth century, Caesarius of Arles' Rule indicated up to thirty-six psalms to be sung in one 'hour', while Columbanus' Rule included up to 108 psalms in a day. To supply order and temperance to what he saw as excessive heroics in some monastic establishments, Benedict of Nursia prescribed a *cursus* that covered all 150 psalms each week, distributed over the 'hours' of the day (matins/lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, compline). In extremely general terms, under Benedict's Rule, psalms from among those numbered 1 to 108 were covered during the matins office of one week, and psalms from the rest were distributed over vespers each week. From those two groups some psalms

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29 J. Black, 'The Divine Office and Private Devotion in the Latin West', in T. Heffernan and E. A. Matter (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 2001), pp. 45–72.

were picked out and read during the other hours through the week. Certain psalms were recited daily (such as Pss. 66 and 148–150 for lauds) and others were called to service on special feasts or during specific liturgical seasons. To the psalms were added various antiphons, responses, lessons (readings), New and Old Testament canticles, orations and hymns, many of these based also on the text of the psalms. This 'work of God' (*opus Dei*) put perfect prayer into the mouths even of 'beginners'.

The phenomenal success of Benedictine monasticism meant that the recitation of all the psalms weekly became the gold standard for institutional piety. The Divine Office as performed in the secular churches began, in turn, to emulate Benedictine use, the churches striving to unite their congregations (or at least their clergy) in the recital of the entire psalter each week. The distribution of psalms over the week in non-monastic churches was somewhat different from the Benedictine *cursus*: they were, generally speaking, divided into eight groups, commencing with matins services on each of the seven days of the week plus Sunday vespers. Sunday matins began with Ps. 1; subsequent matins services began with Pss. 26, 38, 52, 68, 80 and 97; Sunday vespers began with Ps. 109.

In addition to communal prayer, institutionalised through the Divine Office, the psalter was both the sign and the handbook of intense personal devotion. It was recognised as a mark of personal piety for a monk or cleric to recite the entire psalter daily in addition to attendance at daily offices, as many saints' biographies attest. Some monasteries and secular churches incorporated communal recitation of the entire psalter on certain occasions, such as Christmas Eve or Good Friday. In addition, particular groupings of psalms, first recited as private devotions, were eventually introduced also into the *cursus* of some monastic and secular churches. The seven penitential psalms (Pss. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142) could be recited silently before matins as part of a Trinitarian devotion called *trina oratio*, or aloud at other times of the year such as Lent. They were later incorporated into the Office of the Dead, which itself had started as voluntary private devotions and which was worked into both the monastic and cathedral *cursus* between the ninth and the eleventh century.[30] The fifteen gradual psalms (119–133) also form a devotional unit. They were so called from their title, *canticum graduum*, which probably originally referred to the 'going up' of Jewish pilgrims to Jerusalem. Their introduction as an act of private devotion before daily matins is attributed to Benedict of Aniane

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30 M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with the Saints. Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 73.

(d. 821), though it may have been the penitential psalms he used, and the custom was later taken up at Cluny.[31] Since both groups of psalms were used in relation to prayers for the dead, confusion is understandable.

There were countless variations on the Divine Office as developed in monasteries and cathedrals throughout Europe in the Middle Ages; regional and institutional differences were elaborated, as local saints were honoured with psalmody 'proper' to them. The history of these developments is extremely complex and cannot be treated here.[32] The point is that the psalms became part of the daily vocabulary of both monastic and secular clergy, and presumably of the laity attending the liturgies. The constant repetition of the psalter left its mark on the language, expressive range and mental images of clerical authors throughout the Middle Ages. A study of Bernard of Clairvaux's biblical citations, for example, shows that he quoted 41 per cent of the psalter, which indicates more intensive use of this than of any other book of the Old Testament (except for the Song of Songs, on which he wrote a commentary). More illustrative perhaps is the fact that Bernard cites Psalms a total of 6,254 times in his writings – more than twice the number of times he cites his most-used New Testament book (the Gospel of Matthew).[33] When searching for just the right phrase to express his thought, Bernard reached for the language of Psalms, and in that (although perhaps in little else!) he was very typical of medieval religious writers.

How much of the psalter was memorised or even understood by the laity, once Latin was no longer the language of the people, is a vexed question and depends on which part of the lay population one interrogates and at what point in the Middle Ages. However, it is undeniable that the Latin psalter was the earliest manuscript book made in any quantity for the laity.[34] Leroquais began his *Psautiers manuscrits latins* with an evocative bequest from Evrard (Eberhard), count of Friuli, to his eight children in the year 860.[35] To his eldest son Unroch, Evrard leaves 'our double psalter' (probably now Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 11); to Berengar, another psalter 'written in gold letters';

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31 E. B. Foley, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St-Denis* (Fribourg: Fribourg University Press, 1990), p. 66.

32 See E. Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques. Le moyen âge. Des origines au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1993); J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century. A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986).

33 J. Figuet, 'La Bible de Bernard. Données et ouvertures', in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, pp. 237–69.

34 C. de Hamel, *The Book. A History of the Bible* (London and New York: Phaidon, 2001), p. 142.

35 Leroquais, *Les psautiers*, pp. v–vii.

to Adelard, 'a third psalter, which we had made'; his fourth surviving son Rudolph receives a psalter 'with its explanation, which Gisela (Evrard's wife) used'. His daughters receive books as well, including his youngest daughter Heilwich, whose inheritance includes a 'book of prayer with psalms'. The impressive numbers and variety of psalters available in this one household support the general impression that wealthy, educated men and women were desirous of having the book available to them. Obviously we cannot take this bequest as typical: married to the daughter of Emperor Louis the Pious, educated in the palace school, Evrard had a library of over sixty books and corresponded with people such as Hrabanus Maurus, Sedulius Scottus and Hincmar of Rheims. Yet it seems significant that almost everyone in the family had his or her own psalter to use. One might argue that merely owning a book does not mean one can read it: books, especially beautiful books, were valuable as objects and as symbols in themselves. Still, the presence of a double psalter and the glossed psalter indicate an interest in the text of Psalms and an ability to read it.[36]

At the other end of the Middle Ages, once literacy rates and discretionary income were both on the rise, we can see that 'average' people were eager and willing to own psalters. That they wanted to read them and understand them is powerfully illustrated by the so-called 'Wycliffite Bibles' of the fourteenth century, English translations from the Vulgate. These were rarely complete Bibles: of the over 250 Wycliffite scriptural manuscripts extant, about forty are psalters (compared with twenty complete Bibles and 100 or so New Testaments). Recent studies stress that these vernacular psalters adhered closely to the authority of the Latin (*Gallicanum*) version, and presented a very conventional appearance. Some, such as London, BL, Harley 1896 and Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 172, have both the Latin and the English texts in alternating lines, and others have the incipits of each psalm in Latin, suggesting that at least the openings of important psalms and perhaps entire psalms in Latin were recognised or even memorised by the lay faithful. Wycliffite psalters were marked for liturgical use: the manuscripts indicate the eight divisions of the psalms appropriate to the *cursus* of the Divine Office for secular churches. As in typical liturgical psalters, they also often included biblical canticles, the Athanasian Creed (*Quicunque vult salvum esse*), calendars and so on, in Latin. While this present chapter cannot explore vernacular

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36 See P. J. E. Kershaw, 'Eberhard of Friuli, a Carolingian Lay Intellectual', in P. Wormald and J. Nelson (eds.), *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 77–105.

translations of Psalms, it is worth noting that the Wycliffite psalters can be seen less as radical 'English Bibles' and more as glosses in English, so that the 'authentic' Latin text could both be followed during a service and pondered at one's leisure.[37]

Between the elite literacy of the Carolingian age and the precipitous rise of vernacular literacy at the end of the Middle Ages, one finds other indications of the importance of the psalter in the devotional lives of the laity, so much so that Leroquais could claim that from the eighth century, the psalter was the prayer book of the faithful. As in fourteenth-century England, the psalter in earlier medieval Europe was the single book of the Bible most likely to be owned by the laity. We know that it was given vernacular glosses, was translated, summarised and otherwise rendered intelligible to those with little Latin (this apparently included not a few clergy). But the psalter in Latin was also very widely owned. From the ninth through to the thirteenth century, manuscripts of Latin psalters tended to have the usual liturgical divisions and additional materials appropriate for cathedral usage. Richly or simply decorated initials, depending on the luxury of the manuscript, indicated the eight divisions of the weekly *cursus*. The usual biblical canticles, the Creed, Gloria, calendars, anthems and saints' litanies were also likely to be included. To this collection was added the Office of the Dead and the Little Office of the Virgin, and sometimes the penitential or gradual psalms. The psalms (and sometimes the canticles, Creed and other materials) were frequently glossed.

Whether owned by lay, clerical or monastic readers, psalters were rarely designed to be part of a Bible. 'Biblical' psalters were part of a *bibliotheca* – a more or less complete set of biblical books – or were included in a pandect. They were normally divided into three 'books' (Pss. 1–50, 51–100, 101–150) or less commonly five (1–40, 41–71, 72–88, 89–105, 106–150), the latter divisions following the tradition of the Hebrew Bible, rather than the eight divisions of the *cursus*. In contrast, the liturgical psalter was, even in the hands of the laity, an explicitly liturgical set of texts. As such it was understood to be enacted, performed or experienced in an implicitly public though sometimes actually private context, as opposed to being received as a small part of a larger corpus of sacred literature.

In addition to their exposure to the psalms through attendance at parts of the Divine Office, or through reading along at home, laypersons would know them through one of their many other roles in medieval culture. Psalms

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37 M. Dove, *The First English Bible. The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 6–11; de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 184.

played an important part in the development of penitential rites, not only as part of the rituals associated with canonical penance but also, and especially, as one of the ways canonical penances could be mitigated or 'commuted'. As part of the profound overhaul of the early sacrament of penance, penitentials from the eighth century began to allow recitation of psalms as a merciful alternative to harsher penalties. In Ireland, the early eighth-century *Canones hibernensis* allowed (among several options) one year on bread and water to be commuted into three days and nights of reciting 150 psalms, followed by ten biblical canticles and 'hourly prayers' – in fact, a sort of extreme Divine Office.[38] Shortly thereafter, on the Continent, the Penitential of Halitgar (early 800s) suggests that one week of fasting could be redeemed by the penitent through the recitation of 300 psalms while kneeling, or three entire psalters seated or standing.[39] Clearly there were no agreed equivalency tables, nor were these commutations in any way authoritative. The development of the sacrament of penance, and the concomitant development of the fascinating and still poorly understood history of indulgences, both relate to the use of the psalms in the Middle Ages.[40]

Reciting multiples of the entire psalter evokes the pious and ascetic practice of *lectio continua*, but the seven penitential psalms held a special place in this context. These seven were recognised as such at least by the time that Cassiodorus wrote his commentary on Psalms (*Expositio psalmorum*, completed by 570). They are Pss. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142. From the late eighth century, the monks of Monte Cassino were reciting them beside deathbeds and at funerals; by the early ninth century, this was a common usage in the Carolingian world. By the tenth century, it had become customary in some establishments to incorporate the psalms into the Divine Office by singing them daily after prime (except on Sundays). Cluny adopted this practice by the end of the eleventh century and, with that powerful impetus, the custom swept into cathedral usage, then into smaller secular churches. Whether through the imposition of penance, attendance at cathedral offices or private reading of the psalter, the seven penitential psalms became well known to the laity. An evocative piece of evidence is the deposition of Arnaud

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38 A. Angenendt, T. Braucks, R. Busch and H. Luttenbach, 'Counting Piety in the Early and High Middle Ages', in B. Jussen (ed.), *Ordering Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 15–54.

39 Leroquais, *Les psautiers*, p. xi.

40 R. Shaffern, *The Penitents' Treasury. Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175–1375* (University of Scranton Press, 2007).

de Savinhan, a stonecutter from the city of Tarascon, who was called before the Inquisitor Jacques Fournier (bishop of Pamiers from 1317; later Pope Benedict XII). Arnaud knew, besides the *Credo, Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*, 'letters, that is, the Seven Psalms, and a little more of the psalter'.[41]

The liturgical psalter played the lead role in the development of several categories of liturgical books, such as the breviary, as well as possibly the most famous and admired category of medieval books, the book of hours. Some psalters were provided with the collects, short readings and other useful materials needed by the celebrant of the Divine Office; this hybrid developed into the breviary.[42] Psalter-hymnals, psalter-antiphonaries, and other specialised manuscripts were developed to aid celebrants of and participants in the Divine Office in monasteries and secular churches. For the laity, the psalter also provided the kernel of devotional reading. Evolving directly from the psalter and its complementary materials as described above, prayer books for private devotions were already being commissioned during the Carolingian age by men and women connected to the court. Pierre Riché has pointed to evidence that the psalter was the book from which people (including laypeople) learned to read; recent research suggests that this was as true in the seventh century as the fourteenth, and true for women as well as men.[43] The psalter-prayer book was a hybrid of the liturgical psalters used by monastic and secular clergy for the Divine Office. Typical examples contained not only the entire psalter but also the Little Office of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead, the usual canticles, the calendar, the penitential psalms, a litany of saints and perhaps some votive masses and additional prayers. Though composite prayer books with the Little Office of the Virgin appeared as early as the tenth century, the first psalter-books of hours seem to have become popular in the twelfth century. As these collections grew to incorporate collections of images, various votive masses and other devotional materials, the psalter itself was slowly squeezed out; by the late thirteenth century, the Little Office of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead and the seven penitential psalms had broken away to form the nucleus of the 'book of hours'.

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41 G. Lobrichon, 'L'evangélisme des laïcs dans le midi (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)', in D. Dalarun (ed.), *Évangile et évangélisme (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1999), pp. 291–310.

42 Palazzo, *Moyen âge*, pp. 157–8.

43 P. Riché, 'Le Psautier, livre de lecture élémentaire d'après les vies des saints mérovingiens', in *Études mérovingiens. Actes des journées de Poitiers 1er–3 mai, 1952* (Paris: Picard, 1953), pp. 253–6; H. Grundmann, 'Die Frauen und die Literatur im Mittelalter', *Archiv für Kunstgeschichte* 26.2 (1935), 129–61.

Commentary on Psalms

Putting the penitential psalms alongside the Office of the Dead and the Little Office of the Virgin invited readers to interpret each of those elements in the light of each other. The psalms were prayers that were understood in the context of liturgy and the New Testament. Even liturgical psalters or those included in books of hours were thus frequently provided with glosses or longer commentaries. Glosses were not used just by scholars. Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) mentioned a monk who would read the glosses in his psalter even while chanting the psalms, and Walter Map (d. *c.* 1210) reported Waldensians who had a glossed vernacular psalter.[44] Glosses could include translation or explanation of difficult words, excerpts from patristic opinion, theological argument and philosophical discussion of the functions of the poetic language of the psalms. Psalms and the Pauline Epistles were the first books of the Bible to receive what would eventually be called the 'ordinary' gloss (*Glossa ordinaria*) and Peter Lombard's mid-twelfth-century revision of the *glossa*, called the *Magna glosatura*, was even more influential.[45]

That all the psalms were written by the prophet David, a type of Christ, was almost universally accepted throughout the Christian Middle Ages; the suggestion of different authorship in the titles of some psalms was generally treated as an opportunity to allegorise. That the psalms were prophecies of Christ was accepted absolutely. The authority for this was none other than Christ, as he is reported in the New Testament quoting the psalms in reference to himself (for example, Luke 23:46, Matt. 26:24, and more generally, Luke 24:44). Even Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1340), whose rigorously literal-historical *Postillae* lean heavily on Jewish exegesis (especially that of Rashi, d. 1105), acknowledged this. Another challenge to literal understanding was the less than edifying behaviour of David at times. The Augustinian observation that God spoke through deeds as well as words encouraged exegetes to interpret the historical actions portrayed in the psalms as ways that God spoke about himself figuratively. This in turn led to a great interest in the historical aspects of the psalter, and many exegetes gave serious attention to the literal and historical explanation of the psalms, aided often by Jerome as well as by Jewish scholarship. Prologues to Psalms commentaries frequently tackled thorny questions about authorship, authorial intention, the nature of

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44 Walter Map, *De nugis curialium. Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, rev. C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), distinctio 1, c. 31, p. 125.
45 *PL* 191; L. Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria. The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009) p. 78, and in this volume, Smith, ch. 20.

prophecy and the way human language signifies; by the early twelfth century, Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154) was applying to Psalms the same methodological approach used to study works by profane authors, opening the study of the Bible further to 'scientific' inquiry.[46]

Across the millennium of the Middle Ages, the book of Psalms remained a cultural keystone. It was a communal liturgical book in monasteries and cathedrals, and a guide to private devotion and lay piety; a text for teaching literacy and an inspiration of artistic imagery; an inexhaustible source for theologians and preachers. It was among the most frequently commented, cited, translated, copied and privately owned books of the entire Middle Ages, as pervasive in the earliest centuries as in the latest. In many ways, it was the medieval book *par excellence*.

46 A. Minnis and A. B. Scott with D. Wallace (eds.), *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375. The Commentary Tradition*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), pp. 69–71.

Illustration in biblical manuscripts

JOHN LOWDEN

Broad perspectives on biblical illustration

In the beginning . . . and after

Christianity has always been a religion of the book. But unlike Judaism or Islam, Christianity, for most of its history, has also been to an extraordinary extent a religion of the image. Study of the combination of words and images in illustrated biblical manuscripts – how such illustration began, how it developed, how it was produced, how it was understood – thus forms a subject, or numerous subjects, of importance. The material with which to explore these subjects is vast and complex, and whereas the main features of the landscape have been mapped, much detailed exploration, notably in individual manuscripts, still remains to be undertaken.

Unlike the Babylonian religious leader Mani (d. 276), who taught his disciples with the aid of a 'picture book' (Middle Persian *ardahang* / Greek εἰκών),[1] Jesus made little use of images for instruction. The sole exception was the representation (εἰκών / Latin *imago*) of Caesar on a coin, which Jesus employed to distinguish between the worldly and the divine (Matt. 22:20; Mark 12:16; Luke 20:24). Yet the ubiquity of the public and private use of images in the Graeco-Roman world, together with other factors not yet fully understood, meant that Christian themes, such as the promise of personal salvation, and simple narratives, for example Christ's healing of a paralytic, escaped the shackles of the written word and came to be given visual form from a surprisingly early date (as in the mid-third-century wall paintings at Dura Europos).[2] By the fifth century we find the first examples of images included in biblical manuscripts

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1 Z. Gulacsi, *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 4–7.
2 C. H. Kraeling, *The Christian Building. The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report*, vol. VIII, pt. 2 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967). K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990).

('Quedlinburg Itala', a fragment of the books of Kings with illustrations).[3] And by the end of the sixth century a wide range of approaches to biblical illustration in biblical manuscripts had been explored in the Mediterranean world.[4] It was on these foundations that traditions of biblical illustration were built, traditions that would last throughout the manuscript era, and which, as visual formulae, retain their familiarity and power to a great extent today. The complex interplay of visual tradition and visual invention over a long period gives the topic of biblical illustration its special character.

Practical considerations and patterns of survival

An understanding of the physical nature of the Bible as manuscript book, with its requirements, possibilities and limitations, is an essential prerequisite for an understanding of its illustration.[5] The Bible as parchment codex was assembled from sheets of prepared animal skin, folded and sewn in small gatherings (quires), and assembled between stout wooden boards generally held tightly shut by clasps. The resulting book was an object of extraordinary durability (witness the psalter found in Ireland in 2006 after a millennium or more immersed in a bog). Illustration – here meaning decoration with images containing representational figures – was generally reserved for the most costly books. The near-perfect state in which some illustrated books have been preserved suggests that these at least were rarely opened or used – a point to bear in mind when considering their possible influence on medieval viewers. A further key factor that helped ensure the survival of a relatively high proportion of luxury books was that their materials could not easily be recycled. An exception must be made, however, for gold and jewelled bindings, sometimes used on biblical books intended for display in the liturgy, which could be readily despoiled and their constituent parts then reused in some other context.[6]

The relatively large number of illustrated biblical manuscripts that have survived is in stark contrast to the fate of most of the more workaday copies of the same texts. It is important to keep in mind this disproportion: codices such

3 I. Levin, *The Quedlinburg Itala* (Leiden: Brill, 1985).
4 J. Lowden, 'The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration', in J. Williams (ed.), *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 9–59.
5 In general see J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).
6 F. Steenbock, *Die kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965); J. Lowden, 'The Word Made Visible. The Exterior of the Early Christian Book as Visual Argument', in W. Klingshirn and L. Safran (eds.), *The Early Christian Book* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), pp. 13–47 and figs. 1–15.

as the Lindisfarne Gospels or the Book of Kells were preserved through the centuries precisely because their decoration was so remarkable.[7] Association with a saint could further enhance such a book's value, and hence its chances of survival (as with the Book of Durrow and St Columba).[8] Faced with a threat of pillage, fire or flood, the medieval custodians of books must have had the equivalent of a modern museum's disaster plan, so as to try to ensure the survival of the objects they considered most precious. We should not then imagine that because we have only a tiny proportion of all the biblical manuscripts that were produced in the Middle Ages we have lost an equally high percentage of illustrated/luxury books; on the contrary, many of the most important have survived. By extension, we should not extrapolate from the evidence of surviving books to fill gaps: an absence of illustrated biblical books in a certain period or area may well reflect the fact that few if any such books were produced. The point is crucial, for the pattern of surviving illustrated biblical manuscripts is irregular, complex and unpredictable.

An often overlooked aspect of the survival of luxury books is that their accumulation over the centuries inevitably affected the demand for new books, but in a variety of ways. An illustrated gospelbook in a treasure binding, for example, made primarily so as to be displayed and carried in processions, would not need to be replaced even if its script had become hard to read. A large, clearly written Bible, made to be read from a pulpit in a refectory, might continue in use for centuries. An intriguing early illustrated book might come at a later date into an institutional or private library and prompt the production of a new work in a spirit of emulation.

Methods of production

Illustration in a biblical manuscript, as a general rule, had to be planned from the start of a book's production. The usual procedure was for the scribe to leave space of the appropriate dimensions for the anticipated illustration at the relevant point as he, or occasionally she, transcribed from his (or her) exemplar. The artist would then fill these spaces with appropriate images. The terms 'scribe' and 'artist' are employed here in a generic sense to characterise specific activities; in many cases the same craftsman might be both scribe and artist. An alternative to leaving space for illustration within the body of the

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7 J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts from the 6th to the 9th Century*, SMIBI 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), nos. 9, 58.
8 B. Meehan, *The Book of Durrow* (Dublin: Town House, 1996).

text was to arrange that the images be supplied on separate folios or quires, an especially appropriate and practical method if the images were to function as frontispieces. In such a case scribe and artist could work concurrently, if they were not one and the same person. A surprisingly large number of manuscripts were left unfinished, with blank spaces for illustrations, or only partially painted images, especially towards the end of a book (for example, the Winchester Bible and the Douce Apocalypse).[9] In such cases, presumably, the craftsmen had failed to meet a deadline for the book to be bound up ready for use. Such examples are, fortuitously, very helpful in revealing working practices. When the images were on separate leaves or quires they might sometimes be recycled from an earlier manuscript, or, conversely, be new works added to an existing volume.

With the steady increase in the volume of production of illustrated biblical manuscripts over the centuries it became possible for craftsmen to become more specialised, and different aspects of book decoration might be distributed amongst a number of specialists. In such cases, figure painting seems to have been the activity of highest status, and, where records of payment exist, the most costly.

The production of a manuscript book was an expensive and time-consuming activity, so work was organised in response to the demands of a specific commission, not 'on spec'. From the thirteenth century onwards any major centre of book production would bring together scribes, artists, bookbinders and so forth, often in neighbouring shops.[10] Before that period the majority of books were produced in monasteries, either for internal consumption, or for export, but even then some of the craftsmen might have been lay 'professionals' (Bury Bible, Master Hugo).[11] Occasionally books would be written in one centre, or by an itinerant scribe trained to write the characteristic script of that centre, but be illustrated elsewhere: an example is the early fourteenth-century Bible in Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 1.14, seemingly written in north Italy but illustrated in England.[12]

9 C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190*, SMIBI 3 (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), no. 83; N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1250–1285*, SMIBI 4.1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), no. 153; *Apokalypse. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 180*, ed. P. K. Klein, Codices Selecti 52–52* (Graz: ADEVA, 1981–3).

10 R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers. Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller and Brepols, 2000).

11 R. M. Thomson, *The Bury Bible* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001).

12 L. F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, 2 vols., SMIBI 5 (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), no. 75.

A justification for biblical illustration?

The key justification for the Christian use of images in the West was formulated by Pope Gregory the Great (writing *c.* 600) in two letters to the Iconoclast Bishop Serenus of Marseilles.[13] Gregory stated that 'pictures are used in churches so that those who are ignorant of letters may at least read by seeing on walls what they cannot read in books'. Gregory's formulation left out of account the possible function of illustrations in biblical manuscripts, presumably because they were very rare, had the tiniest public and were unlikely to provoke idolatry. Over time, religious art came to be considered to be 'to the illiterate what a book is to the literate' (John of Damascus),[14] but the justification for images in books remained unspoken. With the rapid increase in the number of illustrated books came a democratisation of their public, and in due course we even encounter biblical picture books which could be considered in some sense 'books of the illiterate'.

It is interesting, therefore, to find an excerpt from Gregory's justificatory letter in the richly illuminated St Albans Psalter, *c.* 1130 (see also below).[15] Here Gregory's Latin text is accompanied by a French translation, doubtless in an attempt to ensure comprehension of the passage. The inclusion in this book of so many images might indeed seem to require justification, but elsewhere we look in vain for debate as to the appropriateness of illustrations in books.

In the eastern Mediterranean world, on the other hand, the Iconoclast controversy (resolved in 843) led to a very different situation, in which artists of biblical images were held to be responsible only for the craft aspects (the form) of their activity, whereas the content was deemed to be authorised by the church in accordance with what was held to be apostolic tradition.[16] As a result the innovative in religious art was treated as heretical, and hence not merely irregular, but positively dangerous to society as a whole. This explains what from a western perspective appears to be the extraordinary conservatism of Byzantine and other Orthodox biblical art.

13 L. G. Duggan, 'Was Art Really the "Book of the Illiterate"?' and 'Reflections on "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?"', in M. Hageman and M. Mostert (eds.), *Reading Images and Texts. Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 63–107 and 109–19.
14 Cited in ibid., p. 101.
15 K. Haney, *The St Albans Psalter* (New York: Lang, 2002); J. Geddes, *The St Albans Psalter* (London: BL, 2005).
16 Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, cited by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1972; repr. University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 172–3.

It remains reasonable to ask why illustrations were included in biblical manuscripts. In the early period such illustration probably began in response to the ubiquity of religious images in the public and private spheres. At any period the use of precious materials for the decoration of the pages and/or covers of books would also have enhanced the value of already costly commissions or gifts. As such books became more widespread, a competitive element on the part of makers and users seems to have set in. Furthermore, biblical images could structure a text, instruct the ignorant, perform a commemorative function, assist as mnemotechnical diagrams and act as foci for prayer and meditation; they could amuse and entertain – notably in the form of marginal drolleries; and by their expense they could be expected to purchase divine reward for the sponsor in an economy of salvation. Many such images were complex and clearly intended to reward intensely thoughtful and repeated viewing.

Questions of method

The decision that a biblical manuscript was to be illustrated might mean that a particular illustrated exemplar was selected by the patron. (The term 'patron', like 'scribe' and 'artist', is used here as a generic label by which to distinguish an aspect of the commissioning and production process.) Yet even then it seems to have been expected that the new version would attempt to improve on its model in some way (as we see in copies of the Utrecht Psalter, below). In seeking to understand illustrated books, therefore, it is important to distinguish in broad terms between form and content. Scribes were required to copy the text (content) of a biblical manuscript accurately, and to correct any mistakes. Hence the effectiveness of text criticism as an analytical method, with its reconstruction, sometimes in the form of a stemma, of a particular manuscript's siblings, models, archetypes and so forth. Clearly, however, copying scribes could alter the visual aspects, such as script and layout, in the biblical manuscript they were producing.

Artists might copy biblical illustrations from a specific model, a little like scribes, but they would as a rule alter both form and content. It is thus highly speculative to attempt to reconstruct in detail the visual appearance of the (lost) models that lie behind biblical images. Even when reassuringly familiar in iconography, as with a nativity or crucifixion, images were not intended to be facsimiles of some specific model, except in a very few cases. Medieval biblical manuscripts may have transmitted the biblical text with great accuracy, but medieval biblical illustrations – except in the Orthodox world – were not held to transmit apostolic verity.

It is not the broad similarities between visual witnesses to a particular tradition that are important analytically, but the multitude of their differences. Every witness thus merits detailed study on its own terms, as a product of specific circumstances with an individual history. The unavoidable dangers in presenting a broad survey such as is attempted here, therefore, are either that differences are overlooked, or that exceptions constantly threaten to divert the discussion.

Illustrated Bibles

Introduction and early period

To produce a complete handwritten Bible was a major undertaking at any period. Parchment was expensive, and the imposing format (with pages often 400–600 mm tall) chosen for Bibles before the thirteenth century, and to a considerable degree thereafter, meant that only the largest (and costliest) membrane sheets could be used. As for the writing, the example of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, II. 2524 suggests that a minimum of two to three man-years of scribal labour might have been required for a large-format Bible.[17] Adding illustration to the requirements of such a project would have certainly increased the expense and the man-hours required, but would not necessarily have delayed completion, if the illustration was supplied piecemeal by one or more different craftsmen as the writing of the quires was completed. It is not surprising, nonetheless, that most illustrated biblical manuscripts contain some unit much smaller than the entire Old and New Testaments, such as the Gospels, Psalms or Apocalypse. These types of book will be considered separately below.

The earliest surviving Bible with illustration is a late sixth-century Syriac manuscript, now in Paris (BNF, sgr. 341; Fig. 25.1), with twenty-four images (and at least seven more that were lost when original leaves were replaced in the Old Testament).[18] Its decoration mainly takes the form of relatively small images of standing figures of the biblical authors occupying the width of one of the three columns of text, and painted in spaces left by the scribe at the beginning of the biblical books. Four images are more complex narrative scenes, and occupy two columns, either half the height of the page (Exodus,

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17 W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 264.
18 J. Leroy, *Les manuscripts syriaques à peintures conserves dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient* (Paris: Geuthner, 1964), pp. 208–19, pls. 43–8; R. Sörries, *Die syrische Bibel von Paris* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1991).

Fig. 25.1 Syriac Bible (Paris, BNF, syr. 341), fol. 46r: the beginning of the book of Job

Job, Proverbs), or in one case the full height of the page in two registers (Numbers). It is important to note that the Syriac Bible has lost its opening leaves and almost all Genesis, and all the New Testament except one leaf (end of Timothy, start of Titus). This has undoubtedly deprived us of the book's most notable images, for the nature and use of the codex place special emphasis

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on its beginning, obeying what might be termed the 'incipit principle', and to a lesser extent its conclusion, possible site of a 'visual colophon', especially in early books.

A little earlier than the production of the Syriac Bible, Cassiodorus, writing at his monastery of Vivarium in southern Italy around 560, mentioned the production of a large single-volume Old Testament (the *Codex grandior*), which was prefaced by a series of diagrammatic illustrations of the organisation of the biblical books according to different patristic authorities (Jerome, Hilary, Augustine), together with diagrams of the tabernacle and the temple. This Bible (rather than Cassiodorus' description of it) was the model for the earliest surviving complete illustrated Latin Bible, the Codex Amiatinus.[19] Remarkably, the book is documented in the Life of Ceolfrith, abbot of the twin monasteries of Monkwearmouth–Jarrow in Northumbria. Ceolfrith organised the making of three complete one-volume Bibles (pandects), one of which (the Codex Amiatinus) he was taking to Rome when he died in 716.

The Codex Amiatinus has at its start eight prefatory leaves (six of the pages are blank) with decorative diagrams and lists, and two images: a plan of the tabernacle, spread across a bifolium, and a representation of the priest Ezra working as a scribe on the Old Testament. The image of Ezra (Esdras) in part resembles that of the evangelist Matthew in the contemporary Lindisfarne Gospels. Equally remarkable, albeit less confident in its painterly illusionism, is the full-page prefatory image to the New Testament, which shows Christ in Majesty (the *Maiestas Domini* image) – seated on a rainbow, surrounded by the four evangelists and their winged symbols. There is no mention of such an image, nor of an Ezra, in the *Codex grandior*, but the significance of these omissions is debatable. The Christ in Majesty should be seen in conjunction with the canon tables, in which parallels between numbered passages in the four Gospels are tabulated in a simple architectural grid in the Amiatinus. It would probably have recalled, at least to a viewer in Italy, the apsidal decoration of a sixth-century church. The visual emphasis on quaternities in this image, appropriate to the book's rectangular form as well as to the content and theological interpretation of the four Gospels, enjoyed particular success over subsequent centuries.

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19 *La Bibbia Amiatina. Riproduzione integrale su CD-ROM del codice Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1*, ed. L. Ricci (Florence: SISMEL, 2000).

Carolingian Bibles

The Carolingian era was a notable period for the production of illustrated Bibles.[20] The abbey of St Martin at Tours had assembled a remarkable collection of books under Abbot Alcuin of York (d. 804), and produced a series of Bibles of characteristic text type, script and layout, which were exported around the Carolingian world with the clear motive of reform. Illustrated examples of these Turonian (Tours) Bibles were the product of a slightly later period (*c.* 835 onwards). It is characteristic that they show in their illustrative schemes increasing complexity and ambition over time.

The major decoration in the first to have survived, the Moutier Grandval Bible, consists of a full-page decorative title to Jerome's preface, richly decorated canon tables, a concordance to the Pauline Epistles on two folios laid out like canon tables and four full-page images: frontispieces to Genesis and Exodus, to the Gospels (a *Maiestas Domini*) and a tailpiece to the Apocalypse.[21] The Apocalypse image comprises two centrally planned compositions, one above the other, each framed by the four evangelist symbols: above, the lamb and the lion flanking an enthroned book (above); below, a man supporting a cloth (the Son of Man? St John? Moses?). The Exodus page is also divided into two halves, but in contrast to the Apocalypse each has a narrative image with notable left-to-right movement. The Genesis page adopts yet another compositional formula, dividing the pictorial space into four horizontal registers, each with two narrative scenes from the account of creation. It is characteristic that all the images have metrical *tituli*, interpretative in content, written in gold and located above and/or within the images.

Within a few years, the decorative scheme of the Moutier Grandval Bible was further developed in a Bible commissioned by Count Vivian, lay abbot of St Martin at Tours, and adapted (seemingly) for presentation to Emperor Charles the Bald (*c.* 845–6).[22] In addition to long dedicatory verses, mostly

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20 M.-P. Lafitte and C. Denoël (eds.), *Trésors carolingiens. Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve* (Paris: BNF, 2007); L. Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe', in J. Williams (ed.), *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 121–77.

21 London, BL, Add. 10546. W. Koehler (and F. Mütherich), *Die karolingischen Miniaturen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein (later Verlag) für Kunstwissenschaft, 1930–99), vol. i.1, pp. 94–209, 377–8; vol. i.2, pp. 13–26; pls. 42–53; H. L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 7 (Princeton University Press, 1977), *passim*, and figs. 1, 48, 87, 107.

22 Paris, BNF, lat. 1. Koehler, *Karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. i.1, pp. 250–5, 396–401; vol. i.2, pp. 27–64; vol. i.1, pls. 69–89; Kessler, *Bibles from Tours*, passim.

written in gold on purple-stained panels,[23] this Bible adds full-page decorative incipits to Jerome's prefaces *Frater Ambrosius* and *Desiderii mei*, to a chapter list for Genesis (on two pages, laid out like canon tables), to Genesis, Joshua, Isaiah, a preface to the Gospels, Matthew and the Apocalypse. It also adds four full-page images to the four already found in Moutier Grandval: these function as frontispieces to the prefatory texts of St Jerome, and to the Pauline Epistles, both of which are laid out in horizontal registers. The other two additions are centrally planned: a visual colophon depicting the book's presentation to the emperor, and a psalm image, showing David surrounded by musicians. It is interesting that the four images apparently derived from the Moutier Grandval Bible reproduce that manuscript's verse *tituli* as well as the main lines of the compositions.

By far the most ambitious of the illustrated Carolingian Bibles is the last of the series, the Bible of S Paolo fuori le mura (Rome), which has twenty-four frontispiece images, as well as thirty-seven fully decorated incipit pages.[24] Although not made at Tours, but perhaps at Rheims, it closely imitated the eight images of the Vivian Bible. The additional miniatures are a second Exodus image (with scenes of Moses), and prefatory images to Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, 1 and 2 Kings, Isaiah, Proverbs, Judith, Maccabees, each of the four Gospels and Acts. Some of these follow the pattern of either horizontal registers (Judith), or centrally planned compositions (Leviticus), but most adopt a more irregular approach, in which the narrative elements are arranged on curving or sloping planes, and undulating ground lines merge into clouds, avoiding strictly horizontal subdivisions. The gold verse *tituli* occur rarely, and do not follow the model of the earlier Bibles (for instance on the Jerome and Genesis pages). This superlative book was probably made for presentation to Emperor Charles the Bald, *c*. 870.

The development seen in these three Bibles towards increasing complexity and lavishness of decoration is also evident within the individual images, as for example in the *Maiestas Domini*, where in the Vivian Bible (and the S Paolo Bible) the artist added flanking images of the four major prophets to the four evangelists and their symbols of the Codex Amiatinus/Moutier Grandval tradition. Although there must have been precedents for some of these images (the illustrated sixth-century Ashburnham Pentateuch was at

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23 P. E. Dutton and H. L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997).
24 V. Jemolo and M. Morelli (eds.), *La Bibbia di S. Paolo fuori le mura* (Rome: De Luca, 1981).

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Tours and could have supplied ideas),[25] the almost organic growth that these manuscripts exemplify contradicts any notion that there was a single 'lost model', which was consulted systematically.[26] The increasing ambition of the illustrative plan is beyond dispute.

Bibles in Byzantium and the East

Although no illustrated Bible in Greek survives from before the period of the Iconoclast controversy, the Syriac Bible (discussed above) implies that such manuscripts must once have existed. Yet even in the post-Iconoclast centuries full Bibles must have been very rare in Byzantium. The inventory of the monastery of St John at Patmos (drawn up in 1200), for example, lists only one Old Testament, and no complete Bible, in a collection of some 300 manuscripts.[27] The principal example of an illustrated Bible in Greek is that commissioned *c.* 925–50 by the high-ranking courtier Leo *patrikios*.[28] It is the first volume of a two-volume Bible, and contains eighteen full-page images to the biblical books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Judges, 1 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, Judith, Maccabees, Job and Psalms, together with a decorated table of biblical books and two prefatory dedication images across an opening (Leo offers the book to the Virgin, and St Nicholas is venerated by Abbot Makar and Constantine the *protospatharios* another high-ranking courtier), with a pair of gem-encrusted crosses framing the opening in a diptych-like arrangement. A little like the Carolingian examples, the images of the Leo Bible are framed by specially composed poems.[29] It is also noteworthy that the prefatory table of biblical books distantly echoes the Cassiodoran/Codex Amiatinus prefaces. In the Leo Bible, the books are set out in medallions within a large cross with an image of Christ at the centre, and a medallion of the Mother of God at the top. The cross was originally flanked by four figures: David and Peter at the left, perhaps Moses at the top right, and possibly Paul originally below (the 'Paul' is lost, but both Moses and Paul are mentioned in the adjacent verses).

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25 *El Pentateuco Ashburnham*, ed. B. Narkiss, 2 vols. (Valencia: Patrimonio Ediciones, 2003–7); D. Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

26 Koehler, *Karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 1.2, pp. 109–231.

27 C. Astruc, 'L'inventaire – dressé en septembre 1200 – du trésor et de la bibliothèque de Patmos,' *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981), 15–30, at p. 25, line 124.

28 *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo. Codex Reginensis Graecus 1B*, ed. P. Canart and S. Dufrenne, Codices e Vaticanis Selecti 75 (Zurich: Belser, 1988).

29 T. F. Mathews, 'The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarios and an Exegetical Approach to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. Gr. 1', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 43 (1977), 96–133.

In the eastern traditions that looked primarily to Byzantium, illustrated Bibles were equally rare, with the exception of Cilician Armenia in the thirteenth century. A case to note is the small-format Bible (just 220 × 158 mm), made for King Hetum II and dated 1295 (Erevan, Matenadaran, 180), which seems to reflect knowledge of a Paris Bible (see below) in its scale and layout, although not in its illustration.[30]

Continuities and later developments in Bibles in the West

The Byzantine situation alerts us to the surprising fact that the medieval production of full Bibles can reasonably be considered exceptional, rather than the norm. In the post-Carolingian era the pattern of production of illustrated Bibles in the West was indeed astonishingly varied, whether the material is considered by time or by region. In Ottonian Germany, for example, between roughly 950 and 1050, despite a highly developed production of superlative illustrated biblical manuscripts (gospelbooks and lectionaries in particular: see below), only a single illustrated full Bible survives: that of the canonised bishop Bernward.[31] And its illustration consists of just a single prefatory image in which, beneath a giant gold cross, Bernward presents the book to the Virgin (the identity of the figures has been much debated). The possibility in this case that the image may echo a Byzantine scheme, a little like what is found in the Leo Bible frontispieces, merits consideration.

Almost as isolated is the León Bible of 960, the work of Florentius and Sanctius.[32] It has a full-page Christ in Majesty preface, and seventy-eight miniatures in spaces left in the text of the Old Testament. It concludes with a visual colophon in the form of an image of the craftsmen below the bowls of the letter omega. Interestingly, although its images seem to be largely ad hoc creations, it was itself used as a model at León in 1162 for the production of another illustrated Bible, in which visigothic script was replaced by a (more legible) transitional gothic *textualis*. Totally different in appearance are two related illustrated Bibles from Catalunya, the Ripoll and Rodes (Roda) Bibles (written in caroline minuscule script).[33] Their images take the form

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30 E. Korkhmazian, I. Drampian and G. Hakopian (eds.), *Armenian Miniatures of the 13th and 14th Centuries* (Leningrad: Aurora, 1984), pls. 140–1.

31 Hildesheim, Dommuseum, 61: M. Brandt and A. Eggebrecht (eds.), *Bernward von Hildesheim und die Zeitalter der Ottonen. Katalog der Ausstellung Hildesheim 1993*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: Bernward / Mainz: von Zabern, 1993), vol. I, no. VIII. 29.

32 León, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, 2: J. Williams, 'The Bible in Spain', in Williams (ed.), *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 179–218.

33 F. D'Aiuto, G. Morello and A. M. Piazzoni (eds.), *I Vangeli dei popoli. La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia* (Rome: Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo / Vatican City: BAV, 2000), no. 43.

of somewhat roughly drawn frontispieces to the biblical books of varying complexity. Most are organised in horizontal registers. The Gospels in Ripoll are prefaced by nine pages of illustration, and there are also extended cycles for some of the less frequently illustrated books: Esther, for example, is prefaced by an image in five registers in Ripoll, and by ten scenes in three miniatures in Rodes. The iconographic isolation of these Bibles has been seen as evidence that they descend from one or more models of the early period, but this is questionable.[34]

From the subsequent period, roughly 1050–1225, we have, in stark contrast, numerous illustrated Bibles of large format and ambition from much of Europe. This efflorescence is often associated with the response to the Gregorian reform movement, from *c.* 1050, and the consequent production in central Italy of 'giant' biblical manuscripts for export. When we turn to these books, however it is clear that, as with the 'Turonian reform' biblical manuscripts, the illustrated Italian examples were made a generation or more after more simply decorated manuscripts. An early exported illustrated example is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13001, donated to St Aurelius of Hirsau by Emperor Henry IV, and hence made before 1084. On consideration, it would be surprising if the Gregorian reform had begun its activity by promoting the case of extravagantly illustrated Bibles, rather than textually accurate ones. In illustrative terms these Italian Bibles are characterised by narrative images in horizontal registers (for example, the Pantheon Bible, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 12958), such as were pioneered in the Turonian Bibles, and somewhat routine standing author portraits (e.g. Florence, BML, Edili 125–6), of a type already found in the sixth-century Syriac Bible.[35]

The production of illustrated Bibles in England, France, and the Low Countries in the same period, *c.* 1050–1225, was also extraordinarily ambitious.[36] In England, some fifteen illustrated Bibles have been preserved from the period (including the Bury, Dover, Lambeth, Winchester and Lothian Bibles).[37] They seem to have superseded an earlier generation of plainer Bibles, which had been made by Norman reformers to supply the lack of adequate biblical texts they found in English monasteries. The luxury illustrated books made in the 1130s and 1140s onwards were just that: luxuries. They also suggest a spirit of rivalry between the richest monastic houses.

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34 W. Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1922).
35 Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 284–90.   36   For this section see in particular ibid.
37 Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, nos. 56, 69, 70, 83. N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190–1250*, SMIBI 4.1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1982), no. 32.

In France and the Low Countries many impressive illustrated Bibles were made in the decades from *c.* 1080 onward, and especially in the second half of the twelfth century. Of particular note are the products of Flanders, of which several are now in the British Library: the Stavelot Bible of 1093–7, the Parc Bible of 1148 and the Floreffe Bible of *c.* 1160.[38] Turning to France, Cahn, in surveying the entirety of illuminated manuscript production in the twelfth century, observed that full Bibles were the most numerous type of book to have survived: truly an astonishing situation. Of particular importance, owing to their ambitious cycles and high level of craftsmanship, are a series of French books from the last quarter of the twelfth century: the Pontigny Bible, Souvigny Bible, Cappucin Bible, Manerius Bible and Paris, BNF, lat. 11534–5.[39]

Although for the most part the artists of these Bibles adapted their images to compositional precedents, as in the horizontal registers of the full-page images in the Winchester Bible, they also included images for which it seems there was no detailed precedent. An example is the remarkable and complex Job frontispiece, spread across an opening of the second volume of the Floreffe Bible (Figs. 25.2a and 25.2b).[40]

An influential development in biblical illustration of this period that it may be possible to link to a specific individual is the treatment of the historiated I of the opening of Genesis (*In principio*) with a vertical string of medallions used to represent the days of creation. This formula (reading upwards) is found first in the Lobbes Bible – possibly the first volume of a two-volume set – which was completed by the scribe and artist Goderannus in 1084.[41] If this might be considered an unambitiously literal rendering of the start of Genesis, then the I initial for the Stavelot Bible, dated 1094 and documented as the work of the same Goderannus and of Ernesto (the book took almost four years to complete), with its three columns of interlinked medallions and thirty-three decorative fields, centred on the crucifixion, is a complex exercise in biblical exegesis (although Goderannus was not himself the artist in this case).[42] It also reads upwards, from the Annunciation to the Last Judgement in the central column of the I.

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38 London, BL, Add. 28106–7, Add. 14788–90 and Add. 17737–8: Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 264–5.
39 Paris, BNF, lat. 8823; Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1; Paris, BNF, lat.16743–6; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 8–10: W. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts. The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), nos. 82, 43, 79, 81 and 92.
40 Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pls. 154–5.
41 Tournai, Bibliothèque du Séminaire, 1: Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 128–30.
42 London, BL, Add. 28106: Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 130–6.

Figs. 25.2a and 25.2b Floreffe Bible (London, BL, Add. 17738), fols. 3v–4r: frontispieces with scenes from Job

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Fig. 25.2b

462
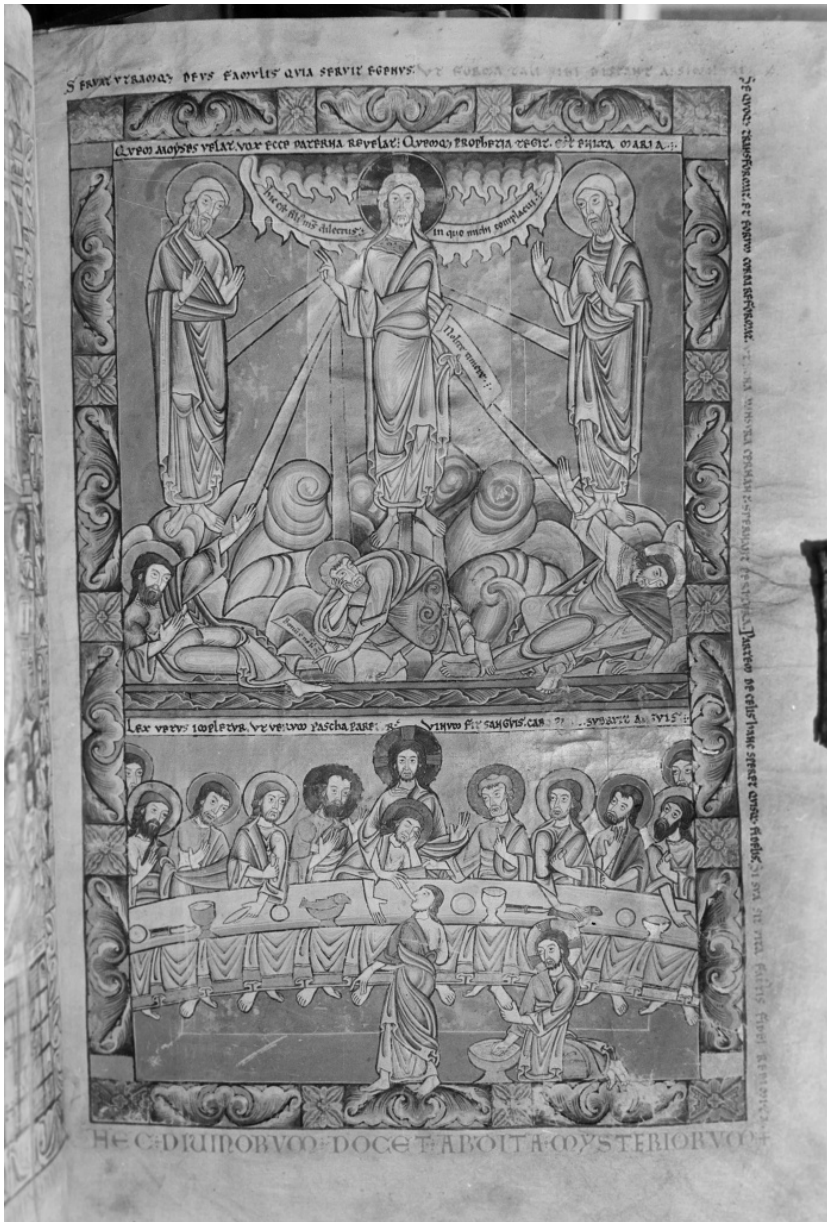
Glossed Bibles and the Paris Bible

Two major changes to the form and layout of the Bible occurred close in time to the apogee of 'traditional' Bible illustration in the second half of the twelfth century. Both came to be centred on Paris. The first was the development of the Glossed Bible, from *c.* 1150 onward, with its exceptionally complex page layout.[43] This type of book was revised and further developed in Bibles with the *Postillae* of the Dominican Hugues de St Cher (from *c.* 1240), and subsequently those of the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra (from *c.* 1270). The production of a complete Glossed Bible, sometimes in as many as fifteen volumes, was a truly tremendous undertaking.[44] Not surprisingly, perhaps, illustration played only a small part in such books.

The second change, in some degree the consequence of the first, was the development of a one-volume 'edition' of the Bible of handy size, made possible by the use of very thin parchment and diminutive script.[45] A huge number of such Bibles must have been produced, to judge by the number that survive. A fundamental link between the two types of book is textual, for the biblical text, with its many inaccuracies, that is characteristic of Paris Bibles appears to be the biblical text found in manuscripts of the *Glossa ordinaria*.

Despite the vast differences in scale, ambition and use, both Glossed Bibles and Paris Bibles opted for a relatively simple illustrative plan, with incipit images located in the opening initials of the various biblical books and few, if any, full-page images. The production of huge numbers of Paris Bibles led to a high degree of standardisation in the content of these images. For example, the seven days of creation – reading downwards – and the crucifixion (for Genesis); Elimelech, Naomi and their two children (Ruth); the fall of Ahaziah (4 Kings); Isaiah sawn (Isaiah); and the beheading of a Jew (1 Maccabees).[46]

Continuities and innovations in Bible production

The production of illustrated Latin Bibles flourished through the thirteenth century, with Bologna emerging as a notable centre of production,[47] but

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43 See Smith in this volume, ch. 20.
44 Assisi, Biblioteca Communale, 1–15 (note the large format: 470 × 330 mm); Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 131–44 (contrast the small format: *c.* 200 × 130 mm]): R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis. A Study of Styles*, California Studies in the History of Art 18 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 198–9, 202, 220–1.
45 On the Paris 'pocket' Bibles, see Light in this volume, pp. 382–3.
46 Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, pp. 178–91 (note the caveat on p. 178).
47 A. Conti, *La miniatura Bolognese. Scuole e botteghe 1270–1340* (Bologna: Alfa, 1981).

declined through the fourteenth century. In England, for example, only two illustrated Bibles survive from the entire period *c.* 1350–1500 (and one of them is fragmentary).[48] But across Europe large-format illustrated Bibles were produced from time to time, doubtless in emulation of precedents. Cathedrals might be the recipients, as exemplified by the four-volume Bible given to Rheims by a canon at the end of the thirteenth century,[49] or the five-volume edition with a magnificent opening page to Genesis, probably made for Liège, *c.* 1430.[50] Rulers might commission illustrated Bibles seemingly with knowledge of imperial precedents, as for example the Hohenstaufen in Italy: Manfred and Conradin.[51] So also might bibliophiles: Jean, duc de Berry was probably the recipient, and certainly the subsequent donor to Pope Clement VII (d. 1394), of a superb two-volume Bible with the *postillae* of Nicholas of Lyra.[52]

Most striking, from the fourteenth century onward, is the way that surviving inventories allow such manuscripts to be traced in royal or noble libraries, as they had been previously in booklists from churches and monasteries. For example, two Bibles of the late thirteenth century, both possibly owned by King Philippe III le Bel (1270–85), were documented a century later still in French collections: one in the library of King Charles V,[53] the other in that of his son, Jean, duc de Berry.[54] Such books could even be dispersed as gifts many generations after their manufacture: in 1472 King Louis XI presented to the bishop of Avranches a superlative Bible made in Paris in 1327 by the English scribe Robert Billyng, and the illuminators Jean Pucelle, Anciau de Sens and Jaquet Maci.[55]

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48 Oxford, BodL, Lat. Bib. b. 4: Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 132 (and see below under Bohun group psalters); London, BL, Royal 1. E. IX: K. M. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390–1490*, 2 vols., SMIBI 6 (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), no. 26.

49 Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 39–42: F. Avril (ed.), *L'art au temps des rois maudits. Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285–1328*, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1998), no. 219.

50 London, BL, Add. 15254: A. Bennett, L. Preedy and W. Noel (eds.), *Medieval Mastery. Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bald, 800–1475*, Stedelijk Museum Leuven (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), no. 71.

51 Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 36: D'Aiuto, Morello and Piazzoni (eds.), *Vangeli dei popoli*, no. 70; Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 152. See also the important fourteenth-century Neapolitan Bibles: A. Bräm, *Neapolitanische Bilderbibeln des Trecento. Anjou-Buchmalerei von Robert dem Weisen zu Johann I*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007).

52 Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 50–1: E. Taburet-Delahaye (ed.), *Paris 1400. Les arts sous Charles VI*, Musée du Louvre (Paris: Fayard, 2004), no. 44; D'Aiuto, Morillo and Piazzoni (eds.), *Vangeli dei popoli*, no. 93.

53 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 590: Avril (ed.), *Les rois maudits*, no. 181.

54 Paris, BNF, lat. 248: Avril (ed.), *Les rois maudits*, no. 191.

55 Paris, BNF, lat. 11935: Avril (ed.), *Les rois maudits*, no. 195.

Vernacular alternatives to the illustrated Vulgate: the Bible moralisée *and the* Bible historiale

Around 1220, and seemingly at the command of Blanche, wife of King Louis VIII of France (ruled 1223–6), an entirely new type of illustrated vernacular Bible with commentary was created, in the form of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2554.[56] This was the first of a series of progressively more ambitious books, produced for the queens and kings of France and their closest relatives, and later termed *Bibles moralisées*. The biblical text was reduced to short passages, each of which was accompanied by a brief moralising comment, and both texts were accompanied by images in medallions, the whole set within a gilded frame with every page laid out in the same pattern of eight medallions and eight texts. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2554 extends from Gen. 1:1 to 4 Kings 4:20.[57] It is fragmentary, but, like a frontispiece cycle to a psalter, may never have continued beyond the historical books of the Old Testament. The next *Bible moralisée*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1179 (seemingly begun for Louis VIII in the mid-1220s), added 1–2 Esdras, Job, Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Esther, 1–2 Maccabees and the Apocalypse. It reverted to Latin for the texts. Subsequently the plan was extended yet further (in Toledo, Tesoro de la Caledral, s.n. and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 240 – made for Louis IX?),[58] so as to include excerpts from all the Old and New Testament books, with texts in both Latin and (at first) French, the whole occupying three large volumes. But the schema was changed, the French text was abandoned, and at the same time a twin three-volume manuscript was made, employing tracings from a workshop model to facilitate production (Oxford, BodL, Bodley 270b and Paris, BNF, lat. 11560 and London, BL, Harley 1526–7 – made perhaps for Louis's wife Marguerite de Provence).[59] These twin three-volume *Bibles moralisées* each had more than 5,000 images, making them by far the most ambitious attempt to illustrate the Bible ever attempted.

In the mid-fourteenth century the plan to include texts in both Latin and French was revived in a *Bible moralisée* made for King Jean II le Bon (Paris,

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56 For this section see in particular J. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles moralisées*, 2 vols. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

57 *Bible moralisée. Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, ed. R. Haussherr, Codices Selecti 40–40* (Graz: ADEVA, 1973).

58 *Biblia de San Luis. Catedral Primada de Toledo*, ed. R. Gonzálvez Ruiz, 5 vols. (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2001–4).

59 *La Bible moralisée conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres*, ed. A. de Laborde, 5 vols. (Paris: Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, 1911–27).

BNF, fr. 167), which also marked the transformation from a fully painted three-volume work, executed on only one side of the parchment (the model was a workshop copy of the Oxford–Paris–London manuscript: London, BL, Add. 18719), to a single volume with images in grisaille on both sides of the sheet. It was this very book that Jean II's son, Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy, took as model for a *Bible moralisée* painted by the Limburg brothers (Paris, BNF, fr. 166), but left unfinished.[60] The close relationship of the surviving manuscripts is very striking, as is the degree to which the copying process is marked by 'improvement'.

If the small and handy Paris Bible can be seen as in some sense a reaction to the intimidating bulk of the multi-volume Glossed Bible, then the *Bible historiale*,[61] or more simply *Bible en françois*, with its lengthy text and relatively few images, can be seen as in some senses a reaction to the *Bible moralisée*, with its short texts and innumerable images. From the early fourteenth century the combination of the vernacular scriptures, integrated with a translation by Guyart des Moulins of the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor, rapidly established itself, in illustrated form, as a necessary mainstay of royal and noble libraries, especially in France. The *Bible historiale* was a vast, often two-volume, book, sometimes with small illustrations at some of the chapter divisions as well as at the incipits of the biblical books, but with just a few half-page to full-page illustrations. These larger images, however, are magnificent compositions. King Charles V of France (d. 1380), had fourteen copies of the *Bible en françois* in his library (he also had eighteen Latin Bibles), and some at least he must have used, for he is said to have read the entire Bible each year. The most splendid of the king's commissioned Bibles is now divided between Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5212, and Hamburg.[62] But whereas the *Bible moralisée* was a quintessentially royal book (seven fully illustrated examples survive), the *Bible historiale* had a much wider circulation.

The *Bible historiale* also provided the generic model for illustrated biblical versions in other vernaculars, for instance, the Dutch *Historiebijbel*.[63] An interesting hybrid is the Bibbia Estense of *c.* 1430–4, a *Bible historiale* written and

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60 Taburet-Delahaye (ed.), *Paris 1400*, no. 184.

61 Still indispensable is S. Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge. Étude sur les plus anciennes versions de la Bible écrite en prose en langue d'oïl* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1967).

62 F. Avril, 'Une Bible historiale de Charles V', *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 14–15 (1970), 45–76.

63 S. Hindman, *Text and Image in Fifteenth-Century Illustrated Dutch Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

illustrated in Italy.[64] Remarkably, one illustrated *Bible historiale* also included most of the text, but not the images, of the *Bible moralisée*.[65]

Illustrated gospelbooks

Byzantine gospelbooks

Most of the illustrated biblical manuscripts to survive from before *c.* 700 are gospelbooks, and they are illustrated in a striking variety of techniques. Full-page frontispieces, evangelist portraits, donation images, illustrated canon tables – all are found already in the Rabbula Gospels, a Syriac manuscript dated to 586.[66] The roughly contemporary Rossano Gospels has a frontispiece cycle with images from the life of Christ accompanied by Old Testament authors holding prophetical scrolls.[67] It is an ostentatiously costly book, written in silver on purple-dyed parchment. The Sinope Gospels, with its text entirely in gold, is even more ostentatious. It survives in a very fragmentary state, but has unframed frieze-like images in the lower margins of five of its pages.[68]

The pattern of predominance of the illustrated gospelbook, joined after Iconoclasm by the illustrated gospel lectionary, is characteristic of the eastern Orthodox world. The illustration of most such books is simple, and usually takes the form of a set of evangelist portraits and (in gospelbooks) decorated canon tables. However, a small number of more profusely illustrated gospelbooks survive, and these have been the focus of more intensive research. Some have framed narrative images in the text, as, for example, Athos, Iveron 5 (gospelbook)[69] and Dionysiou 587 (gospel lectionary).[70] Some have a series of frontispiece images, as St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Gr. 21 (lectionary)[71] and Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 5 (gospelbook).[72] Most striking

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64 Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 613: D'Aiuto, Morello and Piazzoni (eds.), *Vangeli dei popoli*, no. 97.

65 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 9001–2: J. Lowden, 'The *Bibles moralisées* in the Fifteenth Century and the Challenge of the *Bible historiale*', *JWCI* 68 (2005), 73–136.

66 M. P. Brown (ed.), *In the Beginning. Bibles Before the Year 1000* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2006), no. 62; *The Rabbula Gospels*, ed. C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani and M. Salmi (Olten and Lausanne: Urs Graf, 1959).

67 *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, ed. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont and W. C. Loerke, 2 vols., Codices Selecti 81–81* (Graz: ADEVA / Rome: Salerno, 1985–7).

68 Brown (ed.), *In the Beginning*, no. 64.

69 A. A. Karakatsanis et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Mount Athos* (Thessaloniki: Museum of Byzantine Culture, 1997), no. 5.17.

70 S. M. Pelekanidis et al. (eds.), *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1973), figs. 189–277.

71 V. D. Likhachova, *Byzantine Miniature. Masterpieces of Byzantine Miniative of IXth–XIth Centuries in Soviet Collections* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977), pls. 5–10.

72 J. Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon, 1997), pp. 294–6, pls. 169–71.

are the so-called 'frieze' gospelbooks, in which many hundreds of narrative images are inserted on lines left blank at the appropriate points in the four gospel texts (Paris, BNF, gr. 74; Florence, BML, Plut. VI. 36; Figs 25.3a and 25.3b).[73] These frieze gospelbooks were clearly considered remarkable in their own time, for they were copied in versions in Slavonic (London, BL, Add. 39627, for the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander in 1355–6),[74] in Georgian (Tbilisi, National Art Museum, H. 1667 and Q. 908, both twelfth century) and in Armenian (Erevan, Matenadaran, 7651, late thirteenth century).[75]

Gospelbooks in the West

In the West, the production of illustrated gospelbooks and lectionaries was (as with illustrated Bibles) remarkably varied. The Insular production of luxury manuscripts in the late seventh and first half of the eighth centuries focused particularly on the gospelbook, and a decorative schema was established comprising a series of full-page illustrations: evangelist portraits, evangelist symbols, 'carpet' pages and decorated incipits (before each of the Gospels), together with decorated canon tables. The basic formula was repeated with ever increasing elaboration, from the Book of Durrow to the Book of Kells.[76] Such books were also exported to, or in some cases made in, Insular centres on the Continent (Echternach, for instance).[77]

Carolingian gospelbooks adopted the tradition of decorated incipit pages from Insular models, but not the carpet pages or emphasis on the evangelist symbols. Like the Insular gospelbooks (with some few exceptions, such as Kells), Carolingian gospelbooks, the most lavish of which were produced as imperial gifts with gold and silver script, such as the Lorsch Gospels,[78] eschewed large-scale narrative scenes from the life of Christ.

73 T. Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne, Florence, Laur. VI. 23*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 6 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971); D'Aiuto, Morello and Piazzoni (eds.), *Vangeli dei popoli*, no. 56.

74 L. Shivkova, *Das Tetraevangeliar des Zaren Ivan Alexander* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1977).

75 J. Lowden, 'Manuscript Illumination in Byzantium, 1261–1557', in H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium Faith and Power 1261–1557* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), pp. 258–69, at pp. 266–7.

76 *Das Buch von Lindisfarne. Cotton MS Nero D. iv der British Library, London*, ed. M. P. Brown (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 2002); M. P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London: BL, 2003); *The Book of Kells: Fine Art Facsimile*, ed. P. Fox (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1990); G. Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells. The Insular Gospel-Books 650–800* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987).

77 C. Rabel and É. Palazzo, *Les plus beaux manuscrits de l'abbaye d'Echternach conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (Paris: BNF, 1989).

78 *The Lorsch Gospels*, ed. W. Braunfels (New York: Braziller, 1967).

It was in Ottonian Germany, perhaps with knowledge of Byzantine examples, that lengthy Gospel cycles – such as had decorated the interiors of churches since the fifth century – were included in Latin Gospel manuscripts for the first time,[79] or at least for the first time since the St Augustine Gospels, a late sixth-century Italian gospelbook, associated from an early date with St Augustine of Canterbury (d. 604 × 609), and illustrated with full-page evangelist portraits and framed Gospel scenes (only one of each survives, Figs. 25.3a and 25.3b).[80] The Ottonian examples generally took the form of frontispieces before each of the Gospels in gospelbooks (with single full-page scenes: as in the Gospels of Otto III at Aachen).[81] Or they might employ multiple scenes in registers, as in the *Codex aureus* of Echternach, *c.* 1031, now in Nuremberg.[82] An alternative was to integrate the illustrations as framed images within the text of gospel lectionaries (Codex of Bishop Egbert of Trier;[83] Lectionary of Henry II, for Bamberg),[84] or sometimes in a gospelbook (Gospels of Otto III, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453, closely related to Trier, 24).[85] The *Maiestas Domini* image was often used as a prefatory image in these books, along with or combined with donation / presentation images. An innovation of Ottonian gospelbooks was to include as prefatory decoration pages painted to resemble precious textiles of the type in which such books might have been wrapped for protection. An example, intriguing for its inclusion of what appears to be Byzantine painting in the flesh tones of Christ and the Virgin in the prefatory diptych, is the volume presented to Speyer Cathedral by Henry III in 1045–6.[86] The Byzantine-looking Christ is framed within a mandorla by a Latin inscription transliterated into Greek characters (by a Latin hand).

Illustrated gospelbooks and lectionaries were produced from time to time over the following centuries, throughout Europe, adopting one or more of

79 See in general H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1991).

80 Lowden, 'Beginnings of Biblical Illustration', pp. 43–5.

81 E. G. Grimme, *Das Evangeliar Kaiser Ottos III. im Domschatz zu Aachen* (Freiburg: Herder, 1984).

82 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 156142: *Das goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach. Codex Aureus Epternacensis Hs. 156 142 aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, ed. R. Kahsnitz (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1982).

83 Trier, Stadtbibliothek 24: *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier*, ed. H. Schiel (Basle: Alkuin-Verlag, 1960); G. Franz, *Der Egbert-Codex* (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 2005).

84 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452: J. Kirmeier (ed.), *Kaiser Heinrich II, 1002–1024* (Augsburg: Haus der bayerischen Geschichte, 2002), no. 75.

85 *Das Evangeliar Ottos III Clm. 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, ed. F. Dressler, F. Mütherich and H. Beumann (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1977–8).

86 Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio del Escorial, Vitr. 17: *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III*, ed. A. Boeckler (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1933).

Figs. 25.3a and 25.3b St Augustine Gospels (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 286), fols. 129v–130r: St Luke and the opening of his Gospel

Fig. 25.3b

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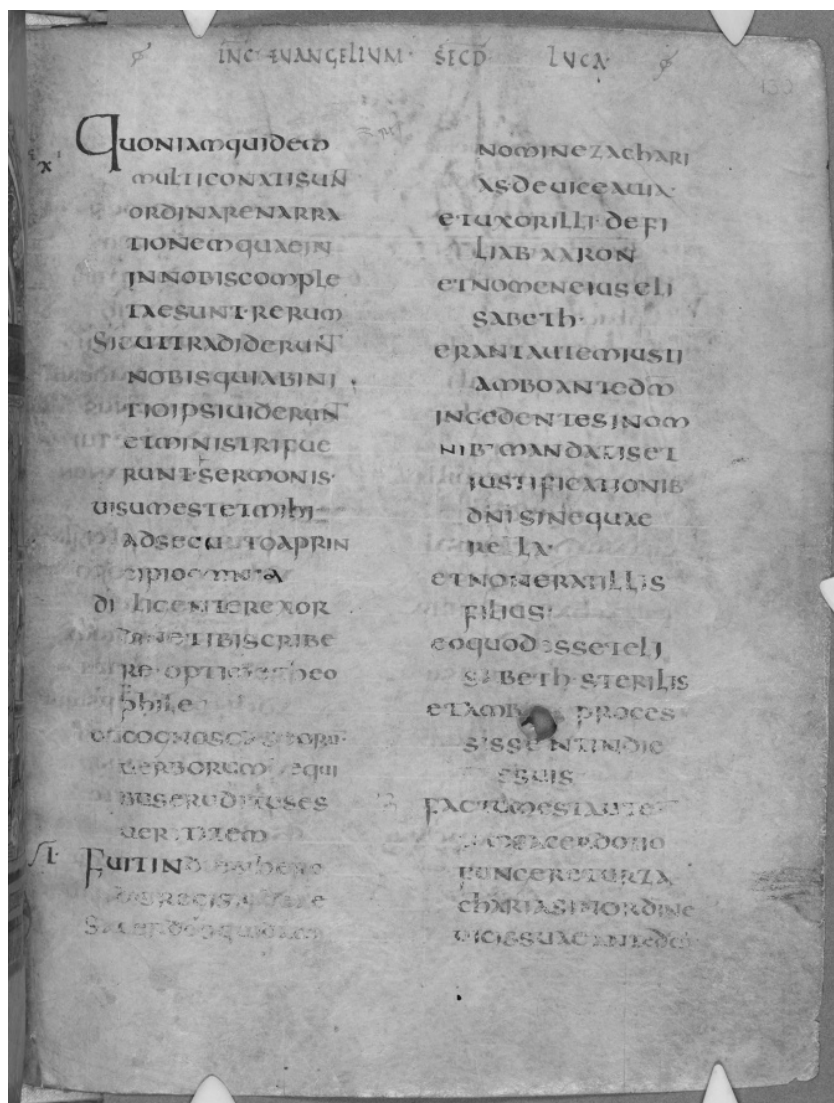
the structural formulae already seen. But the development of purpose-made liturgical books (notably missals and pontificals), and their illustration in luxury copies, drew patronage away from the gospelbooks. In England, for example, no high-quality illustrated gospelbooks survive from after *c.* 1200. Elsewhere the pattern was even more extreme: the illustrated gospelbook seems to have been scarcely known in the Iberian peninsula, outside Catalunya, in any period. But remarkable exceptions were also possible: in 1380 the bishop of Trier, Kuno von Falkenstein, had a gospel lectionary made which took as its model the images of the lectionary made for his predecessor Bishop Egbert 400 years before.[87]

Illustrated psalters

Insular and Byzantine psalters

The Vespasian Psalter, a southern English product (*c.* 730), is the earliest illustrated psalter to have survived.[88] Its decoration consists of a full-page image of David as musician, and two historiated initials (Pss. 26 and 52; Ps. 1 is lost). This is the earliest example of the use of the historiated initial, a compositional formula that later played a large part in biblical illustration. The contemporary Durham copy of Cassiodorus on Psalms has two full-page images of David (of an original three – the opening of the book is lost), a seated David as musician, related to the Vespasian frontispiece, and a standing David holding a spear.[89]

Moving east, no illustrated psalter survives from the pre-Iconoclast era in Byzantium, i.e. before *c.* 730. But that such manuscripts once existed, and had a David 'author portrait', in one or more of the formulae we see in later books (as shepherd, as musician, as king), can hardly be doubted. Of particular interest are the Byzantine 'marginal' psalters (*c.* 850 and later), in which numerous small images are located in the broad blank margins and act as a form of visual exegesis.[90] The best preserved (the Chludov Psalter) adopts literal, typological and moralising approaches to the psalms.[91] It also contains a full-page frontispiece author portrait of David as musician, and as epilogue a full-page narrative sequence on the life of David. It is characteristic

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87 C. Beier, *Buchmalerei für Metz und Trier im 14. Jahrhundert* (Grevenbroich: Bernardus-Verlag, 2003), pp. 45–52, 121–5.
88 Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 29.   89 Ibid., no. 17.
90 K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).
91 *Miniatyri Khludovskoi Psaltiri*, ed. M. V. Shchepkina (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977).

of the Byzantine world that marginal psalters made centuries later continued to imitate these ninth-century manuscripts closely,[92] and were themselves carefully imitated in other Orthodox cultures.[93]

At the same time, psalters with illustration consisting of one or more frontispiece images, notably of David as musician composing the psalms, and images for a textual division of the psalter (in particular at Pss. 50 and 77, and the biographical 'supernumerary' psalm (151)), as well as for the biblical canticles, were also being produced in Byzantium (the Paris Psalter: BNF, gr. 139).[94] Taking the material together, there was a striking range of types of illustrated psalter, including a compilation volume, the New Testament/psalter, of which the earliest dated example is from 1084,[95] and for which there is no western equivalent.

Carolingian and later psalters in the West

Illustrated psalters following the simple frontispiece scheme were produced in the Carolingian era, but much more remarkable are two profusely illustrated books, the Stuttgart and Utrecht Psalters. Stuttgart has 316 coloured images inserted throughout the single-column minuscule psalter text, and a full-page colophon image of David slaying Goliath after the supernumerary psalm.[96] The majority of the images attempt to render the wording of the preceding psalm verse literally (German 'Wortillustration'). Utrecht looks completely different, despite adopting a literal approach to the illustration.[97] It has a single image for each of the 150 psalms and sixteen canticles, located in a space before the relevant text, which is written throughout in an archaising fashion in three columns of rustic capitals. It is striking that all three of the surviving 'copies' of Utrecht (all begun at Christ Church, Canterbury) set out to surpass their model in some conspicuous way. In the Harley Psalter (*c.* 1010–30 and later) the scribes

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92 E.g. London, BL, Add. 19352, dated 1066. See *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile*, ed. C. Barber (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 733, *c.* 1300: J. C. Anderson, 'The State of the Walters' Marginal Psalter and its Implications for Art History,' *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 62 (2004), 35–44.

93 E.g. the Russian Kiev Psalter, dated 1397: *Kievskaia Psaltir*, ed. G. I. Vzdornov, 2 vols. (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1978).

94 A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris: Picard, 1984).

95 Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks, 3: Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, no. 51.

96 Stuttgart, Württemburgische Landesbibliothek, Bibl. Fol. 23: *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter*, ed. B. Bischoff, F. Mütherich et al., 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Schreiber Graphische Kunstanstalten, 1968).

97 Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliothek, 32: *Utrecht Psalter*, ed. K. van der Horst and J. H. A. Engelbregt, Codices Selecti 75–75* (Graz: ADEVA, 1984); K. van der Horst, W. Noel and W. C. M. Wüstefeld (eds.), *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art. Picturing the Psalms of David* (Tuurdijk: HES / London: Harvey Miller, 1996); Koehler, *Karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. VI, pp. 85–135, pls. 21–85.

changed the script and version of the text, and the artists used colour.[98] In the Eadwine Psalter, around 1155–60, the layout was transformed into a highly complex pattern: the three psalter text-versions in parallel, together with interlinear Latin gloss and French and Old English translations.[99] Eadwine also added four full-page frontispieces (now dispersed), each with four registers of three scenes, many subdivided, and a larger Tree of Jesse. The idea for these small framed images may have been derived from the full-page images of the St Augustine Gospels (see Figure 25.3a). Finally, *c.* 1180–1200, the volume now Paris, BNF, lat. 8846 further developed the model provided by Eadwine.[100] Yet the result looks, once more, completely different, for the artist remodelled the images, working with opaque pigments and burnished gold backgrounds. The four-page frontispiece cycle was also completely reformulated.

Western psalters with frontispiece cycles

Later psalter illustration did not follow the general pattern of either the Stuttgart or the Utrecht Psalters, but instead the one seemingly worked out in late Anglo-Saxon England and first exemplified in the Tiberius Psalter (*c.* 1050).[101] This system consists of one or more frontispiece images from the Old and/or New Testament, together with decoration and/or illustration at the divisions of the psalter text suggested by their use in the monastic offices.[102] A calendar, often illustrated with zodiac signs and labours of the months, was also included.[103]

Once the idea of the frontispiece cycle to the psalter was established, it was quickly exploited by including, in the more ambitious books, ever longer biblical sequences. Such books began to take on something of the character of Christian visual encyclopaedias. The St Albans Psalter, *c.* 1130, is a key work in this context.[104] It has forty full-page fully painted and gilded prefatory miniatures and 211 historiated initials by a different artist. The book, apparently made at St Albans under Abbot Geoffrey, came into the possession of Christina

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98 London, BL, Harley 603: W. Noel, *The Harley Psalter* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).
99 Cambridge, Trinity College R. 17. 1: M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop and R. W. Pfaff (eds.), *The Eadwine Psalter. Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury* (London and University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).
100 *Psalterium glosatum. Salterio Anglo-Catalán*, ed. N. Morgan (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2004).
101 London, BL, Cotton Tiberius C. vi: E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066*, SMIBI 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), no. 98. In general, see F. O. Büttner (ed.), *The Illuminated Psalter. Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).
102 G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: privately printed, 1936).
103 An early example is the Æthelstan Psalter: Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 5.
104 See n. 15 above.

of Markyate (d. after 1155), but the degree to which all its varied contents were originally intended for this saint-in-the-making is debatable.

Luxury psalters continued in production through the thirteenth century, and were increasingly made for laypeople. For example, three surviving psalters are associated with Louis IX (d. 1270).[105] Despite the rise in popularity, from the mid-thirteenth century, of the psalter-derived book of hours, the illuminated psalter endured, especially in England. The first decades of the fourteenth century were marked by a grand flourish: profusely decorated books such as the Tickhill, De Lisle, Queen Mary, Gorleston, Peterborough, Ormesby, Douai and Luttrell Psalters, with their combination of frontispieces, psalm-division images and marginal decoration, must have richly rewarded their pious audiences.[106] An interesting epilogue to psalter illustration in England is found in three manuscripts associated with members of the aristocratic Bohun family, around 1360–70.[107] All three are unusual in having an illustration to every psalm and, remarkably, each follows an entirely different illustrative programme. Meantime, in Bourges and Paris the duc de Berry was assembling a collection of precious books which included no fewer than fourteen psalters, the oldest of which was the bilingual Latin/Old English psalter, Paris, BNF, lat. 8824.[108] To these he added, c. 1386, a superb psalter with twenty-four frontispiece images in grisaille by the hand of the renowned sculptor André Beauneveu.[109]

Illustrated Apocalypses

Carolingian Apocalypses

The Apocalypse was not considered canonical in the Orthodox world, so the evidence of illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts is entirely western. Overall it exemplifies remarkable variety. There are four surviving Carolingian illustrated Apocalypses, which can be subdivided on the basis of their images into

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105 Paris, BNF, lat. 10525: *Le Psautier de Saint Louis*, Codices Selecti 37 (Graz: ADEVA, 1972); H. Stahl, *Picturing Kingship. History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

106 Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, nos. 26, 38, 40, 43, 50, 56, 105, and 107; A. R. Stanton, *The Queen Mary Psalter* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 2001); M. Camille, *Mirror in Parchment. The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion, 1998).

107 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1826*, London, BL, Egerton 3277, and Oxford, Exeter College, 47: Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, nos. 133–5.

108 Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 83. See also Marsden in this volume, pp. 221–2.

109 Paris, BNF, fr. 13091: F. Avril, F. Baron and D. Gaborit-Chopin (eds.), *Les fastes du gothique. Le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1981), no. 296.

two unrelated pairs: the Trier and Cambrai Apocalypses, and the Valenciennes and Paris Apocalypses.[110] Trier is the earliest, and was made in some probably north-west Frankish centre under Turonian influence, as early as the beginning of the ninth century. It comprises seventy-five folios, with seventy-four full-page framed miniatures. Cambrai is a direct copy of Trier, larger in format, but otherwise very close to its model. It was made in the early tenth century. The Valenciennes Apocalypse was made perhaps in Liège in the early ninth century, and may have had an Insular model. Valenciennes has forty full-page images, organised like Trier/Cambrai. The mise-en-page of the Paris manuscript, however, looks haphazard, even archaic in comparison. It is interesting that the representation of the lamb on the throne, included as part of the Apocalypse image in the Carolingian Bibles of Count Vivian and S Paolo (see nn. 22 and 24 above), does not bear more than a general resemblance to that image in either of the pairs of roughly contemporary Apocalypse manuscripts. The variety of the evidence is thus striking.

Related to Valenciennes/Paris in its layout and choice of images is the Bamberg Apocalypse (Reichenau, *c.* 1010).[111] It has forty-nine mostly full-page illustrations. The craftsmanship of the images is superb. Highly burnished gold backgrounds dominate the compositions. The opening image, which in Valenciennes/Paris has St John receiving the seven-sealed scroll from the hand of God, here includes a half-length figure of God handing over a book, and the author has changed from a beardless young man to a bearded, grey-haired figure. Detailed iconographic study of Bamberg and its relatives once again emphasises the variety of the evidence.[112]

Beatus Apocalypses

The Apocalypse combined with the lengthy commentary assembled from various authors by the monk and priest Beatus of Liébana in 776 (or 786) survives in twenty-six illustrated manuscripts (only four surviving Beatus manuscripts were definitely unillustrated).[113] All but two of the twenty-six were produced in the Iberian peninsula. Strikingly, the latest dated example,

110 Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 31, and Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 386; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 99, and Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1132. See *Trierer Apokalypse*, ed. R. Laufner and P. K. Klein, 2 vols., Codices Selecti 48–48* (Graz: ADEVA, 1975).
111 *Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, ed. G. Suckale-Redlefsen and B. Schemmel, 2 vols. (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 2000).
112 See the stemma drawn by Klein in ibid., vol. II, p. 110.
113 For this section see J. Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus. A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols. (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 1994–2003).

from the Cistercian convent of Las Huelgas (but not necessarily made there: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 429, dated 1220), is a copy of one of the earliest (from the monastery of S Salvador at Tábara, finished 970).

The illustrative cycle of a Beatus manuscript was organised around the sixty-eight *storiae* into which the *Vetus Latina* text of the Apocalypse was divided. Adding eight supplementary commentary illustrations gives a total of seventy-six illustrations to Beatus' original plan. At a later stage, twenty-two frontispieces were added (evangelist portraits, angels holding the Gospels, and diagrams of the genealogy of Christ), together with a long epilogue comprising Jerome's commentary on Daniel, with a further eleven illustrations (note that the same text was also illustrated at Reichenau, *c.* 1000).[114] Additional frontispieces might include an acrostic, a cross, an alpha and omega, and other images, bringing the 'ideal' total in a Beatus to 108 images.

The earliest illustrated Beatus (but for a fragment), Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 644 of *c.* 940–5, is a richly decorated book with seventy-six illustrations.[115] A certain Maius tells us he was both scribe (*scribens ego*) and artist (*storiarum depinxi per seriem*). The variety in the composition and content of the images is striking: horizontal registers, centrally planned images, maps and plans, with or without lengthy *tituli*. The inclusion of evangelist portraits and other prefatory matter may be the result of the absence of a tradition of illustrated gospelbook production in Iberia: Beatus manuscripts functioned partly as a sort of compendium of biblical illustration.

Anglo-French Apocalypses

Whereas manuscripts of Beatus seem to have been directed primarily towards a monastic audience, the illustrated Anglo-French Apocalypses of *c.* 1250 and later were primarily intended for wealthy laypeople.[116] The abundant material is traditionally divided for study into various 'families', but the results of this process are confusing. Some of these Apocalypses organise each page with two framed images and no text apart from lengthy captions (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 524; Oxford, BodL, Auct. D. 4. 17). Some include the images according to the dictates of the text (Cambridge, Trinity College,

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114 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 22 (A. I. 47): Kirmeier (ed.), *Kaiser Heinrich II*, no. 138.

115 *A Spanish Apocalypse. The Morgan Beatus Manuscript*, ed. J. Williams (New York: Braziller, 1991).

116 For this section see *The Lambeth Apocalypse. Manuscript 209 in Lambeth Palace Library*, ed. N. J. Morgan and M. Brown (London: Harvey Miller, 1990); *Apocalipsis Gulbenkian*, ed. N. J. Morgan et al. (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2002); D. McKitterick et al. (eds.), *The Trinity Apocalypse* (London: BL, 2005). In general, see F. Carey (ed.), *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come* (London: British Museum, 1999).

R. 16. 2). Some have a framed image always in the upper half of every page, and the biblical text and commentary in Latin below (for example, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig III. 1; Oxford, BodL, Douce 180). Some include prefatory (and/or sometimes tailpiece) scenes from the life of St John (such as Morgan, Trinity, and London, Lambeth Palace Library, 209). Some include a short series of Antichrist scenes (notably Morgan, Douce, Lambeth Palace Library, 209). Some are in Latin, some in Latin and French, some in French alone. Some have large pictures on every page, and only short excerpts of text (Eton, Eton College Library, 177, Lambeth Palace Library, 434). Some have small and irregularly shaped images located within the lengthy continuous text (Lambeth Palace Library, 75). Some have a Latin commentary based on Berengaudus, some a commentary in French perhaps derived form the *Bible moralisée*.[117] Overall, it is once more the variety of the evidence, not its consistency, which is striking. That the Anglo-French Apocalypses, despite their many differences, also have many elements in common that distinguish them from earlier types of Apocalypse can be seen, for example, in their opening image, which shows St John asleep (or in some cases awake) on the island of Patmos, being addressed by an angel.

One of the most remarkable spin-offs of Apocalypse book illustration took place in 1377–9, when Louis, duc d'Anjou borrowed from the library of his brother King Charles V a thirteenth-century Apocalypse (Paris, BNF, fr. 403) to serve the artist Jean Bondol as a model (there must also have been another) for cartoons for a series of six enormous Apocalypse tapestries for the ducal chapel at Angers.[118] They included eighty-four framed panels, and, amazingly, sixty-seven of them survive.

Conclusion: on miscellaneous illustrated biblical books

Many other parts of the Bible were selected at some date to receive illustration, and to circulate as independent volumes (or perhaps alongside other biblical volumes that do not survive – but this line of argument is risky). In the sixth century, for example, the book of Genesis was twice treated as a separate

117 J. Lowden, 'The Apocalypse in the Early Thirteenth-Century *Bibles moralisées*. A Reassessment', in N. Morgan (ed.), *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 12 (Stamford: Shaun Dyas, 2004), pp. 195–219, figs. 18–31.
118 F. Muel (ed.), *La tenture de l'Apocalypse d'Angers*, 2nd edn, rev. A. Erlande-Brandenbourg (Nantes: Inventaire Général, 1987).

illustrated volume (Cotton Genesis, Vienna Genesis (written in silver on purple parchment)).[119] But there was no iconographic link between the two, and such a book was never subsequently repeated. In Byzantium, the Octateuch (Genesis–Ruth) circulated in a richly illustrated version in post-Iconoclast centuries; its Genesis cycle was from yet another tradition.[120] These illustrated Octateuchs do not seem to have been known in the West. The Major and/or Minor Prophets also circulated as an illustrated volume (or volumes) in Byzantium, although most of the images were merely author portraits.[121] Many of these manuscripts also contained a marginal commentary excerpted from various authors (catena), a little like western glossed manuscripts.

In the West the variety of the material is far greater, and hence every manuscript that is omitted from the discussion impoverishes our understanding of biblical illustration. For example, the unfinished illustrated *Old English Hexateuch*, London, BL, Cotton Claudius B. iv, a Canterbury manuscript of *c.* 1025–50 with 394 mostly framed images, from full-page downward in size, is a book without close parallel.[122] Some of its images show knowledge of iconographic traditions (for instance, the Sacrifice of Isaac), whereas others appear to be ad hoc inventions. Nor is there any other book like Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2759–64, a giant Bible in six volumes in German, made for King Wenceslas IV of Bohemia around 1390, with 651 miniatures – the work of nine or more illuminators – but also left unfinished.[123] The fact that both these books are unfinished hardly makes them comparable. Both must be studied, like all illuminated manuscripts, in large part on their own terms.

It is not, in the end, what makes illustrated biblical manuscripts similar to one another that should be the prime focus of attention, but the extraordinary extent of their difference.

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119 K. Weitzmann and H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (Princeton University Press, 1986); B. Zimmermann, *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen antiken Buchmalerei* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003); J. Lowden, 'Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis', *Gesta* 31 (1992), 40–53.

120 K. Weitzmann and M. Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, 2 vols., The Illustrations in the Manuscipts of the Septuagint 2 (Princeton University Press, 1999); J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

121 J. Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988).

122 C. M. Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 700–1550* (London: Harvey Miller / Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 56–72.

123 A. Fingernagel and C. Gastgeber, *In the Beginning Was the Word. The Power and Glory of Illuminated Bibles* (Cologne: Taschen, 2003), pp. 118–31.

Appendix I

A selection of illustrated biblical manuscripts
in facsimile

Apocalipsis Gulbenkian, ed. N. J. Morgan, S. Lewis et al. (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2002)

Apokalypse. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 180, ed. P. K. Klein, Codices Selecti 52–52* (Graz: ADEVA, 1981–3)

Die Bamberger Apokalypse, ed. G. Suckale-Redlefsen and B. Schemmel, 2 vols. (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 2000)

La Bibbia Amiatina. Riproduzione integrale su CD-ROM del codice Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, ed. L. Ricci (Florence: SISMEL, 2000)

Die Bibel des Patricius Leo. Codex Reginensis Graecus 1B, ed. P. Canart and S. Dufrenne, Codices e Vaticanis Selecti 75 (Zurich: Belser, 1988)

Bible moralisée. Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, ed. R. Haussherr, Codices Selecti 40–40* (Graz: ADEVA, 1973)

La Bible moralisée illustrée conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres, ed. A. de Laborde, 5 vols. (Paris: Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscripts à Peintures, 1911–27)

Biblia de San Luis. Catedral Primada de Toledo, ed. R. Gonzálvez Ruiz, 5 vols. (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2001–4)

The Book of Kells. Fine Art Facsimile, ed. P. Fox (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1990)

Das Buch von Lindisfarne. Cotton Ms Nero D. iv der British Library, London, ed. M. P. Brown, 3 vols. (Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 2002)

Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier, ed. H. Schiel (Basle: Alkuin-Verlag, 1960)

Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, ed. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont and W. C. Loerke, 2 vols., Codices Selecti 81–81* (Graz: ADEVA / Rome: Salerno, 1985–7)

Das Evangeliar Ottos III Clm 4453 der Bayerischen Stantsbibliothek München, ed. F. Dressler, F. Mütherich and H. Beumann, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1977–8)

Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III, ed. A. Boeckler (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1933)

Das goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach. Codex Aureus Epternacensis Hs. 156 142 aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, ed. R. Kahsnitz, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1982)

Kievskaia Psaltir, ed. G. I. Vzdornov, 2 vols. (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1978)

The Lambeth Apocalypse. Manuscript 209 in Lambeth Palace Library, ed. N. J. Morgan and M. Brown (London: Harvey Miller, 1990)

The Lorsch Gospels, ed. W. Braunfels (New York: Braziller, 1967)

Miniatyri Khludovskoi Psaltiri, ed. M. V. Shchepkina (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977)

El Pentateucho Ashburnham, ed. B. Narkiss, 2 vols. (Valencia: Patrimonio Ediciones, 2003–7)

Psalterium Glosatum. Salterio Anglo-Catalán, ed. N. J. Morgan (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2004)

Le Psautier de Saint Louis, Codices Selecti 37 (Graz: ADEVA, 1972)

The Rabbula Gospels, ed. C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani and M. Salmi (Olten and Lausanne: Urs Graf, 1959)

A Spanish Apocalypse. The Morgan Beatus Manuscript, ed. J. Williams (New York: Braziller, 1991)

Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter, ed. B. Bischoff, F. Mütherich et al., 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Schreiber Graphische Kunstanstalten, 1968)

Theodore Psalter. Electronic Facsimile, ed. C. Barber (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000)

Trierer Apokalypse, ed. R. Laufner and P. K. Klein, 2 vols., Codices Selecti 48–48* (Graz: ADEVA, 1975)

Utrecht Psalter, ed. K. van der Horst and J. H. A. Engelbregt, Codices Selecti 75–75* (Graz: ADEVA, 1984)

Appendix II

A selection of catalogues (including exhibition catalogues)

Avril, F. (ed.), *L'art au temps des rois maudits. Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285–1328*, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1998)

Avril, F., F. Baron and D. Gaborit-Chopin (eds.), *Les fastes du gothique. Le siècle de Charles V* (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1981)

Bennett, A., L. Preedy and W. Noel (eds.), *Medieval Mastery. Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bald, 800–1475*, Stedelijk Museum Leuven (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002)

Brandt, M., and A. Eggebrecht (eds.), *Bernward von Hildesheim und die Zeitalter der Ottonen. Katalog der Ausstellung Hildesheim 1993*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: Bernward / Mainz: von Zabern, 1993)

Brown, M. P. (ed.), *In the Beginning. Bibles Before the Year 1000* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2006)

W. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts. The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France I (London: Harvey Miller, 1996)

Carey, F. (ed.), *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come* (London: British Museum, 1999)

D'Aiuto, F., G. Morello and A. M. Piazzoni (eds.), *I Vangeli dei popoli. La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia* (Rome: Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo / Vatican City: BAV, 2000)

Evans, H. C. (ed.), *Byzantium Faith and Power 1261–1557* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004)

Jemolo, V., and M. Morelli (eds.), *La Bibbia di S. Paolo fuori le mura* (Rome: De Luca, 1981)

Karakatsanis, A. A., et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Mount Athos* (Thessaloniki: Museum of Byzantine Culture, 1997)

Kirmeier, J., (ed.), *Kaiser Heinrich II, 1002–1024* (Augsburg: Haus der bayerischen Geschichte, 2002)

Korkhmazian, E., I. Drampian and G. Hakopian (eds.), *Armenian Miniatures of the 13th and 14th Centuries* (Leningrad: Aurora, 1984)

Lafitte, M.-P., and C. Denoël (eds.), *Trésors carolingiens. Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve* (Paris: BNF, 2007)

Pelekanidis, S. M., et al. (eds.), *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1973)

Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles (London: Harvey Miller):

1. Alexander, J. J. G., *Insular Manuscripts from the 6th to the 9th Century* (1978)
2. Temple, E., *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (1976)
3. Kauffmann, C. M., *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190* (1975)
4.1 Morgan, N. J., *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190–1250* (1982)
4.2 Morgan, N. J., *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1250–1285* (1988)
5. Sandler, L. F., *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, 2 vols. (1986)
6. Scott, K. M., *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390–1490*, 2 vols. (1996)

Taburet-Delahaye, E. (ed.), *Paris 1400. Les arts sous Charles VI*, Musée du Louvre (Paris: Fayard, 2004)

Van der Horst, K., W. Noel and W. C. M. Wüstefeld (eds.), *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art. Picturing the Psalms of David* (Tuurdijk: HES / London: Harvey Miller, 1996)

PART III

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THE BIBLE INTERPRETED

Byzantine Orthodox exegesis

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Only one thing is perfectly clear about the history of Biblical exegesis in Byzantium: it needs and deserves more study. Surveys of the history of Greek-language exegesis after the patristic period have been rare, brief and characterised by a conviction that 'in the sixth century original exegesis came to an end'.[1] Such a statement is not simple prejudice; it is nonetheless wrong on many levels. Unfortunately, this certainty that Byzantine theologians, preachers and rhetoricians wrote no original Biblical exegesis has discouraged sustained study of not only the content but the forms, functions and historical specificity of Byzantine exegesis. This chapter is not an apologia for Byzantine exegesis, which seldom appeals to modern tastes, nor will it be a detailed survey and analysis of how Byzantine exegesis developed over time, for such a survey and analysis are not yet possible. I will argue, nevertheless, that Byzantine exegesis is historically specific and unique and deserves study from a number of perspectives.

This chapter begins with a discussion of changes in exegetical method in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, for the transformation not only of exegesis but also of most other aspects of Christian culture in the eastern Mediterranean from the third through to the eighth century is undeniable and crucial. Following that discussion are four suggestions for the future study of how Byzantines understood and commented on the Bible. First, it would be useful to devote more study to specifically Byzantine content in that apparently most unoriginal of genres, the catena. A catena (from the Latin for 'chain') builds a scriptural commentary by excerpting passages from earlier exegetes and linking them together – usually in the margin of the text to which they all refer, but sometimes in close proximity in other ways.[2] In the words of a

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1 J. Irmscher and A. Kazhdan, 'Exegesis', in A. P. Kazhdan (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1991), vol. II, p. 769.
2 The best general description of Greek exegetical catenae is R. Devreesse, 'Chaines exégétiques grecques', in L. Pirot (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément 1* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928),

website that has attempted to place links from chapters of scripture to each ante-Nicene father who commented on it, 'a catena is a hypertext'.[3] So, for example, Gen. 1:1 ('In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth') inspired many commentators, preachers, teachers and contemplatives. In a catena manuscript this scriptural text would be followed by or enclosed within exegetical excerpts from such figures as Severian of Gabala (d. post-408), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*c.* 393–*c.* 457), Basil of Caesarea (330–79) and Diodoros of Tarsus (d. *c.* 390).[4] Scholarship on the catenae has focused primarily on authors of the patristic and conciliar periods. In cases such as the 'heretical' Theodoret, many of whose works have not survived, the evidence of the catenae has proven invaluable. Little has been done, however, on the Byzantine content of these manuscripts.

My second suggestion for the study of Byzantine exegesis is that we pay more attention to the codicology, provenance, dating and artwork of the manuscripts that contain scripture and catenae. Such study may illuminate the ways in which Byzantines read and understood their scriptures. Third, much exegesis is found in the rhetorical works of Byzantine authors, even those who are generally considered to be secular; we should take exegesis in, for example, Byzantine political ideology seriously. Finally, there is much exegesis included in polemical texts stemming from political and religious controversies. This kind of exegesis raises a number of questions about the connections between exegetes and the world around them and about what we dignify with the name of 'real' exegesis.

Nothing about this chapter will be the last word on Byzantine exegesis; it is the author's fond hope, rather, that some readers will join her in questioning the many announcements of the death of exegesis in Byzantium, for it does seem unlikely that a culture whose ideology proclaimed it to be the fulfilment

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cols. 1084–1223. On specific layout of the catenae (their mise-en-page), see ibid., cols. 1089–90, and the word 'catena' itself, a modern scholarly designation, cols. 1087–9. The most common designations in Greek manuscripts are *eklogai exegetikai* and variations on the theme of *sylloge exegeseon*, *synagoge exegeseon*, or *epitome exegeseon*. Photographs of catena manuscripts include *Catenae graecae in Genesim et Exodum. Vol II: Collectio coisliniana in Genesim*, ed. F. Petit CCSG 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), plate preceding p. 1; J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); and online at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Codex_Bodmer_25_folio_4_recto.jpg (consulted 6 July 2010).

3 www.earlychristianwritings.com/e-catena (consulted 19 July 2010).

4 For example, see *Collectio coisliniana in Genesim*, ed. Petit, pp. 4–17.

of the Christian scriptures should have had nothing to say about them for eight centuries or so.[5]

'Closure' and the end of Late Antiquity

Between the time of Origen (*c.* 185–*c.* 254) and the condemnation of the 'Three Chapters' at the Second Council of Constantinople (553), there was a fundamental shift in how the culture of the eastern Mediterranean dealt with dissent, debate, conflict and controversy. Many scholars have detailed this shift in various sectors of culture, fields of study and genres of literature.[6] In the field of theology in general, these centuries saw an increased emphasis on orthodoxy as expressed in creeds, and continued condemnation of those who attempted to go beyond those creeds, even if their attempt was to explicate orthodox doctrine in traditional ways – by appealing to scripture, for example. It became less common for theologians to base their arguments directly on scripture and more common for them to argue from florilegia, collections of select excerpts from a set of select fathers. In the context of the christological controversies, Patrick Gray has pointed out how, after the fourth century, those who could not or would not limit themselves to citing 'the select fathers' were condemned. In 448, the archimandrite Eutyches, 'faced with texts in which Cyril [of Alexandria] spoke of two natures, . . . could only complain, "I have not found this explained in scripture, nor have all the fathers said it".' His argument failed, for 'it was no longer possible to appeal beyond the fathers to scripture convincingly'.[7] This was, as Averil Cameron puts it, 'the "golden age" of florilegia'.[8] There is, then, much truth in the claim that exegesis of scripture came to be 'replaced by study of the exegesis of the church fathers and by the assembly of authoritative citations in catenae'.[9]

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5 For a recent cogent statement of the importance of the Bible in Byzantium, see the introduction to P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), pp. 1–38.

6 The literature on this subject is copious. Three good places to start are: R. Lim, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995); the collection of Averil Cameron's articles in *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1996); and P. T. R. Gray, '"The Select Fathers": Canonizing the Patristic Past', *Studia Patristica* 23 (1989), 21–36.

7 Gray, 'The Select Fathers', p. 26.

8 A. Cameron, 'Byzantium and the Past in the Seventh Century. The Search for Redefinition', in J. Fontaine and J. N. Hillgarth (eds.), *The Seventh Century. Change and Continuity* (London: Warburg Institute, 1992), pp. 250–76, at pp. 254–8 and 267–8, with quotation at p. 254.

9 Irmscher and Kazhdan, 'Exegesis'.

There are, however, a sufficient number of exceptions to disprove the rule. So, for example, Photios of Constantinople (*c.* 810–*c.* 893; patriarch of Constantinople 858–67 and 877–86) is widely acknowledged as the last creative Byzantine exegete because of the quality of his massive series of questions and answers, known as the *Amphilochia*.[10] Karl Staab and J. Reuss augmented that reputation by close study of excerpts from Photios that appear in catenae.[11] Both Staab and Reuss characterised Photios' exegesis in the catenae as independent, critical and rhetorically masterful. Like every other feature of Byzantine exegesis it deserves more study. Other examples of exceptional figures also belie the stereotype of hidebound Byzantine authors. For the eleventh century, there is Michael Psellos, discussed below. For the twelfth, there is Michael Glykas, who wrote ninety-five replies to questions he had been asked, about half of which required interpretation of scripture. Like Psellos, Glykas produced much work that was idiosyncratic; unlike Psellos, he has found few modern interpreters.[12] But that he was an exegete is beyond doubt.

So there was exegesis in Byzantium, and there would be considerable value in studying the works of Photios, Psellos, Glykas and others in more detail and with an open mind. Rather than labour this point, however, I would suggest that the study of exceptional figures whose exegetical methods fit some largely undefined criteria for real or critical or creative exegesis is going to advance our understanding of both Byzantium and exegesis only slightly. To understand how Byzantines interpreted the Bible, we need to read what they read. They read the exegesis of recognised giants in the field (John Chrysostom (*c.* 347–407), Gregory of Nyssa (*c.* 335–post-394), Basil of Caesarea, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and others) and of figures less well known to us – and they read them not as complete, discursive texts, but rather gathered in chains (catenae) of citation.

The catenae

Derivative as they may seem at first glance, the Byzantine catenae are the fundamental building blocks of medieval Greek exegesis and deserve our attention for at least two reasons. First, there may be more post-sixth-century

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10 Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, IV–VI, ed. L. G. Westerink (Leipzig: Teubner, 1986–7).
11 J. Reuss, 'Die Mathäus-Erklärungen des Photios von Konstantinopel', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 1 (1952), 132–4; K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933).
12 P. Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 368–82.

material in the catenae than has generally been recognised. As mentioned above, Staab and Reuss found more material in the catena citations of Photios than anyone would have expected when they began. From these catenae they have argued that Photios wrote both a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew and a commentary on the Pauline scriptures, neither of which has survived. What do survive are passages in catenae. Similarly, before Staab's work Arethas of Caesarea (c. 860–940) was thought to have written only a commentary on the Apocalypse of John, which Staab characterised as derivative and uninteresting. There was no known Pauline exegesis in his œuvre. Staab found, however, that Arethas had contributed substantially to the catenae, not only his own work but also material from some earlier commentaries on which he was, in turn, commenting.[13] Further study of the catenae may reveal more exegetical work of which we have simply been unaware. In other words, catenae can and do sometimes contain exegesis from generations after the 'closure' of Late Antiquity.

Beyond named and often famous authors, the manuscripts of catenae reveal a process of continual growth, redaction, abridgement and further growth that should interest scholars of medieval exegesis. The scholar whose work did most to open up the world of the Greek catenae, Robert Devreesse, was interested only in what genuinely patristic material the chains might contain, and he was rightly cautious about believing that the material found in a catena should always be attributed to the father named in the manuscript.[14] Given his interests, he is not to be reproached for considering most additions to the catenae that date to later than the seventh century to be corruptions. These additions were extraneous to his pursuits; later layers of text had to be peeled away to reveal the patristic layers.

For the Byzantinist, however, it is precisely these later layers, the morphing of catenae in later centuries, that may be revelatory. While scholarship before the late twentieth century generally saw compilation as largely mechanical and arbitrary, more recent studies have highlighted the complexity of the process of compiling, digesting and excerpting. Close studies of the choices made by compilers have shown how much we can learn from the 'mere' gathering and combining of texts.[15] Someone had to assemble the patristic

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13 Staab, *Pauluscommentare*, p. xlvii.
14 R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois*, Studi e Testi 201 (Vatican City: BAV, 1959).
15 See, for example, in a Byzantine context, A. Cameron, 'How to Read Heresiology', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003), 471–92, and A. Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and its Archetype* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996). Examples from other fields of

quotations used in a particular manuscript at a particular time. When did they do so? Can we connect the compilation to other events? What texts were available to them? Are there patterns in what they excerpted and what they did not? What were the criteria for including and excluding authors? What were the criteria for including some passages from an author and excluding others? Was the scribe of a particular manuscript copying an earlier catena verbatim, adding material from his own knowledge as he went along, or both? What did he include in the manuscript with the scripture and catena? Were these extra-biblical texts copied from an exemplar or did the scribe or commissioner of the manuscript choose them himself? Some catenae featured the scriptural text, followed by ancient commentary and then by more recent commentary in the margins. A scribe who decided to copy such a manuscript might then decide to include the marginalia of his exemplar in the main body of the earlier comments, leading to a kind of mixing and recontextualisation that has been noted (with despair, usually, by modern editors) but little studied.[16]

Moreover, no two catenae are precisely alike; there was no *Glossa ordinaria* in Byzantium. For modern editors seeking to gather what Photios or Arethas actually wrote and separate it from the rest of the catena, this is frustrating. References to confusion and chaos recur in editorial introductions. But this is our modern editorial frustration rather than a just criticism of the makers of the manuscript. The person who commissioned and the scribe who wrote a manuscript (sometimes one and the same person) did not set themselves the task of transmitting texts cleanly to later generations. A compiler had particular interests, and in pursuit of those interests he might acquire more than one catena manuscript; he might mix the catenae; he might add his own excerpts from full-length commentaries; he might add his own commentary; he might add images from his exemplar or from elsewhere. He knew the liturgy and politics of his day, the theological controversies that troubled his church. The resulting manuscript, in the eyes of many an editor, is a confusing mass that needs to be sorted out to retrieve as much of the urtext as possible.[17]

Certainly sorting out the elements of this mass is valuable; as mentioned above, for example, much of what we know about ninth-century exegesis of the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistles results from the painstaking work

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medieval literature abound; for example, A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); A. J. Minnis, 'Late-Medieval Discussions of *compilatio* and the Role of the *compilator*', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 101 (1979), 385–421.

16 For example, Devreesse, 'Chaines exégétiques', cols. 1089–90.

17 For example, Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, p. xvi.

of editors who distinguished texts in this way. To talk about chronological patterns in exegetical method, we must identify which layers of the catenae are from what periods and authors. Nevertheless, in some ways the approach that seeks merely to unravel the catenae is misguided because it obscures both the intentions of the compiler and the text that was available to readers. The compiler presumably sought a useful and interesting book – useful to himself and his time. Thus, even if he wrote nothing new in his manuscript, a particular compiler reveals, by what he chose to include and omit, his priorities and his theological leanings. An analogy might be *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* or a similar collection used primarily for teaching high-school or university students. The editors do not write the texts themselves, but to suggest that the editors are therefore unimportant and that their choices reveal nothing about their world would be ridiculous.

To give one example of what 'mere' compilation of selected texts might reveal, we might join Robert Devreesse in marvelling at the degree to which catenae do not distinguish between orthodox and heretical exegetes. The compilers of these collections in their earliest forms (probably around the beginning of the sixth century) were almost certainly involved in and concerned with the christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, yet Devreesse found no collection that excluded one side or the other of these controversies. There is no Alexandrian catena as opposed to an Antiochene one, no catena that included Cyril of Alexandria and omitted Theodoret of Cyrrhus. John Chrysostom is called 'Our Very Holy Father', but so are the non-Chalcedonians Severus of Antioch and Theodoret. 'One could print on the frontispiece of our chains the words of Cyril's letter to Eulogios: even heretics sometimes have something good.'[18] Such an attitude is particularly striking when it comes to such condemned 'heretics' as Origen or Theodoret. For example, one of the most common Old Testament catenae is on the first eight books of the Bible and on Kings. This catena is, at its heart, Theodoret's *Questions on the Octateuch*.[19] A rich and influential set of exegetical texts, this catena, with the commentary of a 'heretic' at its heart, was copied repeatedly in later centuries. What might close study of the evolution of the text, of the marginalia and other comments in later manuscripts, of the variants that

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18 Devreesse, 'Chaines exégétiques', col. 1093.

19 Recent revised edition and English translation, *Theodoret of Cyrus. The Questions on the Octateuch. Vol. I: On Genesis and Exodus and Vol. II: On Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth*, ed. J. F. Petruccione and trans. R. C. Hill (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007). See also F. Petit, 'La tradition de Théodoret de Cyr dans les chaînes sur la Genèse', *Le Muséon* 92 (1979), 281–6.

cause editors of Theodoret's work to despair add to our understanding of Byzantine exegesis? Or even to our understanding of Byzantine orthodoxy in general?

Then there is the question of whether some catenae were written specifically as catenae – not originally as discursive texts which were later dissected. I would suggest, for example, in the cases of Photios and Arethas, that it is worth reassessing the idea that they wrote separate exegetical texts – now lost – from which excerpts were later included in the catenae.[20] It is possible that, by the ninth century, when catenae were well established as the way of reading exegesis, writers wrote specifically for the catenae; in other words, they wrote something that in the West would be called a gloss, rather than a commentary. Arethas, for example, commented not only on the scriptural passages but also on earlier commentaries; it is possible that he was, in fact, reading and commenting not on scripture alone but on a catena. Anyone who has written both line-by-line commentary on a text and discursive analysis and interpretation of that text can testify that these are different processes and different ways of thinking, and therefore require different assessment.

The question of catena-on-catena, gloss-on-gloss brings us to equally important issues of how Byzantines read exegesis. When an excerpt from Eusebius of Caesarea's commentary on Psalms is followed by a series of comments from other authors and all are properly labelled, the reader will have one impression and experience of the unity of the fathers. When the author-information of the other authors is omitted or misunderstood by a later copyist, and the excerpts from the other fathers are simply added to the material attributed to Eusebius, one gets a rather different impression, perhaps of the omniscience, confusion or inconsistency of Eusebius.[21] Not all questions about Byzantine readers' responses – and many readers then became writers, so that our understanding of their own exegesis rests on what they read and how – will be answerable. Still, some reading strategies of Byzantines are already known to us and others may be discovered in other texts. For example, as mentioned above, Staab argued that Arethas used an earlier commentary or commentaries in his own contributions to the catena;[22] the way he used this material and the ways he changed it may tell us how he read it.

Further, if a commentator such as Arethas was commenting on scripture with catena, does that mean that he always read his scripture with catena? Did he ever read the original texts from which the catenae were excerpted?

20 A point made repeatedly by Devreesse, as well.
21 Devreesse, 'Chaines exégétiques', col. 1090.   22 Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, p. xlvii.

Twenty-first-century readers have access to Photios' commentary in critical editions separate from the rest of the catena, but readers who lived between the ninth century and the twentieth did not. What can we hope to understand about how people read these texts? Modern editions of exegesis that extract all the quotations from a given author and reassemble them (or perhaps assemble them for the first time) as if they were a single exegetical text are useful if done in a highly careful and critical fashion, but nobody in Byzantium read such editions. Instead, those who read, say, Photios' commentary on Matthew read it in the snippets of a catena, side-by-side with the scripture itself and with other excerpts from other authors. Their experience of the text and the implications they drew from it must have differed from the experience of a reader of the modern edition. Did they experience scripture and catena as we experience reference books – as tomes in which one looks something up? Or did a reader sit down and read a section, text and catena, all at once? What are the exegetical and indeed theological implications of reading excerpts from John Chrysostom side-by-side with excerpts from Photios, in spite of the centuries that separate them? What are the implications of reading Photios commenting on Chrysostom at the same time as he comments on Scripture? I repeat – we will not answer all such questions, but even partial answers are worth seeking.

Finally, readers and scribes sometimes make their own notes. In Byzantine margins we get such *Nota bene* pointers as *horaion* ('look here!') and *seimeo-sai* ('take note!'). Byzantine scribes might even mark a passage as 'golden' (*chrysoun*) – a symbol all too easily confused with the symbol attributing a particular text to John Chrysostom, the golden-mouthed one.[23] In such circumstances, mutations were inevitable, but perhaps they were not merely 'corruptions'.

The manuscripts

As with the composition of catenae, so also in the intersection of the study of texts and their manuscripts: recent scholarship has emphasised the inseparability of the text from its mise-en-page, from the codicology of the manuscript as a whole and from accompanying illustrations. Following such scholarship, it is clear that to understand how Byzantines read their Bibles, one needs to look at the Bibles they read. What biblical books are in the manuscript? What

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23 Devreesse, 'Chaines exégétiques', col. 1091.

extra-biblical books are in the manuscript? What is the connection between them? Which of the variety of extant catena collections is in the manuscript? How did the scribe(s) indicate connections from text to commentary? What is the hierarchy of scripts? Are there illustrations? Do the illustrations allude to the scriptural text, to the catena, or to something else? Are the illustrations exegetical? Can we date and/or localise the manuscript? If so, can we see any connections between the production of the manuscript and events in the world around the scriptorium? These questions are all relevant to our understanding of Byzantine exegesis, but where they have been asked and at least partially answered has been largely in the realm of art history rather than in the textual realm that concerns us here. For example, art historians have published widely and with fascinating results on the illustrations found in biblical manuscripts and catenae. Here I will adduce only two of many examples: the illustration of the Octateuchs and the illustration in some ninth-century psalters.

Five Byzantine illuminated Octateuchs (containing the Pentateuch plus Joshua, Judges and Ruth) are known to be extant, and a sixth was extensively photographed before its destruction by fire in 1922.[24] The form is rare and had limited circulation, but where illustrated Octateuchs were produced and treasured they were used enough to require renovation in later centuries.[25] The content of these six manuscripts is basically the same. Most begin with two introductory texts: the Letter of Aristeas (*c.* 200 BCE), a narrative of how the Pentateuch was translated from Hebrew into Greek in the third century BCE,[26] and the Letter of Theodoret to Hypatius, a mid-fifth-century CE letter that served as the preface to Theodoret's commentary on the eight books.[27] This prefatory material is followed by the eight books of the Hebrew scriptures, which are in turn followed by four anonymous texts, each very brief. These last texts focus on the seven translations of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek, on the eleven dispersals of the Israelites, on the obscurity of holy scripture, and

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24 In general, see J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), and Lowden, 'Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts: A Byzantine Phenomenon', in Magdalino and Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, pp. 107–52. Also Crostini in this volume, p. 43.

25 Lowden, *Octateuchs*, p. 122.

26 Ibid., p. 5, and *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, index complet des mots grecs*, ed. A. Pelletier, SC 89 (Paris: Cerf, 1962); English trans. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, ed. R. H. Charles, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), pp. 82–122; available online at: www.ccel.org/c/charles/otpseudepig/aristeas.htm (consulted 23 July 2010).

27 Lowden, *Octateuchs*, p. 5.

on the ten Hebrew names of God.[28] The text of the eight books of scripture is accompanied by a catena.

These manuscripts have attracted the attention of art historians since the late nineteenth century because of the illustrations that accompany the texts of both the prefatory material and the scripture with catena. From the earliest studies, much has been mysterious about these illustrations. Where did this extensive cycle of Old Testament illustrations come from? How early is it? How can we explain similarities to other illustrations of the Hebrew scriptures, from the Dura synagogue to the baptistery of the Duomo in Florence?[29] Textual scholars, however, have been much less interested in the Octateuchs. Except for the Letter of Aristeas, the illustrated Octateuchs are neither unique nor early examples of the text of the Septuagint or the text of the catena. Yet there are several questions related to the history of exegesis in Byzantium that beg to be asked here. Some art historians have raised some of them, but have understandably done so only to cede the ground to the text critics. To date, no text critic seems to have risen to the challenge. What follows are just a few of those questions.

The very content of the manuscript is intriguing. Why an Octateuch? What is it about these eight books of the Hebrew scriptures that sets them apart? We all know what sets the Pentateuch apart – its status as the work of Moses, the basis of the Law, the Torah. For what reasons would Joshua, Judges and Ruth be included in the same manuscript? John Lowden notes that 'the first recorded use of the word *Oktateuchos* (literally 'eight books') was by Prokopios of Gaza (d. 538), who called a volume of his biblical commentary *Exegeses of the Octateuch* (*Eis ten Oktateuchon exegeseis*)'.[30] Theodoret of Cyrrhus' commentary on the Octateuch is fundamental to the tradition, and although he did not use the word *Oktateuchos*, Lowden argued that 'we can say with some confidence that the Octateuch as a distinct codex was an innovation of the fifth or sixth century, even though no examples from that era now survive'.[31] We do not, however, know why this tradition developed, nor why Theodoret chose this unit of scripture to comment upon. And even if we did know Theodoret's motives for commenting on these eight books we would not necessarily know the motives of those who copied such a text in later centuries.

It is also interesting that the illustrated Octateuchs show signs of wear. But who used them and when? While there is some disagreement about the dating of the manuscripts and the lines of influence, most scholars seem to have

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28 For details see ibid., Appendix 1, pp. 125–9.   29 Ibid., p. 100.
30 Lowden, 'Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts', p. 107.   31 Ibid., p. 108.

accepted Lowden's conclusion that the common model for five of the Octateuchs was produced in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Moreover, one of the twelfth-century Octateuchs has direct connections to the Komnenian imperial family in Constantinople, and one of the later manuscripts also has connections to royalty – this time the Asen-Palaiologos royal family of Bulgaria. Lowden argued that all were produced on commission for aristocrats in Constantinople.[32] One working hypothesis would be that these eight books of the Hebrew scriptures, the catena that accompanies them, and the illustrations meant something special in elite ruling circles of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

On the other hand, one might see these texts as a clerical project, part of what Gilbert Dagron described as 'a "clerical" rather than "royal" reading of the history of the Jewish people' that envisioned theocracy rather than 'Caesaropapism'.[33] It is possible to see how the eight books of the Octateuchs, relating Israel's history before kings, could suit this 'clerical' reading, and how a cleric might have commissioned or created one of them to present to his ruler.

In other words, what the Octateuchs as collections meant will be determined only when a scholar commits to doing the hard critical work of deciphering the exegesis of these texts as implied by the combination of scriptural text, catena and illustration. It is not enough simply to state, as Kurt Weitzmann and other scholars have done, that the illustrations often have little connection to the text. We cannot know that unless we know what the text meant to the medieval patrons who commissioned the books, to the scribes and painters who produced them and to the readers who read them. The illustrations with allegedly no connection to the text may have connections that become clear only when we understand the context in which the text was being read. So, too, there must be significance to the extra-biblical texts in the manuscripts, not just as individual texts but as part of the compilation. Despite all the calls to consider these manuscripts as integral wholes, the work has been divided amongst various scholars: some art historians who are interested primarily in tracing the style of the illustrations to its origins; other art historians, such as Lowden, who use codicology to elucidate the sources and influences of the illustrations; and textual scholars interested in the Letter of Aristeas. But how do all these texts and illustrations go together to imply

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32 Ibid., pp. 111–14.
33 G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), pp. 24–5; English trans., *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 7.

a particular reading of the manuscript at a particular time by a particular set of people? We are a long way from being able to answer these questions, but they are worth asking.

A second example of art historians analysing manuscripts that are largely neglected by textual scholars is the illustration of ninth-century Byzantine psalters. Building on the work of several other scholars, Kathleen Corrigan has shown definitively that the illustrations in these psalters not only rely on written scripture commentaries but also build on those commentaries, going so far as to provide new interpretative ideas of their own.[34] I would disagree with Corrigan only in the distinction she seemed to assume between 'exegesis' and 'polemic', a point I will return to below. The psalters reveal an upsurge in the use of typological illustrations, for example, in comparison to eighth-century manuscripts. Written exegesis of the period, especially Photios' work, has been characterised as mostly literal, almost 'Antiochene' in its insistence on historicity.[35] The typological emphasis in the illustrations may thus be an indication of important currents in ninth-century exegesis that are invisible in the extant commentaries.

Exegesis in 'other' texts

'There can be no doubt', writes Paul Magdalino, 'that rhetoric was the dominant element in Byzantine intellectual culture, and never more so than in the twelfth century.'[36] Rhetoric is, of course, a matter of style more than content, so it should not be surprising to find that numerous speeches and performances in the rhetorical *theatra* of Constantinopole's Christian literary and political elite were about the Bible. Few of these texts, however, have been studied for their exegetical content and, in spite of their numbers, they have not undermined the perception that Byzantines did not produce any interesting exegesis after the ninth century. Again I hope a single example will make the point. Michael Psellos (1017/18–after 1081), the most famous and infamous intellectual of his generation in Constantinople, delivered about 150 lectures on religious topics, which have been published in two volumes of the modern edition of Psellos' works.[37] Many of these lectures are 'detailed examinations of passages from scripture and the fathers, especially Gregorios

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34 K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).
35 Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, ch. 46.   36 Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I*, p. 335.
37 *Michaelis Pselli Theologica*, vol. i, ed. P. Gautier (Leipzig: Teubner, 1989), vol. ii, ed. L. G. Westerink and J. M. Duffy (Munich and Leipzig: Teubner, 2002).

of Nazianzos (c. 329–389/90)'.[38] Moreover, the biblical exegesis of these passages seems, at least so far as we can tell from the scant interpretative work that has appeared, hardly derivative and unoriginal. Anthony Kaldellis characterises it as reminiscent of 'Origenist allegories', including 'the symbolic interpretation of otherwise ordinary objects mentioned in Scripture'.[39] Some of Psellos' statements about his exegetical assumptions are almost 'Gnostic' in their connotations: 'Every single passage of the Gospels is imbued with an implanted meaning which the many cannot easily grasp.'[40] It seems likely that in his exegesis, as in almost everything else he wrote, Psellos was idiosyncratic, possibly original and creative, perhaps not entirely orthodox.

Psellos is merely one example. In the twelfth century there were important developments in theological education in Constantinople. Inspired perhaps by imperial desire to show his authority over the church and certainly by a perceived need for church reform, Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) set out to form a corps of teacher-preachers who would raise the intellectual level of the clergy and inoculate the people against heresy.[41] Paul Magdalino claims that Alexios did not get what he wanted: 'He had wanted a team of dynamic preachers to root out heresy; what finally emerged was a hierarchy of vain and contentious intellectuals who were only interested in talking to their peers.'[42] Still, from Alexios' reform attempts emerged the three offices of the 'teachers' (*didaskaloi*), whose brief was to explain three kinds of biblical texts to the people: the psalter (*didaskalos tou Psalteros*), the Epistles (*didaskalos tou Apostolou*) and the Gospels (*didaskalos tou Euangeliou*).[43] During the reign of Alexios' successor, John II (1118–43), the *didaskaloi* of the scriptures routinely delivered public orations. As we might expect, some of these orations were exegetical in nature. Perhaps little of this exegesis was original or interesting in terms of content. Even Magdalino, whose appreciation for twelfth-century rhetoric is exceptional, calls the arguments found in these sermons and other theological texts 'derivative in the extreme'.[44] But there were some interesting developments in the genre of theological texts in this period: Euthymios Zigabenos' *Dogmatic Panoply* began a series of heresiological texts that claimed to provide encyclopaedic, ready-made arguments against all

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38 A. Kaldellis, 'The Date of Psellos' Theological Lectures and Higher Religious Education in Constantinople', *Byzantinoslavica* 63 (2005), 143–51.
39 Ibid., p. 148.   40 Ibid., p. 151.
41 P. Magdalino, 'The Reform Edict of 1107', in M. Mullett and D. Smythe (eds.) *Alexios I Komnenos. Vol 1: Papers*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 4.1 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), pp. 199–218; and Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I*, pp. 274–5.
42 Magdalino, 'Reform Edict', p. 214.   43 Ibid.; Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I*, pp. 274, 325–7.
44 Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I*, p. 367.

the heresies that had ever existed. Several real and imaginary debates about theology enlivened the literature of the time. And the form of the homilies delivered by the *didaskaloi* differed from much earlier homiletic literature.[45] Like the catenae, then, these texts, no matter how derivative their content and argumentation, may be worth investigation. I suspect that it is not so much the theologians who will tackle this task as those who are interested in the literature of Byzantium, with its many layers and allusions, and its alien, unmodern aesthetic.[46] Post-modern tastes are changing. Perhaps, like the hypertextual catenae, this rhetorical exegesis may find a greater number of interested readers in the twenty-first century than it did in the nineteenth or twentieth.

Exegesis and politics

Many of the premature obituaries of Byzantine exegesis overlook genres of literature and intellectual spaces in which exegesis took place because the contexts of that exegesis are, in our terms, secular. That is, it is logical to seek exegesis in homilies and catenae, or in the writings of priests, bishops, monks and patriarchs, but to look only there is to overlook the centrality of exegesis in the political system of the eastern empire. Scholarship on biblical themes in Byzantine imperial ideology is plentiful, but it seems not to have penetrated the study of the Byzantines and the Bibles per se. Take, for example, Gilbert Dagron's study of the sacerdotal (or not) character of the Byzantine emperor. Dagron argues that modern debates about Byzantine 'Caesaropapism' have put too much emphasis on the divinisation of Late Antique Roman emperors as the crucial foundation for the perceived sacredness of the Byzantine emperor. For Christians, from Eusebius of Caesarea on, the Old Testament provided the necessary models for a king who ruled by divine right and who was, in some sense, both priest and king: Melchizedek, Moses, Saul, David, Solomon. This means that to a great extent political theory in Byzantium was not developed as an independent field of study, but was rather embedded in exegesis of the Old Testament.

Old Testament kings could not literally be models for Byzantine emperors because they lived before the new dispensation, in the time of animal sacrifices, before the coming of the Christ changed everything. An exegete had to be careful, for the heresy of Judaising was only a small slip away. How, then, to reinterpret the Old Testament? In what sense were the emperors priestly? All

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45 Ibid., p. 367.   46 Ibid., p. 370.

agreed that they were, in some sense, the successors of the sacred kings of Israel. Moreover, the liturgical practice of the imperial church both demanded that the emperor behave as a layman and treated him as something more than a mere layman. He removed his crown at the door to the Great Church, removed himself from the sanctuary when the divine service began and took communion from the hands of the clergy as any other layman did, but he was allowed such priestly privileges as entering the sanctuary and kissing the altar cloth. Nevertheless, the clergy resisted the idea that the emperors were therefore priestly, with the result that 'the inevitable but inadmissible notion of royal priesthood . . . was both what could not be said and what it was impossible not to think'.[47] This debate about the extent to which the emperor was also a priest 'belonged to exegesis and not to ideology, and formed part of the more general contradiction in which Christianity was both the continuation and the abolition of Judaism'.[48] Surely such exegesis was, at least sometimes, original, interesting and uniquely Byzantine.

Dagron argues that the importance of these politico-exegetical arguments was particularly evident during the period of the Iconoclast emperors (717–87), when it is alleged that Emperor Leo III (717–41) invoked the Old Testament figure of Melchizedek in saying, 'Am I not emperor and priest?' Discredited by association with the Iconoclasts, such overt claims to a royal priesthood were largely impossible after the eighth century. In fact, in the ninth-century psalters discussed above, Melchizedek is clearly a priest of an order higher than the Levite priests, while his role as king is played down. It is the clergy, not the emperors, who are his successors.[49] Nevertheless, like the New Testament injunction to 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's', the Old Testament models of kingship remained part of the great debate about imperial and ecclesiastical authority and part of the debate about Christianity's simultaneous abolition and continuation of Judaism. In times of strong emperors, the priest-king could reappear. For example, in the context of the dynastic Komnenian monarchy and its emperors' intervention in the church, the canonist Theodore Balsamon (after 1150–after 1195) and other writers of the twelfth century developed 'a theory with unction as its keystone, an "Old Testament" unction that was all the more effective in that it was symbolic and that the sovereign received it without priestly intermediary. It conferred on him "priestly *charismata*".'[50] Such an interpretation did not survive the fall

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47 Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, p. 21; *Emperor and Priest*, trans. Birrell, p. 4.
48 Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, p. 21; *Emperor and Priest*, trans. Birrell, p. 4.
49 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, pp. 55–9.
50 Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, p. 26; *Emperor and Priest*, trans. Birrell, p. 8.

of the Komnenoi and the Fourth Crusade's sack of Constantinople, but its existence shows something of the endless malleability of biblical exegesis in the context of imperial politics.

Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson have recently made similar points – and in some cases modified Dagron's arguments – in a collection of essays on the Old Testament in Byzantium.[51] Their essay makes it clear that Byzantine exegesis of the Old Testament was anything but static after the sixth century, and that much of the change can be seen in texts often mined not for exegesis but for imperial ideology. After all, they note, 'The OT . . . tells the story and charts the destiny of a chosen people through the social, political and ritual institutions by which they defined their collective special relationship with God, their exclusive separation from other peoples and empires, and their claim to a promised, holy land.'[52] Whereas the age of Justinian I (527–65) had been able to use a Christian triumphal interpretation of the Old Testament, in which 'it was more important to efface than to replicate, to supersede than to appropriate' Old Testament models, new ways of using those models developed after the Islamic invasions of the seventh century.[53] Only in the wake of seventh-century disasters did Byzantines begin to identify with the tribal, political and royal models of the Hebrew Scriptures by appropriating them. Gog and Magog became Avars and Persians, then Arabs and Slavs. Macedonian emperors emulated David, who, like the founder of the dynasty Basil I (867–86), did not inherit the throne but gained it by God's anointing because the previous emperor was not worthy. Basil's son Leo VI, known as Leo the Wise (886–912), played Solomon to Basil's David. A later conquering emperor, with victories in the east, Nikephoros Phokas (963–9), was compared to Joshua in texts and art. And like the Israelites the Byzantines went into a 'Babylonian exile' in 1204 and returned to the (New) Jerusalem in 1261.[54] To call none of this exegesis seems problematic.

In conclusion – more questions than answers

Byzantine exegesis has been, in general and in comparison to the exegesis of other medieval Christian societies, neglected. Sustained study has, with some notable and important exceptions, been replaced by topoi about lack of originality and failure to live up to some largely undefined standards of exegetical practice. Most of the exceptions to this neglect involve important

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51 See the introduction to Magdalino and Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*.
52 Ibid., p. 3.   53 Ibid., p. 14.   54 Ibid., pp. 13–27.

but exceptional figures such as Photios. While such figures are undoubtedly worthy of study, it would be more useful to analyse what most readers of scripture would have been using to understand the text. In most cases, this was not a discursive exegetical text, be it by John Chrysostom or Photios, but rather a manuscript of scripture with catenae and/or illustrations. If there is originality, creativity or some other value in Byzantine exegesis, it may lie in these intertextual texts, in trying to understand what texts mean when they are deeply embedded among other texts. To say, 'This piece of text is by Chrysostom, and we know what Chrysostom meant in his fourth-century context', still begs the question: But what does Chrysostom's commentary mean in *this Byzantine* context? What does it mean embedded between texts of Theodoret and Cyril, commented upon by Photios and inserted into the margin of the scripture in question? What does it mean if the margin also includes an illustration with inscriptions that connect the text to other biblical texts? For example, Corrigan finds in just one illustration of the ninth-century psalters allusions to Daniel, to contemporary Byzantine praise of the Virgin, to the resurrection and to contemporary debates with Jews and Iconoclasts.[55] That is in the ninth century, while the famous illustrated Octateuchs belong to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. What did their particular combination of scripture, catena, illustrations and other texts in one manuscript mean at that time?

Finally, probably the most crucial obstacle to the study of Byzantine exegesis has been the conviction that political exegesis or exegetical politics of the kind described above in relation to 'Caesaropapism' and the ninth-century psalters is excluded from the category of exegesis altogether. Because the motivation for invoking the Old Testament was imperial apologetics or because the motivation for heavily typological imagery to accompany the psalms was defence of icons, developments in these areas are seen as somehow too political to be exegesis, properly speaking. As mentioned above, Corrigan apparently thinks that the reworking of images in line with the maker's 'intense involvement . . . with many of the important religious and political concerns of the ninth century' makes the images polemic, but not exegesis.[56] In this she followed the consensus of many scholars who dismiss such polemical invocation of scripture as not truly exegesis. This kind of exclusion is unjustified for two reasons.

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55 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, p. 38.   56 Ibid., p. 26.

First, the context of these texts is a culture and a literary world that did not separate religion from politics. There was no constitution for the empire of the Romans – instead, a hodgepodge of Roman, Hellenistic, Hebrew and Christian ideas supported a divine-right monarchy believed to be ordained by God. In such a context, exegesis, especially of the Old Testament, could not fail to have political implications. Moments of political stress could not fail to send polemicists to their Bibles for justification. To deny all of this the name of exegesis would omit much of what I have discussed above, and some may wish to do so. But this brings me to my second point.

When has exegesis ever been separable from its context? There is an implied statement of superiority here, an assumption that the kinds of exegesis we honour by calling them real, critical or original exegesis are somehow untainted by contact not only with the secular world but also with the religious controversies of their day. No one would deny, certainly, that some exegetes were less time-bound than others, more systematic or even scientific in their approaches, more attractive to the historian than some of the over-the-top typological interpreters of scripture, and even, perhaps, more correct if we measure correctness by its adherence to accepted historical facts and scientific philology. But Christian exegesis of the Old Testament has only recently (if even now) been separable from Christian polemic against Jews, while Christian exegesis of the New Testament tends to assume a trinity of persons in the godhead among many other later doctrines of the orthodox that cannot be found explicitly in the scriptures. No modern seminarian would approve of the premises or teleology of Byzantine exegesis. It was seldom, if ever, systematic or unbiased or unpolemical. That is not to say that it did not exist.

Byzantine exegesis did exist, and there is ample room for the next generation of scholars to explore it. No Byzantinist would object to knowing more about the work of the exegesis of Byzantium's intellectual giants; although Photios has been fairly well served, the theological works of Michael Psellos and Michael Glykas (to cite just two of many examples) remain relatively unexplored. Staab, Reuss, Lowden and others have published extensively on the manuscripts of catenae; their work could be the foundation for any number of studies that ask questions rather different from theirs – questions about compilers, reader-response, the hermeneutics of composite texts and more. Finally, as the works by Dagron and Magdalino and Nelson cited above show, exegesis carried real political implications in Byzantium.

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Even if it was purely derivative – and it is obvious by now that I do not believe it was – that conservatism was a reflection and reinforcement of political power. The study of Byzantine exegesis is therefore not merely open to those who want to understand the eastern empire and its church; it is necessary.

The patristic legacy to *c.* 1000

JOHN J. CONTRENI

Introduction

Perhaps nothing is more striking to the historically minded observer at the dawn of the twenty-first century than to note the continuing significant impact of ancient religious writings on modern life. In a world of rapidly increasing and ever more powerful global technologies that were unimaginable just a decade or two ago, in a world whose peoples have never been more highly educated or more closely linked to one another around the planet, in a world of space exploration, nuclear energy, stem cell research and sophisticated new understandings of nature and of the human mind and body, the importance of ancient religious thought to modern individuals and their communities provides a powerful example of vibrant historical continuity. How is it that writings composed by ancient peoples in remote times still speak very powerfully to modern people and modern societies?

By the end of the patristic age, roughly the middle of the fifth century CE, the Hebrew Bible had developed masoretic, Samaritan and Greek forms and with the diaspora of the Jewish people had spread to many places in the Mediterranean world. Still, this was a small community of readers and listeners. The growth of Christian communities in the ante-Nicene and patristic ages provided new audiences for the Hebrew Bible since Christianity appropriated Hebrew scripture as the foundation for its own scriptures and core beliefs. Yet, with the vast transformation of the Roman world accelerating just as Augustine of Hippo died in Vandal-besieged Hippo (430), Christian scriptures spoke in a fragmented, disjointed way to scattered Christian communities around the Mediterranean littoral. The revelations that would eventually take written form as the Qurʾān were still on the distant chronological horizon at the close of the patristic age.

Five hundred years later, around the turn of the first millennium CE, everything had changed. Many Jewish communities in both East and West

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continued to live according to the precepts of their scriptures, but in political and cultural environments dominated by Islam and Christianity. Jewish scriptures also took on a different life subsumed in Islamic and Christian writings. The Prophet had famously described Jews and Christians as fellow 'people of the book', and many elements of Judaism and Christianity are embedded in the Qur'ān's suras. By the early eleventh century, Christianity was the dominant religious and cultural force in medieval Europe. The last of the western pagans had been converted and European military force and ideology, first in the Iberian peninsula and soon in the Greek and Muslim East, began campaigns of expansion that would make Europe and its biblical religion worldwide powers. In the 500 years between the patristic age and these new developments, the Christian Bible played a dynamic and far-reaching role in shaping almost every facet of European identity. The foundations for the enduring influence of the Bible were set down in these centuries. How a collection of Jewish and early Christian writings came to play such a central and multifaceted role in European life is the story of the patristic legacy.[1]

On the cusp of a new age

The patristic age ended with the gradual disintegration of the Roman institutions that formed and sustained the fathers, men trained in Roman schools who applied the secular learning and methods of those schools to their sacred scriptures. The fathers were also heirs to a second tradition, centuries of early Christian speculation on the nature of the scriptures and on appropriate ways to interpret them. Allegorists in Alexandria and literalists in Antioch defined the poles of scriptural interpretation and pointed to one of the fundamental tasks of early exegesis: the reconciliation of 'apparent' contradictions in the sacred writings. The intellectual and cultural environment in which the fathers fashioned their legacy also included a legacy of battles over the canon of the scriptures and still vibrant sectarian interpretations of key scripturally based Christian doctrines.

As Ambrose (339–97), Jerome (347–420), Augustine (354–430) and their contemporaries produced scores and scores of commentaries, florilegia and prologues to the scriptures, they shaped the way their sacred texts would be read

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1 A story of enormous scholarly interest – 498 entries are registered under 'Biblia sacra' in A. P. Bagliani and L. Pinelli (eds.), *Medioevo Latino. Bollettino bibliografico della cultura europea da Boezia a Erasmo (secoli VI–XV)* 32 (Florence: SISMEL, 2011), 423–35.

and interpreted for centuries to come.[2] Context played an important role in shaping the patristic legacy. Jerome was later often portrayed working away in a book-lined study with a docile lion at his feet. Vittore Carpaccio's portrait of St Augustine in His Study imagines a scholar at work, seated at his book-piled desk gazing out his window with quill poised, seemingly in search of inspiration.[3] The fathers actually wrote in tumultuous times and penned their works *contra* or *adversus* in the heat of debate against Milan's Arians, North Africa's Donatists, the Manichees, the Pelagians or those who questioned Jerome's new rendering of the scriptures. This supercharged climate of controversy and of work written in the heat of debate was attenuated as the world in which the fathers worked faded into history. Then there were the scriptures themselves. The 'book' of the Bible hardly existed before Cassiodorus (*c.* 485–585). What the fathers knew were individual sacred writings from various 'editorial' traditions. 'Augustine never saw a Bible'.[4] Despite the impression created by their Renaissance portraitists, the scholarship of the fathers was as fragmented as their intellectual resources. Context also includes the personal. Their training as teachers, lawyers and philologists, and the idiosyncrasies of their characters and personal formations, played an important part in their work, as it does in all creative activity.

The patristic legacy consisted of four substantial elements. The most evident legacy to the early Middle Ages was the very large corpus of exegetical writings that issued from the minds of the fathers. It was not for nothing that later exegetes would repeat that they were simply reproducing in their own work what they found in the writings of the fathers. The fathers loomed large over almost the entire field of scriptural exegesis, especially those scriptures that meant the most to the early Middle Ages – the Pentateuch, Psalms and the Gospels. In addition, patristic exegesis was available to later generations through the medium of florilegia, such as the *Liber de divinis Scripturis* ('Book of divine writings'), or through digests, such as Eugippius' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini* ('Excerpts from the works of St Augustine').[5]

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2 For these three and others, *CPL* provides the best overview with critical bibliography. For Ambrose's exegetical works, see pp. 39–43 (nos. 123–43); for Jerome, pp. 204–7 (nos. 580–591a); for Augustine, pp. 106–10 (nos. 265–83). See also the *index systematicus* under 'Exegetica', pp. 776–7. Scriptural interpretation, of course, is also embedded in the fathers' sermons and theological works.

3 Conserved in the Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice and reproduced on the dust jacket of A. D. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine Through the Ages. An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999).

4 J. J. O'Donnell, 'Bible', in ibid., p. 99.   5 *CPL*, nos. 384 and 676.

Modern students of the Bible can consult this impressive exegetical corpus, much of which has survived, through series of critical editions (such as the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum and the Corpus Christianorum, series latina) that line library shelves and are increasingly available electronically online. But no such panoramic survey of the patristic legacy was ever available to early medieval students of scripture. The case of Augustine's works is instructive, especially since late in life Augustine left in his *Retractationes* ('Reconsiderations') a kind of catalogue of his writings by which their survival and use might be gauged.[6] While ten of Augustine's works seem not to have survived to modern times, early medieval libraries contained almost all of them, including four treatises and a letter that apparently no longer exist. But no single library's shelves housed the complete Augustine. The ninth-century catalogue for the cathedral of St Martin in Mainz, for example, noted *habemus* ('have it') forty-eight times next to the ninety-three titles listed in its copy of the *Retractationes*. The library at Murbach was missing thirty-eight Augustinian titles, noting *querimus* ('looking for it') alongside them; Erfurt lacked thirty.[7] The consequence of this episodic access to the patristic legacy meant that it could not be approached in a systematic, comprehensive fashion. And, of course, with a few exceptions, medieval beneficiaries of the patristic legacy could not appreciate where a particular commentary might have fitted within the chronology of its author's work and intellectual development. These anachronistic concerns did not faze medieval readers, who revered the fathers as saints and in so doing imbued them with enormous authority and their works with a kind of eternal timelessness. In practical terms, this assured a paradox. Patristic *auctoritas*, rather than laying down a line of exegesis accepted by all, instead stimulated debate and controversy.

The exegetical strategies embedded in the patristic corpus of scriptural exegesis constituted a second significant element of the legacy. The typological reading of the scriptures enabled Christians to view the Gospels as fulfilling the promises and events foretold in the Jewish scriptures. Christians thus abandoned Judaism while appropriating Jewish scriptures as their own. Jesus became the new Moses. Typology not only conditioned scriptural exegesis, it also influenced Christian notions of history. God's promises were not only realised in the Gospels, but they also continued to be fulfilled in their own times. A Germanic people could be typed as the 'new Israel', a Frankish king as

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6 *CPL*, no. 250.

7 See E. Dekkers, 'Sur la diffusion au moyen âge des œuvres moins connues de saint Augustin', in C. Mayer and K. H. Chelius (eds.), *Homo Spiritalis. Festgabe für Luc Verheijen OSA zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1987), pp. 446–59, at pp. 447–51.

the 'new David'. In this sense, the scriptures were a dynamic, living text. The exegetical methods inherited from Jewish and Greek interpreters and refined by the fathers furnished their successors with the intellectual tools to interpret the meaning of the scriptures and to apply them to their own circumstances. Sometimes these interpretative keys are canonised as the 'four- (or three-) fold senses' of scripture, but there was no neat formula or interpretative 'scientific method' applied in the early Middle Ages.[8] Exegetes who explored the senses of biblical verses used any interpretative technique available in their task of eliciting meaning from opaque or contradictory passages. The historical or literal interpretation was fundamental. It was important to know the meaning of the 'facts' of the scriptural texts. But the facts, regnal lists, historical events, place names, types of flora and fauna or the equipment of the tabernacle were often banal and required the assistance of allegorical, typological and moral interpretation to penetrate the deepest mysteries of the sacred texts. The historical sense was like bronze, the spiritual sense like gold.

Reading and interpreting the scriptures in these many ways fuelled a tremendously creative effort. While all interpreters sought 'truth', the record demonstrates that multiple ways of reading produced multiple interpretations. For one thing, the literal meaning of a scriptural passage was often not so easily apparent and sometimes contradictory. How could there be the first, second and third 'days' of creation if the lights in the heavens that 'separate the day from the night' (Gen. 1:14) were not created until the fourth day? Perhaps more troubling, how should a Christian understand Ps. 119:3, which blesses those who 'do no wrong' but walk in the ways of the Lord, when saints such as Paul admitted that the good that he should do, he did not, and the evil that he should not do, he did; or such as John, who pointed out (1 John 1:8) that 'if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves'. Attention to the multiple meanings of words, as a 'day' understood as a 'day of work' and not as a twenty-four hour astronomical day, and to the deeper spiritual meaning of seemingly contradictory passages could assist the literal understanding of scripture, could explain how two apparently contradictory passages were both truthful. Origen of Alexandria (*c.* 185–254) embraced the 'impossibilities and incongruities' found in scripture, which he taught were

8 Indeed, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, masters were still engaged in 'a patient, dogged effort to bring order into chaos'. See B. Smalley, 'The Bible in the Medieval Schools', in *CHB* II, pp. 197–220, at p. 215. For a convenient collection of texts on the many formulaic combinations and 'inversions' of the senses of scriptural interpretation, H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959–64), esp. pt 1 (= vols. I–II), now trans. M. Sebanc and E. M. Macierowski as *Medieval Exegesis. The Four Senses of Scripture*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998–2000), remains useful.

inserted into the narratives by the Holy Spirit to bar the way to the ordinary reading of scripture and to turn readers 'through the entrance of a narrow footpath, to a higher and loftier road and lay open the immense breadth of the divine wisdom'.[9] Origen's allegorical reading deeply influenced all the fathers, but even Augustine could interpret Genesis *ad litteram* ('literally').[10]

The establishment of the biblical text itself was a third substantial element of the patristic legacy. Understanding the meaning of the scriptures was compromised by the existence of many translations and versions of the texts. The conversion of Latin-reading and -listening Romans to Christianity created a demand, beginning in the second century, for Latin renderings of the sacred writings. The demand was met spontaneously, not systematically, all over the Roman world by local translators. The process of copying compounded the differences among their translations. Scribes, professional and not-so-professional copyists, sometimes made mistakes in their tedious work. Some of them also took it upon themselves to 'improve' their texts by adding, deleting or moving phrases around. When Pope Damasus (366–84), concerned by the wide variety he encountered in the texts he was studying, asked Jerome to produce a faithful version, the great philologist and master of the three sacred languages – Hebrew, Greek and Latin – observed that Damasus' charge was a 'pious task, but a dangerous presumption'. For one thing, there were almost as many versions of the biblical texts as there were copies.[11] Nevertheless, within two years Jerome had prepared new editions of the four Gospels. His strategy was to compare the best existing Latin versions with the Greek originals to produce a Latin text that came closest to the Greek. His initial effort was greeted with criticism in some quarters. Jerome, to the dismay of many, substituted the Greek order of the Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John) for the old Latin order (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark) and made hundreds of jarring textual changes. The *pius labor*, begun in Rome, continued in Jerusalem for more than two decades. His monumental effort, known later as the Vulgate Bible, gained traction only gradually. Conservatism and a splintering Roman

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9 *Origen. On First Principles*, trans. G. W. Butterworth (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), IV, 2, 9, p. 286.

10 *CPL* no. 266: *De Genesi at litteram libri duodecim*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 28.1 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1894).

11 'Pius labor, sed periculosa praesumptio . . . ; tot sunt paene quot codices'; *Praefatio in Evangelio*, in *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, 2 vols., 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975), vol. II, pp. 1515–16. Jerome's letter to the pope prefaces the Gospels. It is unlikely that Damasus invited him to work on the entire Bible. See E. F. Sutcliffe, 'Jerome', in *CHB* II, pp. 80–101.

world pushed general acceptance of a common biblical text into the distant future.

The creation of a wide range of texts ancillary to the study of scriptures constitutes the fourth element of the patristic legacy. Jerome's guide to Hebrew personal names based on earlier works by Origen and Philo and his translation of Eusebius' guide to place names became indispensable in the Latin West for readers who needed to know, for example, that Arioch's name in Dan. 2:14 means 'drunken king or king of the drunks'.[12] The patristic age passed on to succeeding centuries older manuals on weights, measures and coins.[13] Newer works, such as the second book of Eucherius of Lyon's *Instructions*, not only explained Hebrew proper names and weights and measures, but also provided help with difficult vocabulary, holy days, vestments, animals, birds and Greek terms.[14] The most sophisticated of these works is Augustine's *On Christian Teaching*.[15] Addressed to Christians, Augustine argued that proper comprehension of the scriptures required human guidance since, fundamentally, understanding scripture required understanding language (Prol., 5). *On Christian Teaching* explains 'certain rules for interpreting the scriptures', including rules for understanding signs whose meanings are known, unknown or ambiguous. The entire work is undergirded without apology by examples drawn from the former schoolmaster's knowledge of Cicero, Virgil and Quintilian. A significant portion of the third of the four 'books' of *On Christian Teaching* presents an epitome of Tyconius' *Liber regularum* ('Book of rules'), for which Augustine did gently apologise, given Tyconius' Donatist proclivities, but nevertheless recommended to his Christian audience. Not only could Christians 'despoil Egyptians' in their quest for biblical wisdom, they could also profit from the learning of heretics on technical matters. Augustine's treatise not only justified schooling in the Arts, especially grammar and rhetoric, as essential to biblical wisdom, it also vindicated the eloquence of scripture. 'For when I understand these [scriptural] authors, not only can I

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12 *CPL*, no. 581, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. P. de Lagarde, CCSL 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959), pp. 57–161; *Hieronymi de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum liber*, in *Onomastica sacra*, ed. P. A. de Lagarde, 2nd edn (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1887; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), pp. 81–160.

13 See *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, ed. F. Hultsch, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1864–6).

14 *CPL*, no. 489: *Instructionum ad Salonium libri II*, ed. K. Wotke, CSEL 31 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1894), pp. 65–161.

15 *CPL*, no. 263: *De doctrina christiana*, ed. J. Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962); *Saint Augustine. On Christian Teaching*, trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford University Press, 1997). See also E. D. English (ed.), *Reading and Wisdom. The De doctrina christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); D. W. H. Arnold and P. Bright (eds.), *De doctrina christiana. A Classic of Western Culture* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1995).

conceive of nothing wiser; I can conceive of nothing more eloquent'.[16] He illustrated his point with numerous examples drawn not only from the hellenistically schooled St Paul, but also from the 'rustic' prophets of the Old Testament. In the compass of a brief treatise, Augustine established that Christians needed tuition, not intuition, to understand scriptures. And, as in his youth he found the scriptures 'unworthy' (*indignus*) of literary merit, he now found it 'tedious to examine all the passage's [2 Cor. 11:16–30] stylistic virtues or to point them out in other passages of the holy scriptures'.[17]

As Augustine put the finishing touches to *On Christian Teaching*, the transformation of the Roman world and the patristic age was accelerating. The manifold scriptural legacies of the fathers were bequeathed to new audiences.

From Cassiodorus to Bede

From the time of the learned Italian statesman, Cassiodorus (*c.* 485–585), to the time of the learned English monk, Bede (*c.* 673–735), 'one by one, the old classic lamps went out; one by one, the new tapers of the Church were lighted'.[18] But we should not imagine in this process a systematic progression, as if a sacristan extinguished one set of candles while igniting new ones. The transformation of the world that the fathers knew and the beginnings of what historians now call the early Middle Ages was episodic, unstructured and unplanned. If these ages were no longer 'dark', they were certainly messy. By the time of Bede, institutions in the West had profoundly changed, especially those that supported learning and scriptural exegesis.[19] The *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* attributes some 600 titles to authors who lived during this approximately 250-year period. A generous count yields only some seventy titles that concern the scriptures in some fashion. There is Cassiodorus' massive *Expositio psalmorum* ('Explanation of the psalms'), Gregory of Tours' *Explanatio de titulis psalmorum* ('Explanation of psalm titles'), a series of anonymous works, such as the *Pauca de libris Catholicorum scriptorum in Evangelia excerpta* (short extracts from the books of Catholic writers on the Gospels) attributed to Hiberno-Latin masters,

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16 *De doctrina christiana*, IV, 6, 9; *On Christian Teaching*, trans. Green, p. 104.
17 *Confessionum libri XII*, ed. L. Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), III, 9, p. 31, line 7: *indignus*; *De doctrina christiana*, IV, 7, 14; *On Christian Teaching*, trans. Green, p. 110.
18 L. Mumford, *The Condition of Man* (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1944), p. 81, quoted by R. E. Sullivan in a trenchant characterisation of the period; see 'Foreword to the English Edition', in P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, trans. J. J. Contreni (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1976), pp. xv–xxi. Also, C. Leonardi, 'L'esegesi altomedievale da Cassiodoro ad Autberto (secolo VI–VIII)', in G. Cremascoli and C. Leonardi (eds.), *La Bibbia nel Medioevo* (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1996), pp. 149–65.
19 Riché, *Education and Culture*.

Julian of Toledo's *Antikeimenon libri duo* ('Two books of the oppositions'), Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* ('Morals on the book of Job') and homilies on Song of Songs, Ezekiel and the Gospels, Paterius' *Liber testimoniorum veteris testamenti ex opusculis sancti Gregorii* ('Book of Old Testament references from the works of St Gregory') and the remains of various biblical *glossae* and *interrogationes*, such as the *Interrogatio de divina scriptura* ('Questions on the divine scriptures').[20] Twenty-seven of the titles belong to Bede, the only exegete of this period who could compare with the fathers in terms of the coherence and range of his exegetical activity.[21]

This sketchy and varied body of evidence makes generalisation difficult. Gregory of Tours (538/9–594) acknowledged that study of the liberal arts was still possible in the kingdom of the Franks, but with a few exceptions – Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great and Bede – little of the scriptural exegesis of these centuries is embedded in the broad learning characteristic of the patristic age. Cassiodorus attempted to establish a programme of studies centred on the scriptures and leading 'as if by a certain ladder in Jacob's vision' to divine contemplation. The rungs of the ladder consisted of writings of the fathers and secular authors. Cassiodorus could comfortably juxtapose divine and secular learning because he held that secular learning derived from the scriptures. In his *Institutes*, the section on divine learning preceded that on secular for historical, not pious, reasons. The Arts were hidden in scripture and evidences of them 'were sown abroad in the manner of seeds, which instructors in secular letters *later* most wisely transferred to their own rules'.[22] It was the primacy of divine letters that most impressed later readers of the *Institutes*. Only three copies of the book with both of its two parts, 'Divine letters' and 'Secular letters' survive. Cassiodorus' successors chose to break the programme into halves, with a clear choice favouring divine letters. Twenty-three copies of the second book on secular letters survive, while a dramatic

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20 See, respectively, *CPL*, Cassiodorus (no. 900); Gregory of Tours (no. 1026); various 'Scriptores Hiberniae' (nos. 1121a–1123b; 1129, 1129a–b); Julian of Toledo (no. 1261); Gregory the Great (nos. 1708–11); Paterius (no. 1718); *fragmenta* (nos. 1164d–1168a).

21 Ibid., nos. 1344–66. This tally includes Bede's manual on place names in Acts (no. 1359) and his collection of excerpts from Augustine's works on Paul. Bede listed his scriptural studies (first) in the complete list of his titles at the end of his history; see *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), v. 24, pp. 566–70.

22 *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings by Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. L. W. Jones (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), prol., 6, p. 70 (emphasis added). For 'Cassiodorus' notion of the hiddenness of the *artes* in scripture', see J. J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), p. 159, as well as his illuminating chapter 'The *Expositio Psalmorum*', ibid., pp. 131–76; Leonardi, 'L'esegesi altomedievale', pp. 150–4.

sixty-four copies of the guide to divine learning remain.[23] Given a choice, teachers and readers chose the rungs of the ladder that led directly to divine contemplation.

Cassiodorus' second contribution to the development of a distinctly medieval exegesis was less programmatic and more prosaic than the lofty curriculum of the *Institutes*, but also more influential and enduring. Cassiodorus knew that his monks could not approach the sacred texts with the same intellectual background and literary acuity that men of his generation possessed and that their teachers could not help them. In a tremendous insight, he crafted in his *Expositio psalmorum* a new kind of text that combined his meditations on Psalms with the apparatus of an educational manual, a textbook with all the appropriate aids to guide the reader's study of Psalms. Cassiodorus' *expositio* was a 'meta-text', combining 'collections of texts to provide commentary; *tituli* to allow a quick skimming of the Bible; *complexiones* to help the student through individual books; *notae* to teach the beginner about the Psalms'.[24] Cassiodorus so structured his book that it could speak for itself, without the aid of a teacher. His model of a new kind of exegetical text in which the author receded into the background and the needs of the reader rose to the fore came to characterise early medieval exegesis.

Another handbook, Benedict of Nursia's Rule for monks, was of only local significance in the sixth century and it shared a crowded field with other attempts to regularise spiritual life in communities of men and women. These little treatises on spiritual conversion are full of discipline and concentrated effort to attain holiness. What made them important to education and culture was their insistence on reading.[25] Monks often receive credit as cultural heroes for their copying work in the scriptorium, but it was more the routinised, systematic reading programme that deserves the credit. As the Roman world transformed into what we recognise as medieval forms, the monastery was the only institution in the West that promoted reading and, thereby, the culture of the text. Benedict (*c.* 480–545) expected the brothers to be able to read. He worried only that monks might succumb to laziness or gossip during the reading periods or that their reading aloud might disturb other

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23 *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), pp. x–xlix, for these statistics.

24 M. Stansbury, 'Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries, their Writers and Readers', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 33 (1999), 58–69, at p. 67. Stansbury characterised this important development as a 'systematic attempt to make texts explain texts' (p. 50). See also O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 143–4.

25 For reading in early medieval monastic Rules, see Riché, *Education and Culture*, pp. 117–19.

brethren.[26] In the decades that followed him, as less well-educated adults and growing numbers of children entered monastic communities, monks had to become teachers and monasteries had to take on the functions of schools. The psalter was the student's primer. Reading, reciting and memorising the psalms enlarged the student's Latin vocabulary, taught proper pronunciation and provided spiritual nourishment at the same time. With students of the Talmud and the Qur'ān, medieval students throughout their lives would be able to recall instantly passages from their earliest encounter with their scriptures.[27] Mastery of the psalms was but the first step in an ambitious reading programme. Those who would 'hasten on to the perfection of monastic life' (Rule, 73.2) had to read more. Benedict encouraged the reading of the 'holy fathers', by whom he meant the Old and the New Testament as well as the writings of other monastic guides, such as John Cassian and Basil, and saints' lives.

The precepts of Benedict's Rule and those of other monastic founders also took root in bishops' schools, if only because bishops such as Fulgentius of Ruspe (*c.* 468–533) and Caesarius of Arles (*c.* 470–542) were monks themselves. Bishops faced the same challenge abbots confronted: Christian life required learning and Roman schools could not fill the need. By the middle of the sixth century, the basic institutional framework supporting early medieval education – namely, monastic, episcopal and parish schools – was in place. The education the new schools provided was vocational, focused and targeted, but it was not narrow. Although focused on religious texts, the Bible and a growing number of commentaries on it, Christian learning inevitably came to incorporate elements of secular learning as well. Learning to read, to write and to speak Latin required learning grammar. Maintaining proper liturgical observances required the study of time to track the daily hours of the Divine Office as well as the annual cycle of liturgical seasons. The years from Augustine to Bede were extremely productive in enlarging the range of texts in all these subjects.[28] When it came to understanding biblical wisdom, students in early medieval western Europe could consult the works of the patristic giants if they had them in their library cupboards. More often, they studied

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26 *RB 1980. The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. T. Fry et al. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981), 48.5, p. 248.

27 Riché, *Education and Culture*, pp. 461–8, collected the early medieval references. In the ninth century monks would wax rhapsodic over letters and words; see D. Ganz, 'The Preconditions for Carolingian Minuscule', *Viator* 18 (1987), 30–3.

28 For exegesis, see the many entries in the *index systematicus* of *CPL*, pp. 776–7; for grammar, see ibid., nos. 906–8, 1543–67 (pp. 298–9, 503–14); for time studies, see ibid., nos. 160, 474, 906, 954, 1178, 1205, 1301, 1314, 1656, 1662, 1735, 2028–2046b, 2302–2323b.

the Bible through florilegia such as the *Liber de diuinis scripturis* ('Book of divine writings') or the *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini* ('Excerpts from the works of St Augustine') of Eugippius (active *c.* 509).[29] Before they could tackle these works with any success, however, they needed basic introductions to the foreign vocabulary of biblical texts. Even eminent teachers such as Theodore (602–90) and Hadrian (*c.* 630–709) of Canterbury taught biblical vocabulary to their students.[30] Grammatical studies were based on Late Antique sources, such as Donatus, as well as original medieval grammars that adapted Roman authors for new audiences. Grammatical studies taught students not only how to read, but also how to analyse texts, including the scriptures. Through Roman grammars and their medieval adaptations the pedagogy of the classical world passed into the medieval schoolroom and intellectual culture.[31] It was in this environment that exegesis began to develop its distinctive medieval contours in centres favoured with collections of books that linked scholars to the patristic legacy and provided them with the tools to shape biblical studies for their contemporaries. Augustine's *On Christian Teaching* was addressed to Christians to help guide their study of the scriptures. Cassiodorus' *Expositio psalmorum* as well as the *Institutes* were addressed to monks. The audience for scriptural studies was increasingly concentrated in monasteries. Many of the known authors of this period, Eugippius, Julian of Eclanum, Caesarius of Arles, Gregory the Great and Bede, were monks. Gradually, all over the West, as lamps were dimming in Roman municipal schools, new tapers flickered in monasteries.[32]

The exegesis of the monk-pope Gregory the Great (*c.* 540–604) was enormously influential throughout the Middle Ages, owing in part to his prestige as bishop of Rome and to his role in the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England to Christianity.[33] Along with the earlier fathers, Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine,

29 Ed. F. Weihrich, CSEL 12 (Vienna: Geroldus, 1887), pp. 289–700 (*CPL*, no. 384), and ed. P. Knöll, CSEL 9.1 (Vienna: Gerold, 1885) (*CPL*, no. 676).
30 *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, ed. B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, CSASE 10 (Cambridge University Press, 1994); J. J. Contreni, 'Glossing the Bible in the Early Middle Ages. Theodore and Hadrian of Canterbury and John Scottus (Eriugena)', in C. Chazelle and B. V. N. Edwards (eds.), *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 19–38.
31 V. Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1997); L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical. Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IVe–IXe siècle) et édition critique* (Paris: CNRS, 1981).
32 Riché, *Education and Culture*, pp. 100–22.
33 See R. Manselli, 'Gregorio Magno e la Bibbia', in *La Bibbia nell'Alto Medioevo. 26 aprile–2 maggio 1962*, Settimane 10 (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1963), pp. 67–101; M. Cristiani, '"Tempus Prophetiae". Temporalité et savoir dans l'exégèse biblique de Grégoire le Grand', *Archivio di Filosofia* 53 (1985), 327–50; Leonardi, 'L'esegesi altomedievale', pp. 150, 154–9.

with whom he is sometimes ranked, Gregory benefited from a solid Roman education that prepared him to serve as prefect of the city of Rome and later as pope. But it was his conversion to monastic life that most marked him and his reflections on scripture, reflections that were tempered by the perilous condition of sixth-century Italy and of his own health. Gregory also taught and wrote for an age that was more Christian and culturally united (except on its western and northern fringes) than the divided and adversarial world of the fathers. His lessons on Job, on the Song of Songs, Ezekiel and the Gospels are more contemplative, more timeless, and less tinged with polemic than those of his predecessors.[34] Gregory seemed less historical and more contemporary to centuries of readers, especially in Europe's burgeoning network of monasteries.[35] His exegesis exemplifies an emerging trend toward scriptural reading centred on the journey of the individual soul toward Christ, a journey on which the love of learning was subordinated to the desire for God.[36] For Gregory the scriptures held the key to imperfect humanity's perfection, to sinful humanity's salvation. The key was Christ, who was revealed throughout scripture, God's gift to guide mortals to his son. The scriptures spoke to the past, to the present, and directed God's people to the future. Every expression, even the most ordinary, offered signposts to guide individual contemplation as well as the spiritual growth of the community of Christ. Gregory acknowledged, as had Origen, that obscurities in scripture were prods to further investigation and reflection. Historical and literal interpretation was foundational, but it was the allegorical explanation that reached the deeper *spiritalis intelligentia* ('spiritual understanding'). The external meaning sheaths the inner, hidden meaning (*intus et foris*).[37] Such exegesis required subtle understanding of language, a talent that 'Gregorius Romanus os aureum' ('Gregory, the golden mouthed Roman') possessed and that his readers would admire throughout the Middle Ages.[38] The desire for God still required the love of

34 See *CPL*, nos. 1708–1711.

35 See de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, pt 1, pp. 537–48, 'Le moyen âge grégorien' (*Medieval Exegesis*, trans. Sebanc and Macierowski, ii, pp. 117–25), for dozens of exuberant references to 'Gregorius noster' (Taio of Saragossa) and 'doctor noster' (Alcuin), among many others.

36 See J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. C. Misrahi, 2nd edn (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974), pp. 31–44; Leclercq, 'From Gregory the Great to St Bernard', in *CHB* ii, pp. 183–97, at pp. 183–6.

37 *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 142 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), i, Homilia 9, 30, p. 139: 'Liber enim sacri eloquii intus scriptus est per allegoriam, foris per historiam. Intus per spiritalem intellectum, foris autem per sensum litterae simplicem, adhuc infirmantibus congruentem.'

38 B. Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966–81), vol. i, p. 214, n. 40, for an anonymous appreciation of Gregory's

learning, learning that could not be taken for granted in the generations after Gregory.

Although in his Rule for young monks, Isidore, bishop of Seville (600–36), advised that 'The monk should refrain from reading the books of pagans or heretics',[39] he embraced classical learning and, in his *Etymologies*, compiled for Christians what they needed to know of it. Isidore, along with many scholars of the early medieval period, was a polymath whose intellectual interests ranged over exegesis, history, theology, monasticism and the natural world. His contribution to medieval exegesis was to reinforce in a powerful way the primacy of language, specifically grammar and etymology, as the key to wisdom. To know the origin of a word was to understand it.[40] While the *Etymologies* does not explicitly address biblical wisdom, Isidore applied the same etymological method to introduce his readers to the sacred books and to the meaning of biblical names.[41] Here he blended wide knowledge of patristic authorities (*auctoritates*) with secular wisdom (*ratio*) to provide a platform for deeper investigations of scripture. The Bible became a library (*bibliotheca*) and begetter of further libraries.[42]

Another Spaniard, Julian of Toledo (642–90), exemplified even more pointedly the necessity for *ratio* in understanding scriptures. Since the earliest centuries of scriptural studies readers had become aware of inconsistencies and contradictions. These must have been only apparent, since it was not possible for the sacred word to be in error. Julian resolved the contradictions at the root of 221 instances of scriptural inconsistencies in widely distant passages, such as when Solomon (Song 6:8) and Paul (1 Tim. 3:15) defined the church as one while John (Apoc. 1:4) wrote to seven churches.[43] Julian's *Antikeimenon* employed formal logic and clever reasoning to resolve the contradictions. In its question and answer format, it privileged the role of the master who could challenge apparent contradictions to maintain the inerrancy of God's word. Julian's work was an important milepost on the way to Abelard's *Sic et Non*

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prose. For others, see de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, pt. 1, pp. 538–9; *Medieval Exegesis*, trans. Sebanc and Macierowski, vol. II, pp. 118–19.

39 *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Regula monachorum*, VIII, 3; *PL* 83, col. 877. See Riché, *Education and Culture*, pp. 294–7.

40 *Isidori Hispalensis Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX [hereafter Etymologiae]*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), 1, xxix, 2; *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S. A. Barney et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

41 *Etymologiae*, VI: 'De Libris et officiis ecclesiasticis', and *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae*, *PL* 83, cols. 97–130; *De ortu et obitu Patrum*, *PL* 83, cols. 12–56.

42 *Etymologiae*, VI, iii. See also J. Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville. Truth from Words* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 101–2.

43 *PL* 96, cols. 583–704; see col. 650c–d for *Interrogatio CXIII* and its *Responsio*.

five centuries later and an early example of that characteristic medieval genre, the *disputatio*.[44] Julian's confident pedagogy is a reminder that the culture of one book in the early Middle Ages was a culture of debate, analysis and the application of critical reasoning, all in an effort to vindicate 'truth from words'.

In Bede, the monastic impulse for spiritual contemplation grounded in *ratio* and in reading and reflection on sacred writings combined spectacularly with the imperative to teach the truths of Christianity to children and newly converted people.[45] Bede's significant contributions to the development of the medieval exegetical tradition cannot, however, be explained simply as the confluence of historical and cultural forces. It would have been highly unlikely, in any event, that a monastery in Northumbria would have been the locus of an exegetical explosion in the early eighth century. When Bede was placed in the community at Wearmouth at the age of seven, generations of travel by Anglo-Saxon monks and nobles between England and the Continent had helped stock the cupboards of monastic libraries. Bede's abbot, Benedict Biscop, journeyed frequently to Rome and returned laden with boxes of books.[46] It would take a special mind and personality to make something come from all those books. Bede told posterity that his life in the monastery was dedicated to the study of the scriptures and that it was his 'delight to learn or to teach or to write'.[47] These personal reminiscences at the end of his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* are well known. A more important revelation for understanding his special place in early medieval exegesis comes just before he listed the books he composed: 'I have made it my business, for my own benefit and that of my brothers, to make brief extracts from the works of the venerable fathers on the holy Scriptures, or to add notes of my

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44 See T. O'Loughlin, 'Julian of Toledo's *Antikeimenon* and the Development of Latin Exegesis', *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 16 (1993), 80–98.

45 Bede the historian has long kindled the enthusiasm of modern scholarship, but Bede the exegete is catching up. See C. Leonardi and G. Orlandi (eds.), *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Conference on Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages* (Florence: SISMEL, 2005); S. Lebecq, M. Perrin and O. Szerwiniack (eds.), *Bède le Vénérable. Entre tradition et posterité / The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity* (Lille: CEGES, Université Charles-de-Gaulle, 2005); S. DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006); S. DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), esp. DeGregorio, 'Bede and the Old Testament', pp. 127–41, and A. G. Holder, 'Bede and the New Testament', pp. 142–55.

46 'The English Benedict [Biscop] tirelessly traveled to the Continent and Mediterranean, acquiring sumptuous furnishing for his foundations and a library of some 200 books. He made Wearmouth and Jarrow treasure-houses for these artifacts from an advanced civilization. At no time before (even in the days of Roman Britain) had so much written culture been accumulated so far to the north.' See W. Goffart, 'Bede's History in a Harsher Climate', in DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition*, pp. 203–26, at p. 204.

47 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. Colgrave and Mynors, v. 24, p. 566.

own to clarify their sense and interpretation.'[48] 'To clarify their sense and interpretation' – this phrase is key to understanding Bede's achievement.

Bede respected the patristic tradition and throughout his life described himself as following in the footsteps of the fathers, 'patrum vestigia sequens',[49] but he also understood, as had Augustine, his great mentor, that the responsibility to interpret scripture extended to his own day and to teachers such as himself. In a Lenten homily on John 6:1–14, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, Bede compared the fragments of the meal that were left behind by the crowd to the hidden mysteries of the scriptures 'that the minds of the ordinary people do not grasp'. The disciples who were ordered to collect the undigested fragments were teachers, 'those more able', who 'by probing them more diligently, gather these [mysteries] up, and, by their speaking or writing, make them a guide for the less [learned], so that the nourishment of the word may not perish because of their inertia and be kept from the people [by those] who, through God's gift, know how to gather these [mysteries] up by interpreting [them]'. Bede further explained the active role of the early teachers and pointedly extended the tradition and the authority to interpret to his own day:

> They are ordered both to gather up by meditating [on them] the obscure points of the scriptures which the crowd is unable [to understand] on its own, and to preserve the results of their meditation and [the Lord's] commandments in their writings for their own use as well as that of the crowds. This is what the apostles themselves and the evangelists did, by including quite a number of mystical sayings of the law and the prophets in their works, with the addition of their own interpretation. This is what a large number of their followers, guides of the Church throughout the entire world, have done by scrutinizing complete books of both testaments of the scriptures in very diligent explanations.[50]

This remarkable passage and the autobiographical excursus in the concluding paragraphs of *The Ecclesiastical History* privilege those who are 'more able' and 'know how' to interpret scriptures while at the same imposing on them the pastoral obligation to share their gifts and the fruits of their meditations on scripture through 'learning, teaching, and writing'. It is only through one

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48 Ibid.
49 On this theme, see the essays in DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition*, and P. Meyvaert, 'Bede the Scholar', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi. Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London: SPCK, 1976), pp. 40–69, at p. 62, n. 7.
50 *Homelia* 2. 2 in *Bedae Venerabilis opera, pars III. Opera homiletica*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 122 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), p. 198; *Bede the Venerable. Homilies on the Gospels, Book Two*, trans. L. T. Martin and D. Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991), p. 20.

of these modes, his writing, that Bede's accomplishment can be appreciated today. The 'Father of English exegesis' constructed his exegesis with his readers firmly in mind.[51] Unlike Gregory the Great, his monastic predecessor, Bede's exegetical texts point away from 'the solitary activity of scholars to the social activity of communities'.[52] The communities Bede addressed consisted of second- and third-generation Christians who needed the kinds of text Cassiodorus pioneered and Bede produced with their marginal source marks identifying the many excerpts from earlier exegetes woven into the exegesis. But Bede's exegesis was not tied to sources nor was it constrained by rigid adherence to any technical method of biblical interpretation. He approached the scriptures from many different angles in his search for 'diligent explanations', eschewing consistency in the pursuit of significance.[53] When diligent explanations were not forthcoming, he made up an explanation, as when the teacher in him anticipated questions from an audience rooted in an agrarian society about the accumulating animal waste in Noah's ark that would overwhelm the human voyagers' ability to deal with it. Bede's explanation was that God placed the animals in a kind of state of suspended animation that arrested their natural functions while aboard the ark.[54] His faith was grounded in the truth of the Bible and in the power of teachers to explain it. From Bede's perspective, the Bible was the source not only of spiritual guidance, but of all wisdom, including secular learning, a dichotomy Bede would not admit. Bede the grammarian was not a different teacher from Bede the exegete. The schemes and tropes of human language occur first in the Bible, the words of God.[55] Nor was Bede the interpreter of *natura* a different teacher from Bede the expositor of scripture.[56]

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51 The epithet is C. W. Jones's: 'Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis', *Sacris Erudiri* 19 (1969–70), 115.
52 Stansbury, 'Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries', pp. 50 and 58–69.
53 Jones, 'Some Introductory Remarks', pp. 151–3: '[S]ignificance is where he finds it'. R. Ray, 'What Do We Know about Bede's Commentaries?', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 49 (1982), 5–20, at pp. 9–10: 'Bede's method was not just allegorical and figural but mainly eclectic and pastoral. He used any device, or combination of devices, that might make the biblical text edifying to his audience.'
54 *Libri quatuor in principium Genesis*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 118A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), ii, vi, 21, 1410–35, pp. 113–14. This passage impressed both Meyvaert, 'Bede the Scholar', pp. 52–3, and B. P. Robinson, 'The Venerable Bede as Exegete', *Downside Review* 112 (1994), 201–26, at pp. 213–14.
55 Jones, 'Some Introductory Remarks', p. 142: 'In short, Scripture employs the same artistic devices as are found in any literature, but it is first with the best. Bede regarded all human composition as merely adumbration of God's Word'. See Bede's *De schematibus et tropis*, ed. C. B. Kendall, CCSL 123A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), pp. 142–71.
56 F. Wallis, '*Si naturam quæras*: Reframing Bede's "Science"', in DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition*, p. 98: 'A new approach to Bede's "science" would therefore locate it in a web of

Bede may have been the father of English exegesis, but he was not without contemporary critics. To judge from Bishop Acca of Hexham's letter to Bede and Bede's response to it, readers had criticised the monk's commentary on Acts on a number of fronts, including his free use of excerpts from his predecessors, which made him seem derivative, and his free use of his own interpretations, which made him seem adventuresome.[57] Bede rebutted his rivals with marginal source marks and his insistence on making the fathers accessible to a new northern audience. What is striking about the Acca–Bede exchange is its documentation of a community of interested and critical exegetes who can be only dimly perceived today. Who they might have been cannot be told, but their presence reminds us that the landscape of pre-Carolingian exegesis was perhaps livelier and more crowded than has been imagined.

Among that crowd was a wide group of teachers who introduced their students to the scriptures in a manner very different from that of Bede. In 1954 Bernhard Bischoff populated the early medieval landscape of biblical exegesis with a series of little-known biblical commentaries that demonstrated widespread study of the Bible by many others than the giants of early medieval exegesis, interpreters the mettle of Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great and Bede.[58] Bischoff pointed to an extensive series of influential biblical glosses produced during this period, including the glosses of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury and Abbot Hadrian.[59] Some of the texts, such as Latchen's *Ecloga de Moralibus Iob quae Gregorius fecit* ('Selections from Gregory's Morals on Job') and the *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* ('On the wonders of sacred scripture') of the 'Irish Augustine', had been recognised for some time.[60] Others, such as the *Liber de ordine creaturarum* (Book on the order of created things) and a

interrelated ideas and images. At the centre of the web is a distinctive epistemological object, *natura*: creatures and their specific attributes on the one hand, and the ordering of time on the other. *Ratio* denotes an intellectual method adapted to *natura*: a complex concert of logic and mathematics, grounded in the authority of the scriptural account of creation, and the scriptural understanding of God.'

57 The letters appear as prologues to *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), pp. 5–10. See Stansbury, 'Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries', pp. 70–5, for Acca's defence of Bede's exegetical strategies.

58 Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', pp. 205–73; trans. C. O'Grady as 'Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Irish Church. A.D. 650–800', in M. McNamara (ed.), *Biblical Studies. The Medieval Irish Contribution* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1976), pp. 74–160.

59 *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge.

60 For the *Ecloga* (CPL 1716), see CCSL 145, ed. M. Adriaen (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969); for the *De mirabilibus*, see PL 35, cols. 2149–2200, and G. MacGinty, 'The Irish Augustine. *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*', in P. Ni Chatháin and M. Richter (eds.), *Irland und die Christenheit. Bibelstudien und Mission / Ireland and Christendom. The Bible and the Missions* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987), pp. 70–83.

commentary on Mark attributed to a seventh-century Comianus, were recognised as Irish contributions to scriptural studies only in the 1950s.[61] In their substance and formal characteristics these contributions document the extension of the patristic legacy's reach by the seventh century even to the 'wild western peoples'.[62]

It was the commentaries, usually anonymous or pseudonymous, that constituted a turning point in biblical exegesis, turning away from the patristic legacy toward literal Antiochene modes that Bischoff attributed to seventh-century Irish scholars. The contributions of these scholars, Bischoff believed, could be reconstructed from the thirty-nine commentaries he registered in a catalogue of 'Hiberno-Latin and Irish influenced exegetical literature'.[63] Bischoff's description of the common characteristics of these commentaries enormously influenced scholarship on early medieval exegesis. The shared methodology of the masters responsible for the commentaries included the use of rare or seldom-used sources, a penchant to juxtapose exegesis and grammatical analysis as when discussing the *locus*, *tempus* and *persona* of a biblical book, fondness for phrases such as 'Pauca de . . .' ('a little bit about') or 'non difficile' ('not difficult'), for explanations involving the three sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, or a concern for the first time something or someone was mentioned in the Bible. These exegetical characteristics were described as traits of the Irish mind or of Irish learning and quickly became typed in the literature as 'Irish symptoms', symptoms that led to the attribution of additional biblical commentaries to Irish masters or to teachers influenced by them.[64] That Bischoff's insight has been questioned does not obscure his fundamental contribution – the recognition that a substantial body of new exegesis was produced in the seventh and eighth centuries.[65] Many of the texts

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61 See *Liber de ordine creaturarum. Un anónimo irlandés del siglo VII*, ed. M. C. Díaz y Díaz (Universidad de Santiago de Compostella, 1972) (the editor published his discovery in 1953); *Expositio evangelii secundum Marcum*, ed. M. Cahill, CCSL 82 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997). Bischoff identified Comianus with Cummianus, the computist; see his 'Wendepunkte', pp. 214–15.

62 'Mulier rogat pro filia, quae est mater nostra Romana ecclesia; nata daemoniacae barbarica est occidentalis natio, cuius fides fecit de cane ouem.' See *Expositio evangelii secundum Marcum*, 7, 24; ed. Cahill, pp. 34, 14–16.

63 'Katalog der Hiberno-Lateinischen und der irisch beeinflussten lateinischen exegetischen Literatur bis zum Anfang des IX. Jahrhunderts', in 'Wendepunkte', pp. 229–69.

64 Ibid., pp. 217–22 and 235. 'Ein Zipfel der irischen Mentalität ist . . . ; 'Ein besonders beliebter Schmuck irischer Gelehrsamkeit ist . . . ' (p. 219). See J. F. Kelly, 'A Catalogue of Early Medieval Hiberno-Latin Biblical Commentaries', *Traditio* 44 (1988), 537–71; 45 (1989–90), 393–434.

65 M. M. Gorman, 'A Critique of Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis. The Commentary on Genesis in Munich Clm 6302 (Wendepunkte 2)', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (1997), 178–233, and M. M. Gorman, 'The Myth of Hiberno-Latin Exegesis', *RB* 110 (2000), 42–85 (repr. in his *The Study of the Bible in the Early Middle Ages* (Florence: SISMEL, 2007), pp. 232–75), with rebuttals by G. Silagi,

have a scrappy, raw, immediate cast to them, reflecting their primary use in teaching beginners in scriptural studies. The most remarkable of them is the *Bibelwerk*, a massive compilation, known in English as the Reference Bible.[66] Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome occur frequently in the encyclopaedic compilation of biblical teaching on both Testaments (as well as Cassian, Eucherius of Lyon, Isidore of Seville, Iunillus, Paterius and Gregory the Great), but here the patristic legacy is treated as a vast quarry of biblical factoids that constitute the author's (or authors') responses to the *enigmata* that make up the Reference Bible.[67] The format is predominantly question and answer: *Interrogatio* ('Question'); *Dic michi* ('Tell me'); *Quod sunt peccata Ade?* ('What are Adam's sins?'); *Cur diabulus non redemitur per Christum, ut homo?* ('Why was the devil not redeemed by Christ, as man was?'); *Cui dicit hoc verbum et quis audivit?* ('To whom did he speak this word and who heard it?')?[68] The Reference Bible stands as a very useful comprehensive synthesis of foundational scriptural studies. Even though one of the turning points in early medieval exegesis was a return among the Carolingians to an exegesis that was 'more direct, less consumed with details, and less pedantic', the exegesis exemplified by the Reference Bible and the other texts Bischoff identified in 1954 in fact survives in Continental, ninth-century manuscripts and continued to be used well into the Carolingian age.[69]

The Carolingian age

During the course of the late seventh century and into the eighth century, a clan of warlords gradually gained political, military and economic power in those lands of Europe controlled by the Franks. The clan eventually seized the Frankish monarchy itself and proceeded to consolidate its control over the Franks and many other Continental European peoples. The complex story of

'Notwendige Bemerkungen zu Gorman's "Critique of Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis"', *Peritia* 12 (1998), 87–94; D. Ó Cróinín, 'Bischoff's Wendepunkte Fifty Years On', *RB* 110 (2000), 204–37; C. D. Wright, 'Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis and the Genesis Commentary in Munich, Clm 6302', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000), 115–75.

66 Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', pp. 222 and 231–6; partially ed. in *The Reference Bible – Das Bibelwerk. Pauca problemata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis, nunc prompta sunt praefatio et libri de Pentateucho Moysi*, ed. G. MacGinty, CCCM 173 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). Paris, BNF, lat. 11561, a complete mid-ninth-century copy, required 218 folios, 368 × 297 mm, written in two columns, with thirty-nine lines to the page, to contain the text.

67 See the *Index scriptorum* of MacGinty's edition (see n. 66 above). Isidore of Seville and Augustine are the leading sources for sections on the Pentateuch.

68 MacGinty, *Reference Bible*, §§211–14 (pp. 88–9), to pick two pages at random.

69 Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', p. 229: '[E]s war die Rückkehr zu einer schlichteren, weniger spitzfindigen und weniger pedantischen Art der Auslegung.'

the Carolingian dynasty still fascinates, not least because of the sheer scale of the Carolingian empire and of the profound and ambiguous legacy left by the Carolingian age.[70] The Carolingians made Europe wealthy and tried to impose political, social, economic and religious order on European society, giving shape to Continental Europe on a scale never before attempted.[71] The impact of the Carolingian age on biblical exegesis was significant for two overarching reasons. First, the Carolingians institutionalised biblical culture and the study of the Bible in cathedral and monastic schools. Carolingian biblical culture was very much a schools culture, accessible only to the very few literate and intellectual elite of European society. What the ordinary Christian people knew of biblical culture was mediated by the liturgy and preaching and not by direct contact with scripture.[72] Second, the Carolingians recovered, almost entirely, the patristic legacy and made it the touchstone for their own understanding of the sacred scriptures. They constituted the first great audience for the church fathers.[73] Concomitantly, the Bible became one of the most prominent features of the Carolingian landscape, informing contemporary thought, literature, art, law, political and social policy, as well as Carolingian notions of religion, spirituality and reform.[74] None of this was

70 For an entry into the period, see R. E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Age. Reflections on its Place in the History of the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 64 (1989), 267–306, and R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

71 'Continental', that is, excluding Scandinavia and the Iberian peninsula. But these regions, as well as more easterly lands and even Anglo-Saxon England, embraced Carolingian forms in the tenth century and later.

72 R. E. McNally's observation that the scriptures were not 'a direct, vital force in the spiritual life of the faithful', in *The Unreformed Church* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), p. 70, rings true, *pace* Y. Hen, 'The Uses of the Bible and the Perception of Kingship in Merovingian Gaul', *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1993), 277–90, at p. 277.

73 See for a trenchant overview, S. C. Berarducci, 'L'esegesi della rinascita carolinigia', in Cremascoli and Leonardi (eds.), *La Bibbia nel Medioevo*, pp. 167–98. Many of the essays reprinted in M. M. Gorman, *Biblical Commentaries from the Early Middle Ages* (Florence: SISMEL, 2002), bear on Carolingian exegesis and report new discoveries and new interpretations. What follows builds on J. J. Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Culture' in G. Van Riel, C. Steel and J. McEvoy (eds.), *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena. The Bible and Hermeneutics* (Leuven University Press, 1996), pp. 1–23.

74 T. F. X. Noble, 'The Varying Roles of Biblical Testimonies in the Carolingian Image Controversies', in E. Cohen and M. B. de Jong (eds.), *Medieval Transformations. Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 101–19; A. Firey, 'The Letter of the Law. Carolingian Exegetes and the Old Testament', in J. D. McAuliffe, B. D. Walfisch and J. W. Goering (eds.), *With Reverence for the Word. Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 204–24; A. Firey, 'Lawyers and Wisdom. The Use of the Bible in the Pseudo-Isidorian Forged Decretals', in Chazelle and Edwards (eds.), *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 189–214; M. de Jong, 'Old Law and New-Found Power. Hrabanus Maurus and the Old Testament', in J. W. Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 161–76; M. de Jong, 'The Emperor Lothar and his *Bibliotheca historiarum*', in R. I. A. Nip et al. (eds.), *Media Latinitatis. A Collection of Essays to Mark the Occasion*

inevitable. The ubiquity of the Bible and the elaboration of a patristically mediated biblical culture in the generations between 750 and 1000 were owed to the success of a biblical model of kingship and the currency of the notion that the Carolingians were the new Israel.[75]

Charlemagne's courtiers likened their master to David and thus linked him not only to a biblical king, but to a biblical author as well. Charlemagne (747/8–814) could not hope to be a biblical author, but he could and did promote a biblical culture in emulation of another biblical king, Josiah. The powerful story of Josiah (2 Kings 22–23:30), who carried out a root-and-branch reform of his kingdom to return his people to 'the words of the law that were written in the book', was prominently retold in the preface to Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* ('General instruction') (789), which clearly meant to present the king of the Franks as the new Josiah.[76] Central to the *Admonitio* Charlemagne placed biblically grounded articles aimed at persistent contemporary evils such as the swearing of false oaths, the practice of augury, hatred, homicide, false weights and measures, lax chant and careless observation of the Lord's day. The addition of biblically centred articles to an inherited set of conciliar canons signalled Charlemagne's decision to ground his rule and his reform in the original source of Christian norms and spirituality. No secular leader before him had so dramatically privileged the scriptures as the basis for societal reform.

Charlemagne's bold initiative might have remained a lofty ideal had it not been supported by royal wealth and persistent application, especially by Carolingian clergy. The ecclesiastical councils of Frankfurt (794), Rispach (?798), Aachen (816), Meaux (845) and Pavia (850) mandated that bishops study the scriptures and that they educate their priests, canons and nuns in biblical wisdom, especially wisdom grounded, not in human invention, but in the testimony of the holy fathers.[77] And in the seventy-second chapter of the *Admonitio generalis*, Charlemagne specified the setting for biblical studies:

of the Retirement of L. J. Engels (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 229–35; M. de Jong, 'The Empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *historia* for Rulers', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds.), *Using the Past in Early Medieval Europe. Politics, Memory and Identity* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 191–226; M. de Jong, 'Exegesis for an Empress', in Cohen and de Jong (eds.), *Medieval Transformations*, pp. 69–100; J. J. Contreni, '"By Lions, Bishops are Meant; By Wolves, Priests". History, Exegesis, and the Carolingian Church in Haimo of Auxerre's *Commentary on Ezechiel*', *Francia. Forschungen zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte* 29/1 (2002), 29–56.

75 M. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity From Pippin to Charlemagne', in Hen and Innes (eds.), *Using the Past*, pp. 114–61; and, for the papal view, T. F. X. Noble, 'The Bible in the Codex Carolinus', in Leonardi and Orlandi (eds.), *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 61–74.

76 *Admonitio generalis*, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Cap. reg. Franc. 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1883), pp. 52–62 (no. 22); *Charlemagne. Translated Sources*, trans. P. D. King (Kendal: P. D. King, 1987), pp. 209–20.

77 Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Culture', pp. 4–5.

'Let schools be established in every monastery and bishopric for boys to read psalms, notes, chant, computus, grammar, and well corrected catholic books'.[78] Schools and sound books – those were the tools of Carolingian biblical culture. Alcuin (*c.* 735–804) and Bishop Theodulf of Orléans (*c.* 760–*c.* 820) and others less heralded worked in the manner of Jerome and Cassiodorus to correct generations of scribal errors in order to produce a normative biblical text. The wealth of Carolingian Europe and the industry of its scribes ensured that Jerome's Vulgate, after almost five centuries, would become the standard for the catholic books.[79]

The scriptures had to be taught, had to be explained and had, above all, to be understood. As *Admonitio generalis*, cap. 72 required, bishops and abbots were responsible for establishing and maintaining schools and the libraries to support study. Despite setbacks at the local level, situating biblical studies in the schools institutionalised biblical culture.[80] During the period from 750 to 1000 Carolingian masters composed at least 220 biblical commentaries in contrast to the approximately seventy commentaries and ancillary texts produced between 500 and 750, including only three in Merovingian Gaul.[81] As they responded to the explicit needs of students, priests, monks, nuns and laypeople, they also expanded the range of Christian exegesis when they authored the first complete commentaries on all four books of Kings, on the entire Octateuch, 1–2 Paralipomenon, 1–2 Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus and Lamentations.[82]

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78 *Admonitio generalis*, cap. 72, pp. 59–60. This capitulum and many others were addressed to priests. The *Institutio sanctimonialum Aquisgranensis*, cap. 10, recommended to Carolingian nuns the biblical study programme Jerome fashioned for Laeta; see Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Culture', p. 4.

79 See B. Fischer, 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen', in W. Braunfels et al. (eds.), *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1965–8), vol. II, pp. 156–216; D. Ganz, 'Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts. The Carolingian Bibles from Tours', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration, and Use* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 53–62; and R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production. The Tours Anomaly', in Gameson (ed.), *Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 63–77.

80 The constancy and geographical and temporal range of episcopal mandates regarding scriptural studies is impressive. See Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Culture', pp. 4–5.

81 See above, p. 512, and for the Carolingian period, B. V. N. Edwards, 'The Manuscript Transmission of Carolingian Biblical Commentaries', online at: www.tcnj.edu/~chazelle/carindex.htm (consulted 8 January 2012). Edwards' roster includes fifty-one exegetes and more than 220 biblical commentaries. See also R. E. McNally, *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages* (Westminster, MD: Newman, 1959), pp. 89–117. For Merovingian exegetical production, see Y. Hen, 'A Merovingian Commentary on the Four Gospels (Pseudo-Theophilus, CPL 1001)', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 49 (2003), 167–87, at p. 168.

82 See J. J. Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Studies', in U.-R. Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays. Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), pp. 84–93, repr. in J. J. Contreni, *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1992), item v; and Berarducci, 'L'esegesi della rinascita carolinigia', p. 171, for the commentaries of Wigbod, Claudius of Turin and Hrabanus Maurus.

The links and networks that bound schools and masters together helped to disseminate their work and broadcast biblical culture. Situating biblical studies in schools also encouraged the establishment of programmes of systematic study of the Bible. Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780–856) outlined in the third book of his *De institutione clericorum* ('The training of clergy') a very sophisticated programme of biblical studies – sophisticated because its essence derived from Augustine's *On Christian Teaching*.[83] Notker of St Gall (c. 840–912) also turned his eclectic talents to the systematic study of the scriptures and reiterated the profound respect Carolingian masters had for the fathers. His *Notatio de illustribus uiris* ('A selection of brilliant men') provided students with a detailed roster of authors they could read to guide their scriptural studies.[84]

The temporal and intellectual dimensions of Carolingian exegesis first came into view in the 780s and 790s when Charlemagne began to refashion Frankish society 'according to the laws of the book'.[85] Wigbod's *Commentary on Genesis* offers a convenient first signpost pointing to the landmarks dotting the landscape of early Carolingian exegesis.[86] Dedicated to Charlemagne himself, Wigbod's Genesis commentary is an encyclopaedic text made up of excerpts from the works of more than eight fathers. However, Wigbod (active 775–800) gathered his excerpts not from the fathers directly, but from earlier biblical florilegia. In its early stages, Carolingian exegesis was unprepared to confront the patristic tradition directly. Even Alcuin in his commentaries and Josephus Scottus (active 782–796) in his commentary on Isaiah gave their readers simplified versions of Augustine and Jerome, stripped of everything that was not literal or historical.[87] If Carolingian biblical culture were to

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83 See *De institutione clericorum libri tres* in *Hrabanus Maurus. De institutione clericorum libri tres. Studien und Edition*, ed. D. Zimpel (Frankfurt: Lang, 1996).

84 See 'Notker des Stammlers "Notatio de illustribus uiris", Teil 1: Kritische Edition', ed. K. Rauner, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986), 34–69; B. M. Kaczynski, 'Reading the Church Fathers. Notker the Stammerer's *Notatio de illustribus viris*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 17 (2007), 401–12.

85 Beatus of Liébana (d. c. 798) in northern Spain and Ambrosius Autpertus (c. 730–84), abbot of San Vincenzo on the Volturno in Beneventum, remind us that remarkable exegesis was possible on the periphery of the Carolingian world. See for Beatus, *Sancti Beati Liébana Commentarius in Apocalipsin*, ed. E. R. Pose, 2 vols. (Rome: Consilio Academiae Lynceorum, 1985); and for Ambrosius, *Expositiones in Apocalypsin libri I–XI*, ed. R. Weber, CCCM 27–27A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975–9). Also, E. A. Matter, 'The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis', in R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 38–50.

86 See M. M. Gorman, 'Wigbod and Biblical Studies under Charlemagne', *RB* 107 (1997), 40–76 (repr. in his *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 200–36); and M. M. Gorman, 'Wigbod, Charlemagne's Commentator. The *Quaestiunculae super Evangelium*', *RB* 114 (2004), 5–74.

87 Alcuin, letter-preface in *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), p. 122, 29–30; Alcuin, letter-preface to *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*,

develop, Carolingian scholars would have to re-establish intellectual contact with the fathers. That is what was happening in the commentaries of the late eighth and early ninth century – a period that saw a massive effort to integrate the fathers into the new culture. That effort took many forms, not just as commentaries. The success of the Reference Bible and many other elements of Hiberno-Latin exegesis in Francia can be attributed to their emphasis on literal matters and on their grounding in many different sources.[88] The concern of this exegetical tradition to emphasise unusual bits of information, details, numbers, places, persons, events, customs, lists, languages and first-time occurrences, all fitted into an appealing question-and-answer format, responded admirably to the needs of a varied audience of beginning students – Carolingian monks, nuns and priests, and interested laypeople who needed to be schooled in the vocabulary of the Bible and the rudiments of patristic exegesis. The proliferation of vernacular as well as Latin biblical wordlists to guide readers through the strange vocabulary of the scriptures is an important indication of the widespread rudimentary study of the Bible throughout Carolingian literate society.[89]

The 820s and 830s marked a new stage in the formation of Carolingian biblical culture. Several new signposts pointing in different directions help orient us to this generation's work. Hrabanus Maurus completed the task of providing Carolingian students with a complete series of commentaries on the Bible. His prodigious work survives in over 280 manuscript copies – an amount greater than that of any other Carolingian exegete.[90] Hrabanus excerpted, abbreviated and simplified to provide his readers with commentaries based on the best patristic texts, all collected between the covers of one book. He also shared his encyclopaedic knowledge with readers who needed to know both

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ibid., p. 407, lines 8–9; Josephus Scottus, letter-preface to *Commentarius in Isaiam*, ibid., p. 483, lines 24–5. See also J. F. Kelly, 'The Originality of Josephus Scottus' Commentary on Isaiah', *Manuscripta* 24 (1980), 176–80.

88 See above, p. 524. Theodulf of Orléans' bitter characterisation of Irish learning, further elaborated in an anonymous poem, 'Versus ad quendam Scottum nomine Andream', demonstrates that Carolingian exegetes recognised distinctive characteristics of Irish exegesis and that that exegetical tradition was still vibrant in Carolingian Europe – to the obvious chagrin of Theodulf. See Theodulf, 'Ad Carolum regem', ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poet. lat. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 483–9, at verses 165–74 and 213–34, esp. verse 233: 'You know many things and you have learned many things, but you have no wisdom, O fool'; trans. N. A. Alexandrenko, in 'The Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Translation and Critical Study', unpubl. PhD thesis, Tulane University (1970); and B. Bischoff, 'Theodulf und der Ire Cadac-Andreas', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. II, pp. 19–25, for the anonymous poem.

89 For a survey, see J. J. Contreni and P. P. Ó Néill (eds.) *Glossae divinae historiae. The Biblical Glosses of John Scottus Eriugena* (Florence: SISMEL, 1997), pp. 58–72.

90 See Edwards, 'The Manuscript Transmission of Carolingian Biblical Commentaries', cited in n. 81 above.

the literal and, more importantly, the mystical senses of biblical vocabulary. His *De universo* ('About everything') is a storehouse of meanings attached to some 3,150 biblical words, each one productive of a natural, 'dictionary' meaning as well as several different mystical meanings as well. 'Fat', for example, could be understood three ways, as the richness of the love of God (Lev. 3:3), or as the abundance of earthly things (Job 15:26), or in a negative sense when it signifies the thickness of evil (Ps. 16:10: 'They have shut up their fat').[91]

The one-volume anthology of patristic commentaries became the dominant form of exegesis in the 820s and 830s. The anthology commentary integrated the fathers and European culture. Claudius of Turin (*c.* 780–*c.* 830) contributed to this development, as did monks at St Denis and Fleury.[92] The intellectual and editorial skill that lay behind these influential commentaries has rarely been appreciated.[93] One anthology, only part of which was completed, suggests the resources and organisation that went into such endeavours. The project, begun under Louis the Pious (776–840), left its traces in notes, marked passages and editorial symbols made preparatory to the assemblage of an enormous collective biblical compilation.[94] Sedulius Scottus' Pauline commentaries, the remarkable achievement of one scholar, suggests what these encyclopaedic commentaries might have resembled.[95]

Carolingian commentators were acutely aware of their own interpretative methodology when they worked on these kinds of commentary. They used metaphors to express their activity: they worked as a physician who compounds an effective remedy from different ingredients; they plucked various

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91 *Hrabanus Maurus. De universo. The Peculiar Properties of Words and their Mystical Significance. The Complete English Translation*, trans. P. Throop, 2 vols. (Charlotte, VT: MedievalMS, 2009). For 'fat', see vol. I, p. 170.
92 See P. Boulhol, *Claude de Turin. Un évêque iconoclaste dans l'occident carolingien. Étude suivie de l'édition du 'Commentaire sur Josué'* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2002); B. Bischoff, 'Libraries and Schools in the Carolingian Revival of Learning', in his *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. and ed. M. M. Gorman (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 109.
93 But see R. Savigni, 'Esegesi medievali ed antropologia biblica. L'interpretazione di Genesi 1–3 nei commentari carolingi ed i suoi fondamenti patristici', *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 10 (1993), 571–614.
94 Bischoff, 'Libraries and Schools', pp. 111–12; for a similar editorial project, see M. Gorman, 'The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious', *Speculum* 72 (1997), 279–329; repr. in his *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 237–89.
95 *Sedulii Scotti Collectaneum in Apostolum*, ed. H. J. Frede and H. Stanjek, 2 vols., VLB 31–2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1996–7). Better known as a grammarian, poet and author of a guidebook for Christian rulers, Sedulius was also a formidable exegete; see also Sedulius Scottus, *Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Matthäus 1–2*, ed. B. Löfstedt, 2 vols., VLB 14–19 (Freiburg: Herder, 1989–91).

flowers from fields to compose a rich bouquet; they played organ pipes of different lengths to sound a single, pleasing melody. In the process, they defined a new kind of exegesis, an 'exegesis of exegetes',[96] in which the biblical text receded into the background, leaving the patristic authorities prominently in the foreground. When they privileged the authoritative commentaries of the fathers, Carolingian biblical scholars also established the Western hermeneutic tradition. Study of the Bible became study of interpretations of the Bible. The biblical verses themselves served only to organise the exposition.[97] The development of this new medieval exegetical mode marked a real turning point. By the middle of the ninth century, Carolingian masters began to turn away from the earlier, pedantic (*spitzfindig*) commentary literature that still circulated in monastic and cathedral schools to cultivate their own growing exegetical harvest.[98]

In the 840s, 850s and 860s, Angelomus of Luxeuil (active *c.* 850) and Haimo of Auxerre (*c.* 800–*c.* 865) helped push the development of Carolingian exegesis in new directions. Angelomus' commentaries on Genesis, Kings and Song of Songs aimed to achieve specific exegetical goals.[99] In the commentary on Kings, he began with Hrabanus' commentary on the same book, but supplemented Hrabanus' literal interpretation with historical, allegorical and tropological readings, many of them his own. His commentary on Song of Songs, composed for Emperor Lothar (795–855) after the death of his wife, aimed to direct the emperor in a life of contemplation. The collage of excerpts from Gregory the Great, Aponius and Alcuin that he assembled in his commentary were all marshalled toward his own exegetical goal. Angelomus' sources, quite different from each other, were effectively blended in their new incarnation in his commentary. Haimo of Auxerre's commentaries had an enormous impact in the Middle Ages. The number of surviving manuscripts, some 256, is second only to that of Hrabanus Maurus' works.[100] But Haimo belonged to a different exegetical generation than did the Fulda master and abbot. Haimo's interpretative method consisted in summarising and reworking his sources and then applying a grammatical form of exegesis to them that he had learned most probably from his Irish colleague, Murethach. Haimo's

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96 S. Cantelli, *Angelomo e la scuola esegetica di Luxeuil*, 2 vols. (Spoleto: CISAM, 1990), p. 61. See also J. C. Cavadini, 'A Carolingian Hilary', in Chazelle and Edwards (eds.), *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 133–40, at p. 133: 'an exegesis of exegetes'.
97 Cantelli, *Angelomo*, pp. 60–2; S. Cantelli, 'L'esegesi al tempo di Ludovico il Pio e Carlo il Calvo', in C. Leonardi and E. Menestò (eds.), *Giovanni Scoto nel suo tempo. L'organizzazione del sapere in età carolingia* (Spoleto: CISAM, 1989), pp. 261–336, at pp. 268–70.
98 Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', p. 229.   99 Cantelli, *Angelomo*.   100 See n. 81 above.

penchant for summaries and his 'linguistic turn' anticipated scholastic and modern exegesis.[101]

The third quarter of the ninth century was a particularly creative period for Carolingian exegesis. While Angelomus and Haimo used patristic sources in sophisticated and innovative ways, Paschasius Radbertus (790–865) and John Scottus (Eriugena) (*c.* 810–*c.* 870) led the art and craft of biblical interpretation in original, yet opposite directions. Both commentators brought the biblical text back into exegesis where it complemented the *auctoritas* of patristic tradition and the particular interests of the commentators. Paschasius' exegesis is noteworthy for its self-reflective nature, seen especially in the prefaces to his commentary on Matthew.[102] Exegesis for Paschasius became a spiritual reflection on scripture, a meditation that sought to delineate the church as the body of Christ. His exegesis responded not so much to the needs of the schoolroom as it did to the spiritual lives of monks. If Haimo of Auxerre anticipated Peter Abelard, then Paschasius Radbertus anticipated Bernard of Clairvaux. John Scottus, Paschasius' contemporary, approached scripture from an entirely different perspective.[103] John's interpretative stance, informed by the liberal arts, his philosophical interests and his knowledge of Greek language and thought, ensured that his exegesis would be distinctive and not a little controversial.[104] John could attribute the errors of Godescalc of Orbais (*c.* 807–*c.* 870) to ignorance of the fathers and the liberal arts; and Fridugisus, abbot of St Martin (804–34), could claim that Agobard's (bishop of Lyon, 816–840), weak knowledge of the scriptures and of exegesis made him unfit properly to interpret the text.[105] Yet many of the period's most sophisticated exegetes, when they reflected on the principles of their work, claimed to subordinate human intellectual skill and reason to authoritative

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101 Cantelli, 'L'esegesi al tempo di Ludovico il Pio', pp. 280–1; *Murethach (Muridac). In Donati artem maiorem*, ed. L. Holtz, CCCM 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), pp. xxix–xxxv; E. Bertola, 'Il commentario paolino di Haimo di Halberstadt o di Auxerre e gli inizi del metodo scolastico', *Pier Lombardo* 5 (1961), 29–54; E. Bertola, 'I precedenti storici del metodo del Sic et Non di Abelardo', *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica* 53 (1961), 255–80.

102 Letter-preface to *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 6 (Berlin Weidmann, 1902–25), pp. 138–44; E. A. Matter, 'The Lamentations Commentaries of Hrabanus and Paschasius Radbertus', *Traditio* 38 (1982), 137–63; Cantelli, 'L'esegesi al tempo di Ludovico il Pio', pp. 286–92; D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), pp. 82–7.

103 See the essays in Van Riel, Steel and McEvoy (eds.), *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena*.

104 Yet it is worth remembering John's attachment to Carolingian traditions, especially his use of Theodulf's Bible; see Contreni and Ó Néill, *Glossae divinae historiae. The Biblical Glosses of John Scottus Eriugena*, pp. 38–40.

105 John Scottus, *De divina praedestinatione liber*, ed. G. Madec, CCCM 50 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 18, p. 110, lines 2–3; *Epistola 13*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898–9), pp. 210–21, at p. 213, lines 17–18.

tradition even as their own work, apparently despite themselves, produced new results.

Hrabanus Maurus, following Augustine, claimed that biblical interpretation not based in love was doomed to failure. Biblical commentators had always known that study of the Bible could yield erroneous and questionable conclusions, and since the Bible as the word of God was perfect, error was imputed to the commentator. 'I gave them gold and silver and they made Baal'. Theodulf remembered this verse from Hosea (2:8) when he acknowledged that the Bible, the rock from which life-giving water flowed, could be misinterpreted by heretics.[106] The Council of Frankfurt, in recommending the fathers as sure guides to sacred wisdom, contrasted a 'solid' knowledge of the Bible with a 'wavering' knowledge influenced by the new, the unknown and by human invention.[107] Angelomus of Luxeuil characterised the ridiculous interpretations of those who irrationally followed their own wills as beasts that surround the Bible, preventing believers from understanding its truths. Like beasts, these false beliefs should be stoned, Angelomus wrote.[108] Paschasius Radbertus several times in the commentary on Matthew pointedly criticised those who depended on human wisdom rather than on the wisdom of Christ to understand scripture. The lovers of worldly letters shamelessly and ignorantly displayed their learning, but Paschasius chose not to treat the 'arms and men' of Virgil like some master of the liberal arts, but inspired by the Holy Spirit concentrated instead on the wisdom of the catholic fathers.[109] These sentiments from the commentary on Matthew were even more starkly repeated in his *De benedictionibus patriarchum*, where Paschasius eloquently and explicitly criticised someone (*quidam*) who sought sacred wisdom through the Arts, especially the *quadrivium* and human reason – a reference perhaps to John Scottus and even to John's confident equation of philosophy and true religion.[110] If Paschasius had John Scottus in mind, Hrabanus Maurus, Theodulf, the bishops gathered at Frankfurt and Angelomus did not. Their concern to maintain the elusive boundary between human ingenuity and sacred tradition was a

106 *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* (*Libri Carolini*), ed. A. Freeman and P. Meyvaert, MGH Conc. 2, Suppl. 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1998), I, 5, p. 129, lines 22–7.

107 *Concilium Francofurtense (794)*, in *Concilia aevi Karolini (742–842)*, ed. A. Werminghoff, MGH Conc. 2.1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1906), 1, p. 156, lines 8–19.

108 Angelomus of Luxeuil, *Epistola ad Lotharium imperatorem*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898), p. 629, line 35, to p. 630, line 18.

109 Letter-preface to *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, pp. 143, 6–9.

110 *De Benedictionibus patriarchum Iacob et Moysi*, II, 1–54, in *Pascasii Radberti De Benedictionibus patriarchum Iacob et Moysi*, ed. B. Paulus, CCCM 96 (Turnhout: Brepols: 1993), p. 67. Cf. John Scottus, *De divina praedestinatione liber*, ed. Madec, 1, p. 5, lines 16–18.

perennial one. Innovators despite themselves, the voices of these cultural pioneers reveal that the choir of Carolingian exegetes was not harmonious. Biblical interpreters of the ninth century passed fundamental and unresolved methodological and epistemological problems, 'inharmonious harmony', on to their successors.[111]

The first generation of Carolingian exegetes composed works such as Wigbod's Genesis commentary or the 'Questions on the Prophet Daniel' of Peter of Pisa (died before 799), essentially a series of questions and answers on Daniel requested by Charlemagne.[112] The generation of Paschasius Radbertus and John Scottus produced more polemic work, work such as the 'Libellus on holding fixed the truth of scripture and following faithfully the authority of the orthodox, holy fathers' by Florus of Lyon (d. *c.* 860).[113] The fissures in the landscape of biblical culture, evident in its most sophisticated work, suggest that the seed sown by Charlemagne and tended by generations of kings, bishops and masters sank deep roots in Carolingian literate society, but that its harvest was somewhat unexpected and troubling. Nevertheless, whatever debates and disagreements vexed biblical scholars, by the end of the tenth century the Bible was fixed firmly in the literate consciousness of Latin, Christian Europe as the source of all that was necessary for this world and for the world beyond. The culture of one book had become the culture of many books as the Bible became 'the most important medieval "co-text", . . . the building block of literary meaning that must be understood as informing medieval literature, even if its role as a model is unspoken'.[114] The patristic legacy was intimately woven into the fabric of Europe's first 'systematic theology of revelation'[115] along with threads of many different hues and textures added over the centuries by generations of exegetes. In their effort to bring 'order into chaos', early Europe's biblical exegetes 'textualized Latin Christianity'[116] to create a multilayered biblical culture that was complex

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111 See J. J. Contreni, 'Inharmonious Harmony. Education in the Carolingian World', in *The Annals of Scholarship. Metastudies of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 1 (1980), 81–96, repr. in his *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*, item IV.

112 See *Liber de diversis quaestiunculis [in Dn 2,34–11,6] cum responsibus suis, quem iussit domnus rex Carolus transscribere ex authentico Petri archidiaconi, PL* 96, cols. 1347–62.

113 See *Libellus de tenenda immobiliter scripturae veritate et sanctorum orthodoxorum patrum auctoritate fideliter sectanda, PL* 121, cols. 1083–1134.

114 E. A. Matter, 'The Bible in Early Medieval Saints' Lives', in Chazelle and Edwards (ed.), *The Study of the Bible*, p. 155.

115 T. O'Loughlin, 'Tradition and Exegesis in the Eighth Century. The Use of Patristic Sources in Early Medieval Scriptural Commentaries', in T. O'Loughlin (ed.), *The Scriptures and Early Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 217–39, at p. 238.

116 Kaczynski, 'Reading the Church Fathers', p. 412.

and contentious and required continuous interpretation. Just as the equally complex and elaborate Ptolemaic model of the universe continued to be sustained, the biblical world view constructed in the early Middle Ages would endure for centuries.

The early schools, *c.* 900–1100

GUY LOBRICHON

Introduction

The tenth and eleventh centuries do not deserve the neglect that has been their lot. Recent historiography – whether emphasising the theme of steady transformation or interested rather in the idea of a decisive rupture around the year 1000 – has brilliantly illuminated the movements that were in progress throughout this period. These affected not only the major kingdoms of France, Germany and England, but the whole group of western societies which we have come to designate 'Latin Christianity', in contrast with Byzantine and eastern Christianity. Between about 900 and 1100, this area can in fact be reduced to the kingdoms of Germany and Italy, a few oases in the Iberian peninsular fighting for Christian reconquest and the kingdoms of France and England. The small Scandinavian kingdoms, culturally dependent on England, had hardly emerged, while in the east of Europe a dividing line appeared, signalling a gradual separation between Latin and Greek zones of influence. The leaders of the Frankish countries had established their domination at the end of the eighth century and in the ninth century at the expense of the Byzantine empire, first appropriating for themselves and then cultivating the symbolic power of both ancient and Christian Rome, and dipping enthusiastically into the Judaeo-Christian Bible for the federal themes of a shared ideology. The wind changed in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The dream of a shared culture subservient to strong authority disappeared, giving way to regional cultures, disconnected from power, which relied more than before on the liberal arts of the *quadrivium* and *trivium*, and were less concerned with the communal benefit of biblical models than with their moral and spiritual function. However, there was a change of direction in the second half of the eleventh century: it announced that a process of restructuring was under

Translated from the French by Richard Marsden.

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way, inaugurating a profound transformation in the way the Bible was used throughout the West.

Places and people

A brief survey of people and places will be useful, even if this has been done in various ways already by excellent scholars, from Emile Lesne to Friedrich Stegmüller, along with Bernhard Bischoff, Pierre Riché and many others.[1] The relevant places, too many for us to be able to cite them all, were mainly in England, Germany, Italy and France. In England, the circles of King Alfred and King Athelstan showed a lively curiosity about the Bible at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century.[2] The biblical commentaries of churchmen and the writings of laypeople in the service of the Anglo-Saxon kings were intended to guide the latter in the exercise of their power.[3] They were disseminated from small, ancient centres or new foundations. The Waltham Chronicle, written shortly after 1177, reported that the founder of the abbey, Earl Harold, later to be vanquished by William the Conqueror, had a master brought from Liège who had studied at Utrecht, so that he could establish the customs of the 'minster'. This man must have stayed, since one of his sons was there in the 1120s, teaching reading, singing and poetical composition, 'following the methods of the Germans'.[4] It was still quite a modest school. In the great monasteries and cathedrals the level appeared to be far higher, and it is here that we find specific evidence for the teaching of the Bible. At St Augustine's, Canterbury, in the middle of the tenth century, the master's tools included, in addition to classical manuals of grammar and rhetoric (Donatus, Priscian, Isidore of Seville), the poet Persius, Pseudo-Cato, Sedulius and, lastly (and oddly), the book of the Apocalypse.[5] After the

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1 E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, 6 vols. (Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1910–43); B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966–81), vols. I–II; P. Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le haut moyen âge (fin du Ve siècle–milieu du XIe siècle)*, 2nd edn (Paris: Picard, 1989).
2 See N. Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 346–71, for a list of schools in England and Gaul in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.
3 See M. Wood, '"Stand Strong against the Monsters". Kingship and Learning in the Empire of King Æthelstan', in P. Wormald and J. L. Nelson (eds.), *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 192–217.
4 See *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall (Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 28–9 and 65–7; and Orme, *Medieval Schools*, p. 38.
5 London, BL, Cotton Domitian i, fol. 56v; see M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds.), *Literature and Learning from Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 33–89, at pp. 50–2.

Norman Conquest of 1066, men from the Continent arrrived *en masse*, and organisation became tighter. A certain Ebroin taught at Canterbury under Archbishop Lanfranc. In 1091, Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, established in his cathedral an *archiscola* (head of the school), who was one of the four highest dignitaries in the chapter.[6]

In the Carolingian empire, the schoolmasters of the cathedral chapters made up for the relative decline of monastic schools in the ninth century. The monastery of Reichenau was an exception, maintained as it was by the continuing support of the Ottonians. The cathedral schools stood out with particular brilliance around the year 1000 in Wurzburg, under Bishop Heinrich I (995/6–1018), in Speyer and in Mainz. One of the most striking was that of the cathedral of Liège, where the future bishops of Utrecht, Cambrai, Toul, Metz and Salzburg were educated.[7] This school supplied the imperial court with learned men, and they were invited to intervene on behalf of the emperor when the quarrel between him and the pope took a violent turn.[8] In Italy, outside Rome, the most active schools were to be found in the north, in Bologna (where Guido, bishop of Acqui from 1034 to 1070, and Bruno, the future bishop of Segni, were educated) and in Ravenna. At the end of the eleventh century, two distinct Italian zones stood out, each remarkable: in the north, Countess Mathilde of Tuscany assembled an active group dominated by the personalities of Irnerius of Bologna, Donizo of Sutri and Anselmo of Lucca, along with Giovanni of Mantua, while the south, which had links with both the East and the West, benefitted from Norman renewal. In France, the masters of the cathedral schools in the ninth and tenth centuries had often been of humble origin, without aristocratic lineage, and they had few opportunities to make their mark in their church, but in the middle of the eleventh century the perspective changed. Teachers succeeded to the episcopacy. Electors conferred this distinction on two masters from Le Mans, for instance – Vulgrin, who was made bishop of Angers in February 1056 (he was a protégé of the count of Anjou, Geoffroy Martel),[9] and the *scholasticus* Arnaud, who became bishop of Le Mans itself.[10] In northern France, the

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6 Orme, *Medieval Schools*, pp. 167–8.

7 J. H. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), p. 18.

8 Such as Sigebert of Gembloux, who appeared to share the role of the principal canons of Liège; Henri IV commissioned him to defend his policy of opposition to the pope, and then Henri V called on him to find a solution to the conflict. See J. Beumann, 'Sigebert von Gembloux und das Traktat *De investitura episcoporum* von 1109', *Deutsches Archiv* 33 (1977), 37–83.

9 O. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1972), vol. 1, p. 181.

10 J.-H. Foulon, 'Les relations entre la papauté réformatrice et les pays de la Loire jusqu'à la fondation de Fontevraud', in J. Dalarun (ed.), *Robert d'Arbrissel et la vie religieuse dans l'ouest de*

masters at Rheims, a town which Gerbert regarded as the *caput regni* (capital of the realm) around the year 1000,[11] seemed to fade and become dependent on the school of Laon; the latter, much favoured in the middle of the ninth century, regained its full vitality during the last third of the eleventh.[12] In the Ile-de-France, one Drogo *grammaticus* emerged from the silence in the 1080s. Glosses on the Pauline Epistles circulated under his name, along with those of Lanfranc and Bérenger of Tours, and they earned him a rare tribute from Gozzechin of Liège in a letter to Gaucher (Walcherus).[13] Everywhere in the eleventh century, secular priests monopolised the title of 'master' or the simple qualification 'teacher', while the retreat of those in charge of monastic schools accelerated.

Whether or not one characterises them as 'intellectuals',[14] the masters moved around frequently, just as much as their books did. Gerbert mentioned exchanges of masters and students between Trier and Italy (Letter 13); one of the masters of Peter Damian, Ivo, may have come from Chartres to Parma a little before 1030.[15] The feverish activity of these men not only accompanied but without doubt accelerated the rapid ascent of the West in relation to the Byzantine East. The Franks had worked to widen the separation from Constantinople in the ninth century. The gulf was clear by 850; after the translations of the Greek fathers in the circles close to the emperor, at St Denis and at Compiègne, the umbilical cord had been cut. Greeks and Latins had stopped attending each others' councils together, while commentators on the Bible, such as at Fulda and Auxerre, pointedly did not open books of eastern exegesis. Subsequently, political and commercial relations between

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la France. Actes du colloque de Fontevraud, 13–16 décembre 2001, Disciplina Monastica 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 25–56, at pp. 30–1.

11 Gerbert, Letters 154 and 181, in *Gerbert d'Aurillac. Correspondance*, ed. P. Riché and J. P. Callu, 2 vols., Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Âge 35–36 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1993), vol. II, 380–2 and 456–64.

12 Anselm of Laon probably nurtured the reforming policy of Bishop Hélinand (1052–96); he had to teach there before acceding to the office of chancellor (1095/1096). This is one of my rare points of disagreement with C. Giraud, *Per verba magistri. Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), esp. pp. 35–69.

13 Writing before 1075, Gozzechin listed him among a small group of what he called 'distinguished and pre-eminent men of authority' ('prestantes et precipuae auctoritatis viri'); *Epistula ad Walcherum*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 62 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), pp. 11–43, at line 722. See C. Mews, 'Robert d'Arbrissel, Roscelin et Abélard', *Revue Mabillon*, NS 20 (2009), 33–54, at p. 41, who follows B. Smalley, 'La Glossa ordinaria. Quelques prédécesseurs d'Anselme de Laon', *RTAM* 9 (1937), 365–400, esp. pp. 390–1.

14 See J. Nelson, 'Organic Intellectual in the Dark Ages', *History Workshop Journal* 66 (2008), 1–17.

15 Peter Damian, Letter 8. Ivo came from Chartres, according to N. F. Novati, cited in Peter Damian, *Liber gomorrhianus: Omosessualità ecclesiastica e riforma della Chiesa*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2001), p. 11.

East and West gathered strength again in the Ottonian empire, notably after the middle of the tenth century. The men who took part in these exchanges nourished scholarly renewal: some were ambassadors (such as Liutprand of Cremona), bishops or monks; others, for religious reasons, exiled themselves from one kingdom or another, like the former doge Pietro Orseolo I, who retired to St Michel de Cuxa.[16] This did not mean, however, that knowledge of Greek made a comeback. By reason of political sensibility rather than laziness, westerners seemed to delight in a sort of learned ignorance, without fearing the least competition from easterners. Beyond the Ottonian and Salic empires, where exchanges with the Byzantine empire at Constantinople persisted and where great abbeys such as Gorze seemed to be welcoming towards books in the Greek language,[17] only a few monks of St Denis and Cluny and, thanks to them, the chronicler Raoul Glaber, knew works such as the *Ambigua* of Maxime the Confessor.[18] A Greek-speaking tradition may have been preserved at St Denis, however – practitioners of dialectic and of music were able to use the language, for they give transcriptions of it, but they did nothing with it. Abbo of Fleury certainly did not know Greek, despite citing it with totally correct spellings in his *Quæstiones* (for example, in ch. 27). Knowledge of the Greek sources of the Judaeo-Christian Bible had indeed long since lapsed.

Authorities

Western cultures based themselves over the centuries on *auctoritates*. But what did this name 'authorities' cover? They were, in the order in which they were cited, the Bible, the *decreta et instituta patrum* (decrees and precepts of the fathers) and, finally, the *moderni*. The Bible came first and foremost, because it constituted the code on which Christianity was built: it was the *lex divina* and *vetus lex*, teeming with examples and prescriptions. Contemporaries understood the terms Bible or holy scripture as referring to the collection of Judaeo-Christian texts accepted by the western churches, which had been validated by a gradual process of selection completed in the sixth century – though that did not prevent Bishop Fulbert of Chartres in 1026 still citing an

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16 See A. Mundo, 'Quelques maillons d'une chaîne reliant la Catalogne à l'Adriatique autour de l'an mil', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 4 (1998), 31–4.

17 A. Wagner, 'Les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Gorze', in D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (eds.), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil. Royaume capétien et Lotharingie* (Paris: Picard, 1990), pp. 114–15.

18 P. Dutton, 'Raoul Glaber's *De divina quaternitate*. An Unnoticed Reading of Eriugena's Translation of the *Ambigua* of Maxim the Confessor', *Mediaeval Studies* 42 (1980), 431–53.

apocrypha of the apostle Peter as authentic.[19] These texts, moreover, necessitated interpretation, which had to come from other acknowledged authorities, designated collectively as 'the tradition of the holy fathers'. The category of *decreta et instituta patrum* brought together *documenta*, decrees of the councils, and the writings of the fathers. The councils, which were assemblies of bishops, prelates and important laypeople, forged ecclesiastical discipline with reference to public laws and to the Bible, and from this flowed numerous canons. The list of fathers, in theory Latin or Greek, was considerably constricted, and they were well known, being the *doctores*, such as Augustine, Gregory the Great, the Venerable Bede and even Hrabanus Maurus, but there were almost no Greeks. A list of authorities circulated, influenced by the one drawn up by St Jerome; under the title 'On illustrious men' (*De viris inlustribus*), he gave the biographies of 135 of them, in a form as cursory as the inventories of their works. Others followed in Jerome's footsteps: Sigebert of Gembloux (in his *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiae*) listed no more than six names, all of them western, for the tenth and eleventh centuries. In their inventories, librarians confirmed the fact that the common repertoire of biblical exegesis stocked in their libraries was reduced to the essential minimum. Jerome, Augustine and the Venerable Bede dominated the bulk of patristic commentaries, and were followed by the masters of the ninth century, Haimo and Remigius of Auxerre. These five covered all needs and satisfied the masters of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh.

Scriptura

The Bible of scholars and clerics was definitively Latin in the whole area that began to acknowledge its connecton with Rome. Throughout the period being studied, all writers and copyists displayed a rigorous attention to the orthographic and grammatical quality of biblical Latin. Copies of the Bible were always corrected in the workshop or scriptorium as soon as they were finished and, in addition, were never presented as naked text, lacking explicatory apparatus. Those responsible for copying the Bible, since Antiquity and during the whole Middle Ages, attached to each book a preface and summaries (*argumenta*) aimed at guiding the reader.[20] All of them knew that the text of the Bible circulated in different versions. That now designated the Vulgate dominated, but the scribes had to accommodate Old Latin versions, too, and

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19 The text is Pseudo-Clement, 'Epistle to James' (Homily II, 18, ed. Migne, *PG* 2, col. 54B); see Fulbert de Chartres, Letter 114, in *Œuvres. Correspondance, controverse, poésie* (Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 2006), p. 333.
20 See Bogaert in this volume, pp. 91–2.

the mixing of versions remained a fact of life. Usually a text in local usage was reproduced, validated and in effect canonised by the presence there of an old manuscript. The Franks cited the Gallican psalter based on the Septuagint, but Rome persisted with its own version of Psalms.[21] Behind the façade of a unity which privileged Latin, westerners from the ninth century set under way various paraphrases in Old High German and Old English, but all were based on locally used Bible versions and were not connected to any common exemplar.

What literary status, then, could the masters allow to a Bible that circulated in such a disordered state? They recalled the debates from Christian antiquity on the quality of the sacred text and they preferred to instruct their pupils in the formalities of classical Latin. They did occasionally, however, highlight the anomalies of the biblical text in their treatises. Thus Abbo of Fleury resolved a matter disputed by his contemporaries concerning a construction found in the book of Maccabees: what appeared to be a grammatical solecism should in fact (according to Abbo) be recognised as the stylistic device known as the zeugma.[22] The biblical text remained to be 'domesticated'. But how was that to be done? How, to begin with, should the Bible be cited? How could the finding of quotations in a Bible of considerable length be facilitated for the reader? Before the tools of the universities of the thirteenth century were created, scholars had sought no others beyond summaries and lists of chapters (*capitula*), along with the marking of chapters in margins for cross-referencing between texts and moving around easily within the Bible. They knew that there were many variations in systems of chapter division; when they needed to cite a biblical text, they limited themselves to indicating the name of the book.

The liberal arts

The approach to every written text and the interpretation which followed demanded a mastery of the liberal arts, and especially those which tradition designated the *trivium*, that is, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. The liberal arts

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21 One example among thousands is the citation of Ps. 36: 35–6 in Gerbert, Letter 139 (988): *Correspondance*, ed. Riché and Callu, vol. II, p. 344. See also Gross-Diaz in this volume, pp. 431–3.

22 *Abbon de Fleury. Questiones grammaticales*, ed. and trans. A. Guerreau-Jalabert (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1982), ch. 40, p. 258. The zeugma is a construction in which a word modifies or governs two or more words or phrases, usually in such a way that it applies to each in a different sense. In the Maccabees passage, Abbo asserted that a phrase given in the genitive case, where the accusative case appears to be needed, is in grammatical concord with a verb and noun earlier in the sentence.

gave the future master the equipment necessary for understanding a written work, whatever it might be. When Orderic Vital claimed that Normandy was not familiar with the liberal arts before the arrival of Lanfranc in the third quarter of the eleventh century, he disguised the reality.[23] He forgot the strong presence of classical culture at Mont St Michel, just as at Rouen, where a cathedral school was active from before the middle of the eleventh century and was supported by the monastic school of the abbey of St Ouen close by.[24] The *grammaticus* Garnier of Rouen dedicated his *Moriuht*, written probably between 996 and 1026, to Archbishop Robert of Rouen (989–1037); in it he made fun of 'Moriuht', a so-called Irishman or pseudo-'grammaticus, rhetor, geometra, pictor, aliptes' ('teacher, rhetorician, geometer, painter, copyist').[25] Bruno of Rheims, future founder of Chartreuse, was also credited with a wide knowledge of the liberal arts, as much as he was venerated for a commentary on Psalms and the Epistles of Paul.[26] Interest even grew during the eleventh century in classical authors, the *Romani* as Conrad of Hirsau later called them – they were sources for the study of grammar and stylistics. The debates of Antiquity about the literary quality of the Latin Bible were out of season; more than ever the masters seemed to be alert for figures of rhetoric in the scriptures. The new schools of the Capetian kingdom concentrated increasingly on the study of dialectic.[27] Does this mean that the masters neglected *sacra scriptura* for more profane nourishment? To believe that would be to fall for an illusion.

In reality, the time had not yet come for the dividing up of knowledge. Schemes drawn up by various masters remind us of the interconnectedness of different subjects.[28] In Italy, the 'school of Pionta' brought together historians, hagiographers and musicians (Gui of Arezzo) in the service of the Duomo at Arezzo and the neighbouring cathedrals in the first half of the eleventh century.[29] The law itself remained linked to common instruction in the liberal

23 *Orderic Vitalis. Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968–80), vol. ii, p. 250.
24 J.-M. Bouvris, 'L'école capitulaire de Rouen au XIe siècle', *Études Normandes* 3 (1986), 89–103.
25 *Warner of Rouen, Moriuht: A Norman Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, ed. and trans. C. J. McDonough, Studies and Texts 121 (Toronto, PIMS, 1995) [using Paris, BNF, lat. 8121A, fols. 3v–11v], verse 51, p. 74. See also J.-Y. Tilliette, in his review of the edition of the poem 'Jezebel' by J. Ziolkowski, in *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 37 (1994), 173–5.
26 Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. E.-R. Labande (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981), p. 62. We read 'grammaticus, rhetor, dialecticus astrologusque' on his death scroll: *PL* 152, cols. 553–606.
27 On dialectic in the eleventh century, see T. J. Holopainen, *Dialectic and Theology in the Eleventh Century*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 54 (Leiden: Brill, 1996).
28 See those of Gerbert, Letter 92: *Correspondance*, ed. Riché and Callu, vol. i, pp. 218–20; Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, pp. 254–5.
29 P. Licciardello, 'La *Translatio sancti Donati* (*BHL* 2295–2296), agiografia aretina del secolo XI', *Analecta Bollandiana* 126 (2008), 252–76, esp. pp. 260–3.

arts until the middle or even the end of the eleventh century. When the masters of the eleventh century taught law, they in fact combined biblical precepts with the decisions recorded in collections of capitularies.[30] Whether or not he is to be identified as Irnerius, one of the renowned jurists who hid collectively behind the title 'master of Bologna' almost certainly taught the *divina pagina* at the same time as law.[31] This teaching took shape in glosses garnered from the Latin classics, the grammarians and collections of canons, as well as the Bible. The same master passed from the one to the other, glossing or elaborating in a composite commentary.

From reading to commentary

The *auctoritas* of the masters derived from their uncontested position in the hierarchy of the ecclesiastical order, operating within an inadequately administered society. It came to them more particularly from their responsibility for the implementation of the doctrines which they taught in accord with the tradition of the apostles and the fathers of the church. Their task was to consult the supreme *auctoritas* of the Bible and to demonstrate the permanence of the *concordia* of the two Testaments, which had formed the hard kernel of Christianity since Antiquity. The masters had to demonstrate the typological structure of the Old and New Testaments and thus strengthen Christian discourse. The cleric had to support himself with the three pillars of *lectio*, *oratio* and *eruditio*, said Fulbert of Chartres to one among his protégés.[32] It is thus that he could reveal the veiled sense of the text, still masked *sub umbra* (in shadow). This required a mastery of grammar and rhetoric, and a working through some preliminary prerequisites: *materia*, *intentio*, *modus tractandi*, *utilitas* (subject matter, purpose, method of treatment, usefulness). These categories came from Insular exegesis of the eighth century, barely modernised, and were found again even among the jurists of the second half of the twelfth century.[33] They were slowly improved, however, at the end of

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30 Fulbert, *Œuvres*, Letter 108, p. 318, and Letter 134, pp. 389–93.
31 Such was the opinion of E. Spagnesi, 'Irnerio teologo, una riscoperta necessaria', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser. 42 (2001), 325–79; he took from H. U. Kantorowicz and W. W. Buckland, *Studies in the Glossators* of *the Roman Law. Newly Discovered Writings* of *the Twelfth Century* (Aalen: Scientia, 1969), the idea that the *Liber divinarum sententiarum quas Guarnerius iurisperitissimus ex dictis Augustini aliorumque doctorum excerpsit* is a work by Irnerius. See also E. Cortese, 'Théologie, droit canonique et droit romain. Aux origines du droit savant (XIe–XIIe s.)', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes-Rendus des Séances* (2002), no. 1, 57–74.
32 Fulbert of Chartres, *Œuvres*, Letter 89, p. 267.
33 *Die Summa decretorum des Magister Rufinus*, ed. H. Singer (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1892), prologue.

the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries, until Hugh of St Victor gave them canonical definition.[34]

The first manual of interpretation was formulated in what were called the glosses, which allowed the scholar to consult at a glance the text to be commented on, the basic sense of the words and a summary of interpretations borrowed from the fathers. For the master, these glosses were an everyday working tool from the ninth century.[35] The commentary (*expositio*) would complete this first level. It presented itself as a continuous gloss. The biblical text was divided into lemmata, and each lemma immediately prompted an etymological, semantic, grammatical and rhetorical analysis, taking account always of the context. The commentator passed then to the level of interpretation and presented one or several sentences, giving the sense of the passage in question. He then moved on to the following lemma. The commentary (*expositio*, *glossa continua* or *commentarium* were the terms with which the librarians expressed it from the end of the twelfth century) constituted the genre of exegesis *par excellence*. The first task of the commentator was to reveal the hidden sense and the obscurities of the text studied, according to the rules of interpretation established in the fourth and fifth centuries, notably by Tyconius. The most basic of the rules was that of concord between the two Testaments, completed by the typology which pointed out pairings of figures and fulfilments. At the end of this slow work of elucidation, the commentator had still to integrate his commentary into an overall discourse. Thus, without intermediaries, he engaged in the elucidation of the present and in a judgement on topical relevance.

From commentary to liturgy and preaching

We know that the masters glossed hymns in the schools.[36] The reading of homilies or sermons linked the Bible, the commentary and the liturgy. A large part of scholastic teaching passed accordingly from the classroom to the activity of preaching to communities and to new parishes. This vital liturgical

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34 See A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984), pp. 9–39, and G. A. Zinn, Jr., 'Hugh of St. Victor's *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris* as an Accessus Treatise for the Study of the Bible', *Traditio* 52 (1997), 112–34. According to Zinn, Hugh perfected what Minnis called 'form C' (*titulus libri, nomen auctoris, materia libri, modus tractandi, ordo libri, utilitas, cui parti philosophiae supponatur*).
35 See *Glossae biblicae*, ed. P. Vaciago, 2 vols., CCCM 189A–B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), for an edition of eleventh- and twelfth-century biblical glosses. Also G. Lobrichon, 'Une nouveauté. Les gloses de la Bible', in P. Riché et G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible pour Tous les Temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 95–114.
36 S. Boynton, 'Glossed Hymns in Eleventh-Century Hymnaries', unpubl. PhD thesis, Brandeis University (1997).

framework carried the mark of the prestigious Carolingian collections; the homiliaries of the ninth century were copied continuously during the tenth to twelfth centuries.[37] Before the twelfth century, hardly any collections of sermons were compiled. The *Libellus de nativitate sanctae Mariae*, created in the area of Chartres around the year 1000, is witness to the constant exchanges between exegesis, liturgy, sermon, iconography and chant.[38]

The masters in their society

In the first decades after the year 1000, however, rebels against the supposed immobility of the Christian churches appeared, in the name of a claimed fidelity to the teachings of the founder and of the earliest Christian communities. Whatever might be the intellectual level of a group of 'heretics' burned at Orléans in 1022, the majority of them allowed themselves to be carried on the wave of an evangelism bordering on what today we would call fundamentalism, advocating a return to the letter of the commandments of Christ (*mandata, instituta*), evangelical prescriptions (*evangelica decreta*) and the decisions of the apostles (*apostolica sanctiones*).[39] These heretics claimed to follow Christ in every detail, but, with the son of God no longer appearing to be 'imitable', they invoked above all the apostles, not the fathers and the papal successors to the apostles. Their opponents had no worries about this caution in respect of the popes, for they did not consider the latter as agents of any special doctrinal authority. All, on the other hand, perceived the urgent need for adequate responses to the risk of dangerous readings of the Bible. No doubt for that reason, a third category of authority slowly established itself from the eleventh century: the *moderni* ('moderns'), whose reasoning began in the citation of analogous cases.[40] They were masters who were heads of schools (*scholastici*) for the most part, and who expressed themselves in commentaries on the Bible, in biblical glosses, in treatises and in letters. And they were being watched. Peter Damian (cardinal since 1058) took risky doctrinal

37 H. Barré, *Les Homéliaires carolingiens de l'École d'Auxerre. Authenticité-inventaire-tableaux comparatifs-Initia* (Vatican City: BAV, 1962).
38 M. Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres and the Stirps Jesse. Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and its Afterlife', *Speculum* 75 (2000), 389–434.
39 *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, PL 142, cols. 1271C–1272A, and passim. See R. I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London: Arnold, 1975), pp. 15–19; G. Lobrichon, 'Arras, 1025, ou le vrai procès d'une fausse accusation', in M. Zerner (ed.), *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition* (Nice: Centre d'Études Médiévales, 1998), pp. 67–85.
40 Fulbert, *Œuvres*, Letter 118, p. 345.

positions in a sermon given for Lent in 1065.[41] Questioned by three Italian dignitaries, archpriests, he was commanded to explain himself, which he did in his Letter 121, with a response to his critics.

To what extent did the schools participate in the public debates of the ruling powers? *Consultatio*, normally of political origin and intended to resolve a legal, moral or doctrinal problem, was in favour in Jewish circles (*responsa*); it had enjoyed its hour of glory under Charlemagne and continued in royal circles, where one could not conceive of silence from the Bible about the problems of this world. Collective consultation gave rise to the meeting of the Council of Frankfurt in 794; the Frankish king asked his clerics to give a definitive verdict on the veneration of images. When Charles, having become emperor, wanted to accelerate the process of Christianisation, he consulted his counsellors about baptism. Other consultations followed under Louis the Pious. The most famous was the one launched in the kingdom of west Francia by Charles the Bald, in the hope of bringing about a consensus among scholars on the doctrine of predestination. In 1027, King Robert the Pious and Duke William of Aquitaine launched another consultation, relating to a shower of blood that had fallen on the duchy.[42] Ecclesiastics, bishops and abbots instigated other consultations, most of which concerned either doctrinal questions or liturgical rites.[43] One of the latter probably emanated from the abbot of St Germain at Auxerre, somewhere around the year 1000. It raised the problem of multiple dedications over the years. Did the restoration of a church, or its reconciliation after it had been profaned, necessitate a new dedication, or should it be accepted that a place that had been sanctified remained so for ever?[44] Another consultation was transmitted under the name of Remigius of Auxerre and was addressed to a certain Father Gundoinus, probably a bishop of west Francia (or perhaps an abbot). For what reason were churches not dedicated to persons from the Old Testament?[45] In every case, the response

41 Sermon 37, 'In festivitate sancti Stephani papae', in *Sancti Petri Damiani sermones*, ed. G. Lucchesi (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983), pp. 224–31; *PL* 144, cols. 699–705.
42 Fulbert, *Œuvres*, Letters 128–30, pp. 367–77. See the brief analysis of this in K. F. Werner, 'L'historia et les rois', in D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (eds.), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil. Royaume capétien et Lotharingie* (Paris: Picard, 1990), pp. 135–43, at p. 139.
43 On doctrine, see Peter Damian, Letter 126 to Abbot Albéric of Mont-Cassin (shortly after Easter, 1063), on questions of biblical exegesis; and *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. K. Reindel 4 vols., MGH Epp. 2 (Munich: MGH, 1983–93), vol. III, pp. 424–8; *PL* 145, cols. 630–4.
44 G. Lobrichon, 'Un traité anonyme sur la dédicace de l'église abbatiale de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre au début du XIe siècle', in C. Sapin (ed.), *Archéologie et architecture d'un site monastique. 10 ans de recherche à l'abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre* (Paris: CTHS / Auxerre: Centre d'Études Médiévales, 2000), pp. 19–23.
45 Remigius Autissiodorensis [?], *Epistula* 2, in *Serta mediaevalia. Textus varii saeculorum X–XIII. Tractatus et epistolae*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 171 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 44.

of the master came at the conclusion of an exegetical and historical line of argument. By virtue of an early Christian principle postulating the *concordia* between, on the one hand, the two Testaments and, on the other hand, the past and the present, biblical principles served as premises for Christian history.

Another practice was that of the *disputatio*. The most famous were the *socraticae disputationes* organised by Otto II and Otto III at Ravenna, especially the one which pitted Gerbert and Otric against each other in January 981, even though its subject was not the Bible.[46] As for the *quaestio*, it generally took up a question debated publicly (the formula was, *quaeri solet*, 'it is the custom to ask'). Common practice in the schools and in the commentators on the Bible since the ninth century (contrary to what has for too long been believed), it was expressed in short treatises, letters or collections of sentences such as the *Liber quare* ('book of "why?"') from the second half of the eleventh century, often in glosses, sometimes even in historians such as Raoul Glaber.[47] The master set out the problem, and formulated an immediate response, founded on and argued from the *auctoritates*, always considered as decisive, and on *ratio*, which was supplementary.[48] And when authorities were lacking, a Heriger of Lobbes could complete his diatribe against the scourges of the reality of the Eucharist by composing a 'strong syllogism'.[49]

Reform

All reform in a Christian milieu implied a return to the early writings of the church, but no one was allowed to make use of the Bible without guidance and preparation. That applied particularly to the Old Testament of the Jews, but it was the same also for the New Testament: Christian chroniclers and exegetes proclaimed its triumph, but at the same time stressed the problems, of both the chronological distance which separated it from the present day and the misunderstandings from which it had too often suffered. Thus controls over the legitimacy of the word and the validation of exegesis needed to be stronger

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46 Gerbert, Letter 34: *Correspondance*, ed. Riché and Callu, vol. 1, p. 84.
47 *Historiae*, V, 1, 10, in Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. J. France, N. Bulst and P. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 228, and *Liber quare*, ed. G. P. Götz, CCCM 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983)
48 In the debate at Rome between Bérenger of Tours and Lanfranc, the latter is summoned by the pope to explain his faith and demonstrate it 'by the holy authorities rather than by the arguments [of reason]' ('ut . . . expositam plus sacris auctoritatibus quam argumentis probarem'); Lanfranc, *De corpore et sanguine Domini aduersus Berengarium Turonensem (excerpta)*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 171 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 245.
49 Herigerus Lobiensis, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, PL 139, col. 188.

in the time of reform. However, churches were not equipped with any system of oversight, and the task fell on the bishops, the 'supervisors' of their people. In tranquil times, no one contested this role, but the structures of the western church suffered huge upheavals in the course of the eleventh century. The reform movements at the end of the tenth century and in the second half of the eleventh shook up the ecclesiastical authorities, in respect not only of personnel but also of traditions, including educational ones. The first blow was brought by the resurgence in an intensified form of a rebellion that had been repressed or silent since the sixth century. The case of the 'heretics' of Arras raised the inevitable question of evangelism, that is, the primacy of the Gospels over the Law. This group of lay people claimed to practise a moral life in accord with their own interpretation of scripture but were accused in 1025 of rejecting fundamental aspects of the sacramental system of the church, especially relating to marriage and baptism. In a hearing before Gerard I, bishop of Cambrai and Arras, they agreed easily with their judges on the authority of the evangelical and apostolic texts, and they signed declarations of orthodoxy. Subsequent events showed that the clerics triumphed too quickly, however, and overlooked the underlying implications of their own authority. Very quickly they discovered that the world of certainties was collapsing in front of their eyes. The reformers outstripped them, applying themselves to restoring the Bible to its true colours.

The proliferation of giant Bibles in the years 1050–80 in Rome, in an Italy dominated by papal power, was the first concrete sign of the desire to make the Bible into a symbol of the Roman reform. Their creators placed them clearly in the tradition of the great Bibles copied in the time of Constantine and Louis the Pious. They obviously attempted a revision of the biblical text, but the process met with too much resistance for their plan to be fulfilled.[50] The Gregorian reformers did, however, manage to confirm the Bible as the

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50 M. Maniaci and G. Orofino (eds.), *Le Bibbie atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione* (Rome: Centro Tibaldi, 2000); E. Codello, 'La Bibbia al tempo della Riforma gregoriana: le Bibbie atlantiche', in P. Cherubini (ed.), *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, Littera Antiqua 13 (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2005), pp. 348–72; G. Lobrichon, 'La Bible de la Réforme ecclésiastique. Aspects textuels', in G. Lobrichon (ed.), *La Bible au moyen âge* (Paris: Picard, 2003), pp. 94–108; G. Lobrichon, 'Les Bibles "atlantiques". Triomphes et résistances dans l'Ouest européen, XIe–XIIe siècles', forthcoming in the proceedings of the colloquium 'Les Bibles atlantiques. Le manuscrit biblique à l'époque de la réforme ecclésiastique du XIe siècle' (University of Geneva). On the imperial context, see also M. Maillard-Luypaert and J.-M. Cauchies (eds.), *Autour de la Bible de Lobbes (1084). Les institutions. Les hommes. Les productions*, Centre de Recherches en Histoire du Droit et des Institutions. Cahiers 28 (Brussels: Facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis, 2007).

source of the law; they slipped a thunderous citation from it into the prologue of one of the most influential canonical collections, an event extremely rare before.[51] More than ever they measured the Bible against the classics. They no longer hesitated to challenge tradition, often thereby consolidating it – this was the case of Peter Damian in his letters and sermons from the 1060s.[52] No longer did they limit themselves to defending the submission of principle to political power. The masters of the cathedral schools seemed to give up finding echoes of ideological legitimacy in the sacred texts. Those who took the Gregorian side, as at Konstanz, overtly contradicted the exegesis of their imperial adversaries.[53] Gozzechin of Liège complained about the new exegesis, which disturbed the senses.[54] Another contemporary, Williram of Ebersberg, composed between 1059 and 1065 a commentary on Song of Songs in Latin and Old High German. In his preface, he bemoaned the disaffection with scripture shown by the young, who believed that grammar and dialectics were sufficient to guarantee them a brilliant future. Happily, he discovered a true commentator in Francia, 'Lanfranc, who previously established himself as a dialectician but has diverted his attention to ecclesiastical studies and now practises his subtlety on the Epistles of St Paul and the psalter'.[55] We now know, however, that the key manuscripts in which it was believed we could read Lanfranc's glosses pre-date him by a good century and thus can have no connection with him whatever.[56]

51 Thus, at the start of the 'Collection with 74 headings', in ch. 1, dealing with 'the primacy of the Church of Rome', the author cited Deut. 17:8–13; *Diversorum patrum sententie siue Collectio in LXXIV titulos digesta*, ed. J. Gilchrist, Monumenta Iuris Canonici. Ser. B: Corpus Collectionum 1 (Vatican City: BAV, 1973), p. 19.
52 As in Letter 119 to Pope Alexander II (beginning of 1065) on the limits of divine omnipotence, which Peter said did not prevail over the nature which it created: it did not, for example, let itself restore to a woman her lost virginity; *Briefe*, ed. Reindel, vol. III, pp. 341–84; *PL* 145, cols. 595–622.
53 *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz, 1054–1100*, ed. I. S. Robinson, MGH SS rer. Ger., ns 14 (Hanover: Hahn, 2003), pp. 1–14. The 'Libelli de Lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculi XI et XII conscripti' – for example, *Manegoldi ad Gebehardum liber*, ed. K. Francke, MGH SS rer. Ger., Libelli de lite 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1891), pp. 300–430 – show the extent of the debates based on the scriptures.
54 Gozzechin of Liège, *Epistula ad Walcherum* (before 1075), ed. Huygens, pp. 11–43, esp. lines 624–707.
55 Williram von Ebersberg, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum und das 'Commentarium in Cantica Canticorum' Haimos von Auxerre*, ed. H. Lähnemann and M. Rupp (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), *praefatio*, p. 4.
56 H. Hoffmann, *Die Würburger Paulinenkommentare der Ottonenzeit* (Hanover: Hahn, 2009). After examining Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1650, which is in the form of a 'glossed Bible', I agree with Hoffmann in concluding that the copyist worked in the second half of the tenth century. The work of A. Collins, *Teacher in Faith and Virtue. Lanfranc of Bec's Commentary on St Paul* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), must be reconsidered in this light.

Nova et vetera: the major questions

The questions of the time could be resolved, thanks to interrogation and interpretation of the Bible, and the new exegetes thus contributed to the formation of a theology, before Peter Abelard attempted to make it into a system.[57] The decades of argument between the pope and the emperor and the schism between concurrent popes fostered perplexity and raised questions about the terms under which divine omnipotence operated and about the balance of power, given that the apostle Paul reminded us that 'omnis potestas a Deo' ('all power is from God'; Rom. 13:1). Holy scripture had no answer to such problems and the patristic tradition was not sufficient to resolve them. Thus it was necessary to return to the sacred texts and reinterpret them. The method which offered a way forward was one of the most traditional: the *interpretatio Christiana* was founded on an essential link between a figure and its fulfilment, which comes back to identifying universal history with the economy of salvation. In the relationship between the former era of the Law and the new era of Grace there was a reciprocal illumination which gave authority to doctrinal solutions that were grounded in the experience of the church both before and after the incarnation. Taking up the method of the Venerable Bede, the Carolingian masters put their confidence in the Frankish empire. In the second half of the eleventh century the same method led mechanically to the resolution of anxieties about the new era. Why were there fewer visions today, in the era of Grace, than in the era of the Law? Because the church, from now on guided by its hierarchy, visible and Roman, no longer advanced in the obscurity of ancient times but in revealed truth. This principle of intelligibility allowed the immediate updating of the reading process. The reader and listener were engaged in deciphering the text, not only by the natural route of allegory, but by that of the letter, conceived as *historia*, the narrative of a happy world advancing towards perfection; not easily, because the Antichrists are at work, but in the certainty of the approaching triumph of the church, freed from its traditional restrictions.

This is the best way to explain the interest shown by the western masters in the second half of the eleventh century in the Song of Songs, Pauline Epistles and Apocalypse. The extravagant promotion of the feminine image of the bride was shared equally among the reformers and their imperial adversaries.[58]

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57 See G. Macy, 'Some Examples of the Influence of Exegesis on the Theology of Eucharist in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Revue de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 52 (1985), 64–77.
58 M. McLaughlin, *Sex, Gender, and Episcopal Authority in an Age of Reform, 1000–1122* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). See also D. J. Reilly, 'Picturing the Monastic Drama: Romanesque Bible

Reinforced by the eulogising of the Bible's strong women – Judith, Esther, the *Sedes sapientiae* ('the seat of wisdom', i.e., the Virgin Mary), Mary Magdalene, the woman crowned with stars in the Apocalypse – she contributed forcefully to the demonstration of a church that was both militant and triumphant, under construction as in the days of St Paul, and victorious in accordance with the promises of Christ. The habit of the commentators led them to set out the traditional theory of the senses of scripture, from the literal sense to the spiritual sense, as slowly became clear. The change did not depend so much on the reappearance of the four senses (literal, moral, allegorical, anagogical), but took shape more clearly in the development of the literal sense, which rounded off the lexicographical, grammatical and rhetorical inventory with a reflection on the historical context of the text and its universal signification. In the 1130s, Thierry of Chartres announced his project to deal with the opening chapters of Genesis 'according to the physical appearance and letter of the text'; thus he gave a new boost to the *littera*, which became the tool for a new sort of access to nature.[59]

Throughout the eleventh century, Bible commentators and glossators focused the attention of their readers on five major themes. The first was that of the integration of new peoples into a *christianitas* identified more and more with the area of Roman and Latin persuasion. The Pauline Epistles dealt concretely with the education of newcomers to the Christian faith, but they spoke of adults, and an unexpected problem arose in respect of the newly born. Since the late tenth century, the church had deployed the weapon of the collective interdict, first against unruly lords, then whole kingdoms; its terrifying effect was to deprive every inhabitant of all the sacraments, including baptism, and thus any hope of salvation. The newly born were the first victims of this. The solution of the rebels at Arras and Orléans was to declare the baptismal rite to be useless. The alternative proposed by the masters was found in the combination of the Epistles of Paul, Apocalypse (the souls under the altar, 6:9) and the Gospel of John (the meeting between Jesus and Nicodemus, ch. 3).[60] Of a very different magnitude was the second theme, the question of the visibility of the church, whether it was a matter of the material building,

Illustrations of the Song of Songs', *Word and Image* 17 (2001), 389–400; G. Lobrichon, 'Un nouveau genre pour un public novice. La paraphrase biblique dans l'espace roman du XIIe siècle', in D. Kullmann (ed.), *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France*, Toronto Studies in Romance Philology 1 (Toronto, PIMS, 2009), pp. 87–108, esp. pp. 102–3.

59 Thierry of Chartres, *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus*, 1, in *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, ed. N. M. Häring (Toronto: PIMS, 1971), p. 555.

60 The question was asked by Gerbert, in Letters 164 and 203: *Correspondance*, ed. Riché and Callu, vol. II, pp. 410 and 540.

the community that it sheltered, or the sacrament (*sacramentum*) that the rites of Christianity conferred. The heretics of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were opposed to this materialism of the sign; for the great majority of the masters, they distorted the mechanism of the figure and its fulfilment, the historicity of the church and, worst of all, the truth of the historical body of Christ. The visibility of the church, or the denial of it, affected equally the problem of justification (*iustitia*) dispensed by the sacramental gestures of a holy office-holder, a priest whose moral qualities could be irrelevant if it were true that God alone judged hearts and minds. The visibility of the church involved also the placing of the 'faithful' in a statutory, hierarchical or social class; none of the exegetes writing between about 1000 and 1100 could thus avoid the question of the orders (*ordines*) of society (Apoc. 5:9 is one of the main references for this).

The third great theme derived from this visibility: the 'apostolic life' (*vita apostolica*), in the manner of the first community in Jerusalem (Acts 4), constituted a moral imperative for Latin Christendom. It answered the needs of the rampant Christianisation of central Europe and the margins of the Latin world, including the lands north of the Baltic and Iceland, and it constituted an effective response to the expectations of the rebel evangelists. In addition, the fate of souls after death was debated: this was the fourth theme, a burning one, not only because it evoked the fires of purgatory but above all because it reopened, even among the chroniclers, the intractable debates about universal salvation with which Christian literature was filled since Antiquity. The biblical sources most often invoked on this point were the books of Maccabees and Apocalypse, but scriptural documents on penitence were very pertinent to it also.[61] From this flowed the fifth theme, a constant one in the biblical exegesis of the time: eschatology, which was less about a constantly challenged millenarianism than about the objective of perfection in the earthly church. A gentle sort of eschatology was expressed in polemics: the adversary was described at best as a multiple Antichrist, at worst the Antichrist whose defeat will be a prelude (but when?) to the triumph of the restored church.[62] This benign approach encouraged pilgrimage or monastic conversion. Opposing it, there was a kind of consequential eschatology that urged immediate choices – those of reform, or even refusal and rebellion. But the latter impulse was not allowed expression in the central Middle Ages; it was denounced as the path of

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61 See Gerbert, Letters 152–3 and 180; *Correspondance*, ed. Riché and Callu, vol II, pp. 372–9 and 452–5; Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiae*, V, 1, 1, in *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. France, Bulst and Reynolds, p. 216; Quaestio 17, in *Liber quare*, ed. Götz, p. 9.
62 Gerbert, letter 155; *Correspondance*, ed. Riché and Callu, vol. II, p. 384.

error and because of this all heretics were suspected of being engaged in it. Its soil did not in fact yield fruits until the thirteenth century, with the followers of Joachim of Fiore.

Conclusion

The new schools of the late tenth and the eleventh centuries slowly broke their ties of dependence on the exegesis of the ninth century. This had striven to spread a peaceful vision, easygoing and rooted in the dream of the *renovatio imperii* – against all the evidence, since the ferment of disintegration had been at work from the time of Louis the Pious, a period which also saw the finest flowering of western exegesis since Gregory the Great. The schools of the kingdoms around the year 1000 had to face new challenges. They moved steadily towards a fundamental renewal of the techniques of interpretation. During the second half of the eleventh century, they effectively redefined the literal sense of the sacred text. The masters did not, as has been asserted too often, reduce this primary sense to an explanation in terms of etymology, grammar and rhetoric; they gave it consistency by demonstrating the motivating capabilities of the historical sense. It was by combining the potential of history with the practice of the liturgy that the biblical exegesis of reformed Christendom found its way. The masters of the *sacra pagina* believed that they could give a universal meaning to the experiences of the leading kingdoms – from the pilgrimage which took men to Jerusalem under the name (acquired later) of crusade, to displays of Roman art and its Gothic posterity. They were thus laying the foundations of a western domination that was immediately put into effect by the administrators whom they had educated in their schools.

The Bible in medieval universities

WILLIAM J. COURTENAY

The emergence of universities in the thirteenth century had a significant impact on the study of the Bible. Preparatory changes had already taken place in the twelfth century at cathedral schools, such as Laon, Chartres and Paris, and at houses of newly founded canonical orders, such as St Victor in Paris. Yet the principal setting for biblical study in the early Middle Ages, namely monasteries, remained an important context, particularly those of the Cistercian order. What was new in the thirteenth century was the emergence of a different institutional setting, universities, some of which possessed a faculty of theology with a corporation of masters responsible for teaching that included biblical instruction. The university structure brought together independent secular clerics who were teaching theology, such as Peter the Cantor, Peter of Poitiers, Simon of Tournai and Stephen Langton, into one corporate body, soon to be joined by members of a new type of religious order, the mendicant friars. These new orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, and later the Augustinian Hermits and Carmelites, ostensibly supported their mission of preaching and care of souls through begging (thus the term mendicant); they saw universities, particularly Paris, as an ideal location for training their most talented members in theology and biblical studies. For the first time the study of the Bible no longer simply served the liturgical, homiletical and spiritual needs of individuals and communities; it became an academic discipline.

Throughout the thirteenth century faculties of theology were limited to certain universities, principally Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, with Paris the most important of that group. Eventually degree-granting theological faculties were created at Toulouse, Bologna, Prague, Vienna, Cologne, Louvain and elsewhere, but the faculty of theology at Paris continued to dominate throughout the late Middle Ages. Equally important, however, were the schools (*studia*) of the mendicant orders, which paralleled university programmes and were partially integrated with them. Secular clerics and mendicant friars shared a

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common goal for biblical study: preparation for preaching, even as the content of the Bible provided material for the study of doctrine, speculative theology and ethical teaching. And the speculative aspect of theological study, in turn, had a shaping effect on the study of the Bible.

There is not room here for a full survey of biblical study at universities from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, such as at Florence, Erfurt, Krakow and Tübingen, nor for the vast number of mendicant *studia* and the persons and commentaries associated with them. The following overview will be limited to the earliest universities that had faculties of theology – Paris, Oxford and Cambridge. Previous accounts have focused on the contribution of the mendicant friars, which is the most significant part of the story, but their contribution has to be seen alongside that of the secular clerics who created the university programme of theological study, including biblical study. And although the curriculum of the mendicant schools was developed to dovetail with that of the University of Paris, the mendicant orders developed their own educational system that must be understood apart from universities.

Masters of the sacred page

Doctors of theology at the University of Paris in the early thirteenth century, well before the advent of the mendicant friars, were known as masters of the sacred page (*magistri sacrae paginae*).[1] The phrase denoted their role as interpreters of scripture, which formed their primary teaching responsibility as masters, and reflected the fact that many of them were also noted preachers of the word. One of the main purposes of instruction in the Bible was to prepare clerics and friars for preaching, just as sermons were to some extent a form of scriptural exegesis.[2] Other texts were introduced into the theological curriculum by the middle of the thirteenth century, most notably the *Sentences* (*Libri quattuor sententiarum*) of Peter Lombard, but the Bible remained the principal text for magisterial teaching at Paris and, from the thirteenth to the

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1 For studies of the Bible in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries relevant to universities see C. Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge* (Paris: Vrin, 1944); H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959–64); G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible. The Road to Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 1985); M. Gibson, *Artes and the Bible in the Medieval West* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1993); G. Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en occident médiéval, XIIe–XIVe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1999); L. Smith, *Masters of the Sacred Page. Manuscripts of Theology in the Latin West to 1274* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); C. Ocker, *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 2002). The principal research tool for biblical commentaries remains Stegmüller, *Repertorium*.
2 See the chapter in this volume on the Bible in preaching by Siegfried Wenzel, pp. 680–92.

sixteenth century, at every other university that had a recognised faculty of theology.

This close association of theology and the study of the Bible had a long history reaching back to the patristic period and was reinforced in the schools of northern France in the twelfth century. The 'professionalisation' of theology in the late twelfth century simply institutionalised the Bible as the foundational text of theological instruction. That transition at Paris from independent teachers of theology, albeit individually authorised or licensed by the chancellor of Notre Dame or the abbot of the monastery of Ste Geneviève, into a corporation of masters of theology occurred in the last two decades of the twelfth century.

In 1207, Innocent III, probably responding to a petition from one or more masters teaching theology at the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, limited the number of authorised masters of theology at Paris to eight.[3] The connection of theology and scripture was clear for Innocent. The pope referred to theology as the discipline of the sacred page (*sacrae paginae disciplina*) and described those teaching it as nourishing the hungry with the food of the word of God (*qui parvulis petentibus panem frangant et esurientes animas reficiant pabulo verbi Dei*).

Thus while theology and scripture were taught in convents and cathedral schools across Europe, Paris was the only university with a faculty of theology until the emergence of Oxford, Cambridge, Naples and Toulouse. The theological curriculum at Paris evolved in the opening years of the thirteenth century under the supervision of masters, all of whom were secular clerics. It is difficult to know precisely what that curriculum entailed beyond a general outline, since the statutes of 1215 address abuses more than they describe a programme. And while specific books to be read in the arts faculty are mentioned, no such information is provided for the faculty of theology. Rather than specifying the length of each stage of study, a minimum age at which one could become a master of theology was specified (35), just as a minimum age was specified for becoming a master of arts (21). For the degree in theology one was to have studied at Paris for at least eight years, five of those years in theology. But no specific mention of where or how the Bible fitted into that curriculum is indicated in the statutes of 1215, although the assumption has been that the Bible remained the principal textbook, accompanied by glosses and by works such as Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. Peter

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3 *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and É. Châtelain, vol. 1 (Paris: Delalain, 1989), no. 5, p. 65.

Lombard's *Sentences* had yet to make its appearance within the required curriculum, although it was already being glossed or commented on. Until the second quarter of the thirteenth century the content of university theological training was scriptural and its purpose was preparation for preaching.

Much has been made of a declining interest in the Bible among secular masters, beginning as early as 1210 and complete by 1240. Beryl Smalley attributed this development to the growing interest in speculative theological questions that grew out of disputations and commentaries on Lombard's *Sentences*, leaving the more mundane, propaedeutic biblical instruction to masters in the religious orders, particularly mendicant theologians, on the basis of the long association of the cloister with *lectio divina*.[4] Peter of Poitiers and Stephen Langton were the last productive masters at Paris to produce significant writings in the area of biblical study. The output of scriptural commentaries from Prepositinus of Cremona, Robert Courçon, Thomas de Chobham, Peter of Capua and even such major figures as William of Auxerre and William of Auvergne was, by comparison, extremely modest to negligible. Smalley cautioned, however, not to over-read the evidence. The lack of surviving commentaries is a result of a failure to publish, not necessarily a failure to lecture on the Bible. The fact that among the complaints against secular masters of theology one does not find any mention of a failure to meet their duties to lecture on scripture, suggests that they taught; they just did not publish. But that in itself, according to Smalley, betrays a sharp drop in interest in the Bible.

While continuing a tradition of strong preaching (which admittedly can be viewed as a form of scriptural commentary) and writing on the sacraments, penance and moral theology, masters in theology became more interested in speculative theology. From the standpoint of curriculum within the theological faculty at Paris, the focus increasingly shifted to doctrine and theological questions associated with the articles of faith and natural theology. The content of *summae*, which in the late twelfth century were usually devoted to vices and virtues, or to the sacraments, became concerned with questions on the existence and nature of God, the divine attributes, the Trinity, creation, angels, human nature and the soul, the incarnation, sacraments and final things. Some of these topics, such as creation or christology, had a biblical foundation, but the approach taken in the *Summa de quaestionibus theologicis* of Prepositinus, the

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4 B. Smalley, 'The Bible in the Medieval Schools', in *CHB II*, p. 200; B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 281–7; B. Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools, c.1100–c.1280* (London: Hambledon, 1985).

Quaestiones theologicae of Stephen Langton, or the *Summa aurea* of William of Auxerre, was more speculative than exegetical. Commentaries on Lombard's *Sentences*, a work systematically arranged around theological subjects but deeply biblical and patristic in its content, gradually shifted from glosses on the text to questions based on its content. The direction of theological writings was toward commentaries on the *Sentences* composed of questions, a trend reflected in the growth of disputed and quodlibetal questions alongside comprehensive, speculative *summae*.

These changes, however, were common to secular as well as mendicant theologians. And while mendicant theologians usually pursued speculative theology alongside biblical studies, the productivity of secular masters in the faculty of theology at Paris waned in both areas between 1240 and 1280. When secular theologians again began to produce significant writings beyond disputed and quodlibetal questions, as happened in the late thirteenth century with Henry of Ghent, Godfrey of Fontaines and others, it was in the area of scholastic theology, not biblical commentaries. Yet, as Jacques Verger noted, even the biblical commentaries of such major mendicant theologians as Albert the Great, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas circulated in far fewer copies than did their principal contributions to scholastic theology.[5]

The threefold division between initial studies in which one attended lectures, a subsequent period of apprentice-teaching that became known as the baccalaureate, and the events of licensing and inception into the guild of masters of theology probably goes back at least to the early thirteenth century, but it became more formalised as the century progressed. The most important period in theological studies came during the apprenticeship, in which by 1240 one lectured on the *Sentences* of Lombard for a period of two years or longer. Lombard's text is a work of systematic theology that moves from the nature of God and the Trinity in Book I to the sacraments and final things in Book IV, drawing upon quotations from the Bible and the fathers. Even though the content of the *Sentences* was systematically arranged, like Hugh of St Victor's *De sacramentis*, it was biblical in foundation, only one or two stages removed from the text of the Bible itself.

The numerous sermons by secular masters of theology at Paris throughout the thirteenth century, and the deep biblical content of those sermons, prove that they did not abandon the study of the Bible nor its

5 J. Verger, 'L'exégèse de l'université', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de Tous le Temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 199–232, at p. 220.

dissemination.[6] Those sermons were not only to clerical audiences within the university and the wider educated community but were often sermons to the laity in the vernacular, given in parish churches throughout the city. No attempt was made to withhold the content and message of the Bible from the laity; quite the contrary. From the late eleventh century on there had been a concerted effort to preach the word, particularly to the simple faithful. Where control was exercised, it was on the interpretation of the Bible, not its content.

To aid preaching, secular masters created collections of 'moralities' (*moralitates*), drawn from their commentaries, whether published or from unpublished lectures. These collections were moralised *exempla*, stories or 'pictures', that would explain the vices and virtues in ways that would bring home the moral lesson to be taught and would remain in the minds of hearers.[7] Stephen Langton's moralities is one of the best-known examples, and his approximate contemporary John of Abbéville composed moralities on the psalter, as did Philip the Chancellor a few years later. The moralising of scripture by extracting its moral message was a feature of biblical study that would be especially pursued in the thirteenth and fourteenth century by mendicant exegetes and preachers.

It must be remembered, however, that even if secular masters did not publish the results of their biblical lectures, they did continue to lecture on the Bible, and it remained a major part of the training of theological students in the thirteenth century. It was a required part of the programme in theology before one advanced through the final stages of the baccalaureate and became a doctor of theology. Even the tasks of lecturing on the Bible and the *Sentences* began with a homily, or *collatio*, in praise of scripture, and a similar sermon was given as part of the ceremonies surrounding the inception of a master.

The mendicant contribution

Before looking at the contributions of mendicant scholars to the study of the Bible, one first has to understand the educational framework in which the mendicant convents at Paris functioned. Those convents were not part of the university, nor were the friars who lived there university students in

6 N. Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole. La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998); see also D. L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford University Press, 1985).
7 Beryl Smalley, who developed this notion of 'pictures' in the scriptural commentaries of mendicant preachers in fourteenth-century England, took it from their texts, which speak in terms of 'depingere'; Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), pp. 141–8, 165–83.

the strict sense. Each mendicant order maintained schools for the instruction of their young members, arranged hierarchically from convents, up through provincial schools, to several superior schools (*studia generalia*) of which Paris was the centrepiece. The majority of students at the Paris convents were sent there from the provinces of each order, according to a quota system, for a three- to four-year programme of study to prepare them to be lectors at a convent or *studium* of their order, usually in the province from which they had come. This lectorate program was internal to the orders, and although students at Paris might attend lectures and disputations within the wider academic community, they had no direct or official connection with the university faculty of theology. In almost all cases these students returned to their provinces where they fulfilled teaching and administrative responsibilities. Only a select few were later chosen by the general of the order or its general chapter to be sent back to Paris for the baccalaureate and doctorate in theology.

Thus the sequence described in university statutes and modern textbooks of a period of six to seven years of initial study, followed (at least in the fourteenth century) by two or three years as a biblical bachelor, before lecturing on the *Sentences*, spending additional years disputing as formed bachelors, and finally incepting as a master of theology, did not apply to students in the mendicant orders. A certain number of years of Parisian residence and five or more years studying theology were required for the Parisian degree in theology, but for the small group of mendicant students promoted for the doctorate, their years in the lectorate programme of their order at Paris and their years lecturing on the Bible and *Sentences* either at Paris or in the schools of their order fulfilled those requirements. The only point where the mendicant programmes of study interfaced with those of the faculty of theology was during the baccalaureate, and within that period as well as their earlier years of preparation, the study of the Bible played a critical and lengthy part in their educational formation.

Much has been written about the role of biblical study for the Dominicans and Franciscans, and inasmuch as the other major mendicant orders, the Augustinian Hermits and the Carmelites, structured their educational programme according to those older models, the latter followed essentially the same pattern with regard to the Bible. For the mendicants, the primary purpose of biblical and theological training was the preparation for preaching and, later, preparation as confessors. In fact, their commitment to biblical study lay behind their creation of research and retrieval tools that greatly improved that task. At the same time it must be acknowledged that many of

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these developments grew out of what Richard and Mary Rouse described as the 'need to find' in the twelfth-century schools.[8]

One of these innovations or developments, which preceded the appearance of the mendicant orders and which was an achievement of the twelfth-century schools, was the division of each book of the Bible into numbered chapters using arabic numerals to facilitate finding and as a basis for common reference. Chapter divisions appeared at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and by the second quarter of that century were widely disseminated by the Dominicans, who made those divisions the basis for other 'finding' tools, such as concordances and indices. The same method was applied to the four books of Lombard's *Sentences*, which were divided into units called 'distinctions' by the Parisian master Alexander of Hales in the 1220s, before he became a Franciscan. Standardising and numbering units of text was gradually applied in the thirteenth century to patristic works, such as Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* or the most frequently consulted works of Augustine. Later in the thirteenth century chapters were divided into lettered sections (A to G), and in the fourteenth century the sub-units of longer chapters or questions might employ most of the alphabet, one or two letters per column of text. The advantage of this system was that a citation keyed to a chapter number and lettered section allowed one to find the correct place in any copy of a work, regardless of the foliation or pagination of any individual manuscript.

The second innovation was the creation of a concordance of the Bible, which was arranged in alphabetical order, directing the user to the chapter and section of a chapter of any and all the books of the Bible in which the word appeared. The purpose of the concordance was to provide a research tool for preachers and scholars, enabling them by way of specific words to find the passages they sought or that related to the theme on which they wished to preach or write.[9] The earliest of these was completed by 1239 by Dominicans working under the direction of Hugh of St Cher, and referred to today as Saint Jacques I.[10] This was followed around mid-century by a revised

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8 R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, 'Statim invenire. Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 201–25; repr. in Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses. Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), pp. 191–219.

9 Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, pp. 222–6; R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, 'The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974), 5–30.

10 On Hugh of St Cher and Dominican exegesis in the thirteenth century see A. Ghisalberti, 'L'esegesi della scuola domenicana del secolo XIII', in G. Cremascoli and C. Leonardi (eds.), *La Bibbia nel Medioevo* (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1996), pp. 291–304; R. E. Lerner, 'Poverty, Preaching, and Eschatology in the Revelation Commentaries of "Hugh of St. Cher"', in K. Walsh

concordance (Saint Jacques II, or *Concordanciae anglicanae*) that put words in context by providing the passage in which the word occurred, along with some grammatical analysis. The size and complexity of Saint Jacques II led to a third, simplified version achieved in the 1280s (Saint Jacques III), which dropped the grammatical analysis and shortened the contextual passage.

The issue of context was particularly important because it had long been recognised that the same word often had different meanings depending on context, and that for both the interpretation of Scripture and effective preaching, recognising the different uses of a word was crucial. This had led in the late twelfth century to the development of collections of biblical 'distinctions' (*distinctiones*) by secular masters, such as Peter of Cornwall, Peter the Chanter, Alan of Lille, Peter of Poitiers, Prepositinus and Stephen Langton, in which as many as 1,500 biblical words would have their various meanings 'distinguished' and illustrated by specific passages from scripture.[11] Armed in this way, a preacher could uncover from the text for the day all the various meanings of one or more words, particularly their hidden meanings, by which he could entertain his listeners, lead them to reflect on their sins and be moved to repentance.

Dominicans were also responsible for creating subject indices to the Bible, which rather than being keyed to words in the biblical text were keyed to subjects, again listed in alphabetical order.[12] This third innovation of subject indices was applied to other works, such as patristic texts and later writings, which supported biblical interpretation. It was eventually applied to most theological works in the thirteenth and later centuries that had sufficient readership to make an index useful.

Biblical place names created special problems that were addressed through the creation of geographical dictionaries of the Holy Land. Here was an area in which the on-site experience gleaned in the period of the crusaders and occupation of Palestine blended with the interests and learning of biblical scholars

and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 157–89; A. Fries, 'Die Entstehungzeit der Bibelkommentare Alberts des Grossen', in G. Meyer and A. Zimmermann (eds.), *Albertus Magnus, doctor universalis, 1280–1980* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald, 1980), pp. 119–39; F. Santi, 'L'esegesi biblica di Tommaso d'Aquino nel contesto dell'esegesi biblica medievale', *Angelicum* 71 (1994), 509–35; M.-D. Mailhiot, 'La pensée de saint Thomas sur le sens spirituel', *Revue Thomiste* 59 (1959), 613–63; M. Aillet, *Lire la Bible avec S. Thomas. Le passage de la littera à la res dans la Somme théologique* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1993).

11 Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 246–8; Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, pp. 223–4; R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, 'Biblical *Distinctiones* in the Thirteenth Century', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 41 (1974), 27–37.

12 Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, pp. 226–36.

to produce basic geographies. Beyond scholarly interests, this development was fed by a more general, lay interest in the physical location of biblical events and the life of Christ that grew out of the evangelical awakening of the twelfth century.

Fundamental to this expansion of resources for the study of scripture was the importance attached to the study of biblical languages. Knowledge of Greek, which had experienced moments of revival in western Europe in the early Middle Ages, benefited from the influx of Greek philosophical and scientific texts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These required translation but also study in the original language. From the standpoint of biblical scholarship, the study of Greek was encouraged by Robert Grosseteste at Oxford and later as bishop of Lincoln. His legacy was carried forward by Roger Bacon, who criticised the university theological curriculum and pleaded for more emphasis on the Bible. The study of Hebrew, which was rekindled in the twelfth century, especially among the Victorines, was continued in the thirteenth century inside and outside universities. It led to works listing textual variants, the *correctoria*, that enjoyed extensive use in this later period. Despite the condemnation and burning of the Talmud at Paris in 1248, the study of Hebrew, important for biblical study and for proselytising among the Jews, remained a goal in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It was urged by Roger Bacon, Raymond Lull and Nicholas of Lyra, and although little came of it, the Council of Vienne in 1311–12 decreed that universities and other major schools should establish chairs for instruction in Greek, Hebrew and Arabic.

Alongside 'finding tools' and 'informational aids' that concentrated their attention on words, passages and places, there was also a renewed interest in the full text of authoritative works. The predominant tendency from the Carolingian period into the middle of the twelfth century had been to extract important passages from scripture or the fathers and arrange them according to subject in order to provide quick thematic consultation. This resulted in numerous florilegia and was part of the rationale behind collections of canons, including Gratian's *Decretum*, and theological works, such as Peter Abelard's *Sic et Non* and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. The Lombard was quite open about this motive for his work: 'it will not be necessary for one searching to read through numerous books, since [my work] offers him the brevity that is sought, without effort'.[13] By the late twelfth century the practice of extracting

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13 *Magistri Petri Lombardi . . . Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. I. F. Brady, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata [Rome]: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1971), vol. I, p. 4; cited from Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 197.

passages from authoritative works and arranging them thematically – never wholly abandoned – was being matched by an interest in consulting and reading the whole text as written. One of the most striking early examples occurred in the confrontation between Gilbert of Poitiers and Bernard of Clairvaux at Rheims in 1148, approximately the same time in which Lombard compiled his *Sentences*. Bernard brought a list of purportedly erroneous or heretical statements extracted from Gilbert's work, along with excerpts from patristic authorities, but he was trumped by Gilbert, who brought with him copies of the full text of his original work (*codices integri*).[14] A quotation by itself was insufficient proof of meaning and intent. To determine meaning one needed to know the context of the statement, and that context was only truly clear when one could view it within the purpose of the entire work. For many decades these two methods of dealing with texts, excerpts and whole works, lived side by side in the schools and early universities, but the predominant view, certainly by the fourteenth century, was that a fresh reading of an entire work was fundamental to understanding an ancient, patristic or medieval author, even as commissions appointed to investigate false teaching among university bachelors and masters continued for convenience to work from lists of suspected articles or propositions extracted from a work.

This interest in the whole text had an influence on the study of the Bible at medieval universities. Increasingly during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries the primary emphasis in biblical studies was to stress the literal meaning of the text. And for that literal meaning to be clear, the entire passage needed to be read, not just a sentence or two. Thus, alongside study aids and teaching aids in the form of a condensed narrative, as with Comestor's *Historia scholastica* or, in the early fourteenth century, Peter Aureol's *Compendium sensus litteralis*, individual books of the Bible were covered in lectures on a regular basis, and students were expected to bring copies of the Bible with them to lectures and to have read the text themselves.

Franciscans also made important contributions in the thirteenth century in the area of biblical studies.[15] Alexander of Hales and his Franciscan disciples

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14 N. M. Häring, 'Notes on the Council and Consistory of Rheims (1148)', *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966), 39–59, at pp. 48–9.

15 A. Kleinhans, 'De studio sacrae Scripturae in ordine Fratrum Minorum s. XIII', *Antonianum* 7 (1932), 413–40; I. Brady, 'Sacred Scripture in the Early Franciscan School', in *La Sacra Scrittura e i Francescani*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 11 (Rome: Editiones Antonianum, 1973), pp. 65–82; K. Rahner, 'La doctrine des "sens spirituels" au moyen âge en particulier chez saint Bonaventure', *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 14 (1933), 263–99; T. Reist, *Saint Bonaventure as a Biblical Commentator* (New York: Lanham, 1985); D. Burr, 'Franciscan Exegesis and Francis as Apocalyptic Figure', in E. B. King, J. T. Schaefer and W. B. Wadley (eds.), *Monks, Nuns, and Friars*

authored many scriptural commentaries, as did Bonaventure, Matthew of Aquasparta and others. English Franciscans were responsible for compiling an index to the Bible, akin to the *Glossa ordinaria*, that listed the patristic authors who had commented on each passage of scripture, although its use seems to have been limited to England.[16]

While these research and searching tools transformed and simplified the tasks of biblical study and preaching, mendicant masters were also responsible for numerous commentaries on various books of the Bible, creating what were known as *postillae*. The word described a continuous gloss on a word or passage, perhaps deriving its name from the Latin expression 'post illa verba' ('after those words'), as distinct from a briefer marginal or interlinear gloss on a word. In their commentaries, mendicant theologians sought to balance moral and spiritual interpretations of biblical texts by paying more attention to the literal meaning of scripture. Yet the continuation of the tradition of moralities by fourteenth-century mendicants, such as the Dominicans James of Lausanne, Peter of Baume and Robert Holcot, shows the ongoing importance for preaching of that type of exposition.

The major mendicant expositors of scripture in the thirteenth century were the Dominicans Hugh of St Cher, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, especially through his *Catena aurea*,[17] Peter of Tarantasia and Nicholas Gorran, who commented on almost every book of scripture. Gorran taught at St Jacques, was confessor to King Philip IV and died in 1295. In addition to his popular *Distinctiones*, he wrote commentaries on the books of the Pentateuch, a long commentary on Psalms, which became very popular, commentaries on various prophets, long commentaries on Matthew, Mark and Luke that were also popular, a commentary on Acts and commentaries on the Pauline letters, the canonical letters and the Apocalypse. Although one encounters long commentaries on specific books in earlier periods, for example Augustine on the Gospel of John, or Cassiodorus on Psalms, or Peter Lombard on Psalms and the letters of Paul, most commentaries before the late thirteenth century are short by comparison to many from the late medieval period. It is in the

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in *Mediaeval Society* (Sewanee, TN: University of the South, 1989), pp. 51–62; D. Burr, 'Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis', in J. V. Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 131–52; W. J. Courtenay, 'Franciscan Learning. University Education and Biblical Exegesis', in M. F. Cusato and G. Geltner (eds.), *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life. Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 55–64.
16 On this *Tabula septem custodiarum super Bibliam* see Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, p. 233.
17 Thomas Aquinas, *Glossa continua super Evangelia (Catena aurea)*, ed. A. Guarienti, 2 vols. (Turin and Rome: Marietti, 1953).

late thirteenth century, with commentators such as Gorran, that one begins to encounter commentaries on individual books of the Bible that run to over 300 folios (i.e., 600 pages) in manuscripts.

Among the important Franciscan commentators were William of Melitona, Bonaventure, Matthew of Aquasparta and Peter of John Olivi. Olivi is especially interesting inasmuch as his commentary on the Apocalypse – a New Testament book that received increased attention in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries – came under scrutiny and eventual condemnation because of its Joachite tendencies.[18] The influence of Joachim of Fiore is also evident in Olivi's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew.[19]

The fourteenth century

It is only in the fourteenth century that we can speak about the place of the Bible in the curriculum of the University of Paris in any detail, since the earlier statutes are silent on this subject.[20] For the fourteenth century there are two groups of statutes, one dating to the second quarter of the century, and a second that was compiled in 1366.[21] Together they contain descriptions of the different responsibilities of secular and mendicant students when they reached the stage of lecturing on the Bible, which in the theological programme at Paris preceded lectures on the *Sentences*. These statutes tell us how much time was to be devoted to commenting on scripture and in what manner one

18 J. Koch, 'Der Prozess gegen die Postille Olivis zur Apokalypse', *RTAM* 5 (1933), 302–15; D. Burr, 'Olivi, the *Lectura super Apocalypsim* and Franciscan Exegetical Tradition', in *Francescanesimo e cultura universitaria* (Perugia: Università degli Studi di Perugia, Centro di Studi Francescani, 1990), pp. 113–35; D. Burr, 'Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse', in R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 89–102; D. Burr, 'Ecclesiastical Condemnation and Exegetical Theory. The Case of Olivi's Apocalypse Commentary', in R. Lerner (ed.), *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 32 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), pp. 149–62; *Peter of John Olivi on the Bible. Principia quinque in sacram scripturam. Postilla in Isaiam et in I ad Corinthios*, ed. D. Flood and G. Gál (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1997). See also L. J. Bataillon, 'Olivi utilisateur de la Catena Aurea de Thomas d'Aquin', and G. Dahan, 'L'exégèse des livres prophétiques chez Pierre de Jean Olivi', in A. Boureau and S. Piron (eds.), *Pierre de Jean Olivi (1248–1298). Pensée scolastique, dissidence spirituelle et société* (Paris: Vrin, 1999), pp. 115–20 and 91–114, respectively.
19 D. L. Douie, 'Olivi's Postilla super Mattheum', *Franciscan Studies* 35 (1975), 66–92; K. Madigan, *Olivi and the Interpretation of Matthew in the High Middle Ages* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2003).
20 B. Smalley, 'Problems of Exegesis in the Fourteenth Century', in P. Wilpert and W. P. Eckert (eds.), *Antike und Orient im Mittelalter*, Miscellanea Mediaevalia 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 266–74; W. J. Courtenay, 'The Bible in the Fourteenth Century. Some Observations', *Church History* 54 (1985), 176–87.
21 These are edited in *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. Denflé and Châtelain, vol. II, no. 1188, pp. 691–7, and no. 1189, pp. 697–704.

was to comment. While they undoubtedly contain some requirements and customs that go back to the thirteenth century, they also reflect changes in the theological programme that occurred over time, and one must be cautious in using them as a guide to thirteenth-century practice.

In contrast to the reduction in the length of time and changes in the manner of commenting on Lombard's *Sentences* that occurred in the early fourteenth century, the requirements for lecturing on the Bible remained surprisingly constant. Secular students as well as those in religious orders were expected to spend two to three years lecturing on the Bible at the apprentice stage of the theological programme before advancing to lecture on the *Sentences*, although their manner of lecturing on the Bible differed according to statute. Secular students, known as 'cursors' because each set of biblical lectures constituted a course (*cursus*), were required to lecture on two books, one from the Old Testament and one from the New. Depending on whether they had chosen a book from the Old or the New Testament for their first course, the second course was devoted to a book from the other Testament. The choice of a specific book was voluntary. Candidates from the mendicant orders as well as the Cistercians were required across a two-year period to provide lectures on the entire Bible: Genesis to Ecclesiasticus in one year, and Isaiah to the Apocalypse in the other year. They were known as *biblici*, or biblical bachelors. Until the middle of the fourteenth century the academic title of 'bachelor of theology' at Paris was reserved for those who had completed their lectures on the Bible, in whatever form those took, and had begun their lectures on the *Sentences*, but in the second half of that century both secular students and those in religious orders adopted for themselves the title 'bachelor of theology' at the point when they ceased to attend lectures and began to give them as cursors or bachelors of the Bible.

The primary role in the study of the Bible assigned by historians to mendicant commentators is due in large part to the fact that the majority of commentaries on scripture surviving from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the work of doctors of theology from the religious orders, particularly mendicant masters. But that view also derived from the invalid assumption that the different curricular requirements of secular and mendicant bachelors were somehow related to the fact that between 1240 and 1370 mendicant masters published commentaries and secular masters did not, despite the fact that neither seculars nor mendicants, with a few exceptions, published the commentaries they composed as students – the only group to which those statutes apply. Moreover, differences in the comparative publication productivity of secular and mendicant masters tells us nothing about the quality of

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biblical teaching among bachelors, unless one believes that lecturing on the entire Bible was, by definition, more rigorous and useful than lecturing on two books of the Bible.

We should also not be misled by assumptions about the type and quality of lectures secular bachelors gave based on the present meaning of the term 'cursory'. Just as the study of grammar, rhetoric, and logic (the *trivium*) was not trivial even if those subjects were basic and foundational, so the biblical lectures (*cursus*) of secular bachelors (*cursores*) were not cursory in the sense of being superficial. Both mendicant and secular bachelors were required to spend two years lecturing on scripture. Mendicant bachelors provided students with an overview of the entire Bible over a two-year period. In light of that task, and the fact that one could lecture only on 'legible', non-feast days, rarely could more than one lecture be devoted to any one book. To cover half the Bible in nine months meant, therefore, that one could only provide a literal summary of the contents, a basic narrative that would have to be short on detail. A good example of the result of such an approach is Peter Aureol's *Compendium* on the literal sense of scripture.[22] The much vaunted emphasis on the literal meaning among mendicants in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may have been, in part, a result of not having sufficient time to do much else. Moreover, the division of the Latin Bible according to the amount of text rather than the two Testaments meant that all the prophets had to be covered in the same year in which one lectured on the Gospels, the letters of Paul and the other books of the New Testament.

Secular bachelors, on the other hand, would be allowed to choose one book from each of the Testaments on which they would lecture for at least a three-month period within consecutive years. Since the selection was freely chosen rather than assigned by a supervising master, there would have been many gaps and imbalance in biblical training had not the mendicant bachelors covered the entire Bible. But only secular bachelors could afford the luxury of in-depth exegesis of the biblical text: one entire course on Genesis or Jeremiah, on Romans or Revelation. Depending on the length of the book selected, a minimum of one lecture was to be devoted to each chapter. If the requirements of the statutes were followed precisely, the four chapters of Ruth or the eight chapters of Song of Songs could receive microscopic treatment, while the fifty chapters of Genesis or the 150 psalms would receive less intense analysis. Regardless of the length of the chosen book, there would

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22 Petrus Aureoli, OFM, *Compendium sensus litteralis totius divinae scripturae*, ed. P. Seeböck (Florence: Collegium S. Bonaventura, 1896).

be sufficient time, in addition to explaining specialised names or practices, to explore the multiple senses of scripture beneath the literal meaning of the text. Depending on the length of the selected book, Genesis or Jonah, the Gospel of John or a letter of John, the requirement for secular students allowed far more time for intensive analysis as well as *exempla* and analogies with contemporary life. The technique of biblical distinctions (the multiple meanings or applications of one word in different scriptural contexts) – a device so useful to preachers – could be used effectively because the pressure of time was less a concern.

Information assembled in recent years on the academic careers of secular theological students at Paris reveals that they fulfilled their responsibilities to lecture at the biblical stage of their programme of studies, even if they did not make an effort after becoming doctors of theology to publish commentaries on scripture or reference works for biblical study. It is rather the case that the theological curriculum at Paris provided two different types of instruction in the Bible: surveys taught by mendicant bachelors, and courses on specific books taught by seculars. In any one year there would be some five to ten secular bachelors offering courses on specific books of the Old and New Testament, while at the same time, if the statutes were followed, surveys of the entire Bible would be provided by mendicant and Cistercian bachelors. The statutes are silent on the curricular expectations for students in the other religious orders.

Some regent masters in theology would also be providing lectures on individual books of the Bible, in some cases spending more than a year on one book. John of Hesdin, a master of theology from the order of the Hospitallers, lectured on Job for two years (1355–7) at Paris and completed those lectures at Avignon. He subsequently lectured at Paris on Titus (1362–4) and on the Gospel of Mark (completed in 1367).[23] For the letter to Titus, he devoted forty lectures to chapter 1, thirty-one lectures to chapter 2, and twenty lectures to chapter 3. He is also reputed to have lectured on the Song of Songs, the Gospel of John, the letters of Paul and the Apocalypse. Hesdin's commentaries circulated widely. Manuscripts of the commentary on Job have survived from Paris, including one that once belonged to the library of the secular Collège de Navarre, another from the Franciscan convent at Toulouse and numerous copies in central and eastern Europe. Copies of his commentary on Mark belonged to the Carmelite convent in Paris, Franciscan convents in Germany and Italy and in convents in eastern Europe. His most popular

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23 B. Smalley, 'Jean de Hesdin O. Hosp. S. Ioh.', *RTAM* 28 (1961), 283–330.

commentary, judging by the number of extant copies, was on Titus, again found in libraries of religious convents and secular colleges across Europe and, in some manuscripts, occupying almost 200 folios.

In addition to its use in lectures on the Bible itself and in lectures on the *Sentences*, there was another place where the biblical text entered into the curriculum of the faculty of theology at Paris. Before beginning a course of lectures on the Bible and on each book of the *Sentences*, it was required that there be a collation, or sermon, in praise of scripture, a practice that went back at least to the early thirteenth century. As had become customary with many sermons in the thirteenth century, the bachelor chose a sentence from scripture that he would expound in the course of his sermon. For those reading the *Sentences*, the line of scripture often included a word that echoed his own name or in some way stood for it.[24] In the early fourteenth century a disputed question was added to this exercise, and although the collation was often published with the commentary on the *Sentences*, over time the principial question (*quaestio collativa*) became the most important part of the exercise. There is some evidence that at least in England such a question was added to the *principium* of biblical lectures of the bachelor of theology, both for mendicants and seculars. Richard FitzRalph's *Quaestio biblica*, concerned with future contingents, was part of his lectures on the Bible as a bachelor.[25] The same is true for the *Introitus ad Bibliam* of the English Carmelites, Geoffrey Alienand, *c.* 1346–7, and Osbert Pickingham, *c.* 1348.

The place of the Bible in the curricula of Oxford and Cambridge differed considerably from that of Paris. In the first place, bachelors of theology at the two English universities lectured on the *Sentences* before lecturing on the Bible. Secondly, the bachelor's requirement on biblical lectures was usually fulfilled within the year following his lectures on the *Sentences*, sometimes even in the summer immediately after his year as *sententiarius*.[26] This was the case for those in religious orders as well as for seculars. Thirdly, rather than lecturing on the entire Bible, mendicant bachelors at Oxford and Cambridge were obliged to lecture on only one book and could choose their text as they

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24 D. Trapp, 'Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century', *Augustiniana* 6 (1956), 146–274, at pp. 269–74.

25 J.-F. Genest, 'Contingence et révélation des futurs: la *Quaestio biblica* de Richard FitzRalph,' in J. Jolivet, Z. Kaluza and A. de Libera (eds.), *Lectionum varietates. Hommage à Paul Vignaux (1904–1987)* (Paris: Vrin, 1991), pp. 195–246; A. Minnis, '"Authorial Intention" and "Literal Sense" in the Exegetical Theories of Richard FitzRalph and John Wyclif', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C 75 (1975), 1–30.

26 *Statuta antiqua universitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. S. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1931), p. 50; *The Original Statutes of Cambridge University*, ed. M. B. Hackett (Cambridge University Press, 1970).

wished. Robert Holcot, for example, lectured on Matthew in a few weeks. Like their Parisian counterparts, these bachelor lectures were rarely published as such. Occasionally the question disputed at the beginning of the biblical lectures was disseminated, and it may be that portions of Holcot's lectures on Matthew were incorporated into his quodlibetal questions assembled in the 1330s.

At the level of masters, however, English mendicants were as active in the area of biblical studies as their Parisian counterparts. Beryl Smalley devoted an entire book to these English friars, concentrating most of her attention on the Dominicans, specifically Thomas Waleys, who commented on numerous books of the Old Testament, Robert Holcot on the twelve Minor Prophets, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, William d'Eyncourt on Ecclesiastes, Thomas Hopeman on Hebrews and Thomas Ringstead on Proverbs – as well as the Franciscans John Ridevall on the Apocalypse and John Lathbury on Lamentations.[27] To her sampling one should add the Franciscan Henry of Costesy – mentioned in her earlier book but not studied by Smalley – who wrote commentaries on Psalms and on the Apocalypse.

The mendicant orders remained central to the study of the Bible in the fourteenth century. Among the Dominicans, Peter Palude, Dominic Grima, Thomas Waleys and Robert Holcot were particularly important. For the Franciscans, the leading commentators were Peter Aureol and Nicholas of Lyra. Lyra stands out as the single most important exegete in the fourteenth century, compiling two large commentaries on the whole of the Bible, the *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam* (1322–31) and *Postilla moralis* (1339), which were later fused with the *Glossa ordinaria* to become the standard multi-volume Glossed Bible in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[28]

To judge from the scriptural commentaries that have survived from the fourteenth century, certain books received more attention than others. For the Old Testament these were Genesis, Job, Psalms and Wisdom, although every book received some treatment. The favourite Gospel was Matthew, followed closely by John, then Luke and Mark. Because of its inherent potential

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27 Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity*.
28 On Lyra, see C.-V. Langlois, 'Nicolas de Lyre, frère Mineur', *Histoire Littéraire de la France* 36 (Paris: Osmont, 1927), 355–400; P. D. W. Krey, 'Many Leaders but Few Followers. The Fate of Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse Commentary in the Hands of his Late-Medieval Admirers', *Church History* 64 (1995), 185–201; P. D. W. Krey, *Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse Commentary* (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 1997); P. D. W. Krey and L. Smith (eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra. The Senses of Scripture*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2000). On the Glossed Bible, see C. F. R. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1984), and Smith in this volume, pp. 363–79.

for revealing the hidden meaning of the recent past and the immediate future, the coming age and the end of all things, commentaries on the Apocalypse were frequent as well as controversial in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, particularly among Franciscans. Especially noteworthy in this regard are the Apocalypse commentaries of Olivi, Lyra and Costesy.

In the last two decades of the fourteenth century secular theologians again began to write and publish scriptural commentaries. This appears to be linked to teaching needs in newly established faculties of theology, especially at universities founded in German-speaking lands after 1380 because of the Papal Schism, and the presence there of noted Parisian masters. The three best-known examples are Henry Totting of Oyta, who lectured on John and Psalms at Prague and Vienna, Marsilius of Inghen, who lectured on Matthew at Heidelberg, and Henry of Langenstein, who lectured on Genesis at Vienna.[29] Even at Paris, with Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, one begins to see renewed interest in the Bible among secular theologians.

The fifteenth century

The strong interest in biblical studies among secular masters in the late fourteenth century continued and grew in the following period.[30] The spiritual reform in theological studies urged by Jean Gerson at Paris at the opening of the fifteenth century seems to have had only a modest effect on biblical studies at Paris during the century that followed, despite the challenge posed by John Wyclif's approach to scripture. The most important centres for the study of the Bible in the fifteenth century were the new universities in Germany and eastern Europe, and a substantial number of biblical commentaries came out of the teaching programmes at the universities of Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Erfurt and Krakow.

The first remarkable feature of this activity is the publication of commentaries produced by biblical cursors. As has been noted, before the fifteenth century biblical lectures by bachelors were rarely if ever preserved in manuscripts.

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29 On Oyta, see F. Rosenthal, 'Heinrich von Oyta and Biblical Criticism in the Fourteenth Century', *Speculum* 25 (1950), 178–83; on Langenstein, see N. Steneck, *Science and Creation in the Middle Ages. Henry of Langenstein on Genesis* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1976).

30 K. Froehlich, '"Always to Keep to the Literal Sense Means to Kill One's Soul". The State of Biblical Hermeneutics at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century', in E. Miner (ed.), *Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present* (Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 20–48; K. Froehlich, 'Johannes Trithemius on the Fourfold Sense of Scripture', in R. A. Muller and J. L. Thompson (eds.), *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), pp. 23–60.

Those of Olivi on Matthew and the Apocalypse (late thirteenth century), Peter of Baume on Proverbs (1320–2) and Michael de Massa on Matthew (*c.* 1330) at Paris are exceptions. By contrast, there were a number of fifteenth-century German theologians whose biblical commentaries as bachelors have been preserved. It is likely that the commentaries on Daniel (now lost) and the Gospel of Matthew (extant in an autograph copy) of Marsilius of Inghen were products of his bachelor lectures as biblical cursor at Heidelberg, possibly begun earlier at Paris. Wasmodus of Homberg lectured on Psalms at Heidelberg around 1400 when he was *sacrae paginae baccalarius*. At Prague the Dominican James of Soest, as *cursor biblicus* in 1394, apparently exceeded requirements by commenting on Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Matthew and Hebrews. There are numerous biblical commentaries by bachelors at Vienna that circulated in manuscripts. Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl's commentary on Psalms, which survives in two manuscripts, resulted from his lectures *pro cursu biblico* at Vienna in 1396–7, before he read the *Sentences*, *c.* 1398, and became a doctor of theology in 1409. John Grössel of Tittmoning, as biblical cursor at Vienna, chose for his two biblical courses Genesis and 2 Corinthians during the biennium 1431–3, just as Paul Leubmann of Melk lectured on Jeremiah and 1 and 2 Corinthians as biblical cursor in 1436–8 and Paul Wann of Kemnaten lectured on Esther and Romans as cursor in 1448–50. The lectures of Wann were cited but are not known to have survived in manuscript, and the fact that the others survive only in one or two copies proves that they probably did not circulate widely. Yet the very fact that these bachelor commentaries were preserved at all represents an important change in practice from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Another development in the fifteenth century is in the increased length of commentaries. One encounters examples in the thirteenth century, some of them running from 200 to 300 folios, depending on layout. In the fourteenth century that becomes a more frequent pattern, as with the commentaries from the Dominicans Peter Palude, Dominic Grima and Robert Holcot. Some of them become massive, such as John of Hesdin's on Mark, which in one manuscript exceeds 600 folios, or the Carmelite Michael Aiguani's commentary on Luke (417 folios in one manuscript) and on Psalms, which usually occupies five sequential volumes. Most manuscripts of John of Hesdin's commentary on the brief three chapters of Paul's Epistle to Titus average well over 100 folios. Matthew of Krakow was able to produce 100 folios of commentary on Psalm 118. But the length record for that period belongs to Jacques Fournier (later Pope Benedict XII), whose unfinished commentary on

Matthew extended to six volumes of which three have survived, each running to around 300 folios.[31]

Long commentaries become the pattern in the fifteenth century. Most range from 100 to 200 folios, usually double-column and abbreviated, yet there are also some massive ones. Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl's bachelor commentary on the first fifty psalms runs to 424 folios. The Dominican master James of Soest exceeded John of Hesdin's record on Titus by devoting over 400 pages to that letter, and his commentary on Matthew occupies five successive manuscripts. Lambert of Geldern at Vienna created two volumes of commentary on Hosea, each over 300 folios in length, and the Psalms commentary of Paul of Pyskowicze at Krakow exceeds 650 folios, while that of the Cistercian master, Matthew of Königsaal, covering Psalms 1 to 117, runs to three volumes, each ranging in size from 336 to 478 folios.

The content of these commentaries draws upon the work of earlier scholars, and some of the borrowing is heavy. They use *distinctiones* to expand upon the obvious and hidden meanings of the words in a text, as well as expounding the text according to its literal, moral, allegorical, anagogical, tropological, mystical and spiritual meanings, sometimes – for literal vs. moral meaning – in separate commentaries by the same author. By employing these exegetical approaches and techniques, including the use of *exempla* and *moralitates*, these commentaries became particularly useful for preaching, and were almost sermons in structure, content and purpose.

Much of this commentary activity was the result of certain regent masters lecturing on a sequence of biblical books, taking two to three years to complete lectures on each of them. John of Hesdin is one early example. In that same period Michael Aiguani at Bologna, and possibly for a time at Paris, lectured on Psalms, Micah, Matthew and Luke. In the opening years of the fifteenth century James of Soest commented on Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Matthew and Hebrews at Prague before going to Cologne, where he again lectured on Matthew more extensively and on Titus. Similarly, the Carthusian John Hagen de Indagine commented at Erfurt between 1448 and 1461 on Genesis (2 volumes), Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah (600 folios), Jeremiah (580 folios), Ezekiel (350 folios) and Luke, before moving to Stettin, where in 1461 he commented on John (300 folios). Matthias of Saspow lectured at Krakow on

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31 A. Maier, 'Der Kommentar Benedikts XII. zum Matthaeus-Evangelium', *Archivum Pontificum Historicum* 6 (1968), 398–405, repr. in her *Ausgehendes Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, vol. III (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1977), pp. 591–600.

Ecclesiastes in 1458, followed in 1460–4 by lectures on the Song of Songs (866 pages in one manuscript).

The pattern of continuing to lecture on books of the Bible while changing location is best illustrated by the career of the Dominican Nicolaus Eymericus from Catalonia, who for a time was also Inquisitor General for Aragon. He began his commentary on Matthew at Barcelona (1375) and completed it in Rome (1377). He lectured on the Gospel of John at Rome, Avignon and Gerona across a decade (1377–87), adding lectures on Luke at Avignon and Gerona (1383–7). He commented on Mark at Gerona and Avignon (1387–9), on Hebrews at Urgel and Avignon (1393–6) and on Galatians at Avignon and Gerona (1396–8). He was lecturing on Romans at Gerona at the time of his death. Unfortunately all that has survived from that massive effort across twenty-five years is his commentary on the Gospel of John, ranging in manuscripts from 280 to 390 folios. This practice of giving lectures on one book of the Bible over many years to different audiences in different places suggests that the creation of an extensive commentary was the main purpose rather than providing a complete course for one specific group of students.

The University of Vienna has left a remarkable record of contributions of secular theologians to biblical study in the closing years of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth. The sequence begins with Michael Suchenschatz, who as regent gave lectures on Matthew in the 1395–1410 period. During these same years master Lambert of Geldern commented on almost all the Minor Prophets, including Hosea, on which he composed a commentary in two volumes, each over 300 folios in length. He also commented on 1 and 2 Peter. Peter Tschech of Pulka had a teaching career at Vienna from 1402 until his death in 1425. He wrote commentaries on Luke (1402–10), on Romans (1412), on 1 Corinthians (c. 1420), in the form of a question commentary (300–400 folios), and on 2 Corinthians (1425).

As noted earlier, Nicholas Dinkelsbühl created a substantial commentary on Psalms during his period as biblical cursor in 1396–8, and except for a period of lecturing at the Benedictine monastery of Melk, he lectured in Vienna until his death in 1433. As regent master he lectured on Matthew in 1420–2, composing a long regular commentary (ranging from 265 to 465 folios) as well as a question-type commentary. He took over from Pulka in 1425 the task of lecturing on 2 Corinthians. At the time of his own death in 1433 he was lecturing on Ephesians. In the period from 1415 to 1425 Peter Reicher of Pirchenwart commented on Baruch, on Matthew (398–495 folios) and on John (two volumes of 300–500 folios each), plus two volumes of questions on John. He continued the lectures on Ephesians in 1433 after the death of

Dinkelsbühl, and subsequently commented on Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Titus (1435), Philemon and Hebrews.

The last two Viennese biblical commentators of note are Thomas Ebendorfer of Haselbach and John Grössel of Tittmoning. Ebendorfer concentrated his attention on one book, Isaiah, and moved through it at a microscopic pace. He completed his commentary on chapters 1–4 in 1439 (over 300 folios); chapters 5–7 in 1442 (286 folios); chapters 8–10 in 1444 (437 folios); chapters 9–10 around 1446 (95 folios); chapter 11 in 1448 (347 folios); chapter 14 in 1450 (348 folios); and chapters 15–16 in 1452 (346 folios). The survival of Grössel's bachelor commentaries on Genesis and 2 Corinthians has already been noted; after becoming regent master in 1451 he commented on Romans (1451–4) and then on Hebrews (1455–60), producing a substantial work of 324 folios on the latter.

Several of these masters composed two commentaries, one exegetical, in which the various senses of each passage were examined in detail, often with *exempla* and *moralia*, and a second composed of questions based on the biblical text, following what was by then a traditional scholastic form. Approaching theological, biblical or indeed any authoritative text by way of questions was a method of exposition and analysis that went back to the early twelfth century. Most commentaries on the *Sentences* by the late thirteenth century were collections of questions, which by the mid-fourteenth century were only distantly related to the structure of Lombard's work. This shift affected biblical commentaries as well, beginning in the fourteenth century. John of Wasia at Paris or later at Cologne composed a commentary on John that is a sequence of scholastic questions. Other commentaries of this type, usually in addition to a separate, more traditional commentary, are the volumes of questions on Matthew, on 2 Corinthians and on Galatians by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl; the question commentaries of Peter Tschech of Pulka on Romans and 1 Corinthians; and the question commentaries of Peter Reicher of Pirchenwart on John and by John of Dambrówska on Mark.

Conclusions

The contributions of university masters across the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries produced a wide range of scriptural commentaries and introduced new exegetical aids and techniques for biblical study as well as for preaching that had long-lasting value. In particular, the divisions of the biblical text and the creation of concordances and indices improved scriptural study and exegesis, and in that regard, as well as for the majority of commentaries

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produced, the mendicant friars were the principal agents. Secular masters in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries created a rich body of biblical analysis useful for theology and preaching. Their commentaries are greatly in need of further research, since they were, along with the textual contributions of Italian and German humanists, the foundation for the study of the Bible in the sixteenth century.

Scripture and reform

MARY DOVE

Throughout the church's history reformers have worked to bring the visible church into closer alignment with a scriptural ideal. The Epistle to the Ephesians (5:25–7) indicates that at least one writer within the infant church interpreted the immaculate bride of the Song of Songs, to whom the bridegroom says 'there is no spot in thee' (Song 4:7),[1] as a figure for ecclesial perfection. In the understanding of the writer of Ephesians, of the writer of the Apocalypse, of the church fathers and of the western church throughout the Middle Ages, the church in its perfected state was written into the Hebrew scriptures by the man who built the temple at Jerusalem, Solomon son of David, nearly 1,000 years before the birth of Christ. The history of the church, in medieval understanding, was one long struggle to approximate more closely to the stainlessness affirmed by Christ, the bridegroom of the Song of Songs.[2]

In the apostolic and patristic ages, reform typically meant renewal of the individual Christian believer in the image of Christ rather than reform of the body of the church.[3] For Gregory VII, on the other hand, who was pope from 1073 to 1085, reform was principally structural, and was a top-down process. Jean Leclercq argued that the Gregorian reformers, looking to the Bible for authority, too readily related Old Testament narratives to situations never encountered in Jewish history BCE, and made the New Testament provide answers to questions never asked in the first century CE.[4] Consequently,

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1 Translations of biblical material are from the Latin Vulgate Bible, and are my own unless otherwise stated.

2 On medieval exegesis of Song 4:7, see H. Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit der Kirche in den lateinischen Hohenliedkommentären des Mittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 38.3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1958).

3 G. B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 49–62.

4 J. Leclercq, 'Usage et abus de la Bible en temps de la réforme Grégorienne', in W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds.), *The Bible and Medieval Culture* (Leuven University Press, 1979), pp. 89–108, at pp. 107–8.

in Leclercq's opinion, they interpreted the Old Testament too literally and the New Testament not literally enough. If, however, the eleventh-century reformers sometimes asked the Bible to speak too immediately to the situation of the church they knew (a fault by no means peculiar to them), they were ever aware of the distance between the vexatious imperfections of the visible body and the perfect church inscribed in Jewish and Christian scripture.

It is no coincidence that in this period the Song of Songs became a favourite book for commentary, providing reformist writers such as the Benedictines John of Mantua and Robert of Tombelaine with opportunities to stress, as Augustine had done in his writings against the Donatists, the contrast between the hidden church of true believers and the 'mixed' church containing pure and impure.[5] Robert's commentary, as Ann Matter says, is 'full of apocalyptic expectations for the final wedding of the lamb with the church of the elect',[6] including the elect from among the synagogue. When Robert explained that the bride of the Song of Songs four times tells the Shunamite 'turn back (*revertere*)' (6:12) 'because the Jews, now dispersed throughout the world, are to be converted ("turned around") at the end of the age',[7] he was blending what he would have called literal, allegorical, tropological (moral) and anagogical (eschatological) senses of scripture, as medieval commentators often did. His exegesis is literal, because the repeated command is interpreted as meaning turn back from the four compass points, north, south, east and west, and because of the play on the word *revertere* (turn back / be converted); it is allegorical, because the bride is interpreted as the church and the Shunamite as the synagogue; it is tropological, because the synagogue is interpreted as being exhorted to convert to Christianity; and it is anagogical, because this event must await the eschaton. The Song of Songs and the Apocalypse are understood in Robert's commentary as a biblical diptych revealing the mutual love between Christ and *christiani*, some of whom were once Jews.

The Gregorian reform coincided with the emergence of heresies in the western church, or rather the centralising reforms of the late eleventh century encouraged the recognition and definition of certain beliefs and practices as heretical (following the example of codification in Augustine's *On Heresies*),

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5 E. A. Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved. The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 106–11.
6 Ibid., p. 108.
7 Robert of Tombelaine, *Commentarium in Cantica Canticorum*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PL* 79, col. 533B. This gloss is included in the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Song of Songs.

and inspired the formulation of legal proceedings against perceived heretics.[8] Yet those accused of heretical tenets saw themselves as reformers, too, and their reformism frequently mirrored orthodox reformism. In particular, like Gregory VII (and like Gregory the Great), members of heretical movements in the eleventh and twelfth centuries passionately desired to rid the church of simoniac, sinful and inadequate clergy.[9] They regarded themselves as faithful Christians, and saw the Bible, or some parts of the biblical canon, as being central to the life of the church and the individual believer. If the Catholic church chose to place them outside, they saw themselves as the church of the elect, more closely related to Christ and more accurate readers of scripture than 'orthodox' believers were.

The Cathars

Modern scholars have continued the medieval practice of fixing the names of heretical movements and codifying their beliefs, but we should bear in mind Mark Pegg's caveat that 'heretics' cannot easily be pigeon-holed, and many may have had no intention of straying from orthodoxy.[10] The attitudes to scripture I outline here reflect the opinions of some articulate and educated individuals, and were not necessarily widely understood or shared. The dualists known as Cathars ('the pure'), whose presence was first recorded in France and the Rhineland around the turn of the twelfth century and in Italy a few decades later, found the account of the creation in Genesis irreconcilable with their belief (influenced by Bogomils in Byzantium and the Balkans) that the evil one, not the good god, was responsible for the material creation.[11] Some Cathars, the 'moderate dualists' who believed that the evil one would in the end be defeated, regarded the Old Testament as a whole with suspicion,[12] while 'radical dualists', who believed that the evil god was co-eternal with the good, accepted the prophetic books and the sapiential books contained in the Septuagint (Job, Psalms and Proverbs through to Ecclesiasticus), but not the historical books. The one surviving Cathar New Testament, in the Occitan (Franco-Provençal) dialect, includes the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans,

8 C. Bruschi and P. Biller (eds.), *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2003), pp. 4–9.
9 M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p. 38.
10 M. G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels. The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 141–51.
11 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 132.
12 M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 30.

relatively rare in medieval Latin Bibles.[13] Since Cathars esteemed the Gospel of John above all other biblical books – its material presence was required in the *consolamentum* ritual – it is not surprising that they relished the dualist account of creation, supposedly given by Christ to John during the Last Supper, known to them as the 'Secret'.[14] The *Vision of Isaiah*, a second-century Gnostic text, was another favourite.

Bernard of Clairvaux addressed two of his sermons on the Song of Songs (written *c.* 1144) to people he identified as the 'new heretics'.[15] He accused them of keeping their sect a secret, whereas according to Proverbs it is 'the glory of God to reveal teaching' (25:2). 'But perhaps', Bernard asked with specious courtesy, 'you do not accept this text?' What, then, he asked, of 2 Corinthians: '"it is only a mystery to those on the way to perdition" (4:3)? Perhaps you do not even accept St Paul? I have heard that that is true of some of you'.[16] The abbot of Clairvaux evidently expected heretics to manifest their outsider status by rejecting the biblical canon determined by the fourth-century church, and associated orthodox belief with acceptance of its authority – above all, the authority of the New Testament.

Undoubtedly Cathars were doctrinally at odds with Catholics in significant respects, and Malcolm Lambert is probably right that radical Catharism was 'another religion altogether'.[17] A collection of biblical passages aimed at persuading heretics of their errors, perhaps produced by the Dominicans, survives in eleven of the small-format Bibles characteristic of the thirteenth century.[18] One set of passages is calculated to prove that 'the angelic spirits remained in heaven after Lucifer's fall', rather than being trapped, as (some) Cathars maintained, in human bodies.[19] Yet there is no evidence of Cathars refusing to accept the writings of Paul as part of the biblical canon, and although the authority of the Old Testament, or parts of it, was questioned by some, the writings of the Cathar initiates, the *perfecti*, show that they were

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13 B. Hamilton, 'Wisdom from the East. The Reception by the Cathars of Eastern Dualist Texts', in P. Biller and A. Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 38–60, at pp. 49–50.
14 P. Biller, 'The Cathars of Languedoc and Written Materials', in Biller and Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy*, pp. 61–82, at p. 74; Hamilton, 'Wisdom from the East', pp. 53–6.
15 On the context of these sermons, see J. B. Russell, *Religious Dissent in the Middle Ages* (New York: Wiley, 1971), pp. 60–3.
16 Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs III*, trans. K. Walsh and I. M. Edmonds, Cistercian Fathers 31 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1979), ch. 65, p. 183.
17 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 136.
18 L. Light, 'The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy', *Viator,* 18 (1987), 275–88, and in this volume, ch. 21.
19 Ibid., p. 282.

familiar with the Bible as a whole, with the writings of the fathers and doctors, and probably with the *Glossa ordinaria*, compiled *c.* 1100–1130, as well.[20] Even their most arcanely inventive writings contain traditional biblical exegesis. The written word with divine authority was as important for non-orthodox reformers as it was for orthodox believers.

The Waldenses

Among Waldenses, there was also a strong preference for the New Testament over the Old, and, within the Old, for the sapiential books (for them, as for the Cathars, the Old Testament meant the books of the Septuagint).[21] The Waldensian movement was the most widely spread medieval reform movement historically and geographically; having begun in Lyon in the 1170s, it spread throughout southern France, north-east Spain, the Rhineland, northern Italy and Austria, and in some Alpine valleys survived the Protestant Reformation. Waldensian preachers learned large parts of the New Testament in the vernacular by heart: evidence from late medieval Piedmont suggests that Matthew, John, Timothy, Titus and the Catholic Epistles were particularly favoured.[22] The criterion for selection was doubtless usefulness in preaching, the activity at the heart of the Waldensian movement.

Bernard of Clairvaux was probably thinking of Waldenses when he complained that the 'new heretics' would not swear because they interpreted Christ's words 'Do not make any oath at all' (Matt. 5:34), which is traditionally a 'counsel of perfection . . . as if it were a positive command'.[23] Bernard could not resist the jibe that over-literal understanding put the heretics on a par with the Pharisees, since it was a medieval Christian commonplace that Jews (and Mohammedans) read scripture too literally, and were blind to its spiritual meaning.[24] The same charge levelled by Bernard at Waldenses was later levelled at the Wycliffites and the Hussites.

Yet, like the writings of the *perfecti*, Waldensian writings show familiarity with the entire Bible, and with the interpretative tradition as well. The

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20 C. Thouzellier, 'L'emploi de la Bible par les Cathares (XIIIe s.)', in Lourdaux and Verhelst (eds.), *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, pp. 141–56; Biller, 'The Cathars of Languedoc', pp. 66–70.

21 E. Cameron, *Waldenses. Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 216–20 and pls. 3–4.

22 G. Audisio, 'Were the Waldensians More Literate than their Contemporaries (1460–1560)?', in Biller and Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy*, pp. 176–85, at p. 180. Lollards also memorised parts of the New Testament; see S. McSheffrey and N. Tanner (eds. and trans.), *Lollards of Coventry 1486–1522* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 45.

23 Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs III*, trans. Welsh and Edmonds, ch. 65, p. 181.

24 B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 170–1.

Waldensian commentary on the Song of Songs, in Occitan, understands the bridegroom as Christ and the bride as the church, and includes many of the rubrics specifying who is speaking commonly found in medieval Latin Bibles; for example, 'a bundle of myrrh is my beloved to me' is 'the voice of the Church concerning Christ' (at Song 1:13).[25] Christ's words 'catch the little foxes that destroy the vineyards' (Song 2:15) were traditionally interpreted as referring to heretics (Bernard's sermons addressed to the 'new heretics' take these words as their text),[26] and in the Waldensian commentary, too, the rubric at this point is 'concerning heretics'.[27] Full of devilish cunning and malice, heretics have the semblance of piety, the commentator explained, but in their hearts they deny the virtue of holiness. The vineyards which they destroy are 'la gleysa de li sant [the church of the holy ones]'. Paul was speaking to the little foxes, the commentator explained, when he said 'being crafty, I have caught you with guile' (2 Cor. 12:16), and, like the apostle, 'predicador [preachers]', the guardians of the church, needed craftiness as well as sanctity and wisdom. Every word of this is orthodox, except that some readers of the commentary must have reversed the trope, turning their repressors into the heretical little foxes and themselves into 'la gleysa de li sant'.

Anne Brenon rightly says that Waldenses had a 'profound commitment to scripture'.[28] Both Waldenses and Cathars translated scripture into the vernacular and used traditional exegetical methods. How then, Euan Cameron asks, did the Waldenses' approach to scripture differ from the approach of orthodox Catholics?[29] His answer is that Waldenses conceived of scripture as the law of God, and consequently favoured moral interpretation, relating scripture to the behaviour required of the individual Christian, rather than allegorical interpretation, relating scripture to the functions of the church. They denied, Cameron claims, that the church was the custodian of the interpretation of scripture, and thereby they 'rejected [its] role as a sacramental institution, through which the forgiveness of God was made effective'. Undoubtedly Waldenses thought of scripture as God's law, as did Wyclif and the Wycliffites, and it is true that Waldensian writings characteristically urged readers to amend their lives in accordance with the commandments of scripture: the

25 Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique Universitaire, Ge l.e. 207; 'Cantica. Waldensischer Text der Auslegung des Hohen Liedes', ed. J. J. Herzog, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* 40 (1870), 516–620. The quoted rubric is at p. 518.
26 Bruschi and Biller (eds.), *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, p. 4.
27 'Cantica', ed. Herzog, p. 535.
28 A. Brenon, 'The Waldensian Books', in Biller and Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy*, pp. 137–59, at p. 158.
29 Cameron, *Waldenses*, pp. 301–2.

poem 'The New Comfort', for example, offers a catena of New Testament authorities on the need for faith to be accompanied by good works.[30] On the other hand, the church of faithful believers was also a significant presence in Waldensian writings, as it was in the commentary on the Song of Songs, and the relationship of love between the church and Christ, figured as the relationship between husband and wife, was a prime source of consolation and encouragement.[31]

Whether medieval Waldenses denied that the Catholic church was the custodian of the interpretation of scripture is more problematic. Certainly they would not have understood what William Wordsworth meant when he praised their founder Valdes (Waldo) because he 'raised his voice to preach / In Gallic ears the unadulterate Word'.[32] Wordsworth was projecting back upon Valdes the Lutheran principle of *sola scriptura* [scripture alone], the principle that only the word of God speaks with the authority of revelation, and that ecclesiastical tradition does not partake, whether equally or similarly, of that authority. (Confusingly, *sola scriptura* is sometimes called 'biblicism', a term best reserved for belief in the literal inerrancy of scripture.) Wordsworth's 'unadulterate Word' alluded to a further Protestant twist to the principle of *sola scriptura*: that Roman Catholic tradition not only lacked authority but also perverted the meaning of scripture. Holding to the same principle, the Victorian editors of the Wycliffite Bible, Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, were confident that medieval laypeople 'reading with their own eyes the words of the Saviour and of his apostles' would have 'found a marked contrast between the principles which they inculcated and many parts of the system upheld by the Romish church'.[33]

Wyclif

In contrast, medieval mentality could not conceive of the biblical text 'by itself'. Without the authority of tradition, for example, how would believers know that the bridegroom of the Song of Songs, who is nowhere named

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30 Jas. 2:14, etc., *Lo novel confort*, lines 85–104, in *Six Vaudois Poems from the Waldensian MSS in the University Libraries of Cambridge, Dublin and Geneva*, ed. H. J. Chaytor (Cambridge University Press, 1930), pp. 38–9.

31 See, e.g., *L'evangeli de li quatre semencz*, lines 237–42, in *Six Vaudois Poems*, ed. Chaytor, pp. 72–3.

32 *Ecclesiastical Sonnet* XII, 'The Vaudois' [1835].

33 *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, ed. J. Forshall and F. Madden, 4 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1850; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1982), vol. I, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

in the text, is Christ? And the person of Christ was, after all, central to biblical interpretation. In *On the Truth of Holy Scripture* (1377–8), the Oxford theologian John Wyclif pointed out that Jesus equated the words of the Bible with himself, the Word made flesh, when he said 'the scripture cannot be destroyed, whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world' (John 10:35–6).[34] 'Scripture . . . whom' sounds ungrammatical, Wyclif conceded, but 'the Holy Spirit ordained in accurate manuscripts the relative pronoun "whom" (*quem*) and not "which" (*quam*)', so that Christians would be alerted to the truth and holiness of the word as Word. The equation between scripture and the person of Christ is central in Wyclif's writings.[35] He prophesies woe to the church whose pope and clergy are more concerned, in their lust for power, with human traditions of their own making than with preaching the law of God, which is the totality of scripture and authentic interpretative tradition.[36]

Because of his passionate advocacy of the authority and authenticity of holy scripture – in his debate with the Oxford Carmelite John Kynyngham (Kenningham), *c.* 1372–3, Wyclif argued that scripture was a unique kind of writing, true even where it seemed to be false from a grammatical point of view and from the point of view of common sense[37] – and because of the vehemence of his polemic against traditions invented by clerics in their own temporal interests, the Lutheran principle of *sola scriptura* has often been anachronistically associated with Wyclif. Certainly he set himself apart from what Heiko Oberman calls Tradition II, extra-scriptural tradition, which relied on human and not divine authority.[38] The Carmelite Thomas Netter, one of Wyclif's foremost opponents, contended that Wyclif altogether rejected the authority of the church in his exegesis of scripture, and should logically have refused to accept the biblical canon, since the canon itself was determined by ecclesiastical tradition.[39] Oberman, however, argues that Wyclif fully accepted

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34 Wyclif, *De veritate sacrae scripturae*, i, 6; ed. R. Buddensieg, 2 vols. (London: Wyclif Society, 1905), vol. i, pp. 109–10.

35 I. C. Levy, *John Wyclif. Scriptural Logic, Real Presence, and the Parameters of Orthodoxy* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2003), pp. 87–91.

36 Wyclif, *De veritate sacrae scripturae*, iv, 20; ed. Buddensieg, vol. ii, pp. 129–42. On Wyclif's attitude to the papacy, see I. C. Levy, 'John Wyclif and the Primitive Papacy', *Viator* 38 (2007), 159–89.

37 I. C. Levy, 'Defining the Responsibility of the Late Medieval Theologian. The Debate between John Kynyngham and John Wyclif', *Carmelus* 49 (2002), 5–29.

38 H. A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology. Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 371–8.

39 Netter, *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei Catholicae Ecclesiae* [1423–30], ii, xx; ed. B. Blanciotti, 3 vols. (Venice: Antonini Bassanesius, 1757–9), vol. i, pp. 343–8; see M. Bose, 'The Opponents of John Wyclif', in I. C. Levy (ed.), *A Companion to John Wyclif. Late Medieval Theologian* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 407–56.

what he calls Tradition I, the ongoing interpretation of scripture by the faithful church, through relationship with the incarnate Christ. 'The decisive issue', as Ian Levy has well said, 'is not respect for tradition, but the assignation of authority in determining the nature of that tradition'.[40] The authentic tradition of biblical interpretation, for Wyclif as for Waldenses, was a Christocentric one that identified the church with Christ's faithful followers, and that church, which had overlapped with the visible church from the beginning, had always been the true custodian of the interpretation of scripture.

Given the worldliness of the institutional church of the late Middle Ages, in the reformers' eyes, true Christians were more likely to be found among the laity than among the clergy, and therefore ought to have access to scripture in their own language. Wyclif and the Wycliffites' decision to translate the entire Bible into English for people with little or no education might suggest that they believed that the reader inspired by the Holy Spirit could understand scripture without any knowledge of the tradition of biblical interpretation.[41] Some assertions in the English prologue to the Wycliffite Bible suggest this: in the first chapter, for example, the writer says that anyone who maintains meekness and charity truly understands 'al holi writ', and that the 'simple man of wit' should not be too frightened to study it.[42] Augustine, whose exposition of Psalms is being quoted here, was making the point that no amount of learning can compensate for lack of charity.[43] The Wycliffite treatise 'The holy prophet David' (c. 1380–90), a treatise which is very close to Wyclif in what it says about the truth of scripture, claims that 'proude clerkis' read the Bible to their own damnation, whereas simple men, because of their lack of learning, 'possess and keep the fruit and the true meaning of the whole law of God through maintaining twofold charity', that is, through love of God and of one's neighbour.[44]

There is a similar stress on meekness, charity and lack of intellectual pride on the part of the reader of scripture in *De imitatione Christi*, the well-known work of an Augustinian canon from the Netherlands, Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), who was a follower of Geert Groote and Florentius Radewijns,

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40 Levy, *John Wyclif*, p. 122.
41 On Wyclif's role in the translation, and on the identity of the other translators, see M. Dove, *The First English Bible. The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 68–82.
42 *The Holy Bible*, ed. Forshall and Madden, vol. I, p. 2. On the Prologue and its author, see Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 103–13, 120–36.
43 Ps. 54:16, in *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 38–40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), pp. 668–9.
44 M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 425.

the founders of the reformist movement the Brethren of the Common Life.
The fifteenth-century English translation from the Latin counsels:

> We owin [ought] in scriptures rather to seke profitabilnes than highnes of
> langage . . . Oure curiosite ofte tymes in reding of scriptures deceiveth us,
> in that we serche curiouse sentence [ingenious meaning], where it is to be
> passed over simply and not curiously enqueride. If thou wolt drawe profit
> in reding, rede mekely, simply and treuly, not desiring to have a name of
> conning [reputation for knowledge].[45]

Vain and idle curiosity when reading the Bible are also denounced in the
French writings of Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris and
a prominent figure at the Council of Constance (1414–18), where the great
schism was ended and Wyclif and Hus were condemned.[46]

When, however, reformers (whether orthodox or heretical) advocated
reading simply, they were not advocating reading as though an authoritative
tradition of interpretation did not exist, let alone reading against the grain of the
interpretative tradition. They expected readers of the Bible to try to understand
what they read in the context of that tradition. À Kempis advised them to
ask for help and listen to it carefully, and the writer of 'The holy prophet
David' encouraged his readers to pay heed, whenever the opportunity arose,
to 'þe trewe and opin exposicion of hooli doctours and oere wise men'.[47]
The right attitude alone was not enough, nor was it sufficient to trust to
one's own instincts. Implicitly, the writer of the Wycliffite treatise warned
against any exposition that was not 'opin', that did not concern itself with the
plain, literal meaning of scripture but with what another Wycliffite text, the
English prologue to Isaiah and the Prophets, called 'gostly vndirstondynge eþir
moral fantesye [spiritual interpretation or moral make-believe]'.[48] Evidently
'spiritual' and 'moral' were both intended as pejoratives here – the 'opin' sense
is the accurate sense, and any other sense leads the reader astray – whereas in
practice, as we shall see, Wycliffites interpreted scripture in a range of senses.

In their championing of the literal sense of scripture, one of the heroes of
the Wycliffites was Robert Grosseteste, reformist bishop of Lincoln from 1235

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45 Thomas à Kempis, *De imitatione Christi*; *The Earliest English Translation of the First Three Books of the De imitatione Christi*, ed. J. K. Ingram, EETS es 63 (London: Kegan Paul, 1893; repr. Millwood, NY: Kraus, 1987), p. 7.
46 E.g. in *Miroir de l'âme*, in Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Glorieux, vol. VII (Paris: Desclée, 1966), p. 194.
47 Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, p. 452.
48 *The Holy Bible*, ed. Forshall and Madden, vol. III, p. 226. On the prologue to Isaiah and the Prophets, see Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 113–19.

to 1253, who recommended that a poorly educated priest should 'rehearse to himself during the week the bare [unglossed] words of the Sunday gospel', and recite the whole, literal narrative in English to his parishioners at mass (thereby doing them more good than the better-educated priest who offered them spiritual glosses).[49] Unhappily, the association of spiritual interpretation with the clergy and literal understanding with the laity put ammunition into the hands of those arguing against the Bible in the vernacular. The Oxford Dominican Thomas Palmer, who assumed that laypeople reading the Bible in English would have access only to the literal sense, cited against translation the text at the heart of Gregory the Great's advocacy of spiritual interpretation, 'the literal sense kills, whereas the spirit gives life' (2 Cor. 3:6).[50] Gregory famously interpreted an obscure verse of Deuteronomy as an anticipation of Paul's contrast between the spirit and the letter: 'If you shall find a bird's nest in a tree or on the ground, and the mother-bird is sitting on her young, you shall not take her along with her young, but you shall let her go' (Deut. 22:6). Palmer interpreted this as meaning that 'the literal sense, which is as it were the master and teacher of the other senses, ought to be left behind, and its offspring, that is the allegorical and anagogical senses, retained'.[51] Here, Palmer was making a gesture towards late-medieval understanding of the senses of scripture. Whereas for Gregory the spiritual senses are 'higher' than the literal, in the fourteenth-century schools it was a commonplace that the literal sense was the central and dominant sense. The Franciscan biblical scholar Nicholas of Lyra had definitively stated this, on the authority of Augustine, in the prologue to his hugely influential commentary on the Bible, 1322–31:

> Just as a building which begins to part company with its foundations is inclined to collapse, so a mystical [spiritual] exposition which deviates from the literal sense must be considered unseemly and inappropriate, or at any rate less seemly and less appropriate, than other interpretations. So those who wish to make headway in the study of holy scripture must begin by understanding the literal sense.[52]

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49 See K. Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy. Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 108.

50 Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, p. 424; see A. Hudson, 'The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401', in her *Lollards and their Books* (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon, 1985), pp. 67–84.

51 Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, p. 424; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 142 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), pp. 420–2.

52 From the second prologue to the *Postilla litteralis*, trans. in A. J. Minnis and A. B. Scott with D. Wallace (eds.), *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375. The Commentary Tradition*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. 268.

If, however, the literal sense was dominant, as Lyra claimed and Palmer admitted, it scarcely made sense to argue that the literal sense should be dismissed in favour of spiritual senses.

The translators of the Wycliffite Bible offered their readers as literal a text as they could. The writer of the prologue provided a fascinating account of ways in which the earlier version of the translation, which was never intended to be copied and circulated, was made syntactically and stylistically more comprehensible and accurate in the later version.[53] Sometimes, the translators decided that explanatory words or phrases had to be added to the text to make the literal meaning plain, deriving most of these intratextual glosses from Lyra. In the song of Moses, the Lord found the children of Israel 'in a desert land' (Deut. 32:10), and, following Lyra, a gloss in the later version of the Wycliffite Bible explains 'þat is, prived [deprived] of Goddis religioun'. Where the bride of the Song of Songs says, in the Latin Bible, 'I to my beloved' (7:10), the Wycliffite Bible reads, following Lyra, 'I *schal cleve by love* to my derlyng'. Lyra often alerted the reader to the tone in which words were spoken: when the psalmist asks that those who 'say to me "well well"' (Ps. 39:16) may be confounded, the Wycliffite Bible translates '[those] þat seien to me "wel wel", *in despit, þat is in scorn*'.

The translators intended that all additions to the Latin text would be underlined in red, and often they are, but equally often the underlining is in black ink, even in exceptionally high-quality Wycliffite Bibles, and in most manuscripts the underlining is sporadic. In any case, Lyra's interpretation was sometimes fully incorporated into the Wycliffite text, and so could not be signalled to the reader as a gloss. According to the Latin Bible, for example, David assembled the leaders of Israel 'and his sons with the eunuchs' (1 Chron. 28:1), but the Wycliffite Bible reads 'and hise sones wiþ nurchis [tutors]'.[54] A marginal gloss explains that the eunuchs are not literally eunuchs: 'þe Latin word here *eunuchis* is propirly geldingis, but here it is takun for nurscheris and techeris, þat ben seid geldingis for [because] þey weren chast and onest, Lire here [that is, Lyra commenting on this verse]'. Such glosses were justified by the translators as a necessary adjunct to understanding the literal sense of God's law, not as supplying spiritual senses at the expense of the literal sense, or making polemical points. The Wycliffite *Glossed Gospels*, in contrast, offered the English reader literal, spiritual and moral glosses on these crucial biblical

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53 Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 145–8.
54 For further examples, see H. Hargreaves, 'The Latin Text of Purvey's Psalter', *Medium Ævum* 24 (1955), 73–90.

books from a wide range of authorities.[55] Wycliffites also revised Richard Rolle's commentary on Psalms, again offering a wide range of glosses.[56]

Wycliffites made efforts to instruct English readers in the theoretical tradition of interpretation as well. Three chapters of the prologue to the Wycliffite Bible are devoted to principles guiding interpretation of scripture, including the rules Augustine borrowed from Tyconius the Donatist, and which Lyra expounded at greater length.[57] The most significant is the third, which according to Augustine concerns the relationship between the old and new covenants.[58] Lyra said that this rule was commonly taken to mean that a passage of scripture could have both a literal and a spiritual sense, but he preferred to say that a passage sometimes had a *duplex sensus litteralis*, which the prologue-writer translated as a 'double literal sense'.[59] Lyra's example was that God said in Chronicles concerning Solomon 'I schal be to him into a fadir, and he schal be to me into a sone' (1 Chron. 17:13). This was said literally of Solomon, son of God by grace (in his youth, at any rate); but the same verse was cited in Heb. 1:5 as said literally of Christ, where it is a proof-text for Christ being higher than the angels. Proof cannot be based on a spiritual sense, as (Lyra reminded his reader) Augustine said in his epistle to Vincent the Donatist,[60] *ergo*, both the Old Testament verse and the New Testament verse are utterly literal, although that from Hebrews is 'in some sense spiritual and secret', since it interprets Solomon as prefiguring Christ. We might deem Lyra determined to have his cake and eat it, but it was his enlargement of the domain of the literal sense to include all manner of figurative senses, including prefiguration of the New Testament in the Old Testament, that made it possible for the translators to claim that the meaning of scripture is 'opin', and therefore not confined to the clerical class, educated in biblical interpretation.

There is a very fine line between an intratextual gloss that helps the reader to understand the literal sense of the biblical text and a gloss that interprets that sense. The most striking example in the Wycliffite Bible is the translation of

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55 H. Hargreaves, 'Popularising Biblical Scholarship. The Role of the Wycliffite *Glossed Gospels*', in Lourdaux and Verhelst (eds.), *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, pp. 171–89.
56 A. Hudson, 'The Variable Text', in A. J. Minnis and C. Brewer (eds.), *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 49–60, at pp. 55–8.
57 Chs. 12–14; *The Holy Bible*, ed. Forshall and Madden, vol. 1, pp. 43–56; see Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 129–35. On Lyra, see P. D. W. Krey and L. Smith (eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra. The Senses of Scripture*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
58 Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, III, xxxiii (1); ed J. Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), p. 105.
59 *The Holy Bible*, ed. Forshall and Madden, vol. 1, p. 54.
60 Augustine, *Epistulae*, XCIII, VIII, 24; ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 34 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1898), pp. 469–70.

the words 'more beautiful in form than all the sons of men' (Ps. 44:3, Gallican text) as '*Crist, þou art fairer in schap þan þe sones of men*'.[61] After all, the Lyran gloss on the title of this psalm states that 'þis salm is seid of crist and of hooli chirche modir and virgin, for Poul [in Heb. 1: 8–9] aleggiþ þis salm seid of crist to þe lettre [declares that this psalm is literally about Christ]', and on the authority of Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews it is Christ of whom the psalmist was speaking. Yet Christ is not named in the text of the psalm.

Friar Palmer would have understood the Wycliffite translation of this verse as incorporating a spiritual rather than a literal interpretation, the psalm being allegorically about Christ and the church, and he would probably have thought the addition of one word constituted only a very rudimentary attempt to alert the English reader to the 'higher' senses of scripture. Without education in biblical interpretation, Palmer argued, readers were 'biblical illiterates', and large parts of the canon would be inaccessible and 'lacking in usefulness' to them.[62] The argument about utility could be made by reformers, too: Jakoubek of Stříbro, one of the principal assistants of Jan Hus, said that 'the common people . . . do not need every truth at every time'.[63] The evidence of extant Wycliffite Bible manuscripts suggests that in fact most readers wanted the New Testament only – some 177 of the *c.* 250 surviving Wycliffite Bible manuscripts contain solely New Testament books.[64] Nevertheless, the Wycliffite translators wanted access to the biblical text to be total.

They were not, however, unaware of the dangers of misprision. The writer of the prologue cautioned his readers to be extremely careful to understand the words of the Holy Spirit in the Song of Songs accurately.[65] The Jews did not allow anyone under thirty years of age to study this book, because it is 'sotil to undirstonde', and some of the book 'seemiþ to fleschly men to sounne [signify] unclene love of leccherie, where it telliþ high [noble] goostly love and greet previtees of crist and of his chirche'. For similar reasons, Gerson steered simple readers away from Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs (which were available in French) on the grounds that they 'treat of a kind of spiritual marriage' and 'while one may be intending to think about spiritual marriage one may easily slide into contemplation of earthly marriage'.[66]

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61 *The Holy Bible*, ed. Forshall and Madden, vol. II, p. 781.
62 Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, pp. 425, 421.
63 F. Šmahel, 'Literacy and Heresy in Hussite Bohemia', in Biller and Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy*, pp. 237–54, at p. 252.
64 Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 17–18, 281–306.
65 *The Holy Bible*, ed. Forshall and Madden, vol. I, p. 41.
66 Gerson, *La montagne de contemplation*, in Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Glorieux, vol. VII, p. 47.

Those who argued that it was unnecessary for the whole Bible to be accessible in English would doubtless have argued that it was doubly unnecessary for laypeople to have access to knowledge about the state of the biblical text, which would be liable to cause them to doubt the word of God. Yet the prologue to the Wycliffite Bible and many of the marginal glosses alert readers to errors commonly found in Latin Bibles and to discrepancies between the Latin and Hebrew texts of the Old Testament. The writer of the prologue said that the corrupt state of the text in most books of the Latin Bible could be estimated by the differences between the text of the Latin Bible and the 'propre origynals' preserved and interpreted in Jerome's commentaries.[67] The first stage in the translation process, as he described it, was the establishing of a corrected, authoritative text of the Latin Bible from which to translate, and he boasted that the English Bible was more accurate than common Latin Bibles (which, broadly speaking, is the case).[68] All the same, it must have been disturbing for English readers to realise that it was hard to know, in many cases, what exactly the words of the Holy Spirit were, as well as hard to interpret them correctly.

James Simpson contrasts reformist and orthodox positions on the interpretation of the Bible, at the end of the Middle Ages in England, in terms of orthodox writers understanding that 'the text of the Bible is subject to material degradation across time', and that 'biblical meaning can only be persuasively elucidated by communal and temporally durable means', whereas for evangelical writers the 'plain, literal meaning' of the Bible 'is directly perceptible by divine inspiration'.[69] The Wycliffites did not fit neatly into either of these categories. In line with an ascetic tradition of *lectio divina* going back to Augustine, they held that the true meaning of the Bible was perceptible to the reader who lived in charity with God and neighbour, but they also held that some parts of scripture were hard to interpret, and that readers should take advantage of every opportunity to study the exegetical tradition. They acknowledged that the text of the Bible was subject to corruption, and that its meaning was elucidated communally, but they also held that it could be interpreted only within a church in fellowship with Christ and therefore partaking of the eternal as well as of the temporal. In their view, the institutional church of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was very far from being a community within which the meaning of scripture could be discerned.

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67 *The Holy Bible*, ed. Forshall and Madden, vol. I, p. 58.
68 Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 172–88.
69 J. Simpson, *The Oxford English Literary History. Vol. II: 1350–1547. Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 475.

Polemic against worldly clergy was ubiquitous in Wycliffite writings, but Wycliffite dissatisfaction with the church's attitude to scripture was perhaps most forcibly expressed in the notorious commination against the University of Oxford, the heartland of clerical privilege.[70] This passage of the prologue to the Wycliffite Bible is an exposition and interpretation of Jerome's exegesis of Amos 1:3, a verse which threatens that although God will cause Damascus to repent of three great sins he will have no mercy when Damascus commits a fourth.[71] The writer of the prologue argued that Oxford was another Damascus, the name of which city, Jerome explained, means drinking blood or pouring blood out. Like Damascus, Oxford committed four great sins, detailed in ascending order of abomination: worldliness, sodomy (involving the loss of semen, understood to be produced from blood), simony (spiritual prostitution) and, fourth and worst, the planned introduction of a statute preventing students from beginning the study of scripture until they had become regents in Arts, a nine- or ten-year process. This would have meant that students who went to the university with little previous education, and who could afford only a short time there, would 'knowe not goddis lawe to preche it generaly agens sinnes in þe reume [realm]'. If the first three sins were all, God would 'converte' (Amos 1:3) the perpetrators, but the fourth sin cried out for vengeance. With savage irony, the Wycliffite writer warned the sinful 'clerkis of Oxenford' to amend their lives lest they proved themselves to be heretics devoted to worldly pleasure, in accordance with Jerome's tropological reading of the 'fat cows' of Amos 4:1.

There may seem to us to be a wacky mixture of the literal and allegorical both in Jerome's reading of Amos and in the prologue's reading of Jerome, but in both texts allegorical and literal interpretation are pressed into the service of moral meaning. If the prologue draws too neat a parallel between the sins of Damascus and late fourteenth-century Oxford – interpreting Amos too literally, as Leclercq might have said – the wickedness of the attempt to hold students back from knowledge of the Bible could only be compared, in the Wycliffite writer's view, with the most abominable sin of one of scripture's worst cities. Geoffrey Blyth's marginal annotations on this passage execrated Wyclif as the originator of heresy in Oxford and lamented that the opening up of scripture to the unlearned corrupted them with Wyclif's

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70 *The Holy Bible*, ed. Forshall and Madden, vol. 1, pp. 51–2.
71 Jerome, *In Amos*, 1, i; ed. M. Adriaen, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera*, 1. 6: *Commentarii in prophetas minores*, CCSL 76 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), p. 219.

poison.[72] As bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1503–30, Blyth presided over the trials of many alleged Wycliffites, and sentenced at least eight to death by burning.[73] The association of the first complete English Bible with a man whom the ecclesiastical authorities regarded as a notorious heretic made it impossible for those in favour of translation to persuade the church to approve it, in spite of the fact that the opponents of translation never at any time offered any specific criticisms of the text. Archbishop Thomas Arundel's Constitutions, promulgated in 1409, made it unlawful for anyone to read or copy the Wycliffite Bible or any part thereof.[74]

Yet the unforgiveable sin the writer of the Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible identified was not the church's persecution of Wyclif's followers but a university regulation aimed at ensuring that all students would receive a thorough grounding in logic, grammar and rhetoric. Oxford masters and doctors believed that students of divinity required such a grounding to enable them to understand the most demanding and difficult of all books. In the opinion of Wyclif and his followers, the higher clergy could not be trusted to interpret scripture in the context of Christ-centred tradition; in the opinion of many of the higher clergy, the laity could not be trusted to interpret scripture at all. The impasse was to last until the eve of the English Reformation, and to affect relations between clergy and laity well beyond that, causing incalculable damage to the church and to communal life. In the exquisitely poignant musical settings of words from the Song of Songs composed at the end of the Middle Ages by John Dunstable and others, we hear the desire for a perfection no reform was able to deliver.

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72 The annotations are in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 147; see Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 174–5, 235–7.
73 S. McSheffrey, 'Heresy, Orthodoxy and English Vernacular Religion', *Past and Present* 186 (2005), 47–80.
74 Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 35–67.

Jewish biblical exegesis from its beginnings to the twelfth century

ROBERT A. HARRIS

The origins of medieval Jewish biblical exegesis are likely to be found in the interplay between the Babylonian Geonic rabbinical academies and Karaite Jewish biblical scholars, against the backdrop of the Islamic East, during the ninth to eleventh centuries.[1] This medieval exegesis is to be distinguished from ancient rabbinic interpretations (midrash) such as are found in the Babylonian Talmud, the Talmud of the Land of Israel, and the various other classical rabbinic interpretative collections. It is true that additional ('late') midrashim continued to be composed in the early and high Middle Ages. However, the most truly innovative Jewish biblical scholarship, which grew out of the early medieval, 'Judaeo-Islamic' stage and which reached its apogee in the eleventh and especially the twelfth centuries, came in the realm of *peshat*, or 'the study of scripture in its literary and historical context'. This *peshat*, or contextual, scholarship developed somewhat differently in Jewish communities in Spain and the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and in the northern French rabbinic schools, on the other. Moreover, the European Jewish *peshat* approach had its analogue in European Christian *ad litteram* scholarship, developed by Victorine and other Parisian masters, which both influenced Jewish methodology and was influenced by it in return. By the thirteenth century, however, *peshat* biblical exegesis seemed to have run its course in both Spain and northern Europe. Prominent among the methodologies that took its place were philosophical exegesis, mysticism and a variety of homiletical and tosafistic ('scholastic') approaches that lie outside the parameters of this chapter. This chapter will briefly address late midrash, and will focus thereafter on Jewish contextual exegesis in the Islamic world and northern France.

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[1] The Geonic academies specifically refer to Sura and Pumbedita, two schools that provided much of the rabbinic leadership particularly in the early medieval period. The Geonim both transmitted and taught the Talmud, and ruled on legal issues that had not been addressed or determined by the earlier rabbis. See R. Brody, *The Geonim of Babylonia and the Shaping of Medieval Jewish Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

Late midrash: between ancient and medieval exegesis

The word 'midrash' may be translated hyperliterally as 'that which is sought' – in scripture. It is generally used to indicate the dominant form of rabbinic interpretation, particularly as found in the quasi-canonical texts of ancient rabbinic Judaism: the Mishnah and Tosefta; the Talmud of the Land of Israel; the Babylonian Talmud; and the many ancient midrashic compilations, both legal (*halakha*) and narrative/legendary (*aggadah*).[2] Put differently, midrash is non-literal, non-contextual interpretation, either homiletical/theological or legal in character, that generally approaches scriptural language as 'omnisignificant' (that is, bearing a meaning much broader in scope than its actual words would indicate) in its essence.[3] In the period under consideration, midrash should be seen both as a continuation of ancient exegetical methodology and as a form reinvigorated with new possibilities and structures. While ancient midrashic compilations were the product of anonymous redaction of interpretations transmitted in the names of hundreds of rabbis who lived during the first several centuries of the Common Era, primarily in the land of Israel and Babylonia, medieval midrashim could be either anonymous or named compositions, and were produced over the geographical extent of Jewish communities in the Middle Ages. Moreover, while some of the medieval compositions primarily retrod older traditions, others were either newly minted or preserved ancient interpretations that do not appear in the earlier works. Some of the later medieval works employ midrashic forms in the service of either philosophical or mystical purposes, but these lie outside the scope of our treatment.

One example of medieval midrash must suffice for this survey: the eleventh-century Byzantine midrash *Leqah Tov* of Tobiah ben Eliezer.[4] This work may be considered to be on the 'cusp of commentary' rather than only following the

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2 See R. Kalmin, 'Rabbinic Midrash of Late Antiquity', in C. Brekelmans et al. (eds.), *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament. The History of its Interpretation*, vol. 1/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996), pp. 285–302; R. Kasher, 'The Interpretation of Scripture in Rabbinic Literature' in M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling (eds.), *Mikra. Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Assen: Van Gorcum / Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1988), pp. 547–94; and B. L. Visotzky and D. E. Fishman, *From Mesopotamia to Modernity. Ten Introductions to Jewish History and Literature* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999), pp. 71–102.
3 See J. L Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible. A Guide to the Bible as it Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), esp. pp. 14–19. Kugel first proposed this term in *The Idea of Biblical Poetry. Parallelism and its History* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 103–4.
4 *Midrash Leqah Tov . . . of R. Tobiah Ben Eliezer*, ed. S. Buber (Vilna: Romm, 1880).

contours of ancient midrash, as it evinces awareness of contemporary forms of exegesis that are contextual in nature (see below). By way of example, let us consider its interpretation of Gen. 28:11, which introduces the narrative of Jacob's dream of the 'stairway to heaven'.

> **He took one of the stones of the place**: Did not Jacob have either a mattress or a cushion or anything to put under his head, other than a stone?! This was a hint to his descendants, who would in the future receive the Torah, as it is said: *[Carve two] tablets of stone* [Exod. 34:1]. Rabbi Judah said: twelve stones did he take, in accordance with the number of tribes who would in the future descend from him, and these became one stone, since all of [Jacob's sons] were righteous and there was no distinction among them [in this regard]. Yet I [Tobiah ben Eliezer] say: **He took one of the stones of the place**: A stone, on account of [the verse] *[his arms were made firm by the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob –] There, the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel* [Gen. 49:24] . . . But the truth of the sense of the verse does not depart from its plain meaning:[5] **He took one of the stones of the place and placed it under his head**, for he had neither mattress nor cushion there with him, for his mother Rebecca had said: *Flee at once to Haran, to my brother Laban* [Gen. 27:43]. But even though he slept in that place, a sweet sleep did he sleep, for the Lord is not prevented from giving softness even to a rock, as though it were a mattress or a cushion.

The excerpt presents a relatively full range of the creative process for this author: the first section appears to be an eleventh-century reworking of the Mekhilta, a classical-era midrash, about Moses (see Exod. 17:12), whereas the dictum of Rabbi Judah is found in the ancient midrash, Bereshit Rabba (68),[6] and adapted for use here. Tobiah himself seems to author the midrash in the section beginning 'yet I say . . . ', using wordplay to establish a connection between Gen. 49:24 and his source-text, Gen. 28:11. But perhaps the most unusual step our author takes is his 'plain meaning' comment, connecting the context of his passage and Rebecca's command in Gen. 27:43. Tobiah uses the words, *peshuto shel mikra*, a phrase that has talmudic lineage but which probably did not become the anchor of a full-fledged contextual methodology until the twelfth century. Tobiah's usage evokes that of his near-contemporary, the great French rabbinic master, Rashi (see below); although one does not need to establish any direct connection between these two, their fledgling use of

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5 By the twelfth century, as we shall see, this talmudic dictum of the Sages (see Babylonian Talmud ['BT'] Shabbat 63a; BT Yebamot 24a) had become the foundation of a comprehensive contextual interpretative methodology.
6 *Midrash be-Reshit Raba*, ed. J. Theodor and C. Albeck, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1965), vol. I, p. 782.

the newly reminted terminology shows that similar interests existed in widely disparate communities.

To be sure, midrash, in a variety of forms, continued to play a prominent role in the history of Jewish biblical exegesis in the Middle Ages. Having briefly examined a rabbinic midrash from the eleventh century, let us now reverse direction and return to the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Islamic conquest set in motion the cultural processes that led to the development of a fully contextual, linguistically and grammatically based exegesis – in a new literary genre, the commentary.

Jewish exegesis in the Islamic world: Babylonia and the land of Israel

As should be expected, the rise of Islam and the political ascendancy and dominance of the Caliphate across the Middle East and Mediterranean worlds had a profound impact on Jewish culture in general and, in particular, on the way in which Jews studied the Bible. While it would be an oversimplification to claim that there was direct correspondence between specific Islamic expression and Jewish reaction, given the Islamic assertion of Arabic as the most superior of human languages and of the Qu'rān as the most complete and perfect expression of God's revelation, it is not surprising that a Jewish response to the dominant culture would be found in the related fields of Hebrew language studies, and biblical exegesis and translation.

Of the two principal expressions of contextual (as opposed to midrashic) Jewish biblical exegesis in the Islamic East, those produced by the Karaites and by the rabbis, we will treat that of the Karaites first.[7] The word 'Karaite' comes from the Hebrew word for scripture (*mikra*, 'that which is read'); Karaite Judaism is rooted in some manner of rebellion against rabbinic law (*halakha*), and is said to have coalesced around the eighth-century figure of Anan ben David. While much of the early history of the Karaites is shrouded in legend and polemics, it is clear that the movement that came to be associated with Anan's break with the Babylonian rabbinic academies established itself as a Judaism whose practices and beliefs were held to be rooted directly in the biblical text, without regard for rabbinic legal and exegetical traditions. Anan was himself remembered as advocating as unbiased a reading of scripture as

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7 Useful introductions, with extensive bibliographies, are M. Polliack, *Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), and D. Frank, *Search Scripture Well. Karaite Exegetes and the Origins of the Jewish Bible Commentary in the Islamic East* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2004).

could be achieved: 'Search diligently in Torah and do not rely on my opinion.' Though the Karaites did not actually dispense with all elements of rabbinic Judaism, they did come to emphasise a form of literal exegesis, perhaps originally and marginally associated with rabbinic Judaism, that championed the lexicographic and linguistic meaning of biblical texts, within their literary contexts; this was in ostensible opposition to rabbinic midrash.

By the tenth century, Karaite biblical exegesis had truly come into its own. Two of the most prominent exegetes associated with the formative period were Daniel al-Qumisi (late ninth to early tenth century) and Japhet ben Ali (tenth century). Daniel wrote his commentaries in Hebrew; they are utterly unlike any of the rabbinic midrashic compositions mentioned earlier. Daniel interpreted what he intuited to be individual units of biblical literature, and his commentaries follow the biblical text, verse by verse. His major extant exegetical work is the *Pitron Shnaim Asar*, a commentary on the twelve 'Minor' Prophets.[8] His comment on Hab. 3:3 ('God is coming from Teman, The Holy One from Mount Paran') is a good example to consider, both for its contextual orientation and for its complete disregard for rabbinic tradition:

> **God is coming from Teman**: This is a day of agitation [see verse 2] that is also referenced in: *O YHWH, when you went forth from Seir* [Jdg. 5:4]. (**. . . coming from . . . Mount**) **Paran** is the same as [**coming from**] **Teman**. In my opinion he [the biblical author] mentions both Seir and Paran because they are in the desert. And this day will be at a time that God judged on Israel's behalf in the desert. Concerning the desert it is said: *I will remove from you those who rebel and transgress against Me* [Ezek. 20:38]. From this matter it is known that they [the warring nations] will not attack Jerusalem from the desert . . .

Note that Daniel has both understood that the two halves of Hab. 3:3 refer to the same event, thus recognising the parallelistic structure in the verse, and correctly interpreted the verse in the context of what has preceded it in verse 2. Moreover, where the rabbis had read the verse midrashically as a reference to God's revelation of the Torah to Israel (after the nations had rejected God's similar offer of it to them), Daniel interpreted the verse as yet another expression of the biblical 'divine warrior' motif. While it is clear that in other instances Daniel employed methodology analogous to midrash,[9] his comment on Hab. 3:3 is most typical of the way he engaged with the biblical text. Daniel al-Qumisi heralded an age in which linguistic / grammatical and

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8 *Commentarius in librum duodecim prophetarum quem composuit Daniel Al-Kumissi*, ed. I. D. Markon (Jerusalem: Mikize Nirdamim, 1957).
9 Polliack, *Karaite Judaism*, pp. 372–88.

literary / historical / contextual commentaries reflected the dominant mode of scriptural reading.

Japhet ben Ali is said to have been the first Jew to write commentaries on the entire Hebrew Bible – although he composed them in Arabic.[10] Most of Japhet's commentaries remain in manuscript, though several of them are in the process of being published. Although in the course of time Japhet did not remain directly influential, through the work of Abraham ibn Ezra (see below), who polemicised against Japhet yet cited him nonetheless, his insights were included in subsequent exegesis.

Whereas Karaite scholars such as Daniel al-Qumisi and Japhet ben Ali could develop their hermeneutic without regard for rabbinic tradition, such was not the case of the most prominent among the early rabbinic advocates of a new type of exegesis, Rabbi Saadia ben Joseph (Saadia Gaon), whose life (882–942) overlapped that of the early Karaites. Born in Egypt and later the head (gaon; plur. geonim) of the prestigious academy of Sura (in modern-day Iraq), Saadia was active in virtually all areas of Jewish scholarship and communal leadership during his prodigious career. He produced authoritative works in many fields, encompassing liturgy, Hebrew language and philosophy, in addition to his work in biblical exegesis.[11] His biblical studies yielded significant results in two complementary areas, translation and commentary. Saadia authored a translation of the Bible into Arabic and composed a commentary as well; the Arabic word *tafsir* ('explication') is used to describe both of these activities.[12]

Several of Saadia's commentaries (for example, Genesis and Job) contain extensive methodological introductions. In these, among other subjects, Saadia addressed what he considered to be the three fundamental principles upon which his biblical scholarship was based:

> Therefore I have taken it upon myself to explain this book according to the three criteria through which interpreters ought to explain all of the books of the Lord, the blessed and exalted One. These are: that which is implanted by the proof of reason; that which is employed in the language of the people among whom the book was written; the known reasons in the Tradition from the earliest Sages [who are as] prophets of the Lord, the exalted One . . . Thus I say that foremost, that which must precede each interpretation is that which is

10 D. Frank, 'Karaite Exegesis', in M. Saebø with C. Brekelmans and M. Haran (eds.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. The History of its Interpretation. Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300). Part 2: The Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 110–28.
11 Saadia's dictionary of Biblical Hebrew is *Ha'egron Kitav 'Usul Al-Shi'r Al-'Ibrani, by Rav Se'adya Ga'on*, ed. N. Alloni (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1969).
12 See R. Brody, 'The Geonim of Babylonia as Biblical Exegetes', in Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament*, pp. 74–88.

known from the language of the book's author, unless reason would negate that which the words [seem to] mean, or if such interpretation would be opposed by [rabbinic] tradition.[13]

Thus biblical texts should be understood, first and foremost, according to reason: if the literal meaning of a verse would yield an illogical interpretation, then the figurative understanding of the text should be preferred. A parade example of this would be Deut. 10:16 ('You shall circumcise the foreskin of your heart'); the verse should most assuredly not be understood according to the widespread meaning of its words, since that would yield an interpretation that would run counter to common sense. Second, scripture should be understood according to the well-known and widespread meaning the words convey to the readers. No less than did the Karaites, Saadia set as his goal understanding the Bible according to its grammatical and lexicographic meaning. In these considerations, then, interpreting according to human reason and the Hebrew language, Saadia was at one with the goals of Karaite exegesis. However, he parted ways with the Karaites most emphatically when it came to the last of his three principles: scripture, and in particular the legal norms of the Pentateuch, could not be construed at variance with rabbinic tradition. Thus, texts such as Exod. 34:26, 'You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk', should be interpreted not literally according to the meaning of its words, but according to the talmudic tradition that mandates a complete separation of meat and dairy products in the Jewish cuisine. This third principle became a crucial factor not only in the distinction between Rabbanites and Karaites but also, as we shall see, between Spanish adherents of *peshat* methodology who followed in Saadia's footsteps (most notably, Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra) and the northern French school established by Rashi (see below).

Jewish exegesis in the Islamic world: the Spanish Jewish grammarians

By the middle of the tenth century Spain had succeeded Babylonia as the most prominent centre of Jewish learning. As was true of the earlier period, the

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13 *Job with the Translation and Commentary of Rabbenu Saadia Ben Yosef Fayyumi*, ed. Y. Kifah (Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1973), p. 20; see also *Saadya's Commentary on Genesis*, ed. M. Zucker (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1984), pp. 5, 167–8. The translation of the excerpt from Saadia's introduction is mine, but the entire work is translated by L. E. Goodman, *The Book of Theodicy. Translation and Commentary of the Book of Job by Saadiah Ben Joseph Al-Fayyumi*, Yale Judaica Series 25 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

vast majority of this scholarship took place in the Arabic language; likewise, most was not purely exegetical in character, but rather featured a variety of grammatical and lexicographical works with exegetical import. A prominent exception was the grammarian and poet Menahem ibn Saruk, who composed the *Mahberet*, a dictionary of biblical Hebrew, in the Hebrew language. Menahem's dictionary engendered a lengthy, generations-long, scholarly debate, chiefly embodied in the *Teshuvot* (or 'Responses') of Dunash ibn Labrat, and the writings of their respective disciples and advocates. Although these works were in time superseded by more sophisticated dictionaries and grammatical treatises, which were composed in Arabic, the *Mahberet* and the *Teshuvot* achieved a pride of place within Jewish communities in Christian Europe, where Arabic was not read or understood; all the great northern French rabbinic exegetes of the Bible relied on these works.[14]

However, it was in the work of Spanish Jewish scholars writing in Arabic that the greatest advances in Hebrew language and biblical exegesis were achieved. In particular, in the late tenth century, Judah ibn Hayyuj's discovery of the tri-literal nature of Hebrew verbs (and most nouns) had profound implications for subsequent Bible and Hebrew-language studies. The most important of these were the comprehensive grammar (*Sefer Hariqmah*) and dictionary (*Sefer Hashorashim*) written by Jonah ibn Janah in the early eleventh century.[15] Ibn Janah synthesised the linguistic system outlined by Hayyuj and fully described biblical Hebrew for the first time. Although Ibn Janah did not produce formal exegetical works, his grammar and dictionary include many explanations of verses and even broader biblical contexts (in addition to virtually all the individual words), and so essentially provided a philological gateway to the Bible for any interested student.[16] Among the scholars who assimilated the information embodied in works of Ibn Janah and Ibn Hayyuj were two late eleventh-century exegetes, Moses ibn Chiquitilla and Judah ibn Balam. Like most of the Spanish Jewish grammarians and linguists before them, Ibn Chiquitilla and Ibn Balam wrote their commentaries in Arabic; much of their exegetical output is either not extant or remains in

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14 A. Saenz-Badillos, 'Early Hebraists in Spain. Menahem Ben Saruq and Dunash Ben Labrat', in Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, pp. 96–109.

15 The standard Hebrew translations of these Arabic works are *The Book of Embroidery of Rabbi Yonah Ibn Janah in the Hebrew Translation of Rabbi Yehudah Ibn Tibbon*, ed. M. Wilensky (Jerusalem: Academy of Hebrew Language, 1964); *Sepher Haschoraschim . . . von Abulwalid Merwan Ibn Ganah (R. Jona). Aus Dem Arabischen in's Hebraische übersetzt von Jehudah Ibn Tibbon*, ed. W. Bacher (Berlin: Mekize Nirdamim, 1896).

16 A. Maman, 'The Linguistic School: Judah Hayyuj, Jonah Ibn Janah, Moses Ibn Chiquitilla and Judah Ibn Balam', in Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, pp. 261–81.

manuscript.[17] However, all these were followed by a twelfth-century exegete who did write in Hebrew and who cited all the previously mentioned scholars extensively: Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra. Consequently it was through the work of Ibn Ezra that the scholarship of the great Judaeo-Spanish linguists was mediated to later generations of Jewish readership. Before assessing the significance of Ibn Ezra, it would be appropriate to backtrack, and consider the development of biblical exegesis among the Jews of Christian Europe.

The northern French school

Between the middle of the eleventh century and the beginning of the thirteenth, sweeping changes took place in biblical exegesis among the rabbinic masters of northern France. Essentially, these scholars seriously modified and in some cases abandoned traditional Bible study based on the homiletical and legal midrashim, and replaced it with the methodology they called *peshat*, or 'the interpretation of biblical texts according to context'. Although this methodology had its antecedents and analogies in the world of Judaeo-Islamic scholarship discussed previously, the northern French approach arose out of its own specific circumstances (see below). As exemplified particularly by Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, or Rashi (1040–1105), it came to influence all subsequent developments in medieval Jewish biblical exegesis. While the French rabbis did not compose treatises on rhetoric and poetics as did their Sephardic Jewish predecessors, their surviving works of biblical exegesis have much to say on the subject of how to read a text. Though many of the biblical commentaries they composed were subsequently lost, either to the vicissitudes of time or, quite probably, to the Christian purges of rabbinic texts that occurred throughout the thirteenth century, enough of their exegetical oeuvre has survived to enable its evaluation and analysis.[18]

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17 Published material includes *R. Judah ibn Bal'am's Commentary on Isaiah*, ed. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992). See also U. Simon, *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms* (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1991).

18 An important survey of the northern French school is A. Grossman, 'The School of Literal Exegesis in Northern France', in Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, pp. 321–71. See also R. A. Harris, *Discerning Parallelism. A Study in Northern French Medieval Jewish Biblical Exegesis* (Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2004), pp. 15–34; S. Kamin, *Jews and Christians Interpret the Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1991). The exegetical texts themselves have traditionally been studied in 'rabbinic Bibles' called *mikraot gedolot* (literally, 'great scriptures'). In contemporary Jewish scholarship, the most comprehensive undertaking to present the rabbinic Bible according to the best manuscripts and early editions is *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'. A Revised and Augmented Scientific Edition of 'Mikraot Gedolot' Based on the Aleppo Codex and Early Medieval Mss*, ed. M. Cohen (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992–).

Rashi was the pioneer who led the way in this revolution in exegesis.[19] Whereas midrash allows for a fanciful reading, encouraging embellishing details and often stressing a moral or legal teaching, *peshat* came to connote a reading that fits the 'actual' meaning of a text, as understood on the basis of the reader's own intuitive sense of a given passage. While Rashi himself never fully abandoned midrash in his Torah commentary (in fact, fully three quarters of his comments in that work relate in some way to a midrashic reading of ancient rabbinic origin that Rashi adapted to better fit the passage at hand), he did articulate a vision of what an individually intuited, contextual reading should look like. This is most famously seen in his celebrated comment on Gen. 3:8:

> There are many homiletical midrashim (on these verses), and the Rabbis have long ago arranged them in their proper place in Genesis Rabba and the other midrashim. Whereas I have only come to explain Scripture according to its plain meaning [*peshuto*], and according to the *aggadah* that reconciles the words of Scripture and its sense, *each word understood according to its character* [see Prov. 25:11].

To a degree, Rashi expressed awareness of both midrashic and plain interpretations, and claimed a preference for the latter. Moreover, he would not cite just any midrash (for that, a reader could simply consult one of the classical midrashic collections, as he implied in the beginning of his programmatic statement); he claimed that he would choose only those midrashim that 'reconcile' a specific textual issue. A classic instance where this approach came into play is in Rashi's comment on Gen. 8:7 ('[Noah] sent out the raven; it went to and fro until the waters had dried up from the earth'):

> **. . . until the waters had dried up**: Its plain meaning is self-evident. But a midrash *aggadah* states that the raven was prepared for another (divine) mission, at the time of the drought in Elijah's days, as it is said: *The ravens brought him bread and meat* [1 Kings 17:6].

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19 The most important monograph on Rashi's methodology is the Hebrew study of S. Kamin, *Rashi's Exegetical Categorization in Respect to the Distinction between Peshat and Derash* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986); see also B. J. Gelles, *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi*, ed. G. Vajda (Leiden: Brill, 1981), and G. Dahan, G. Nahon and E. Nicolas (eds.), *Rashi et la culture juive en France du nord au moyen âge* (Paris and Leuven: Peeters, 1997), and G. Sed-Rajna (ed.), *Rashi, 1040–1990. Hommage à Ephraim E. Urbach. Congrès européen des études juives* (Paris: Cerf, 1993). Rashi's Torah commentary has been translated several times; see, e.g., *The Torah. With Rashi's Commentary Translated, Annotated and Elucidated*, ed. Y. I. Z. Herczeg (Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah, 1995). See also (with much added annotation) *Rashi's Commentary on Psalms*, ed. M. I. Gruber (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2004).

In this case, Rashi thought that the 'surface meaning' of the Bible was clear enough. But he decided to supplement this observation with a midrash that implicitly answered the question, 'Why didn't the raven return to the ark? What happened after it only went "to and fro"?' While the midrash in its own terms might be considered as apt, the question should be asked, how did this midrash function for Rashi as an '*aggadah* that reconciles' and not rather be considered an outlandish reading that would seem to be of a type not fitting his methodological programme? To answer this we must take a second look at his incipit: Why would scripture choose the curious idiom 'until the *waters* had dried up'? Is it not rather the case that the *land* had dried up, after the flood? When does the Bible relate another deed involving a raven when 'waters had dried up'? The answer is: during the drought that took place in Elijah's time (see 1 Kings 17:7)! Thus the Bible here is multivalent: it both 'means' its obvious, surface meaning (here, the idiomatic understanding) and as well contains an implicit reference to the deeds of the ravens in Elijah's time – when the drought had caused the water to be 'dried up'. And Rashi may thus be seen as an exegete who would employ every means at his disposal to supply the reader with the fullest possible accounting of biblical language.[20]

Rashi composed commentaries on nearly the entire Hebrew Bible. In general, his commentaries on the Prophets and Writings are characterised by a more contextual, less midrashically driven exegesis. This was due, certainly, to the dearth of classical midrash on the later books of the Bible (most ancient midrashic compilations are rooted in the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls), but it was also due to Rashi's increased awareness of the importance of engaging in the interpretative process without turning to the traditions of the Sages (Rashi's grandson, Rabbi Samuel ben Meir, in his comment on Gen. 37:2, mentioned Rashi's regret over not having enough time to redo his commentaries in light of 'the newer contextual interpretations being innovated daily'). It is thus quite likely that Rashi wrote his commentaries on the Prophets and the Writings later in his lifetime, so those exegetical works more faithfully reflected the later development among exegetes to write comments more purely contextual.

Rabbi Joseph Kara was one of the most prominent expositors in the generation following Rashi.[21] Although he may not have composed an independent

20 E. L. Greenstein, 'Sensitivity to Language in Rashi's Commentary on the Torah', in M. I. Gruber (ed.), *The Solomon Goldman Lectures (VI)* (Chicago, IL: Spertus College of Judaica Press, 1993), pp. 51–71.

21 Most modern scholarship on Kara is in Hebrew. In addition to primary and secondary literature cited above, see G. Brin, *Studies in the Exegesis of R. Joseph Kara* (University of Tel Aviv, 1990).

Torah commentary of his own, he was one of the scholars chiefly responsible for the transmission of Rashi's commentaries. He did, however, compose commentaries on the prophetic books and on at least some of the Five Scrolls. While Kara on occasion expressed an appreciation for the value of midrash as a source of religious wisdom, he time and again explicitly rejected it as reading methodology (see, for example, his comments on Jdg. 5:4; 1 Sam. 1:17–18; 2 Sam. 12:30). Moreover, he advocated contextual reading not only on the basis of its efficacy as a coherent approach to understanding a text, but also as enabling a knowledge of God otherwise unattainable through traditional, authoritative midrash. Let us examine by way of example his comment on Isa. 5:8–10:

> Incline your ear and surrender yourself to scripture! For each and every scriptural text that the Rabbis have expounded (may their souls dwell in goodness!), inasmuch as they told a midrash about it, they themselves (also) said about it: 'No scriptural passage ever escapes the hold of its context.' For we have no greater principle than contextual exegesis . . . Thus did Solomon, King of Israel, say: *Incline your ear . . . to the words of the sages, apply your heart to know me* [Prov. 22:17]. The explanation [of this verse] is: even though it is a commandment for you to 'hear the words of the Sages', apply your heart to know me – according to the body of the word. 'To know *them*' [the Sages] scripture does not say; rather to know *me* [God], through Scripture.[22]

It is important to see this comment not as 'anti-midrashic' in a global sense; Kara was, after all, a rabbi who was thoroughly committed to a life in accordance with rabbinic law and practice. However, what he articulated here and elsewhere was his sense that midrash is not sustainable as a reading strategy; to truly understand scripture (and through it, to know God), a contextual reading is required.

Rashi's grandson, Rabbi Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam), was a devoted exponent of *peshat*. Although he, too, was committed to rabbinic tradition in matters of theology and *halakha*, when it came to biblical exegesis he all but completely abandoned midrash and interpreted according to context.[23] His

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22 R. A. Harris, 'Structure and Composition in Isaiah 1–12. A Twelfth-Century Northern French Rabbinic Perspective', in C. M. McGinnis and P. K. Tull (eds.), '*As Those who are Taught*'. *The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), pp. 171–87.

23 The most comprehensive studies of Rashbam's exegetical œuvre are in the introductions in S. Japhet, *The Commentary of Rabbi Samuel Ben Meir (Rashbam) on the Book of Job* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2000) and *The Commentary of Rabbi Samuel Ben Meir (Rashbam) on the Song of Songs* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 2008). A briefer introduction is in S. Japhet and R. Salters, *The Commentary of R. Samuel Ben Meir (Rashbam) on Qoheleth*

Torah commentary survives and, although it is still a matter of some dispute, growing scholarly consensus recognises also his authorship of commentaries on Job, Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes) and Song of Songs. Rashbam's reliance on *peshat* as opposed to rabbinic midrash extended even to the legal portions of the Pentateuch, something that led to a critical response among some of the other twelfth-century rabbinic exegetes. A classic case in point is his interpretation of Exod. 13:9 ('And it shall be to you as a sign on your hand and as a memorial between your eyes'), which he interpreted figuratively and not as a literal command for Jews to wear *tefillen*[24] during prayer:

> According to the depths of its contextual meaning[25] [*peshuto*], it should be for you as a continuous memorial, as if it were written on your hand. This usage is similar to: *place me as a seal upon your heart* [Song 8:6].

As his introduction to the legal portion of the Pentateuch (Exod. 21:1) makes clear, however, he did not see it as his responsibility to find justification for rabbinic law in the words of scripture; this had its own authoritative status as part of God's revelation of the oral Torah on Mt Sinai in addition to the written Torah:

> Let knowers of wisdom know and understand that I have not come to explain rabbinic law [Heb. *halakhot*], even though this is the essence of Torah, as I have explained in my Genesis commentary [e.g., at Gen. 1:1; 37:2]. For it is from the apparent superfluousness of scriptural language that rabbinic homilies [Heb. *aggadot*] and law are derived. Some of these rabbinic interpretations can be found in the commentary of our Rabbi Solomon, my mother's father [i.e., Rashi], may the memory of the righteous be for a blessing. But I have

(Jerusalem: Magnes / Leiden: Brill, 1985). All these works contain critical editions. The classic, Wissenschaft-era monograph is D. Rosin, *R. Samuel Ben Meir als Schrifterklarer* (Breslau: Wilhelm Koebner, 1880); Rosin also published the critical edition of the Torah commentary: *The Torah Commentary of Rashbam* (Breslau: Solomon Schtottlaender, 1881). Important essays are in E. Touitou, *Exegesis in Perpetual Motion. Studies in the Pentateuchal Commentary of Rabbi Samuel Ben Meir* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2003). Finally, M. I. Lockshin has translated Rashbam's Torah commentary, his annotations amounting to a sustained super-commentary on the entire work: *Rabbi Samuel Ben Meir's Commentary on Genesis. An Annotated Translation* (Lewiston, NY, Lampeter and Queenston: Edwin Mellen, 1989); *Rashbam's Commentary on Exodus. An Annotated Translation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); *Rashbam's Commentary on Leviticus and Numbers. An Annotated Translation* (Providence, RI: Brown, 2001); and *Rashbam's Commentary on Deuteronomy. An Annotated Translation* (Providence, RI: Brown, 2004).

24 *Tefillen* are Jewish prayer implements, leather boxes worn on arm and forehead during weekday morning prayer and containing parchment copies of biblical passages. They are still sometimes mistranslated in scholarly literature as 'phylacteries' (based on the Greek of Matt. 23:5).

25 This descriptive phrase, not uncommon in Rashbam's exegesis, bears an uncanny resemblance to the nearly contemporary Christian exegetical remark, *sensus literalis profoundus*.

come to explain the contextual meaning of scripture. And I will explain the statutes and laws according to realia [lit. 'the way of the world']. And I will do this even though the rabbinic understanding of the laws is the essence, as the Rabbis taught: 'law [*halakha*] uproots scripture' [Babylonian Talmud, tractate 'Sota' (suspected adultress), 16a].

Rashbam frequently interpreted pentateuchal laws in ways that utterly contradicted rabbinic tradition as found in the Talmud and ancient midrashim; however, as he made clear on several occasions, these interpretations ought not be considered as threatening the status and rule of rabbinic law. The Torah as a divine document is multivalent: when Jews turn to it as a source of legal guidance, the interpretation of the rabbis is paramount. However, when reading it as a document that has its own independent voice, his exclusive methodology of choice was *peshat*, interpretation according to context.[26]

As they interpreted the Torah as a literary document, the northern French exegetes came to describe it in literary terminology. Thus Rashbam had an insight into the Torah's use of foreshadowing (prolepsis), and he developed a Hebrew term to identify it when he found it to be operative as a literary device (for instance, at Gen. 9:18, 24:1 and 35:22).[27] Other northern French exegetes evinced awareness of flashback technique (analepsis), wordplay and parallelism in biblical poetry,[28] among other features. Among the exegetes of the northern French school, it was Rashbam's student, Rabbi Eliezer of Beaugency, who was said to represent the apex of contextual exegesis.[29]

Rabbi Eliezer, in the mid- to late twelfth century, excelled in recognising literary dimensions of biblical composition.[30] While his Torah commentary is no longer extant, commentaries on Isaiah, Ezekiel and the twelve Prophets have survived (though in a single manuscript). One device to which he referred is that of resumptive repetition (*Wiederaufnahme*). This is a technique through

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26 See S. Japhet, 'The Tension between Rabbinic Legal Midrash and the "Plain Meaning" (Peshat) of the Biblical Text – an Unresolved Problem? In the Wake of Rashbam's Commentary on the Pentateuch', in C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz and S. M. Paul (eds.), *Sefer Moshe. The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), pp. 403–25.
27 See M. I. Lockshin, 'Rashbam as a "Literary" Exegete', in J. D. McAuliffe et al. (eds.), *With Reverence for the Word. Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 83–91.
28 Harris, *Discerning Parallelism*; R. A. Harris, 'Twelfth-century Biblical Exegetes and the Invention of Literature', *Commentaria* 2 (2009), 311–29.
29 See the introduction in *Commentary on Ezekiel and the Twelve Minor Prophets by Eliezer of Beaugency*, ed. S. Poznanski (Warsaw: Mikize Nirdamim, 1913). R. Eliezer's commentaries may be found in the 'Mikraot Gedolot Haketer' volumes on Isaiah and Ezekiel.
30 R. A. Harris, 'The Literary Hermeneutic of Rabbi Eliezer of Beaugency', unpubl. PhD thesis, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York (1997).

which an editor or author incorporates material that is in some way secondary to his central concern; in those instances, he would on occasion insert the material into his text, and then resume the original narrative, repeating elements of the last sentence before the break with more or less accuracy.[31] Eliezer discovered resumptive repetition as a regular feature of biblical composition; he often articulated his awareness of its presence with a Hebrew sentence: '[the scriptural narrator] returns to the beginning . . . to complete it, and to make explicit things which he had heard from it'. One such instance that he recognised occurs in Ezek. 30:1. Earlier (29:17ff.), God had begun an announcement to Ezekiel concerning the fate of Egypt at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar. As is often the case, Ezekiel gives a precise date to that prophecy ('in the twenty-seventh year, on the first day of the first month'). At this point the prophet begins a brief discourse (29:18–20) which declares God's intention to recompense Nebuchadnezzar for his expenditures in the campaign against Tyre by giving him Egypt as payment, but then places this message in a context of prophetic consolation to Israel and to Ezekiel himself (29:21). With the words that begin the following prophetic announcement (30:1) being virtually identical to those at the end of 29:17 that had begun the previous prophecy, and with the subsequent message being in fact an announcement of doom against Egypt, Eliezer understood the new section as an instance of resumptive repetition:

> **The word of the LORD came to me**: He returns to complete the prophecy of the twenty-seventh year, since he had already begun it. And since [the redactor] had brought it above only *en passant*, as I have explained, he abbreviated it [here]. And now he makes explicit how God will deliver Egypt into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar [see 29:19].

Eliezer had not, in fact, 'explained' anything at Ezek. 29:17, nor had he mentioned anything about the passage being abbreviated or brought in *en passant*. Therefore, we may assume that Eliezer is referring not to a specific observation of verse 17 but to the general observation about the nature of the temporal disorder and resumptive repetition that are exhibited in the passage, and that he has described previously in his commentaries.

In articulating the literary dimensions of biblical composition, Eliezer of course approached the biblical text as divine in origin. However, he did evince awareness that the books of the Bible underwent a process of human redaction before achieving their final status in the canon of Jewish scriptures. Like

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31 In modern biblical scholarship, this literary device was first described by H. W. Weiner, *The Composition of Judges II.11 to 1 Kings II.46* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929).

several other northern French exegetes (in particular, his master, Rashbam), he articulated an understanding of the role of the human, non-prophetic redactor, who did more than simply serve as the receptacle of divine writ. Rather, the redactor of each biblical book – someone with whom God did not directly speak – gathered up the words and speeches of the various prophets, edited and, indeed, composed the books that constitute the Hebrew Bible (see his comment on Ezek. 1:1).

The origins of northern French contextual exegesis (*peshat*) are to be found in a number of different factors. They should be sought in the influence of Spanish Judaism and the Islamic world, and in the complex historical processes that led to the twelfth-century Renaissance in Christian Europe.[32] Additionally, northern French *peshat* developed in the context of the often polemical relationship between Judaism and Christianity. Faced with an ever more compelling Christian environment, in the sense both of its being culturally enriching and as being theologically challenging, the northern French rabbinic exegetes developed an approach to reading that would meet the needs of the Jewish community. The adoption of *peshat* by the rabbis (and of *ad litteram*, or 'literal', exegesis, by contemporary church scholars) afforded both Jew and Christian, at least in part, a kind of common ground in which to engage their interfaith polemics. In addition to these factors, the *peshat* methodology espoused by the northern French commentators was born partially, at least, out of dissatisfaction with the type of reading engaged in by the talmudic masters. In the movement away from midrash and towards *peshat*, these medieval exegetes essentially expressed their autonomy in ascertaining the meaning of scripture and their unwillingness always to defer to the authority of the ancients when it came to interpreting the Bible.

Rashi, the first of the great northern French exegetes, achieved renown even in his own day and his commentaries were rapidly copied and disseminated among Jewish communities all over the world. As a result, they have been preserved in hundreds of manuscripts and printed editions and have received the greatest amount of scholarly attention over the generations. However, the ravages of the Middle Ages were not kind to much of the scholarly achievements of the great northern French biblical exegetes who succeeded Rashi: crusades, disputations, book burnings and wholesale expulsions of the Jewish communities of northern Europe all contributed to the near-total destruction

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32 Grossman, 'The School of Literal Exegesis'.

of Jewish biblical scholarship composed during 'the twelfth-century renaissance'. Indeed, the exegetical works of the other outstanding representatives of the northern French school survive in a precious few manuscripts that were hardly consulted until modern times. Nonetheless, these exegetes – each of whom probably composed commentaries on most of the Bible – are now experiencing their own renaissance in modern studies of the history of medieval biblical interpretation.

Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra

Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164) was born in Spain and thoroughly assimilated all the grammatical and lexicographical knowledge of the luminaries of the Spanish school (see above); he has been aptly described as a 'polymath', achieving renown as a liturgical and secular poet, philosopher, philologist and more, in addition to his achievements in biblical exegesis.[33] Forced to leave Spain in about 1140, under circumstances that are not entirely clear, Ibn Ezra moved first to Italy, and later to France and England. While living in Christian Europe he wrote his many biblical commentaries; owing to European Jewry's lack of knowledge of Arabic, Ibn Ezra wrote all his exegetical works in Hebrew. Apparently, he wrote commentaries on the Torah, Isaiah, the twelve 'Minor' Prophets, Psalms, the Five Scrolls and Daniel.[34] After moving from Italy to France, he prepared additional versions of his commentary on several books, resulting in the Italian and French recensions still extant (the so-called 'short' and 'long' versions).

Ibn Ezra practised a particularly philological, grammatically oriented *peshat*, governed by context and reason, as well as by philosophical and natural 'truths' he was able to ascertain. He articulated his exegetical programme in the introduction to his commentary on the Torah. Following a lengthy

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33 See I. Twersky and J. M. Harris, *Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra. Studies in the Writings of a Twelfth-Century Jewish Polymath* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993). Other important studies of Ibn Ezra are M. Z. Cohen, *Three Approaches to Biblical Metaphor. From Abraham Ibn Ezra and Maimonides to David Kimhi* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003); U. Simon, 'Jewish Exegesis in Spain and Provence, and in the East, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. Abraham Ibn Ezra', in Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament*, pp. 377–87. See also the lengthy chapter in Simon's *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms*.
34 Two versions of his Torah commentary are found in the *Mikraot Gedolot Haketer* rabbinic Bible (see above, n. 18); critical editions include *Abraham ibn Ezra's Two Commentaries on the Minor Prophets. An Annotated Critical Edition. Vol. I: Hosea, Joel, Amos*, ed. U. Simon (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1989). Translations of Ibn Ezra's commentaries into English include *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch*, ed. H. N. Strickland and A. M. Silver (New York: Menorah, 1988), and *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah*, ed. M. Friedlaender (New York: Feldheim, 1964).

denunciation of Geonic, Karaitic and Christian exegesis, as well as a more sympathetic rejection of rabbinic midrashic interpretations, Ibn Ezra characterised his own methodology:

> The foundation of my commentary, upon which I will rely, for it is the most straightforward, in my eyes and in the presence of God: . . . I will search out diligently the grammatical meaning of every word, to the best of my ability, and according to this will I interpret [contextually] . . .

The vast preponderance of his comments do, in fact, adhere to this methodology quite consistently. He incorporated the scholarship of both Saadia and the great Spanish philologists, and even referred to Karaitic exegesis, otherwise heretical in his estimation, when he found it to be grammatically and contextually sound.

Generally he disparaged midrashic exegesis. However, when midrash on legal pentateuchal texts led to rabbinic law, he allowed that the 'true' meaning of scripture lay with the interpretation of the Sages:

> The way of *peshat* does not yield to midrash, even though the Torah has infinite [lit. 'seventy'] levels of interpretation. However, in matters of law, if we find two interpretations of verses, and one of these accords with rabbinic interpretation . . . we will rely on their truth without doubt, emphatically [lit. 'with strong hands'].

Here, Ibn Ezra reflected Saadia's concern that, though exegesis should be both reasoned and accurate with regard to the Hebrew language, it should above all be loyal to rabbinic legal traditions; like Saadia, Ibn Ezra was concerned about the potential threat to observance of Jewish law if contextual exegesis were to lead to figurative interpretation of biblical law. An example of his concern is found in his comment on Exod. 13:9:

> **And it shall be a sign for you . . . :** There are those who dispute what our holy fathers taught [i.e., that this verse refers to *tefillen*], and instead teach that **for a sign . . . and a memorial** should be understood along the lines of *for they shall be a chaplet of grace on your head and necklaces around your neck* [Prov. 1:9]. Also [they explain] *you should bind them for a sign upon your hand* [Deut. 6:8] as similar in meaning to *bind them [the commandments] continually upon your heart; tie them around your neck* [Prov. 6:21]. Similarly, [they understand] *and write them upon the doorposts of your house* [Deut. 6:9] along the lines of *write them on the tablet of your heart* [Prov. 3:3]. So [here, according to their logic], how should we understand **as a sign . . . and a memorial**? As 'it should be well-versed in your mouth', *that with a strong hand did the LORD bring you out of Egypt*. But this is not the proper way! For at the beginning of that book [Proverbs] it is written

> *the proverbs* [*mishlei*] *of Solomon* [Prov. 1:1]. And moreover all that [Solomon] mentions is according to the way of allegory [*mashal*]. But in the Torah it is not written that it is allegory – God forbid! – [we should understand it] only according to its own sense! Therefore, let us never remove meaning from its context [*peshuto*], as long as its sense does not contradict common sense, like *you should circumcise the foreskin of your heart* [Deut. 10:16]; there we have to understand it according to reason.

As we have already seen, where Ibn Ezra's contemporary (and disputant) Rabbi Samuel ben Meir had interpreted this verse figuratively (while at the same time accepting rabbinic law as normative), Ibn Ezra, while aware of the figurative interpretation and somewhat sympathetic to it, felt compelled to rely instead on the rabbinic legal interpretation as the true meaning of scripture.

Ever since Spinoza wrote his 'Political-Theological Treatise', Ibn Ezra has been famous for his critical daring in assigning portions of the Torah to post-Mosaic authorship. At several points in the course of explicating the Torah (for example, Gen. 12:6, 36:31; Deut. 1:2, 34:1) Ibn Ezra addressed the problem of anachronisms, and suggested and/or hinted at the possibility of post-Mosaic authorship – or raised the issue and rejected it. Additionally, he accepted the suggestion, apparently first made by Moses ibn Chiquitilla, that Isaiah 40–66 emanated from a sixth-century BCE exilic prophet, and was not by the eighth-century Isaiah ben Amoz whose name the book bears.[35]

Through his incorporation of Babylonian and Spanish linguistic scholarship, Abraham ibn Ezra was able to create a type of *peshat*, or contextual exegesis, that was more philologically based than the more purely 'literary' contextual *peshat* developed by the northern French rabbinic exegetes. While Ibn Ezra feared that the more 'unbridled' *peshat* of the French might threaten halakhic observance,[36] the commonalities shared by them both, particularly with regard to the exegesis of non-legal narrative and prophetic texts without recourse to the midrash of the Sages, enabled them to be seen as complementary methodologies, both intent on interpreting scripture contextually.

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35 U. Simon, 'Ibn Ezra between Medievalism and Modernism. The Case of Isaiah XL–LXVI', *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* 36 (1983), 257–71.
36 See U. Simon, 'The Exegetical Method of Abraham ibn Ezra, as Revealed in Three Interpretations of a Biblical Passage', *Bar Ilan* 3 (1965), 92–138; and M. I. Lockshin, 'Tradition or Context. Two Exegetes Struggle with Peshat', in J. Neusner et al. (eds.), *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism. Intellect in Quest of Understanding. Essays in Honor of Marvin Fox*, vol. II (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 173–86.

Conclusion

The movement 'from midrash to *peshat*' seems to have run its course by the thirteenth century. While contextual exegesis continued to be explored, particularly by Rabbi Joseph of Orléans (Bekhor Shor) in northern France and Rabbi David Kimhi (Radak) in Provence,[37] other forms of exegesis became increasingly predominant in Jewish communities. For some, Rashi's commentary took the place of scripture itself as the object of exegesis, and soon super-commentaries on Rashi became a popular form of exegesis throughout the Jewish world. However, it is in the competing fields of philosophical and mystical exegesis (particularly, the kabbalistic exegesis of the Zohar and like-minded works) that medieval Jewish exegesis truly flowered in new directions, all of which lie beyond the scope of this essay.

37 Wissenschaft-era studies of Bekhor Shor include the introduction in Eliezer of Beaugency, *Commentary on Ezekiel*, ed. Poznanski; N. Porges, *Joseph Bechor-Schor, ein nordfranzosischer Bibel-erklarer des XII Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Fock, 1908); G. Walter, *Joseph Bechor Schor, der letzte nord-französische Bibelexeget* (Breslau: Schottlaender, 1890). Modern studies are mostly in Hebrew; again, see Grossman, 'The School of Literal Exegesis'. For Radak, see F. Talmage, *David Kimhi. The Man and his Commentaries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975); M. Cohen, 'The Qimhi Family', in Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament*, pp. 388–415, and Cohen, *Three Approaches to Biblical Metaphor*.

The Bible in Jewish–Christian dialogue

A. SAPIR ABULAFIA

The meaning of the Hebrew Bible has always been one of the most crucial areas of contention between Jews and Christians. From the very beginnings of the encounter between *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* the Hebrew Bible provided protagonists from both camps with seemingly limitless ammunition to debate the differences between them. For Jews the Torah (Pentateuch), *Nevi'im* (Prophets) and *Ketuvim* (Writings) encoded the covenant between God and Israel; for Christians the Hebrew Bible constituted the Old Testament, which presaged the new covenant between God and new Israel. This meant that whatever interest Christians had in the letter or historical meaning of the Hebrew Bible, they also had to read it as if it were about Jesus Christ. Within the Jewish–Christian dialogue this christology could take on many different kinds of allegorical forms. As we shall see below, it could even be presented in a literal guise. Because Jews did not read the Bible christologically Christians commonly assumed that they were capable solely of reading the Bible *ad litteram*. Jewish readings were compared unfavourably with Christian spiritual readings which Christians claimed uncovered the hidden truths of the texts from under the veil of the letter. For their part Jews claimed that Christians took unwarranted liberties with the words of God.

For Christians the role of Jews vis-à-vis the Old Testament was definitively worked out by Augustine of Hippo (d. 430). Augustine taught that Jews served Christians by carrying for them the books of the Old Testament. The very fact that Jews preserved the books of the Bible even though they themselves did not understand what those books said about the life, teaching and passion of Jesus Christ seemed to exemplify the salvific promise held within those books. It was, in other words, the role of Jews in Christian society passively to embody the Christian supersession of Judaism. Their dispersion marked the punishment of the Jews for rejecting Christ. At the end of time the Pauline prophecy (Romans 11) would be fulfilled and Jews would convert to

Christianity. At the core of Augustine's 'witness theory' was the paradox that Jews could not or, even worse, did not want to understand their own holy texts. How that could be reconciled with the ability of Jews to read Hebrew remained a question generations of Christian scholars would struggle to answer.

We will begin by examining Christian–Jewish polemics in order to investigate the role of the Bible in Jewish–Christian dialogue before moving on to exegetical and liturgical material. *Adversus Iudeos* texts were the genre Christians used to confront Judaism. This went through different phases with arguments built around a standard fare of biblical citations. Early examples include works by Justin Martyr (d. *c.* 165), Tertullian (d. *c.* 230), Augustine and Isidore of Seville (d. 636). Towards the end of the eleventh century the genre was used prodigiously by scholars who were actively engaged in the intellectual flourishing of the period. Biblical arguments were augmented with rational ones. In the twelfth century anti-Jewish polemics also started to incorporate serious consideration of post-biblical Jewish writings. Although most polemics, including those which were shaped as dialogues or disputations between Christians and Jews, were not the products of verbatim debates between their Christian authors and flesh-and-blood Jews of their own day, many reflect or, at the very least, echo actual conversations between Christians and Jews. The proceedings of the publicly staged trials and debates of Paris (1240), Barcelona (1263) and Tortosa (1413–14) were recorded in both Latin and Hebrew accounts with a varying degree of accuracy. Medieval Hebrew anti-Christian disputations started appearing by the end of the twelfth century in southern France and Spain. The *Nizzahon Vetus* ('The Old Polemic') provides an encyclopaedic collection of French and German anti-Christian biblical exegetical texts and includes an attack on the New Testament. The work comes from Germany and was compiled at the end of the thirteenth/beginning of the fourteenth century.

The value of the Latin and Hebrew polemical material for our purposes is the light it sheds on which biblical texts mattered most in the Jewish–Christian debate and how their authors, if not their (imaginary) opponents, interpreted them and to what purpose. For throughout the history of the genre biblical exegesis remained a core component. Arguments were waged about hermeneutical principles governing the reading of the Bible and biblical proof-texts were used to debate the fundamental theological issues separating Christians from Jews. These issues included the continuing validity of the Law of Moses, the coming of the Messiah, the true identity of the chosen people

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and Christian teachings concerning the Trinity, incarnation and the virgin birth.[1]

Key proof-texts

Let us start by examining some key biblical proof-texts. Gen. 1:26 ('Let us make man to our image and likeness'),[2] Gen. 18:1–5 (the visit by the three angels to Abraham at Mamre) and Isaiah's vision in Isa. 6:3 ('Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of hosts') were commonly used by Christians to prove the triunity of God. These interpretations echoed patristic exegesis of these texts. Willam of Bourges, a Jewish convert, writing around 1235, used all these citations in his chapter on the Trinity. Chiding his former co-religionists he insisted that the Old Testament spoke of the Trinity not according to the killing letter but according to the letter which gives life (cf. 2 Cor. 3:6).[3] To strengthen his argument William often gave a Latin transliteration of the Hebrew original of his biblical citations. Echoing Hieronymian terminology, he insisted that copyists of his work should replicate his work meticulously so that Jews could not poke fun at clerics using his text.[4] The twelfth-century poet Walter of Châtillon devoted many lines to working out the modes of communication between the divine persons covered by the first person plural of the verb 'faciamus' ('let us make'). He derided the idea that the plural might indicate that God had involved angels.[5] This correlates to an idea expressed in the

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1 There is a vast literature on Christian–Jewish and Jewish–Christian polemics which includes B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du moyen âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme* (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1963); A. Funkenstein, 'Basic Types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics', *Viator* 2 (1971), 373–82; *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages. A Critical Edition of the Nizzahon Vetus*, ed. D. Berger (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979); H. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, 3 vols. [with various updated editions] (Frankfurt: Lang, 1982–99); *Judaism on Trial. Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages*, ed. and trans. H. Maccoby (London: Associated University Presses, 1982); H. Trautner-Kromann, *Shield and Sword. Jewish Polemics against Christianity and the Christians in France and Spain from 1100–1500* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1993); S. Krauss, *The Jewish–Christian Controversy. From the Earliest Times to 1789. Vol. I: History*, ed. and rev. W. Horbury (Tübingen: Mohr, 1995); A. Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) and *Christians and Jews in Dispute. Disputational Literature and the Rise of Anti-Judaism in the West (c.1000–1150)* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998); J. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law. Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999); R. Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity in Medieval Western Christendom* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).
2 The Douay-Rheims version of the Bible has been used for biblical translations.
3 Guillaume de Bourges, *Livre des guerres du Seigneur et deux homélies*, ed. G. Dahan, SC 288 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981), pp. 80–5.
4 Ibid., pp. 15–17 and 76–7.   5 Walter of Châtillon, *Tractatus contra Judaeos*, PL 209, cols. 450–1.

Midrash Rabbah on Genesis with which Christians seemed to be familiar.[6] William referred to the explanation in the Talmud, which says that God consulted the heavenly hosts. Rashi (d. 1105) had God consulting the heavenly court.[7] Joseph Kimhi (d. *c.* 1170), writing in southern France, had his Jewish protagonist argue that God 'created man along with the four elements [fire, air, earth and water], saying "Let Us make man". It is in their nature to produce the body which is material in character, while He breathed into it the supernal soul possessing intellect and rational wisdom'.[8]

Of striking interest is the doubt Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster (d. 1117), expressed about the efficacy of using these verses to convince Jews that God was triune. Gilbert wrote one of the most widely disseminated anti-Jewish disputations in the early 1090s. In the *Disputatio cum Gentili*, which is effectively a continuation of his *Disputatio Iudei*, he admitted that no passage in the Old Testament said in so many words that God was three and one. '"Hear O Israel the Lord thy God is one God" [Deut. 6:4 in the version of Mark 12:29]' did not add the words "triune and one".' 'Faciamus' and 'nostram' of Gen. 1:26 could indicate any number more than one. Isaiah's threefold usage of 'sanctus' was not a cogent argument either because poets use the number three as well, as, for instance, Virgil in Eclogues 8: 74–5.[9] Gilbert was convinced that it was unseemly to discuss the Trinity with non-Christians.[10] Walter of Châtillon, on the other hand, had no such qualms and used precisely the same text of Virgil to corroborate his trinitarian proofs![11]

Writing almost a century before William of Bourges, the otherwise unknown Odo, the author of the *Ysagoge in Theologiam*, an English compendium of theology, was convinced by Jerome that the Hebrew of the Old Testament referred to Christ. He insisted that Christians had no chance of making any headway with Jews unless they learned Hebrew. To prove his point he provided a comprehensive selection of proof-texts from the Old Testament with their Hebrew equivalents. The sole extant manuscript of the text even contains a Latin transliteration of the first citation he gives. In

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6 G. Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), p. 485.
7 Guillaume de Bourges, *Livres des guerres*, ed. Dahan, pp. 32 and 80–1.
8 Joseph Kimhi, *The Book of the Covenant and Other Writings*, trans. F. Talmage (Toronto: PIMS, 1972), p. 40.
9 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Christiani cum Gentili*, ed. A. Sapir Abulafia, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, ed. A. Sapir Abulafia and G. R. Evans, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 8 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1986), pp. 81–2.
10 Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in Dispute*, item v, pp. 138–9.
11 Walter, *Tractatus*, col. 452.

the footsteps of Jerome, he asserted that the Tetragrammaton, pronounced as *Adonai* (Lord) even though the four letters do not spell that word, denoted that God was ineffable.[12] Peter Alfonsi, the Spanish Jewish convert to Christianity, writing in the first quarter of the twelfth century, commented on the fact that *Adonai* and *Elohim* (another Hebrew word for 'God') were plural noun forms and that the Bible connected them with singular and plural verbs. This could only mean that the unity of God consisted of more than one person. He turned to the Tetragrammaton, which he expressed as IEVE, for proof that God was one and three. This was provided by the fact that of the four letters the 'E' was doubled. The three different letters signified the three persons; the doubling of one of the four letters signified that these three are one. Alfonsi went on to describe how these three letters corresponded to four figures of which the fourth was made up of the other three (i.e. figure IEVE is made up of the figures IE, EV and VE). At the end of the twelfth century Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202) was enraptured by this proof, which he represented pictorially with three interlocking circles. The idea that the greatest Christian mystery was encapsulated in the holiest and most profound of Hebrew words was hugely influential in Joachim's apocalyptic work.[13]

Among the proof-texts which the *Ysagoge* listed for the Son of God, the incarnation and the virgin birth are the standard quotations from Isa. 7:14 ('Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son'); Isa. 11:1–3 ('And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse . . . '); the so-called suffering servant passage in Isa. 53; Ps. 117:22ff. (Hebrew 118:22ff.) ('The stone which the builders rejected; the same is become the head of the corner'); the patriarchal blessing in Gen. 28:14 (cf. 22:18 'And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed'); Dan. 3:92 (Jewish canon 3:25) ('I see four men loose . . . and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God'); Dan. 7:13–4 ('I beheld therefore in the vision of the night, and lo, one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven . . . '); and Ezek. 44:1–2 ('. . . This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall pass through it . . . The prince himself shall . . . enter . . . and shall go out by the same way').[14] Others, like Gilbert Crispin and William of Bourges, used Ps. 2:7 ('The Lord hath said to me: Thou

12 *Ysagoge in theologiam*, in *Écrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard. Textes inédits*, ed. A. M. Landgraf, Études et Documents 14 (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1934), pp. 63–289, at pp. 281–2; M. Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters*, Biblioteca degli Studi Medievali 4 (Spoleto: CISAM, 1973), pp. 69–84.
13 Peter Alfonsi, *Dialogi*, PL 157, cols. 608–13; J. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993), pp. 37–8 and 240, n. 45; Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio magni prophete Abbatis Joachim in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527), fol. 36v.
14 *Ysagoge*, ed. Landgraf, pp. 139–54, 283.

art my son, this day have I begotten thee') and Ps. 109:1 (Hebrew 110:1) ('The Lord said to my lord: Sit thou at my right hand').[15] Let us look at how different authors manipulated some of these familiar texts.

The 'virgo' of Isaiah 7:14

Christian scholars did not need to have Hebrew to discuss whether or not *virgo* in the Vulgate version of Isa. 7:14 was a correct translation of the Hebrew *ʿalmah*. All they needed to do was read Jerome. Walter of Châtillon, for example, resorted to a literal reading of the text when he pointed out to his imaginary Jewish opponent that Isaiah had introduced his prophecy by announcing that God was about to give a sign. It would hardly be a sign for a girl to give birth. A sign was constituted by a virgin having a child.[16] Gilbert Crispin cleverly put some of Jerome's ruminations in the mouth of his Jewish protagonist: 'Isaiah did not say or write [behold, a virgin will conceive and bear a son], he said 'behold an *abscondita* will conceive and bear a child'. Jerome had worked out that the root of *ʿalmah* was *ʿlm*, meaning 'hidden'. Gilbert's response to this was what we have just mentioned: the sign is that a virgin conceived and gave birth. *Abscondita* must mean here 'a maiden preserved from carnal love' rather than the usual meaning of *domi reclusa*.[17] Converts like Peter Alfonsi, who did know Hebrew, could do more with the text. He rejected the idea that if Isaiah had meant to say 'virgin', he would have used the Hebrew word *bethulah* and that *ʿalmah* only meant 'young girl'. He claimed that *bethulah* designated a virgin of any age; *naarah* designated a young woman whether or not intact; *ʿalmah* specifically denoted a woman who was both young and a virgin.[18] William of Bourges also dealt with the word *bethulah* and used many parallel texts in Hebrew and Latin to prove Mary's lasting virginity.[19] Joseph Kimhi blamed Jerome for misinforming Christians about the meaning of *ʿalmah*. He stated categorically that the word signified a young woman whether or not she was a virgin. Furthermore he argued vigorously that the verse had to be understood in the full context of Isaiah's concerns in chapter 7. The young woman giving birth to Immanuel was a sign for King Ahaz of Judah, who needed encouragement in the face of his enemies.

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15 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani*, ed. Sapir Abulafia, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin*, ed. Sapir Abulafia and Evans, pp. 38, 45; Guillaume de Bourges, *Livre des guerres*, ed. Dahan, pp. 85–6.

16 Walter, *Tractatus*, PL 209, cols. 426–7.   17 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei*, pp. 40, 44–5.

18 Peter Alfonsi, *Dialogi*, PL 157, col. 615; but a better text is in *Pedro Alfonso de Huesca, Diálogo contra los Judíos*, ed. K.-P. Mieth (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1996), p. 116.

19 *Livre des guerres*, ed. Dahan, pp. 94–9, 103–5.

The name of the boy, who was Ahaz's son, signified that God would be with them.[20]

But twelfth-century Christian thinkers did more with Isa. 7:14 than worry about the words used for 'virgin'. They were conscious that the doctrine of the virgin birth would seem to run against the laws of nature. This was hardly a small problem for scholars who were devoted to proving that matters of faith did not contradict the rules of reason and that rational man could use reason to understand the rational workings of nature. Thus we have Pseudo-William of Champeaux (first half of the twelfth century), for example, make his Jewish antagonist wonder how Christians could claim that the mother of the author of nature gave birth in a way that ran contrary to nature. This led to a discussion about miracles. Pseudo-William, who might well have had a sometime connection to the school of Laon, offered the natural image of a sun ray shining through a glass without breaking it to illustrate how Mary could have remained a virgin throughout the process of conception and childbirth. The image of an unmarked glass or crystal to explain the virgin birth is found in Pseudo-Augustinian sermon material and was used by others within and outwith the Jewish–Christian debate.[21] Jacob ben Reuben, writing in southern France around 1170, mentioned the crystal analogy in his 'Wars of the Lord'. He refuted it by claiming that the analogy could not cover the bodily birth of Jesus from his mother. Sun rays were, moreover, not corporeal.[22] The examples from nature given by Guibert of Nogent (c. 1111), in which conception and birth were not tied to coition, ran from cats being brought forth out of catnip to flies fertilising themselves.[23]

Following Jerome, Christian scholars called upon Ezekiel's image of the closed gate of the Temple (44:2–3) to bolster their arguments for the virgin birth. It is interesting to see what Gilbert Crispin did in this respect. His opening gambit was that Ezekiel's gate symbolised Mary's virginity because 'the gate shall be shut . . . and no man shall pass through it' and 'the Lord God of Israel hath entered in by it and it shall be closed'. Gilbert then had his Jewish

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20 Kimhi, *The Book of the Covenant*, trans. Talmage, pp. 54–6, cf. Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity*, pp. 131–3.

21 Pseudo-William of Champeaux, *Dialogus inter Christianum et Iudeum de fide catholica*, PL 163, col. 1054; Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in Dispute*, item IX, pp. 114–17, and *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, pp. 81–3.

22 Jacob ben Reuben, *Milhamot ha-Shem*, ed. J. Rosenthal (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kuk, 1963), pp. 11–14; see D. J. Lasker, *Jewish Philosophical Polemics against Christianity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Ktav, 1977), p. 158.

23 Guibert de Nogent, *Contra iudaizantem et Iudeos*, in *Serta Mediaevalia. Textus varii saeculorum x–xiii in unum collecti*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 171 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 330–1; Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, p. 83.

opponent object that the words of the prophet could not apply to the virgin because a 'gate' and a 'woman' were completely distinct concepts. This gave Gilbert the opportunity to show his scholastic mettle. He put a number of questions to Ezekiel's verses to prove that they make no sense at all *unless* 'gate' was read as *uterus virginis*. 'If God is ubiquitous, from where "hath the Lord God of Israel entered" and to where "shall he go out"?' 'If God is infinite, how can "he sit in the gate"? How "shall the gate be shut for the prince" if "the prince himself, the Lord God of Israel who entered by it, will sit in it to eat bread before the Lord"?' All these contradictions fell away if the literal reading was exchanged for a figurative one concerning the perpetual virginity of the mother of God.[24] It is worth mentioning that the *Nizzahon Vetus'* remarks on Ezek. 44 were not so very different from the objections Gilbert Crispin put in the mouth of his Jew. 'Why should the gate of the womb be called the east gate . . . ?'[25]

Problems of translation and canon

Debates about the accuracy of the Vulgate's translation of *'almah* could lead to deliberations about the validity of biblical translations. Christological citations from the parts of the Old Testament which Jews did not recognise threw up questions concerning the biblical canon. Gilbert Crispin, who was known for the calmness of his anti-Jewish writings, was, for example, outraged that Jews did not accept the book of Baruch. Bar. 3:36–8: 'This is our God . . . Afterwards he was seen upon earth, and conversed with men' was considered to be an obvious prophecy of Jesus Christ's earthly sojourn. Gilbert defended the language and the contents of the Vulgate by asserting that the Septuagint was a faithful rendition of the Hebrew Bible and that the Latin Vulgate agreed word for word and meaning for meaning with its Greek and Hebrew predecessors.[26] The author of the *Ysagoge* was much more knowledgeable. He did not expect Jews to be acquainted with texts they did not possess and he knew pretty much what they were: the books of Judith, Tobit, Maccabees, Wisdom and Baruch. He added that all Jews had were some Hebrew excerpts taken from the Greek version of the first three.[27] William of Bourges was much more critical of the Jewish canon. He accused his former co-religionists of having hidden 'the book of Baruch, the pupil of Jeremiah, which you used to have . . . and also

24 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei*, ed. Sapir Abulafia, pp. 36–7; Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in Dispute*, item VII, pp. 513–14.
25 *Nizzahon Vetus*, ed. Berger, pp. 93–4.
26 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei*, ed. Sapir Abulafia, pp. 40–3.
27 *Ysagoge*, ed. Landgraf, p. 143.

the book of Wisdom of the son of Sirach [Ecclesiasticus] . . . and the hymn of the three boys who say in their praise: "Let us bless the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit and let us praise and exalt him for ever"'.[28] William is referring here to the elaboration of the narrative in Daniel 3 in the Vulgate concerning the fate of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who were cast in the furnace by Nebuchadnezzar. The text includes what was regarded as a crucial christological verse in which Nebuchadnezzar says 'Behold I see four men loose, and walking in the midst of the fire, and there is no hurt in them, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God' (3:92 (Jewish canon 3:25)). Jewish tradition equated the fourth figure to an angel. For Joachim of Fiore it is obvious that the angel who helped the three men (Dan. 3:49–50 (Jewish canon 3:28)) was one of the many instances in the Bible where an angel represented the Son of God.[29] He also used Dan. 7:13–14, 27 and Dan. 9:24–7 to prove that Jesus Christ had to be the Messiah the Jews expected.[30]

Prophecies of Christ

Isa. 53:1–10 was thought to offer a detailed prophecy of the passion. Gilbert Crispin showed his exegetical prowess by presenting a detailed analysis of Isaiah's words drawing comparisons with other biblical quotations.[31] Guibert of Nogent insisted acerbically that Isaiah's words could not prophesy the human Messiah Jews were awaiting.[32] William of Bourges went so far as to claim that when he was a young Jewish boy his teacher did not want him to study this passage because it had drawn so many Jews away from their Law.[33] Whether or not this is true, it does indicate how high the stakes were for Christians and Jews when it came to finding a convincing explanation of the text. This is borne out by the Latin account of the Barcelona Disputation (1263), which was held at the court of James I of Aragon. The brief Christian record claimed that Nachmanides, who was the spokesman for the Jewish community, was compelled to admit that Jews did possess messianic interpretations of the text. Nachmanides wrote in his own lengthy report of the debate, which was forced on him by the Dominicans, that although there were messianic interpretations

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28 *Livre des guerres*, ed. Dahan, pp. 240–1; his citation of Daniel does not correspond with any of the verses of the song of praise in the Vulgate.

29 *Adversus Iudeos di Gioacchimo da Fiore*, ed. A. Frugoni, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 95 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1957), pp. 44–5 and 9–17.

30 Joachim, *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 45–6, 56–60 and 73.

31 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei*, ed. Sapir Abulafia, pp. 46–9, cf. Jerome and also Isidore, *De fide catholica*, PL 83, col. 510.

32 Guibert of Nogent, *Contra iudaizantem*, ed. Huygens, p. 343.

33 *Livre des guerres*, ed. Dahan, pp. 136–7.

of the text, the true meaning of the text concerned the people of Israel, who were described by the prophets as 'Israel my servant' or 'Jacob my servant'. After the Barcelona Disputation Nachmanides composed a whole treatise on the suffering servant passage in which he tried to show that even if the passage was considered messianic it did not refer to Jesus.[34]

Gen. 49:10 was another verse which Christians interpreted differently from Jews. The Vulgate reads: 'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a ruler from his thigh, till he come that is to be sent, and he shall be the expectation of nations.' The Hebrew gives cryptically: '. . . *ad ki yabo Shiloh* [until Shiloh come], and unto him shall be the obedience of peoples'. The standard Christian claim was that the lack of Jewish temporal power proved that the Messiah had come and that he was Jesus Christ and that Jewish exile proved that Christians rather than Jews were now God's chosen people.[35] Both the Latin and Hebrew accounts of the Tortosa Disputation (1413–4) reported a discussion of Gen. 49:10. A Hebrew account offered a number of variant interpretations, including the one which says that the text meant that the sceptre will not depart *for ever* from Judah until the Messiah will have come and another that 'the sceptre of Judah will not depart for ever; for there will be Shiloh, that is, the Messiah, who will return the sceptre to Judah'.[36] In concurrence with Abraham ibn Ezra (d. 1167), Joseph Kimhi said that the verse meant that the sons of Judah would not lose dominion until David had received his kingship. He pointed out that before the birth of Jesus the house of David had lacked kingship for over 400 years.[37] Jewish polemicists were clearly desperate to prove to their own communities that long-standing dispersion did not mean that they had been forsaken by God.[38]

Disagreement about the meaning of the blessing of Abraham (Gen. 22:18 'in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed' (cf. 26:4 and 28:14)) tied in with this discussion. Gilbert Crispin and the *Ysagoge* explained that this could only refer to Christ. For no people was blessed through Isaac, nor were the peoples blessed through David or Solomon because even under these strongest of Israelite kings, the Jewish people was threatened by all the

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34 *Judaism on Trial*, ed. Maccoby, pp. 112–13 and 149; Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity*, pp. 172–7.
35 Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity*, pp. 181–97.
36 *Judaism on Trial*, ed. Maccoby, pp. 184–5. For Bonastruc Desmaestre of Gerona's account, reworked by Solomon ibn Verga in his *Shevet Jehudah* [1520/5], see Schreckenberg, *Christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, vol. III, pp. 455, 606.
37 Kimhi, *The Book of the Covenant*, trans. Talmage, pp. 44–5; A. Posnanski, *Schiloh. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904), pp. 108–10.
38 Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity*, pp. 181–97.

surrounding peoples. And their successors ended up by being disinherited.[39] Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129/30) explored the universalistic connotation Christians attached to this verse. Whereas Jews aimed to keep God's blessing to themselves through circumcision, Christians opened the door to anyone who believed in Christ. Rupert ascribed Jewish rejection of Christ to their unwillingness to see salvation extended to the Gentiles.[40] At the centre of his anti-Jewish diatribe lay the image of the prodigal son of Luke 15. Like the eldest son, Jews continued to refuse to partake of the feast prepared by the father for his youngest. Jewish envy, according to Rupert, explained their lack of understanding of the Bible. Jewish blindness was a key tool in Rupert's vast exegetical work in which he explicated the Bible as the reflection of the salvific work of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.[41]

The Trinity was crucial too to Joachim of Fiore's understanding of history, which he thought would progress from the status of the Father to the status of the Son and finally to the status of the Holy Spirit. The third status would be a spiritual age and it would be heralded by a complete concordance between the Old and New Testaments. Convincing Jews of this concordance was an essential aspect of Joachim's apocalyptic work. Because he was completely convinced that the end of time was nigh his approach to Jews was positive and he did his best to find common ground with them. Jewish readings were not as far removed from Christian readings as they thought. He urged Jews to understand the concept of the Son of God in a spiritual sense. If they did that they would understand that their *dibur* ('word') is none other than the Word and their *ruah* ('spirit') is the Holy Spirit (for example, Ps. 32:6 (Hebrew 33:6), Isa. 40:5–6).[42] But Joachim emphasised that it was in God's plan that, initially, the nations rather than the Jews were blessed by Christ, the seed of Abraham.[43] Joachim preached the imminent conversion of the Jews through

39 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei*, ed. Sapir Abulafia, p. 35; *Ysagoge*, ed. Landgraf, p. 145; cf. Isidore, *De fide, PL* 83, cols. 463–4.

40 *Annulus sive Dialogus inter Christianum et Iudaeum*, ed. R. Haacke, in M. L. Arduini, *Ruperto di Deutz e la controversia tra Christiani ed Ebrei nel seculo XII* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1979), pp. 189–93 and 203–4.

41 Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, pp. 126–7; D. E. Timmer, 'The Religious Significance of Judaism for Twelfth-Century Monastic Exegesis. A Study in the Thought of Rupert of Deutz, c. 1070–1129', PhD thesis, University of Notre Dame (1983), and 'Biblical Exegesis and the Jewish–Christian Controversy in the Early Twelfth Century', *Church History* 58 (1989), 309–21.

42 Joachim, *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, p. 23 ff.; A. Sapir Abulafia, 'The Conquest of Jerusalem', in M. Bull and N. Housley (eds.), *The Experience of Crusading. Vol. 1: Western Approaches* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 135–7; B. McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot. Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 161–203.

43 Joachim, *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 76–84.

the image of Tobias, who was led by the angel Raphael to his old blind father, Tobit (also called Tobias in the Vulgate), to give him light. The blind Tobit stood for the Jewish people, Raphael represented the Holy Spirit, the youthful Tobias stood for the apostolic order of Joachim's third status. The puppy, who ran ahead of Tobias, represented Joachim's attempt to convert at least some Jews ahead of the final conversion of the rest of their co-religionists.[44] And, like Rupert, he used the image of Luke 15 to urge Jews not to delay their partaking of the feast on account of any unhappiness they might feel about the salvation of the Gentiles.[45]

Literal versus figurative

As we have seen, Gilbert defended his use of figurative interpretations by deliberately finding contradictions in a literal reading of biblical texts. He used this method to prove that after the coming of Christ the Law of Moses was valid only in its spiritual sense. A literal reading of the Law produced contradictions. How, for example, could God say in one place that 'everything was very good' (Gen. 1:31) and in another that some animals are unclean (Gen. 7:2, Lev. 11:2–8, Deut. 14:3–8)? God did not contradict himself. There must be a truth lying under the veil of the letter. In this case the truth was that man is prohibited from adopting the unclean characteristics of unclean animals. Once the figurative meaning had been uncovered it would be superfluous to continue to observe the letter, which had served as a sign for the underlying truth. Gilbert turned to the use of tenses in speech. Just as we move from 'it will be' to 'it is' to 'it has been' as appropriate we move from the message of truth to truth itself when that truth has been revealed.[46] It would even be wrong to observe the letter in addition to the spirit. That would be tantamount to denying that man had been justified by faith.[47] Gilbert used similar arguments as part of his proof that Christians were not transgressing the biblical prohibition on worshipping graven images.[48]

Using traditional imagery, Pseudo-William explained the difference between Jewish literal reading of the Bible and Christian spiritual understanding by referring to nuts. In order to get at the flesh of a nut one had to break and cast aside the hard outer shell. In the same way the letter of the Old

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44 Ibid., pp. 95–9 (cf. the book of Tobit); R. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham. Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 5–7.
45 Joachim, *Adversus Iudeos*, ed. Frugoni, pp. 100–1.
46 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei*, ed. Sapir Abulafia, pp. 12–15 and 18–19; cf. Isidore, *De fide*, PL 83, cols. 521 and 527–8.
47 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio cum Gentili*, ed. Sapir Abulafia, pp. 76–7.
48 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei*, ed. Sapir Abulafia, pp. 50–2.

Law had to give way to the New Law, once its prophecies had been fulfilled in Christ.[49] Joseph Kimhi's Christian protagonist did much the same when he accused the Jew of reading the Bible wrongly 'for you resemble him who gnaws at the bone, while we [suck at] the marrow within. You are like the beast that eats the chaff, while we [eat] the wheat.' The response Kimhi gave to this is interesting because it shows that Jewish exegesis was anything but strictly literal. 'The Torah is not [to be taken] altogether literally or altogether figuratively.' Some turns of phrases demanded a figurative understanding as, for example, if a master would command his servant to 'take the horse and ride it on the sea'. Some biblical precepts had a literal and figurative interpretation. Jer. 4:4 'Circumcise yourselves to the Lord and take away the foreskins of your heart' gives the figurative meaning of circumcision; Gen. 17:12 gave the precept in its literal sense. Both senses were binding. Kimhi went on to say that if Jesus had replaced circumcision with baptism then it would be as if God had changed his mind about the lasting validity of Torah, which was impossible.[50] Earlier on in his polemic Kimhi had been challenged by his Christian to explain scriptural verses which made little sense taken literally. Interestingly enough, the examples are of God seeming to change his mind, as for example before the flood in Genesis and with regards to Nineveh in the book of Jonah. In this instance Kimhi explained that the Bible sometimes speaks in metaphors so that simpler people could understand what was being said. The wise knew what was going on. 'They will cast away the husks and eat only the fruit.' As Chazan has shown, this is a wonderful example of Jews using similar metaphors as Christians to defend their method of exegesis.[51]

Although it is clear that Jewish exegetes did not limit themselves to a literal reading of the Bible, they were guided by the talmudic principle that figurative meanings could never take the place of the plain meaning (*peshat*). It is also evident from the commentaries by Rashi, Rashbam (Samuel ben Meir; d. 1174) and Abraham ibn Ezra that Jewish exegetes concentrated on the literal meanings of biblical texts in direct response to Christian allegory. Their works have scattered phrases like 'according to its meaning and in response to Christians' (Rashi) and '*peshat* is the answer to Christians' (Rashbam). Reassuring their fellow Jews, for whom they wrote the commentaries, was their primary

49 Pseudo-William, *Dialogus*, PL 163, cols. 1048–9; cf. e.g. Gregory the Great, *Moralia sive expositio in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, 3 vols., CCSL 143, 143A, 143B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), xx, ix, 20, pp. 1018–19.
50 Kimhi, *The Book of the Covenant*, trans. Talmage, pp. 46–9.
51 Ibid., pp. 42–3; Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity*, pp. 127–38.

concern. Euphemisms were often used to escape Christian censures.[52] In this way we have David Kimhi (d. *c*. 1235), the son of Joseph Kimhi, arguing explicitly against the Christian interpretation of Ps. 2:7 that the verse referred to God the Father and God the Son. Kimhi averred that God could not be divided, that the concepts of 'father' and 'son' implied that one came after the other, etc. He continued with 'Behold, I have instructed you how to respond to them about this psalm . . . if they ask you its interpretation, interpret it . . . either regarding David or the Messiah, as I have explained it to you'.[53]

Peter Alfonsi disseminated the view that his former co-religionists stuck to literal readings and he blamed the rabbis for encouraging Jews to read their texts in ways that ran contrary to nature. But he also accused Jews of disobeying a large part of the Old Law because they lacked a Temple to which to bring the obligatory sacrifices.[54] Peter of Blois and others cited texts like Isa. 1:14 ('My soul hateth your new moons, and your solemnities') to prove that God would reject literal Jewish observance of the law after the coming of Christ.[55] The *Nizzahon Vetus* pointed out that if this were so Jesus would not have accepted 'the Jewish religion – circumcision, the Sabbath, indeed, the entire religion – all the days of his life'.[56]

New directions: Christian Hebraism

Renewed interest in the structure of language and its usage, together with heightened emphasis on spirituality from the mid-eleventh century, encouraged fresh developments in biblical studies. This in turn spurred profound interest in the relationship between Christianity and Judaism. We have seen how Rupert of Deutz's polemic against the Jews was an integral part of his

52 E. I. J. Rosenthal, 'Anti-Christian Polemic in Medieval Bible Commentaries', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 11 (1960), 118–19. See also E. I. J. Rosenthal, 'The Study of the Bible in Medieval Judaism', in *CHB* II, pp. 252–79; S. Kamin, 'Rashi's Exegetical Categorization with Respect to the Distinction between Peshat and Derash . . . ', *Immanuel* 11 (1980), 16–32; C. Sultan, 'Apologétique et polémique dans les commentaires de Rashi sur les Psaumes, les Proverbes et Daniel', in G. Dahan (ed.), *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242–1244* (Paris: Cerf, 1999), pp. 161–9; and M. A. Signer, 'God's Love for Israel. Apologetic and Hermeneutical Strategies in Twelfth-Century Biblical Exegesis', in M. A. Signer and J. van Engen (eds.), *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), pp. 123–49.
53 Rosenthal, 'Anti-Christian Polemic', p. 128; translation from B. H. Mehlman and D. F. Polish, 'The Response to the Christian Exegesis of Psalms in the Teshuvot La-Nozrim of Rabbi David Qumhi', in R. A. Brauner (ed.), *Jewish Civilization. Essays and Studies. Vol. III: Judaism and Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, 1985), pp. 184–5; cf. Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity*, pp. 239–40.
54 Peter Alfonsi, *Dialogi*, *PL* 157, cols. 553 and 582–97; cf. e.g. Guibert of Nogent, *Contra iudaizantem*, ed. Huygens, pp. 364–7.
55 Peter of Blois, *Contra perfidiam Judaeorum*, *PL* 207, cols. 845–6.
56 *Nizzahon Vetus*, ed. Berger, p. 96.

wider biblical exegesis. The same is true for Joachim of Fiore. Reading Walter of Châtillon's treatise on Judaism and his Christmas hymns one can almost imagine him in conversation with an imaginary Jew perched on his shoulder. For Walter and others it seemed vital to confirm the truth of Christianity against any doubts which might arise from awareness of Jewish rejection of Christian beliefs. Thus we see Walter, as others like the author of the *Ysagoge* had done before him, insisting that the Hebrew Bible speaks of Hell and that Jews were wrong to deny original sin and its hellish consequences.[57] Jewish opposition to Christian teachings clearly caused enough anxiety for Christians to continue to engage with biblical texts to bolster their convictions. The exegetical work of Ralph of Flaix illustrates this clearly. He composed an extensive commentary on Leviticus in the 1140s with the explicit purpose of providing his fellow monks and others with a cogent reading of the plain text which presented a viable alternative to Jewish insistence on the continued validity of the precepts of which Leviticus largely consists. As Van Engen has shown, Ralph was not prepared to relinquish the letter or plain meaning of the text to his Jewish opponents. He sought to make the laws of Leviticus relevant for his own co-religionists by homing in on the plain meaning of the text and discovering moral messages behind the stated rituals. In this way the laws became signposts for moral actions. The language of sacrifices became the language of inner spiritual development. Ralph's commentary was a resounding success.[58]

Some twelfth-century Christian biblical scholars, however, wanted to do much more with the plain reading of the Old Testament than Ralph of Flaix, or even the author of the *Ysagoge*. Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux (1109–34) was concerned enough about the accuracy of the Latin Old Testament to call in the help of Jews to correct the text. It seems that these Jews provided Harding with information in French from the Hebrew Bible and the Aramaic Targum. His corrected Bible was completed in 1109. The Cistercian Nicolas Maniacoria (d. 1145) seems to have used similar methods for his revision of the psalter.[59] The interest of Andrew of St Victor (d. 1175) in the original Hebrew of the Bible went further. He was keen to gain a deeper appreciation of the historical meaning of the Bible and consulted Jews to get hold of Jewish

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57 Walter, *Tractatus*, PL 209, cols. 426, 428–30, 441 and 444–8: quotes include Prov. 15:11, 24; 27: 20; 30:16; *Ysagoge*, ed. Landgraf, pp. 160–1: references include Gen. 44:29 and Job 17:13.
58 J. Van Engen, 'Ralph of Flaix. The Book of Leviticus Interpreted as Christian Community', in Signer and Van Engen (eds.), *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, pp. 150–70; B. Smalley, 'Ralph of Flaix on Leviticus', *RTAM* 35 (1968), 35–82.
59 Dahan, *Les intellectuels*, pp. 273–5.

commentaries to help him do this. Andrew's approach was remarkably even-handed. His commentary on Isa. 7:14, for example, gave Rashi's explanation that the verse indicated that the wife of Isaiah would have a son and that this was a sign that Israel would be saved from its enemies. He also included Jewish objections to Christian interpretations. Although he clearly labelled Jews as enemies of the truth he did not see it as his task to refute the Jewish position. His commentary on Isaiah 53 gave Rashi's view that it applied to the whole of Israel. In this instance he did not even include the Christian position. It is perhaps not surprising that Richard of St Victor (d. 1173) accused him of judaising. This was, however, unfounded. For Andrew, as for Hugh of St Victor (d. 1141), who had taught them both and who had also consulted Jews to get at the historical meaning of scripture, the importance of the literal layer of exegesis was that it provided the firm foundation of the spiritual interpretation. Understanding the historical layer of the Bible was an integral part of the Victorine process of education.[60] Andrew's work was much used by the masters of the so-called biblical moral school at Paris: Peter the Chanter (d. 1197), Peter Comestor (d. 1187) and Stephen Langton (d. 1228).[61]

An even more interesting twelfth-century Christian Hebraist than Andrew was Herbert of Bosham, a member of Thomas Becket's household, who composed a commentary on Jerome's *Hebraicum* version of the psalter between 1185 and 1194. As Deborah Goodman and Eva de Visscher have shown this was a remarkable work. Not only was it a novelty to use this version of Psalms for exegesis, it was equally novel to expound the psalms according to the letter. To this end Herbert used his considerable knowledge of Hebrew, plumbed the commentaries of Rashi and consulted Jews. He examined the Hebrew text of the psalms word by word and was not afraid to correct Jerome's translation where he thought that was necessary. He aimed to clarify the meaning of words and place texts in their historical context. For Herbert too literal exegesis was not an aim unto itself; it was meant to lead to spiritual understanding. Nor did Herbert's regard for Hebrew and his reliance on Rashi mean that he lost his Christian perspective. He was scathing about Rashi's rejection of a

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60 B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), chs. 3 and 4; M. A. Signer, 'Thirteenth-century Christian Hebraism. The *Expositio* on Canticles in MS. Vat. Lat. 1053', in D. Blumenthal (ed.), *Approaches to Judaism in Medieval Times*, vol. III (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988), pp. 91–3; 'Introduction', in *Andreae de Sancto Victore opera. Vol. VI: Expositionem in Ezechielem*, ed. M. A. Signer, CCCM 53E (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. ix–xxxvii; D. L. Goodwin, *'Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew'. Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 114–15.
61 Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 178–85 and 196–263; G. Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval XIIe–XIVe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1999), p. 377.

messianic reading for the christological Psalms 2 and 21 (Hebrew 2 and 22).[62] What is remarkable is the extent to which Herbert was able to incorporate Rashi's exegesis into his own literal interpretation.

Christian Hebraism is a fascinating area of research which includes work by Ralph Niger (d. *c.* 1200), who revised Jerome's *Book on the Interpretation of Hebrew Names*, Alexander Neckam (d. 1217), who interacted with Jewish scholars for his exegetical work, Roger Bacon (d. 1292), who composed a Hebrew grammar and Nicholas de Lyra (d. 1340), whose *postillae* to the Bible refer to Rashi over and over again.[63] Striking also are the English Hebrew–Latin biblical manuscripts studied in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England as tools for Christians trying to master Hebrew. These manuscripts may contain parallel columns of Latin and Hebrew text, or the Hebrew text with an interlinear Latin translation, or the Hebrew text with explanations of the Hebrew.[64] Particularly interesting is an anonymous Latin reworking of Rashi's commentaries on the Song of Songs of the second half of the thirteenth century. As Signer, Saltman and Kamin point out, the author produced a commentary which interpreted the Song as an allegory for the biblical history of the Jews. Christ is not mentioned once and although Christian exegesis was included, Christian doctrinal material was not. Jewish conversion was brought up at the end with the author saying: 'I say that all this is fulfilled spiritually with respect to the Jews converted to Christ, and shall be fulfilled further as regards those Jews who must be converted at the end of the world.' Questions as to how the author's interest in the Jewish interpretation of the text could override the specifically Christian reading of the Song abound. They are particularly apt in view of the special interest the Song of Songs commanded among Christian exegetes from the twelfth century.[65]

Jeremy Cohen has recently argued that Honorius Augustodunensis (d. *c.* 1140) assigned a positive role to the Jews in his eschatological

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62 Goodwin, *'Take Hold'*, pp. 51–8, 167 and 169–226; E. de Visscher, 'The Jewish–Christian Dialogue', in 'Twelfth-Century Western Europe. The Hebrew and Latin Sources of Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on the Psalms', unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Leeds (2003); Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 186–95.

63 Goodwin, *'Take Hold'*, p. 48; Dahan, *Les intellectuels*, pp. 239–41, 252–6, 267 and 284; Dahan, *Exégèse*, p. 378; H. Loewe, 'Alexander Neckam's Knowledge of Hebrew', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), 17–34.

64 J. Olszowy-Schlanger, 'The Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew Grammar among Christian Scholars in Pre-Expulsion England. The Evidence of "Bilingual" Hebrew–Latin Manuscripts', in N. de Lange (ed.), *Hebrew Scholarship in the Medieval World* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 107–28.

65 Signer, 'Thirteenth Century Christian Hebraism', pp. 93–7 (quotation, p. 96); *'Secundum Salomonem'. A Thirteenth-Century Commentary on the Song of Songs*, ed. S. Kamin and A. Saltman (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1989), pp. 7–48.

interpretation of the Song of Songs. The Shunamite of chapters 6 and 7 of the Song is seen as the *Synagoga conversa* which will assist *Ecclesia* in conquering Antichrist at the end of time.[66] The sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux on the first chapters of the Song and those who completed the cycle, Gilbert of Hoyland (d. 1172) and John of Ford (d. 1214), are replete with references to Jews. Some of them are positive enough when they refer to the expectation of Jewish conversion at the end of time. Others are grimly negative. What commands attention is the need these Cistercians felt to engage with Jews and Judaism in their interpretation of the Song of Songs, which was meant to encourage the ascent of individual souls to God.

The centrality of the Christian–Jewish debate to biblical exegesis can also be gleaned from the *Glossa ordinaria*. Signer's work on the gloss on Genesis reveals how the interlinear glosses created a parallel christological subtext, which not only interpreted every element of the text in the light of the New Testament and Christian doctrinal teaching, but also in some instances deliberately dwelt on the negative portrayal of Jews.[67] My own preliminary investigation of the treatment in the *Glossa ordinaria* of the proof-texts of Christian anti-Jewish polemics corroborates these findings. As far as the New Testament is concerned, the Gloss often elaborates on anti-Jewish polemical passages in order to stress that Jews were deliberate unbelievers motivated by pride, jealousy, hatred or malice.[68] The most telling example of this is the view that the Jewish leaders killed Jesus because they *knew* he would save the Gentiles and cause their own law to cease. As Jeremy Cohen has shown, this constituted the accusation of deliberate deicide, which sat uncomfortably with the Augustinian notion of Jewish ignorance.[69]

Exposition through the liturgy

Biblical texts were not just expounded through words; their meanings were continuously being explored in a physical sense through the liturgy. When Christian polemicists used Isa. 6:3, for example, as a proof-text for the Trinity

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66 J. Cohen, '*Synagoga conversa*. Honorius Augustodunensis, the Song of Songs, and Christianity's "Eschatalogical Jew"', *Speculum* 79 (2004), 309–40.

67 M. A. Signer, 'The *Glossa ordinaria* and the Transmission of Medieval Anti-Judaism', in J. Brown and W. P. Stoneman (eds.), *A Distinct Voice. Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 591–605.

68 Krauss, *The Jewish–Christian Controversy*, ed. Horbury, pp. 13–17.

69 J. Cohen, 'The Jews as the Killers of Christ in the Latin Tradition, from Augustine to the Friars', *Traditio* 39 (1983), 1–27, where he explains the use of Bede to this effect in the glosses on Jesus' parable on the vineyard in Matt. 21:33–9, Mark 12:1–8, Luke 20:9–15.

they were not just citing a random text. They were using the Sanctus of the Mass, which summoned the faithful to join their earthly voices with the angelic voices in praise of God. The text used in the liturgy is 'Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, plenus est omnis terra gloria tua'. The Sanctus was part of the Eucharistic prayer from a very early stage and according to Frankish custom was sung by the 'people' together with the priest until well into the twelfth century. To a Christian the threefold rendition of *sanctus* automatically implied the Trinity. Ninth-century commentators of the liturgy such as Remigius of Auxerre made the allusion to the Trinity explicit. Drawing on earlier traditions, William of Durand (d. 1296), the author of a hugely popular treatise on the *Rationale of the Divine Office*, which gives an allegorical explanation of every single aspect of the liturgy, pointed out that the triple *sanctus* signifies the distinction between the three persons of the Trinity. *Dominus Deus Sabaoth* signified the unity of the divine essence. The singular *sanctus* was used rather than the plural *sancti* because there was one sanctity and one eternity in the three persons of God. Landgraf pointed out that in twelfth-century Paris it was customary for the section of the choir which sang the third *sanctus* to continue with *Dominus Deus Sabaoth* to produce 'a triple utterance'. Not just the words were deemed to allude to the Trinity, but the singing of the words as well.[70] The fact that Isa. 6:3 also provided material for the Kedushah, one of the holiest components of the Jewish liturgy, reminds us of another major layer of meaning to this biblical text. The Spanish Jewish poet and philosopher Yehuda HaLevi wrote in his mid-twelfth-century polemic for Judaism that during the Kedushah 'one should internalise in his heart all that the philosophers described about God's holiness and loftiness'.[71] Although Jews and Christians used the same text to exalt God, their views on what constituted God were markedly different.

Within the canon of the Mass the Eucharistic sacrifice is likened to the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham and Melchizedek. Durand informs us that these three fathers of the Old Testament were mentioned in the liturgy because the sacrifices they made prefigured Christ's. Abel's sacrifice of the firstborn

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70 J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite. Its Origins and Development*, trans. F. A. Brunner, 4th edn, vol. II (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1992), pp. 128–34; A. Landgraf, 'Scholastische Texte zur Liturgie des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 45 (1931), 213; *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. A. Davril and M. Thibodeau, 3 vols., CCCM 140, 140A, 140B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998–2000), IV, 34, 1–3, vol. I, pp. 410–11; L. E Frizzell and J. F. Henderson, 'Jews and Judaism in the Medieval Latin Liturgy', in T. J. Heffermann and E. A. Matter (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 2001), p. 189.
71 Yehuda HaLevi, *The Kuzari. In Defense of the Despised Faith*, trans. and ed. N. D. Korobkin (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1998), p. 150.

of his flock correlated with Christ 'who was maliciously brought to death by the people of the Jews just as he [Abel] was jealously brought to death by his brother'. The sacrifice of Isaac was compared to Christ's passion and Melchizedek's offering of bread and wine was seen to prefigure the new sacrifice of the church. That is why David addressed Christ in Ps. 109:4 (Hebrew 110:4) as a 'priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek'. Psalm 109 was another proof-text of the Christian–Jewish debate.[72] Rupert of Deutz wrote in his commentary on the Divine Office that the Eucharistic offering was more acceptable than the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham and Melchizedek because 'the thing is worth more than its shadow, the truth more than its figure'.[73]

On Good Friday congregants were not invited to kneel when supplication was made for the conversion of the unbelieving Jews. Durand explains that kneeling at this point would seem an inappropriate imitation of the Jews, who in Matt. 26:68 mocked Jesus by bending their knees before him. Here we see clearly how participation in the liturgy was seen as partaking in the drama concerning the rejection by New Testament Jews of Jesus Christ. Durand goes on to advise participants not to pray too hard for the Jews. Prayer would not take away their blindness before the conversion of the Gentiles at the end of time. The drama now included contemporary Jews as well. This inclusion continued during the Reproaches, the section of the liturgy in which Micah's words: 'O my people, what have I done to you . . . ?' (6:3) were used as the framework for the celebrating priest, acting out the part of Jesus Christ, to ask the Jews why they had condemned him when he had rescued them from physical bondage in Egypt, helped them survive their sojourn in the desert and led them to the promised land. The priest chanted his part in Latin, but because he was acting the part of Christ his words were meant to be taken as Hebrew. The choir's responses were in Greek and Latin. According to Durand the three languages represented the three tongues of salvific history. Hebrew was the mother language because of the Law, Greek the language of instruction, Latin the language of ruling on account of the Roman emperor and the pope. Actual Hebrew was not used because of Hebrew's silence in praising God. Or, as Rupert of Deutz put it, because Jews still denied their king, detested his royal title and cursed it with hostility.[74]

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72 Frizzell and Henderson, 'Jews', p. 189; *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. Davril and Thibodeau, IV, 43, 13, vol. I, pp. 485–6.

73 *Ruperti Tuitiensis, Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. H. Haacke, CCCM 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), II. 13, p. 47.

74 Frizzell and Henderson, 'Jews', pp. 199–203; Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. Davril and Thibodeau, VI, 77, 13–15, vol. I, pp. 374–6; Rupert, *Liber de divinis officiis*, VI. 19, ed. Haacke, p. 201.

My final example is a play from Rouen from a fourteenth-century manuscript known as the 'Procession of the Asses' or the 'Procession of the Prophets'. The subject matter of the play goes back to the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon against the Jews, Pagans and Arians,[75] which was first dramatised in the eleventh century in Limoges and turned into a play in thirteenth-century Laon. The play itself was meant to take place before Mass on the Feast of Circumcision (1 January), the date connected with the Feast of Fools. In it twenty-three prophets appeared besides Balaam and his donkey and a model of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, Nebuchadnezzar himself and Virgil and the Sibyl, the prophets of the Gentiles. The prophets were identified by their costumes, Moses, for example, by his horns and by the tablets of the law he carried. After Terce the prophets processed into the nave of the church and stopped between two rows of twelve people representing six Jews and six Pagans. The Jews were admonished to hear the testimonies of their law to Christ. They responded: '*Nos mandatum vobis*', 'we are your mandate'. The admonition to the Gentiles and their response followed. The prophets were then called upon one by one to declaim their messianic texts; when finished they went to stand by the furnace. Light relief was offered by the actor playing the donkey, who carried Balaam. The donkey came to an abrupt halt when he faced the angel who admonished Balaam to turn his back on Balak. Balaam then delivered his prophecy. Nebuchadnezzar created another kind of diversion by ordering Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to worship an idol. When they refused, they were thrown into the furnace by which all the prophets had taken their place. The furnace was lit and the actors inside sang praise to God. Nebuchadnezzar then delivered his prophecy by pointing to the fourth unharmed man in the furnace, who was, of course, Christ. Sibyl then gave her prophecy; Virgil had spoken before Nebuchadnezzar.[76] What better way could there be to bring to life the christological interpretation of biblical texts!

Conclusion

Engagement with Judaism was embedded in Christian exegesis and liturgy. But from the latter part of the eleventh century Christian scholars became even

75 *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginiensi episcopo tributa*, ed. R. Braun, CCSL 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), pp. 227–58.
76 T. P. Campbell, 'Liturgical Drama and Community Discourse', in Heffermann and Matter (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, pp. 635–7; K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), vol. II, pp. 125–71 (text, pp. 154–65); E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), pp. 52–6; G. Dahan, 'L'interprétation de l'Ancien Testament dans les drames réligieux (xie–xiiie siècles)', *Romania* 100 (1979), 71–103.

more interested in Christianity's relationship to Judaism. This interest went hand in hand with intellectual developments and growing Christian awareness of Jewish exegesis. Christians had to take on board that Jews were more than Augustine's passive book-carriers. For their part Jewish biblical commentators developed their own strategies to make sense of the contradiction between their existence in the diaspora and the biblical promises they read so very differently from Christians. The extent to which Jewish–Christian dialogue affected relations between Jews and Christians is a matter as interesting for the medieval past as for the present.[77]

The Bible in Muslim–Christian encounters

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Islamic origins and early awareness of Christianity

In the original version of the *Cambridge History of the Bible*, C. F. Evans described the uniqueness of Christianity among world religions as like its being born with a Bible in its cradle.[1] Extending the metaphor, Islam's own singular feature was to be born into the family of Abraham, the youngest of three siblings. The fact is celebrated in the Qur'ān: 'We sent Jesus, son of Mary, in their footsteps, to confirm the Torah that had been sent before him: We gave him the Gospel with guidance, light and confirmation of the Torah already revealed – a guide and lesson for those who take heed of God' (5: 46). In another passage (9:111), the Qur'ān, the Gospel and the Torah are mentioned together, each said to bear and fulfil the true promise of the almighty. These verses depict a historical sequence of sacred texts revealed or inspired by the one, unique, divine source. Notwithstanding the supposed unity of the grand monotheistic tradition, it is hardly surprising that family differences would break out between (and even among) descendants of the primordial three. The present chapter explores the more prominent controversies between the two younger members of the family, Christianity and Islam.

Scholarly debates over recent years concerning the origins of Islam require first a brief outline of some of the issues raised as they affect (or do not affect) the initial stage of controversies between Christians and Muslims. Two broad strands of thought are usually identified, the traditionalist and the revisionist. Because the debates arise over scholars' different evaluations of the earliest Arabic historical sources that purport to record the origins of Islam, the two sides have also been designated 'sanguine' and 'sceptical' respectively.

Traditionalists have optimistically held that the written Arabic sources faithfully transmit, albeit not without interpretative difficulties of their own,

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1 C. F. Evans, 'The New Testament in the Making', in *CHB I*, p. 232.

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the story of origins in the late sixth- and early seventh-century Hijaz, centred upon the career of the Prophet Muḥammad (*c.* 570–632 CE) and his reception of divine revelations over twenty-two years in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. In the latter location, the nascent Muslim community was formed. The revelations were collected in a near-definitive consonantal form, the Qurʾān, during the second half of the rule of the Caliph ʿUthmān (644–55 CE), some twenty years after the death of the Prophet.

Revisionists, on the other hand, adopt a highly sceptical approach to the same written sources used by the traditionalists. The main reason for this is that none of the extant material is contemporary with the earliest period described, most of it dating from a century and a half later than the Prophet's death; therefore, the grand narrative contained therein, the one supported by traditionalist scholars, is, revisionists argue, a backward projection to a mythical earlier date and milieu, that is, the seventh-century Hijaz. Their scholarly enterprise, therefore, attempts to trace the origins and textual development of the earliest forms of Muslim literature, especially the Qurʾān and its exegesis. According to a hard revisionist interpretation, there is no conclusive evidence for the existence of the Qurʾān, as Muslim canon, prior to 800 CE. Moreover, also according to this view, the polemical content of the Qurʾān, especially directed at Jews and Christians, is better explained as having originated outside Arabia proper, reflecting a sectarian milieu in the territories, from Egypt to Iran, newly conquered by Arabs who as yet had no firmly established religious (that is, Muslim) identity. This hard revisionist version, proposed by Wansbrough, and argued from a form-critical approach of literary criticism, has made considerable impact upon the study of early Islam. Other specialist works have subsequently appeared, although not all sharing Wansbrough's hard stance.[2] A basic question underlies this research: 'Is anything self-evident?' in the earliest Arabic sources upon which a confident understanding of the very beginnings of the Muslim community might be established. Wansbrough's resoundingly negative response has been criticised by another, albeit softer revisionist, Patricia Crone, for its fundamental assumption that 'all evidence purporting to date from before 800, be it Muslim or non-Muslim, literary or documentary, is by definition inauthentic, or in other words, that evidence incompatible with the theory is *ipso facto*

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2 See J. Wansbrough, *Qurʾānic Studies. Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford University Press, 1977) and *The Sectarian Milieu. Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford University Press, 1978); P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism. The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge University Press, 1977); and G. R. Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

wrong.'[3] This critique apart, fresh interrogation of the sources for the first Muslim generations has in turn stimulated a 'traditional-critical' rejoinder to the revisionist programme.[4] The debate continues.[5] For purposes of the present essay, this debate cannot be expounded in greater detail. Suffice it to say that the evidence presented here for the beginnings of Christian–Muslim controversies is adduced with revisionist arguments in mind although the author remains inclined towards a more traditional yet critical position.

The first, dated, public declaration of Muslim perception of Christianity is found in the inscriptions that encircle the inner and outer faces of the octagonal arcade on the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.[6] It was constructed by the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Mālik, and the inscription date is 72 AH (that is, 692 CE). ʿAbd al-Mālik (reigned 66–86 AH / 685–705 CE) had consolidated Umayyad fortunes over the extensive territories conquered during the early Arab invasions, overcoming strong internal opposition to the dynasty together with implementing major centralising administrative reforms. There is evidence, although subject to varying interpretation in the current debate, that an already growing sense of a new religious community (and not merely a heresy or sect) was also consolidated during his reign.

For example, the first known coin identifying Muḥammad as God's Prophet was struck in 66 AH in the Persian Gulf province of Fars by a governor of ʿAbd al-Mālik's political foe, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. While designating the Prophet on coins could have begun earlier than this single known issue, it does pre-date ʿAbd al-Mālik's more developed 'official' coinage containing the Umayyad variant of the Islamic confession of faith, the *shahāda* – 'There is no god but God alone; Muḥammad is the messenger of God' – issued in 72 AH. The anonymous *Maronite Chronicle*, written in the 660s, reports that the Umayyad dynasty's founder, Muʿāwiya (reigned 40–60 AH / 661–80 CE), minted gold and silver coins without the image of the cross. As a result, the coins failed to find favour among the Syrian population. Although only a single example has been found, probably minted before 681 CE, the *Chronicle*'s author seems to suggest that the new rulers supported a doctrinal distinction, however limited, between themselves and the Christian populace. The first coins issued by ʿAbd

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3 P. Crone, 'Two Legal Problems Bearing on the Early History of the Qurʾān', *Jerusalem Studies on Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994), 17.
4 See F. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin, 1998), and A. Elad, 'Community of Believers of "Holy Men" and "Saints" or Community of Muslims?', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 67 (2002), 241–308.
5 See H. Berg, *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).
6 For later developments in the Muslim perception of Christians, see the study of J. D. McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic Christians* (Cambridge University Press, 1991).

al-Mālik, from 72 AH, imitate Byzantine imperial images but also without the traditional cross design. An inscription dated 58 AH (677–8 CE), surviving from the reign of Muʿāwiya, refers twice to the caliph as 'servant of God, commander of the believers'. This hints at some manner of early community identification as 'believers', a phrase frequently linked in the Qurʾān with the term 'muslims'. In this connection, the monk Anastasios of Sinai, writing either before 681 CE or around 690 CE, but without mentioning either Muḥammad or the Qurʾān, was nevertheless aware that the Arabs/Saracens held several false views of 'true' (Melkite) Christian belief, views that can be traced to the Qurʾān. Evidence of the Arab conquerors' consciousness of a new era may lie in the early use of the *hijrī* date. The earliest dated papyrus is 22 AH, the earliest coins date from 23 AH or earlier, and inscriptions are reported dating from 29 AH and 31 AH. From possibly as early as 57 AH, even some Christians in Syria seem to have employed the same dating scheme.

It is against this background that the Dome inscriptions assume significance.[7] The outer inscription contains six panels set apart by ornaments. Setting aside the foundation notice, the remaining five sections each begins with the *basmala*, 'In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful', followed by the first part of the *shahāda* as noted above, 'There is no god but God alone'. Text separates this from the second half of the *shahāda*, 'Muḥammad is the messenger of God'. While the *basmala* could be understood to embrace the Abrahamic tradition as a whole, the *shahāda* decisively marks off the followers of the messenger Muḥammad from both Jews and Christians. Texts intercalated between the *shahāda*'s two halves contain Qurʾānic verses, three complete and two conflated (64:1 and 57:2), blessings addressed to Muḥammad, and the phrase '(God) has no partner (*sharīk*)', repeated in every section. In its three actual Qurʾānic contexts, the phrase conveys God's sole and unique dominion over his creation, and in two of them (17:111, 25:2) it is linked with the notion that God never begot a son. Verse 17:111 occurs complete in the inscription along with the complete, very short sura 112, containing the verse 'He (God) did not beget nor was he begotten'. This sura appeared whole on ʿAbd al-Mālik's reform epigraphic coinage from 77 AH/696 CE and is reported to have been seen on a gravestone in Cyprus dated as early as 29 AH/650 CE. Given the often fine line between apology and polemic in religious discourse based upon scripture, the outer inscription may be viewed as apologetic in tone.

The inscription on the Dome's inner face by contrast polemically addresses Christian views. Three Qurʾān passages, 4:171–72, 19:33–36 and 3:18–19 are

7 E. Whelan, 'Forgotten Witness. Evidence for the Early Codification of the Qurʾān', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118 (1998), 1–14.

quoted complete (with very minor alterations), providing the inscription's major thrust. It reiterates God's oneness and sovereignty over all creation and offers blessings to the messenger Muḥammad. Then the People of the Book are admonished to express only truth about God, declaring that 'the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, is only God's messenger and His Word which He conveyed to Mary and is a Spirit from Him. So believe in God and his messengers and do not say "three" [gods] . . . God is truly One God. How could he have a son?'(4:171). The inscription concludes with the bold assertion that 'Islām is God's religion (*dīn*)', and a warning that those who had formerly received God's revelation and then had subsequently fallen into jealous disagreement among themselves were inviting God's swift reckoning for their disbelief. This panel appears to allude to the Christian community's bitter internal divisions over the nature of Christ. Despite the immense efforts of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE to find a unifying formula to the doctrinal dilemma involved, rivalries had continued to fester. Muslims interpreted them, according to their own scripture, as denial of God's signs. In the contemporary Umayyad context, divine reckoning was manifested politically in the power of ʿAbd al-Mālik's centralised rule and was symbolised, religiously, in the Dome of the Rock's inscriptions.

Christian responses to Islam

This scenario is partly reflected in an initial Christian response to the new challenge in the form of apocalyptic writings. Their intention was to act as a warning to Christians to keep the sons of Satan at bay and to urge steadfastness in the faith while awaiting the imminent delivery into the kingdom of God. Among the extant works in Syriac is one attributed to a fourth-century bishop. The text itself was probably composed during ʿAbd al-Mālik's reign by an orthodox (Melkite) author. The document foretells the coming of the Arabs, called the sons of Ishmael, summoned by God to act as a merciless chastisement of Christians for the depths of sin into which they had fallen. No atrocity will be too heinous a punishment. Worse still, without coercion renegades will abandon the church, and 'deny the true faith of the Christians, the Holy Cross and the life giving Mysteries'.[8] Fortunes are then reversed. Countdown to the last days will feature the Ishmaelites' humiliating defeat

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8 R. G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It. A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13 (Princeton, NJ: Darwin, 1997), p. 265.

at the hands of an emperor of the Greeks who, following the emergence of the Antichrist, will return the kingdom to God the Father. Depicting the Arab invaders as the sword of God's wrath was a theme shared by other Christian writers of the time. Apostasy seems to have become an issue at this early stage; it was clearly perceived as a potentially major threat. The apocalypse's optimistic conclusion, however, must have soon seemed neither imminent nor inevitable. Other more pragmatic approaches had to be found.

One response came later from the pen of the famous orthodox (Melkite) theologian, John of Damascus. The most certain feature of his life is that he was chiefly active during the 720s or 730s. His major work, *Fount of Knowledge*, contains a long section 'On heresies' both pre-Christian and Christian. The final, or one hundredth, chapter deals with the falseness of Islamic beliefs. Whether or not an authentic piece by John himself, it nonetheless represents the earliest explicit Christian polemic against Islam written in Greek. The work as a whole was probably directed to the Palestinian monastic community to support their adherence to the Chalcedonian persuasion of Christianity. In summary, the chapter describes Muḥammad (Mamed) as a false prophet and forerunner of the Antichrist. He had happened upon the Old and New Testaments and, after consulting with an Arian monk, drafted for his followers some ludicrous doctrines which rumour claimed were sent down from heaven. And yet, the author queries, how is it that this so-called prophet had no witnesses to establish his credentials and verify the truth of his scripture? How can these people call us 'associators' because we say Christ is the Son of God and God, when they concede (4:171) that Christ is the Word and Spirit of God? Why do they defame us as idolaters because we venerate the cross, yet they adore the (black) stone (of the Kaʿba) by kissing it? There follows a mocking list of some of the Qur'ān's 'idle tales', one of which highlights the Prophet's lascivious nature, while others unmentioned are deemed worthy only of laughter. A number of laws sanctioned by this false 'cult' are noted, each being a negation of a practice followed within the true Christian 'faith', like circumcision negating baptism and the prohibition of alcohol negating sacramental wine.[9] There are several notable features in this unflattering portrait of Islam. First, the author evidently had access to Muslim scripture, given the many allusions to and citations from the Qur'ān he made. The author appears also to have been the first to describe Muḥammad as a false prophet. As he wrote in Greek, the hostile tone was subsequently adopted by Byzantine polemics against Islam

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9 D. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam. The 'Heresy of the Ishmaelites'* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 133–41. See also the study by A. Louth, *St John Damascene* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

circulated from the safety of the imperial capital, Constantinople. By contrast, the subjects of Muḥammad and the Qurʾān were handled more sensitively by later Christian controversialists living under Muslim rule and writing in Syriac and Arabic; Islam was soon perceived in regions under Muslim political dominion as a rival religion rather than a mere heresy, as depicted by John of Damascus and later Byzantine scholars.

The Umayyad dynasty collapsed in disarray in 750 CE and caliphal power was transferred from Damascus to Baghdad. The early rulers of the victorious Abbasid dynasty were receptive to interreligious debate and the contributions of cultures like the classical Greek world of Aristotle and Galen. By this date, too, an important cultural transformation which would facilitate communication between Christians and Muslims was well advanced. This was the spread of Arabic from its use first as the language of government records (displacing Coptic, Greek and Pahlavi) to its gradual adoption as the lingua franca within Muslim domains. In the monasteries of Palestine and Syria the use of Greek had already begun to decline as the dominant ecclesiastical language. One example is an account of the Sinai martyrs, translated from Greek into Arabic in 155 AH/772 CE. Intended for the internal affairs of the church, it is the earliest extant dated Christian Arabic work. Original works in Arabic were also composed. These were apologetic treatises aimed at bringing Christian thinking to bear upon the claims of Islam. Their dual objective was to make Christian claims credible to Muslims and to provide Christians themselves with a theological defence against being lured towards Islam. Apostasy had by now become a large-scale problem in some areas. Writing in northern Mesopotamia around 775 CE, a chronicler monk observed that without any kind of compulsion Christians were sliding eagerly toward denial of Christ. In this same period tales of Christian martyrs begin to abound, creating hero figures struggling against apostasy and whose purposely sought fate served as anti-Islamic propaganda.

The broader picture is, of course, more complex. For the apostate, conversion was never lightly embarked upon, given the social consequences it might entail. Christian leaders repeatedly warned that conversion could achieve only material benefits at the expense of spiritual truth, well-being and redemption. The benefits may indeed have attracted many, however, especially among those who sought to maintain or raise their social status in the new dispensation, and who then sought salvation in their new faith. In any event, conversion varied considerably from one community to another and according to different times and places. During the first two Islamic centuries down to about 850 CE, compulsion as a cause of conversion was very rare. A policy

of forced conversion adopted by the still minority Muslim ruling sector – itself often beset by internal conflict – would have had lethal results. Compromise, therefore, was the only pragmatic option. Christians came to live under a set of regulations known as the Pact of ʿUmar, later extended to embrace all non-Muslim minorities, who were known as *dhimmī*s. These regulations, often described as thoroughly negative and repressive throughout Islamic history, have recently been re-examined and explained as a set of compromises reached in the early decades between Muslims and non-Muslims which dealt 'mainly with the sensitivities of Muslims and not the victimization of religious minorities.'[10] Muslims, in others words, initially sought to avoid imitation of non-Muslims' customs (and of Muslim customs by others) in order to protect their own as yet minority identity, a goal ultimately made irrelevant by the very processes of Arabisation and the spread of Islam among the conquered peoples.

An anonymous Christian apology on the Trinity written in Arabic sometime between 740 and 770 CE reveals an approach far removed from the combative tone adopted by John of Damascus and an awareness of the Islamic religious environment in which the author was writing. The preface contains a prayer and invocation to God which the work's editor observes could have been composed by a Muslim. Although the Qurʾān is never referred to anywhere in the text, there are a number of allusions to it, such as God's 'Beautiful names' (7:180), the 'compassionate, the merciful' (*passim*), who is 'seated upon the throne' (7:54). Arguments for the Trinity follow, employing the classical Christian analogy that the Godhead may be likened to the disc, the rays and the heat of the sun. The author mentions the traditional biblically based argument that God is spoken of in the plural and then adds the totally novel point that the Qurʾān does so as well. In the discussion on the incarnation, the author also incorporates Qurʾānic allusions to Christ's being a 'mercy' (19:21) and a 'guidance and light' (5:46). Then, given the necessity to rescue mankind from Adam's sinful inheritance and to defeat his foe Iblīs (Satan), the prophets declare that Christ is 'God and Lord and Saviour; it is He who has come down from heaven to save His servants without departing from the throne'.[11] And so to redemption. The striking feature here is the author's

10 A. Noth, 'Problems of Differentiation between Muslims and Non-Muslims. Re-Reading the "Ordinances of Umar" (*al-Shurūṭ al-ʿUmariyya*)', in R. G. Hoyland (ed.), *Muslims and Others in Early Islamic Society*, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 18 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 103–24, at p. 104.
11 S. K. Samir, 'The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity', in S. K. Samir and J. S. Nielsen (eds.), *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750–1258)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 57–114, at p. 82.

use again of the terms compassion and mercy to describe God's motive for saving humankind, without a single reference to love as expressed in John 3:16. Writing with Muslims in mind as well as Christians, the author possibly elected these terms as the nearest Arabic-Islamic equivalents at the time he composed his apology. Words for love, *maḥabba* and *ḥubb*, became current later in Sufi circles. 'Thus God sent from His Throne His Word, which is from Himself and saved Adam's lineage. He cloaked this weak, defeated Man [Christ] . . . And He destroyed and conquered the Devil by means of him.'[12] It was Christ who sent the apostles to guide the nations East and West, giving them strength through the Holy Spirit. The success of their mission was itself proof that Christ's cause was true and that he was God from God.

Muslim counter-polemic and apologies

Muslim scholars were meanwhile beginning to propose ways of explaining (and defending) Islam's succession to Christianity or, more specifically, the Prophet's succession to Jesus. For these purposes some knowledge of Christian scriptures was required. This could have occurred indirectly through hearsay, by direct contact with Christians or from ad hoc translations. It has been claimed that Arabic versions of the Bible existed from pre-Islamic times, although the manuscript evidence for this now seems to be of ninth-century provenance. Direct literary borrowing would, therefore, be ruled out. The oldest dated manuscripts containing Arabic translations of the New Testament belong to the second half of that century, the same period in which the earliest extant manuscripts of the Old Testament originate. In any event translations would not have been widely available at this time. Muslim scholars working a century earlier, therefore, would be likely to have depended more upon the assistance of Arab Christians or Christian converts than upon their own mastery of the biblical languages. A contemporary of our anonymous apologist, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. *c.* 767 CE), was the compiler of the oldest extant biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, a work preserved in a later recension by ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Hishām (d. 834). Introducing the commencement of Muḥammad's prophethood, Ibn Isḥāq cites a passage from a Syriac version of the Gospel of St John (15:23–16:1) containing a verse he took as scriptural witness that the Prophet's mission had been foretold by Jesus. The Syriac term *munaḥḥemana*, 'Comforter' (in Greek the Paraclete), he claimed referred to

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12 Ibid., pp. 90–1.

Muḥammad.[13] Ibn Isḥāq understood the Gospel to be what John had copied down from Jesus' own testament received directly from God. Moreover, he accepted the Qurʾānic view (3:70–3) that Christians (and Jews) as People of the Book had altered or distorted their scriptures. Hence he was probably intending to restore what he believed to be the 'true' sense of the passage by changing three occurrences of the phrase 'my Father' in the original Syriac to 'the Lord', following the Qurʾān's teaching that God had no son.[14] Ibn Isḥāq's approach to the Bible paralleled that of Christian polemicists/apologists to the Qurʾān – each side read the other's sacred text through the prism of its own. John of Damascus accepted that the Qurʾān confirmed the incarnation because it mentions Jesus as God's Word and Spirit, while overlooking the more inconvenient passage (4:171) that explicitly denied God's having a son and describing Jesus simply as God's messenger.

Ibn Isḥāq found other testimony to support the predicted coming of the Prophet and serve his apologetic purposes. He related the story of when, as a young boy, Muḥammad travelled to Syria with his uncle Abū Ṭālib. The caravan halted near a cell where there lived a monk named Baḥīrā. He was well versed in matters of Christianity, learned from a book passed on from one generation to another. The monk noticed a cloud hovering over the Prophet until he had settled beneath a tree whose branches also inclined over him, giving protective shade. Baḥīrā began to question Muḥammad and found his answers conformed with information found in his book. He recognised the seal of prophethood between Muḥammad's shoulders and then questioned Abū Ṭālib about him. Baḥīrā advised the uncle to take Muḥammad home quickly and guard him from the Jews, who intended him harm as great things lay before him. The tale enjoyed widespread popularity and Baḥīrā ironically entered Christian polemics as a figure in the drama of interreligious controversy throughout the eighth century and into the ninth.[15] In John of Damascus' version, Muḥammad's contact was an Arian monk, the encounter with whom led to the drafting of the Qurʾān. A positive aspect of Muḥammad's career according to Christian accounts of this period was that he had rescued his people from the evils of idolatry. The apology of the Nestorian Patriarch

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13 *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*, trans. A. Guillaume (Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 103–4.

14 S. H. Griffith, 'The Gospel in Arabic. An Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century', in his *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1992), item IX, pp. 126–67, at pp. 140–1.

15 S. H. Griffith, 'Muḥammad and the Monk Baḥīrā. Reflections on a Syriac and Arabic Text from Early Abbasid Times', in his *The Beginnings of Christian Theology in Arabic. Muslim–Christian Encounters in the Early Islamic Period* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2002), item VII, pp. 146–73.

Timothy I (d. 823), written in Syriac after a debate with the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdī in 781 CE, diplomatically described Muḥammad, not as a prophet, but as worthy of praise nonetheless because he walked in the path of the prophets. Christian scholars' depiction of Islamic origins acknowledged their concern that christology was the central issue separating the two faiths. Muslim scholars for their part focused on maintaining the integrity of the message embedded in the Qurʾān and publicly declaimed in the Dome of the Rock's inscriptions, that God was One and Muḥammad was God's messenger.

Over the century and a half following the Abbasid Revolution (to about 900 CE), religious controversy was rife, especially in Syria and Iraq. Indeed, controversy was both inter- and intra-communal in nature. Christians of the Melkite, Nestorian and Jacobite persuasions disputed points of difference between them just as Muslims quarrelled over issues of speculative dogmatics. Unfortunately, however, early polemics against Christians by Muslim theologians writing in the early ninth century have survived only in fragmentary form. These include the lost works of the Muʿtazilite theologian Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. 840 CE), who wrote a general refutation of Christianity and rebutted the ideas of the Nestorian ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī (d. 845 CE). Another theologian, ʿĪsā b. Ṣubayḥ al-Murdār (d. 841 CE), pupil of the founder of the Baghdad school of Muʿtazilites, Bishr ibn al-Muʿtamir (d. 825 CE), attacked the views of the Melkite scholar Theodore Abū Qurrah (d. *c.* 825 CE). By contrast, much of the labour of these two Christian scholars, together with that of the Jacobite Ḥabīb ibn Khidmah Abu Rāʾiṭah (fl. *c.* 817–28 CE), has survived and been published in modern editions. Each had written a defence of Christianity intended for both Christians and Muslims. Griffith has long argued that this early Christian theology in Arabic was a response to questions posed by Muslims employing their characteristic Islamic terminology.[16] This resulted in Christian apologetics being consciously modelled on the discourse of contemporary Muslim dialectical theologians. Expressed in popular pamphlets for the pastoral needs of Christians in debate with Muslims, they were also meant to be intelligible to an enquiring Muslim audience. We have already encountered such an attempt in the anonymous Christian apology treated above.

The parameters of the early interreligious debate can be largely reconstructed from these Christian scholars' apologetic agenda, designed to demonstrate Christianity as the only true and credible religion. Both sides entered

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16 S. H. Griffith, 'Ḥabīb ibn Ḫidmah Abū Rāʾitah, a Christian Mutakallim of the First Abbasid Century', in his *The Beginnings of Christian Theology*, item II, pp. 161–201, at pp. 161, 170–1.

the lists armed with the same intellectual weapons, scriptures, traditions and intellectual reflection. Muslims demanded of Christians to 'Produce your proof (*burhān*) if you speak the truth' (2:111). The title of ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī's apology, *The Book of Proof* (*burhān*), directly engaged with that challenge; the other scholars wrote in the same spirit. Direct appeal to the authority of the church fathers or councils was eschewed in the knowledge that Muslims would dismiss them as unacceptable. Secondary issues of debate concerned the crucifixion, denied in the Qurʾān (4:157), and puzzled queries by Muslims over practices such as baptism and the Eucharist, veneration of the cross, circumcision, eastward-facing prayers and a fast of forty days. The charge by Muslim scholars that Christian (and Jewish) scriptures had been altered to conceal predictions of Muḥammad's coming was dismissed with the observation that the Qurʾān itself was a distorted version of the Gospel.

Core issues: miracles, the Trinity and incarnation

Questions central to the dialogue lay elsewhere. In response to the challenge for proof of a religion's truth, Christian writers declared them to be found in 'signs', that is, evidentiary miracles, or in reason. Theodore Abū Qurrah argued from the latter position that 'reason definitely leads to Christ and Christ validates the truth of Moses and the prophets'.[17] His critics pointed out that intellectual examination of religious truth attracted only the few while proof from miracles, held to be a matter of historical record, was manifest to all. Jesus' own miracles and those of the apostles worked in his name were evidence of God's endorsement of Christianity. These signs alone constituted a sufficient motive for true religious conviction. If, however, unworthy incentives to religious commitment could be discerned in any tradition, it was of human fabrication. One such list of motives included the sword, desire for wealth or dominion, licentious laws, ethnic bigotry and tribal solidarity. On these grounds Christian writers polemically rejected the truth claims of both Jews and Muslims. Moreover, if further proof were needed, the Qurʾān (17:59; 6:109) was understood to deny absolutely the value of 'signs' (*ʾayāt*). The attribution of tainted, materialist motives to one's religious opponents highlighted Christians' conviction of their community's adherence to an undefiled code of ethics.

17 S. H. Griffith, 'Faith and Reason in Christian Kalām. Theodore Abū Qurrah on Discerning the True Religion', in Samir and Nielsen (eds.), *Christian Arabic Apologetics*, p. 36.

From the Muslim perspective, proof by miracles was treated differently. Three of the earliest existing works to deal with the subject were written by the Muʿtazilite polymath, Abū ʿUthmān al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869 CE), the belle-lettrist Ibn Qutayba (d. 889 CE) and the Christian convert ʿAlī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (d. 861 CE). With his knowledge of biblical material in Syriac and possibly Hebrew, al-Ṭabarī argued that Jesus' virgin birth (accepted in the Qurʾān, 19:21–23) was no more miraculous than that of the prophet Adam who was born of neither mother nor father (Qurʾān, 3:59); a century earlier, Ibn Isḥāq had noted the same comparison in his life of the Prophet. Another example was of the prophet Elijah who, like Jesus, revived a person from the dead. Jesus appears in the Qurʾān to perform two miracles, speaking from the cradle and creating a bird from clay (3:46, 49). By a comparison of miracles, therefore, Muslim scholars sought to demonstrate that Jesus was but one prophet among many mandated by God. The Christian claim of Jesus' divinity could not be sustained. From this initial polemical purpose, the argument served another, the defence of the genuineness of Muḥammad's prophethood (countering John of Damascus' charge of his being a false prophet) drawn from evidence of Old and New Testament prophets foretelling his coming, including David, Isaiah and Jesus. This was buttressed by the evidence of Muḥammad's own miracles and of his prophecies, fulfilled both during and after his lifetime. By the tenth century Muslim theologians had transformed this comparative tradition by joining the performance of miracles firmly to God's granting permission for them.[18] A further development was the dogma of the Qurʾān's inimitability (iʿjāz al-qurʾān). Simply stated, this claimed that scripture's linguistic purity and eloquence, unrivalled by any human product, was the unique apologetic miracle that confirmed the Prophet's status.

The core issue of disputations, as already noted, focused upon the meaning and implications of christological doctrines. Each of the triumvirate of Christian scholars mentioned above (among others) dealt with the fundamental issues of the Trinity and incarnation. Both Christian theologians and their Muslim opponents faced a similar dilemma: how to understand and describe the divine attributes, preserved in scripture and tradition, while not jeopardising the notion of the divinity's unique oneness (tawḥīd). Christians faced the Muslim charge of tritheism (tathlīth) based upon Qurʾānic references, the clearest being 4:171 and 112:1–4, both of them passages featured on the Dome of the Rock. ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī vigorously defended the triune argument, first

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18 D. Thomas, 'The Miracles of Jesus in Early Islamic Polemic', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39 (1994), 221–43, at p. 241.

by traditional analogies such as the sun with its light and heat. He needed to confront as well, however, the preoccupation of Muslim speculative theologians with the numerous divine attributes, the so-called 'beautiful names', recounted in the Qur'ān (7:110; 59:22–24). Their problem was that divine oneness seemed to entail some form of plurality (the attributes) which threatened to obliterate God's simple unity. ʿAmmār attacked the views of Abū Hudhayl, who attempted to solve this problem by affirming the total identity of an attribute with God, who was said, for example, to have 'life (or, knowledge) which is God'. This preserved the divine unity but implicitly disavowed the reality of the attribute. To avoid the difficulty in explaining how the attribute was not different from the divine essence, God was also described negatively as 'not dead' (or, 'not ignorant'). ʿAmmār chided his rival for describing God by base qualities such as 'seeing' or 'hearing'. ʿAmmār's efforts to defend the doctrine of the Trinity fared little better. He argued that life and speech alone were basic constitutive attributes of the very ground of being. Hence God, the supreme perfection, must be described as one eternal substance that eternally exists in three designated realities (hypostases, plur. *aqānīm*): substance (Father), speech (Son) and life (Holy Spirit). ʿAmmār described his scheme by analogy as a substance (*jawhar*) like 'mankind' and a hypostasy (sing. *uqunūm*) like Moses, David or Solomon, suggesting 'that the Trinity is a community of individuals, exactly the opposite of what ʿAmmār is trying to prove'.[19] Abū Hudhayl was later accused of committing the same error by the famous theologian Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿārī (d. 935 CE), that is, of denying God the act of knowledge (or, life, hearing, seeing) whereas he thought he had affirmed it.

The most sustained attack against both the Trinity and the incarnation came from the somewhat enigmatic figure, Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq (d. *c.* 860 CE), who apparently had a profound interest in the religions and dualist sects of his day. His *Refutation of Christianity* influenced later Muslim polemics and, according to its modern editor, placed investigation on a more sophisticated basis by drawing attention to the doctrines actually held by Christians and differences among them. His depth of knowledge is reflected in the approaches adopted to opponents' teachings, whether searching for incoherence in them or demonstrating an incompatibility with logic and common sense. For example, he took Nestorians and Jacobites to task for their views on hypostases, enquiring whether they are substance or not. If they are, they have affirmed two eternal substances and if not, the hypostases are excluded from divinity

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19 D. Thomas, 'The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Early Abbasid Era', in L. Ridgeon (ed.), *Islamic Interpretations of Christianity* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001), pp. 78–98.

since they have professed divinity is one substance and three hypostases. In either case they abandon their faith.[20] From the Muslim perspective, if the doctrine of the Trinity fell, so too did the incarnation, by inference and God's self-portrait in the Qur'ān.

By the turn of the tenth century the main points of theological debate between Muslims and Christians were firmly set in their moulds. Developments that may have occurred within theological circles, Muslim or Christian, did not affect scholars' understanding of the fundamental problems they had already detected in each other's doctrines. The chief stumbling blocks for Muslims of the Trinity and the incarnation remained while for Christians the status of the Qur'ān and Muḥammad would continue to be problematic. On the question of God's attributes/hypostases, one further minor point may be made from the Muslim perspective. Among the usual seven divine attributes described by al-Ashʿarī's followers was God's power. As Christian theologians defended just three hypostases, being, speech and life, Muslim scholars' wonder was raised that divine power seemed to be of no concern to them.

Islam and the prophets

Nonetheless, Islam's encounter with Christianity, as the inheritor of Judaism, produced more than mere polemics and apologetics. Influences from the older communities had seeped into the young Muslim societies as they emerged throughout the Middle East. One feature of the resulting interpenetration was a surging Muslim interest in the lore of the prophets, both biblical and non-biblical. The Qur'ān contains accounts of Abraham, Moses and Jesus (among several others) from the biblical tradition, while the prophets Hūd, Thamūd and ʿĀd belong to the Arab tradition. This prophetic material was treated in different ways and served various purposes. Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Yaʿqūbī (d. *c.* 897 CE) wrote the first extant account in Arabic of the origins and history of the world. The work is quite unusual in that he concisely traces the history of pre-Islamic peoples and their prophets citing ancient sources, as in his treatment of Jesus, where he quotes passages directly from the four Gospels.[21] A reader with a sound knowledge of the Qur'ān would be able to detect differences, left unexplained by al-Yaʿqūbī, between familiar stories of prophets

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20 D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam. Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq's 'Against the Trinity'* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 81.
21 A. Ferre, 'L'historien al-Yaʾqubi et les évangiles', *Islamochristiana* 3 (1977), 65–83.

found in Muslim scripture compared with those transmitted in biblical traditions.

Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923 CE) left two works, each vast in scope, a *History of Prophets and Kings* and a commentary on the Qurʾān. The *History* spans time from creation, through the eras of biblical prophets and ancient nations, notably Persia, to the Prophet Muḥammad's lifetime, and then, proceeding in annalistic fashion, it relates the Muslim conquests and subsequent events down to the author's own day. Al-Ṭabarī's reconstruction of the pre-Islamic period, inspired by the Qurʾānic paradigm, depicted the Muslim community as the prophetic heir to biblical tradition. The sources cited in the *History* and commentary are transmitted from those who, like Ibn Isḥāq, had already incorporated the biblical tradition into their work. The versions of prophetic tales employed were based largely upon oral interpretation of biblical characters found in Middle Eastern legend and folklore which had worked its way into Old and New Testament apocrypha, aggadic works and midrashim. The Qurʾān itself states the purpose of relating tales of the prophets in the final verse of the sura on Joseph (12:111): 'There is a lesson in the stories of such people for those who understand . . . [the story of Joseph and his brethren] is confirmation of the truth of what was sent before it . . . a guide and blessing for those who believe.' Al-Ṭabarī's exegetical comment notes that each book sent down by God to its intended prophet confirmed any or all preceding revelation as truth from God, just as the Qurʾān confirmed all that went before it. In the learned literature, therefore, tales of the prophets in their Islamic guise continued to be retold in Qurʾān commentaries, albeit in disjointed manner as they were treated under groups of verses scattered over different suras throughout the Qurʾān. More coherent, separate, accounts were conveyed in universal histories like al-Ṭabarī's, a later example being that of the famous historian Ibn al-ʾAthīr (d. 1233 CE).

Given the widespread circulation of orally transmitted legends, it is perhaps surprising how long it took for a separate collection of prophetic tales to be gathered into a single volume. It is less surprising that the first compiler, Abu Isḥāq al-Thaʿlabī (d. 1036 CE), was an expert Qurʾān exegete. The compilation, therefore, belongs to the scholastic strain of prophetic literature. The popularity of the genre, however, may be judged by the appearance of similar works, some of them original compositions, in Persian around 1100 and from 1400 in Turkish as well. Persian mystics exploited prophetic episodes in their poetry, a notable example being the love story of Joseph and Zulaikha composed by Jāmī of Herat (d. 1492 CE). This famous tale had been related in an earlier collection written in Arabic around 1200 CE by a talented

storyteller, one Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Kisāʾī.[22] It is possible to illustrate a trajectory along which a specific tale may have developed from scripture to popular story. Although the Qurʾānic style is typically cursory, the Joseph story is the only running narrative occupying an entire sura. Because Joseph could interpret a troubling dream, the Egyptian king had ordered his release from prison. Meanwhile the woman responsible for Joseph's imprisonment had confessed her guilt and Joseph's innocence. The king rewarded Joseph, placing him in charge of all the granaries in the land (12:50–55). At this point al-Ṭabarī contributed a scholarly gloss to the story saying (on Ibn Isḥāq's authority) that the king married this same woman, recently widowed and called Rāʾil, to Joseph. Rāʾil begged Joseph's forgiveness, explaining that as her marriage had never been consummated, she had been overwhelmed by her servant Joseph's innocent beauty. Finally, in al-Kisāʾī's popular version, tragedy struck before triumph prevailed. Seven prosperous years passed, and seven lean years too, forcing the entire population to sell themselves, ultimately into slavery, in return for receiving food from Joseph. One of these was Zulaikha (as Rāʾil is most commonly known), whom Joseph at first failed to recognise when she came to see him so many years later. Overcome with sorrow at her plight, Joseph vowed to restore her former rank and riches. He married her with the king as their witness. 'And God restored her beauty and youth', concludes al-Kisāʾī.[23]

The Muslim Jesus

From the Christian 'prehistory' of Islam, the figure of Jesus is naturally dominant. His Qurʾānic story, unlike Joseph's, is related in fragments over nearly a dozen suras. From one reference (43:61) to the Hour, the day of judgement, Jesus became an eschatological actor to whom, along with the Muslim figure of the Mahdi, Islamic tradition assigned roles to be fulfilled prior to the world's end. The legends surrounding the birth of Mary and Jesus and those of his childhood miracles chiefly spring from apocryphal gospels and older oriental sources that had survived within Middle Eastern Christianity. Al-Kisāʾī's tale parallels in places details in the Qurʾān, such as the infant Jesus' speaking from the cradle and announcing God's granting him a revelation as his prophet (19:30). The miracles of healing the blind, the leper and raising

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22 W. M. Thackston, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾi* (Boston: Twayne, 1978), introduction, pp. xi–xxxiv, for data on this genre of literature.
23 Ibid., p. 180.

the dead by God's permission (3:49; also 5:110) are also mentioned. In the final section, al-Kisāʾī portrayed Jesus in his eschatological role, first confronting the Antichrist and slaying him, thereby filling the earth with justice just as it had been filled with tyranny and oppression. After forty years on earth, says al-Kisāʾī, God will send the Angel of Death to take Jesus' soul, since every created thing must die; angels will descend, prepare his body for burial and place him beside Muḥammad's tomb.

This last point, the two prophets' proximity in their final resting place, symbolises the Jesus of popular piety, who became in the tradition 'not only a living moral force but also a figure who played a role in intra-Muslim polemics'.[24] A recent important study has aptly applied the term 'the Muslim gospel' to the myriad stories about Jesus and sayings attributed to him found scattered throughout diverse Arabic treatises over many centuries. The 'gospel' founders appear to have been associated with circles of ascetics, devout worshippers, preachers and Qurʾān reciters, that is, with those who belonged to the ranks of popular scholars as opposed to those who supported the legitimacy of the state and sided with the established order rather than with dissent. One saying from a thirteenth-century source reflects Jesus' enlisted stance against bigoted legalism: 'Jesus said to the religious lawyers, "You sit on the road to the afterlife – but you have neither walked this road to its end, nor allowed anyone else to pass by. Woe to him who is beguiled by you!"'[25] The corpus grew over time and the focus shifted to accommodate other moods, as Jesus moved from the role of ascetic to one who communes with nature, is a worker of miracles, a healer, a social commentator and model of morality. Thus: 'Jesus said, For the patient man, misfortune soon results in ease; for the sinner, ease soon results in misfortune."'[26]

Finally, two sayings which possibly echo Proverbs (15:22) and Matthew (5:7) respectively are found in tenth- and eleventh-century Muslim sources: 'Jesus said: "He who acts without counsel acts in vain"', and, 'Jesus said: "The merciful in this world is the one who will be shown mercy in the next world"'.[27] In these maxims, as in the stories related about him, Jesus of the 'Muslim gospel' is far removed from the arena of religious polemic. Instead he was received through the centuries as a revered figure of intense devotion and love.

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24 T. Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus. Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 26.
25 Ibid., p. 202.   26 Ibid., p. 58.   27 Ibid., pp. 138, 153.

PART IV

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THE BIBLE IN USE

The Bible in the medieval liturgy,
c. 600–1300

JOSEPH DYER

The essays in the present volume reveal how the Bible was transmitted, studied, interpreted and visually embellished in the Middle Ages. Medieval monks, clergy and laity (insofar as the latter understood Latin) did not encounter the Bible primarily as written text, however, but through its proclamation during Mass and Office. Every day psalms were chanted and passages from the Hebrew scriptures and the New Testament were read, along with patristic commentaries on them. Over the course of a year, a monastic community would have heard a large part of the Bible. At Mass selected passages from the Gospels, Epistles and (mainly during Lent) the Old Testament were read according to a prescribed annual cycle. Almost all the texts of the Proper chants of the Mass were drawn from the Bible, principally the book of Psalms.

The chapter 'The Bible and the early liturgy' in the first volume of the present series cites evidence for the use of biblical texts in the liturgy of New Testament times and the patristic era. Precise details are difficult to come by, however, given the disappearance of whatever 'liturgical' books might have existed in the first centuries of the Christian era.[1] In the present chapter, for practical reasons, the Office and the Mass will be treated separately.[2] The use of the Bible in regional western rites (Gallican, Milanese) and in the eastern

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1 G. Rouwhorst, 'The Bible and Liturgy', in J. Schaper and J. Carleton Paget (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. I: From the Beginnings to c. 600* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), ch. 36. An essential guide to the medieval sources is C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy. An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. W. S. Storey and N. Rasmussen (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1986); see also C. Folsom, 'Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite', in A. Chupungo (ed.), *Introduction to the Liturgy*, Handbook for Liturgical Studies 1 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1997), pp. 245–314, and E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998).

2 The present chapter may be supplemented by S. J. P. van Dijk, 'The Bible in Liturgical Use', in *CHB II*, pp. 220–52, and P.-M. Gy, 'La Bible dans la liturgie au moyen âge', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 537–52.

liturgies can be mentioned only in passing.[3] For the structure of Mass and Office reference will be made to specialised studies.

The Divine Office

In the present chapter, 'Office' (capitalised) will apply to the entire round of daily prayer, while 'office' (lower-cased) will refer to one part of it.[4] In accord with early monastic terminology and modern scholarly practice, the office that begins after midnight will be called 'vigils' (*vigiliae*, usually plural), of which a 'nocturn' is a subdivision.[5] Ancient usage applied 'matins' to the office at daybreak that later came to be known as 'lauds'. Vespers, celebrated at twilight, was also called 'lucernarium' after the universal custom in the ancient world of solemnising the lighting of lamps at the setting of the sun. Fixed times of prayer were also known as 'hours', or (in the case of prime, terce, sext and none) as 'little' or 'day' hours.

The eminent liturgical historian Anton Baumstark distinguished between the liturgical practices of 'Kloster und Kathedrale' (monastery and cathedral), a distinction that has dominated research on the early history of the Divine Office since the mid-1980s, although it has recently come under criticism for making too rigid a separation between the two.[6] The 'cathedral' Office, celebrated not only in cathedrals and urban churches but also in rural churches with sufficient clergy, consisted of two gatherings for prayer each day: one early in the morning, the other at twilight. Layfolk were encouraged to participate in singing the psalms, hymns and responses.

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3 For these see A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (London: Longman, 1959).

4 A. Elberti, *La liturgia delle ore in Occidente. Storia e teologia* (Rome: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1998); J. Pinell, *Liturgia delle ore*, Anàmnesis 5 (Genoa: Marietti, 1990); P. Salmon, 'La prière des heures', in A. G. Martimort (ed.), *L'Église en prière. Introduction à la liturgie*, 3rd edn (Paris: Desclée, 1965), pp. 826–9. The structure of the medieval Office is lucidly presented in J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century. A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

5 An abbot known only as the 'Master' applied the term 'vigils' to an all-night office that lasted from Saturday evening to dawn on Sunday; *La règle du maître*, ed. A. de Vogüé, 3 vols., SC 105–7 (Paris: Cerf, 1964–5), cap. 49, vol. 1, pp. 220–3; *The Rule of the Master*, trans. L. Eberle, Cistercian Studies 6 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Institute, 1977), p. 208.

6 A. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (Freiburg: Herder, 1923), pp. 64–70, and R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986), *passim*, esp. pp. 211–13 for a summary overview. See, however, P. F. Bradshaw, 'Cathedral vs. Monastery. The Only Alternative for the Liturgy of the Hours?', in J. N. Alexander (ed.), *Time and Community. In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley* (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1990), pp. 123–35, and more recently S. R. Frøyshov, 'The Cathedral-Monastic Distinction Revisited. Part 1: Was Egyptian Desert Liturgy a Pure Monastic Office?', *Studia Monastica* 37 (2007), 198–216.

The focus of the cathedral Office, which included readings and 'popular' elements like hymns, was praise and thanksgiving, contrition and intercession. It also took into account the time of day, mainly by the choice of psalms whose verses evoked dawn (5, 62, 66 and 89) or dusk (140).[7] Details about the primitive cathedral Office at Jerusalem are known from the report of the Spanish pilgrim Egeria, who visited the Holy City in the late fourth century. She observed that 'psalms and antiphons . . . are proper and have a meaning pertinent to what is being celebrated', a comment that also applied to feasts throughout the year.[8] At daybreak 'matutinos hymnos' were sung, and at *licinicon* (Greek λυχνικόν), which Egeria equated with the 'lucernare' observed in Spain, the ceremonial lighting of lamps was followed by 'psalmi lucernares' and the singing of antiphons.[9] The urban monastics of Jerusalem had their own vigils office that dovetailed with 'cathedral' matins.

Some information about the Gallic cathedral Office can be deduced from the decisions of church councils. The Council of Agde (506), attended by bishops of the Ostrogothic kingdom (at that time southern Gaul and Spain), listed the constituent elements of the offices to be celebrated by the urban clergy and people.[10] In addition to morning and evening hymns there were psalm verses and responses (*capitella*) and at vespers a final blessing.

The psalter

Monastic offices, of which there were many variant arrangements, were more numerous and lengthier, since they embraced the chanting of the entire psalter. One must also distinguish between Egypt and the Near East as well as between the practices of desert and urban monasticism.[11] Monks of Lower (i.e., northern) Egypt recited the psalms during the week in their cells according to their own schedule, but at weekends they gathered for common worship. John Cassian (*c.* 360–435), who had lived as a monk in Palestine and Egypt, described one of these gatherings, during which a psalmist recited twelve

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7 Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, pp. 141–63. Pss. 148–50 (*laudes*) were part of matins since at least the sixth century; their presence led to the eventual renaming of the office as 'lauds'.
8 'Psalmi vel antiphonae apti semper dicantur . . . ut ad ipsam rem pertineant quae agitur'; *Éthérie: Journal de voyage*, ed. P. Maraval, SC 296 (Paris: Cerf, 2002), 25.5, p. 248; *Egeria. Diary of a Pilgrimage*, trans. G. E. Gingras, Ancient Christian Writers 38 (New York: Newman, 1968), p. 94.
9 *Journal*, ed. Maraval, 24.2, p. 236, and 24.4, p. 238; *Egeria*, trans. Gingras, pp. 89–90.
10 *Concilia Galliae, A. 314–A. 506*, ed. C. Meunier, CCSL 148 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963), can. 30, p. 206; Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, pp. 147–8.
11 For reflections on the praying of the psalms in the medieval Office see J. Dyer 'The Psalms in Monastic Prayer', in N. van Deusen (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1999), pp. 59–89.

psalms while the monks listened in silence, making occasional responses.[12] This was followed by two readings – on weekdays from the Old and New Testaments, at weekends from the Epistles (or Acts) and the Gospel.

Characteristic of monastic psalmody was the chanting of the psalter from beginning to end, not the selective psalmody of the cathedral Office.[13] A prescribed number of psalms were assigned to each office and, once the end of the psalter had been reached, its recitation began all over again with Ps. 1. Over the course of a few months, therefore, a given psalm would have cycled through all of the offices. The Rule of the Master insisted time and again that the psalms be sung 'always in the sequence of the psalter' (*currente semper psalterio*), an insistence that might have reflected the Master's antipathy to the 'weekly' psalter (*psalterium per hebdomadam*).[14] Several monastic rules, the Augustinian *Ordo monasterii* among them, varied the daily *pensum* (quota) of psalms at vigils according to the variable length of the nights from winter to summer.

Weekly distribution of the psalter required careful planning that balanced traversal of the complete psalter over seven days and maintenance of the prescribed number of psalms at each office. The Roman basilical Office divided the psalter into a 'vigils' block (Pss. 1–108) and a 'vespers' block (Pss. 109–50), an arrangement adapted by Benedict of Nursia (*c*. 480/90–*c*. 547) in his Rule.[15] The Roman Office never divided psalms except for Ps. 118 (by far the longest in the psalter), which was sung daily at the little hours, but Benedict chose to divide certain psalms to equalise the daily obligation.[16] He also replaced the daily chanting of Ps. 118 with Pss. 119–27 (three at each hour) and assigned Pss. 1–19 (from the matins block) to weekday prime.[17] The Benedictine Office thus began the weekly psalter at Sunday vigils with Ps. 20 not with Ps. 1; hence a

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12 John Cassian, *Institutions cénobitiques*, ed. J.-C. Guy, SC 109 (Paris: Cerf, 1965), 2.5, pp. 20–2; *The Institutes*, trans. B. Ramsey, Ancient Christian Writers 58 (New York: Newman, 2000), pp. 39–41. As Cassian describes the episode, the psalmist was an angel.

13 O. Heiming, 'Zum monastischen Offizium von Kassianus bis Kolumbanus', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 7 (1961), 89–156.

14 See the index in *La règle du maître*, ed. de Vogüé, vol. III, p. 102.

15 The parish churches of Rome (*tituli*) probably observed the 'cathedral' practice of daily morning and evening offices.

16 See the tables in Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, pp. 134–9, and the different presentation in Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, Appendix 2.

17 P. Nowak, 'Die Strukturelemente des Stundengebets der Regula Benedicti', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 26 (1984), 253–304; the Benedictine Office is outlined in *RB 1980. The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. T. Fry et al. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981), pp. 390–7. Monastic custom limited the number of psalms at vigils to twelve. Benedict divided this number into two nocturns and added a third nocturn of Old Testament canticles, choice of which was entrusted to the abbot.

Benedictine liturgical psalter can be identified by the capital letters attached to Pss. 20, 32, 45, 59, 73, 83 and 101.[18] Both the Roman and the Benedictine Offices extracted about a dozen psalms for the fixed and variable psalm at matins and compline. A 'romano-benedictine' arrangement of the psalms, which formed the basis of the secular Office of the Middle Ages, was modelled in part on the Benedictine distribution.[19] The Sunday and weekday distribution of psalms was replaced on important feasts of the Lord and the saints by psalms specially chosen to reflect the theme of the feast.

Before the middle of the sixth century the western cathedral Office had taken on aspects of the monastic system, particularly the celebration of vigils, influenced by the prestige of monasticism and the initiatives of bishops who had been monks before elevation to the episcopate. Bishops ordained for sees under the jurisdiction of the pope in central Italy were expected to celebrate vigils with their clergy.[20] The second council of Tours (567) varied the number of psalms at vigils in autumn and winter based on the names of the months: eight psalms were sung in October, nine in November, etc.[21] But the addition of vigils to the cathedral Office was not always appreciated by the clergy, and a canon in the decretals of Gratian authorised a bishop to take disciplinary action to ensure compliance.[22]

The Byzantine Office preserved more elements of the old cathedral Office than did the western liturgy, though it too was 'monasticised'. The weekly psalter was divided into twenty *kathismata*, each divided into *staseis* of one to five psalms. Two or three *kathismata* were sung at 'orthros' (the equivalent of matins). A single *kathisma*, variable by season, was assigned to 'hesperinos' (vespers), which also included lessons preceded by a *prokeimenon*, a chant akin to the western responsory, in which a refrain, intoned by a soloist, preceded a melodically embellished verse, followed in turn by a repeat of the refrain.[23] The nine biblical canticles at Orthros were eventually supplanted

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18 In a non-monastic psalter the initials of Pss. 1, 26, 38, 51, 68, 80, 97, and 109 (the beginning of the vesper block) would be distinguished by large capitals.

19 I borrow the latter term from V. Raffa, 'L'ufficio divino del tempo dei Carolingi e il breviario di Innocenzo III confrontati con la liturgia delle ore di Paolo VI', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 85 (1971), 206–59. The medieval distribution of the psalter was revised in 1911 by Pope Pius X.

20 See the 'cautio episcopi' in *Liber diurnus romanorum pontificum*, ed. T. von Sickel (Vienna: Gerold, 1889), p. 77–8.

21 *Concilia Galliae, A. 511–A. 695*, ed. C. de Clercq, CCSL 148A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963), canon 18, pp. 182–3; Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, p. 149.

22 *Corpus juris canonici I: Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879; repr. Graz: ADEVA, 1955), dist. 91, c. 1, col. 316.

23 For a discussion of the Byzantine Office see Mother Mary and K. Ware (trans.), *The Festal Menaion* (London: Faber, 1969), pp. 38–80, 530–64.

by the canon, a poetic form that paraphrased and dramatised the text of each canticle, adapting it to the theme of the feast.

Readings

The psalms at vigils were divided into two or three nocturns, each of which was concluded by substantial readings from the historical, prophetic or sapiential books of the Old Testament, from the New Testament and from the fathers. The earliest detailed information about a programme of readings at vigils appears in one of the liturgical directories known as *Ordines Romani*.[24] Many of these *ordines* reflect hybrid romano-frankish practice, but *Ordo Romanus XIV* transmits the authentic custom of St Peter's at Rome *c*. 650–700.[25] It prescribes that from Quinquagesima Sunday to Passion (i.e., Palm) Sunday, the Pentateuch and the books of Joshua and Judges were to be read. Isaiah and the Lamentations of Jeremiah filled up Holy Week, while Eastertide was devoted to the Catholic Epistles, then Acts (an inversion of the biblical order) and Revelation. The four books of Kings and Chronicles (Paralipomenon) were assigned to the period between Pentecost and the beginning of October. From mid-October to Advent were read the 'books of Solomon and the women [Judith, Esther], Maccabees and Tobit'.[26] The prophetic readings for December (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel) took account of the approaching Feast of the Nativity and its continued celebration through to Epiphany (6 January). The period between Epiphany and the recommencement of the cycle were taken up with the reading of Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets and Job.

The Rule of Benedict offered no comparable guidance about the programme of vigil readings, save to say that 'besides the inspired books of the Old and New Testaments, the works read at vigils should include explanations

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24 *Les ordines romani du haut moyen-âge*, ed. M. Andrieu, 5 vols., Études et Documents 11, 23–4, 28, 29 (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931–61), vol. II, pp. 469–506 (*ordines* 13A and 13B), and vol. III, pp. 3:25–41 (*ordo* 14); Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 135–224. On the Office readings, biblical and patristic, see P. Salmon, *The Breviary through the Centuries*, trans. Sr. David Mary [Hanley] (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1962), pp. 62–94 [orig. publ. as *L'office divin*, Lex Orandi 27 (Paris: Cerf, 1959)]; P. Salmon, *L'office divin au moyen âge. Histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IXe au XVIe siècle*, Lex Orandi 43 (Paris: Cerf, 1967).

25 A half-century later, *Ordo XIIIA* (*Ordo librorum catholicorum*), reflecting the practice of the Lateran basilica, begins with Septuagesima but generally accords with the regimen of St Peter's; *Les ordines romani*, ed. Andrieu, vol. II, pp. 481–7. See also B. Maiani, 'Readings and Responsories. The Eighth-Century Night Office Lectionary and the *Responsoria prolixa*', *Journal of Musicology* 16 (1998), 254–82, esp. pp. 270–2 for a comparative table.

26 *Ordo Romanus XIV.6*; *Les ordines romani*, ed. Andrieu, vol. III, p. 40.

of scripture by reputable and orthodox catholic fathers'.[27] The Benedictine Office had typically on Sundays four readings from scripture at the end of nocturn 1, four patristic sermons at the end of nocturn 2, and four patristic homilies on the Gospel at the end of nocturn 3.[28] This pattern did not extend to other days of the week, when the number of biblical readings was considerably diminished.

Just how much of the Bible was read during the offices is difficult to determine, since there are no early lectionaries that might supplement the general indications of *Ordo Romanus XIV* or the Rule of Benedict. The absence of such books cannot be entirely surprising, since the longer readings were read directly from a biblical codex ('ad librum'). Their length depended both upon the length of the vigils (which terminated at dawn to make way for matins) and upon the judgement of the monastic or clerical superior.[29] It would seem rather unlikely that the complete contents of the longest (and not very interesting) books were read in their entirety, but at Cluny *c.* 1080 all of Genesis was read in the week after Septuagesima; Exodus began on Sexagesima in choir and was continued daily in the refectory.[30] In many cases an entire patristic sermon was read, not just the meagre snippets that one finds in breviaries revised after the Council of Trent. Short readings (sing. *capitulum*), which consisted of a verse or two, may have been recited from memory.

A revision of the Roman Office in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries produced the Breviary of the Roman Curia, which significantly curtailed the readings at the night office, a process under way since the eleventh century. Portable breviaries required that the length of readings be kept to a minimum, lest the volume become unwieldy. The apparent brevity of the readings might be misleading, since lectionaries were always available for longer readings during the choral recitation of the Office. Strictly speaking, a 'breviary' is a book that combines the various parts of the Office in a single volume – shortening of texts is not necessarily implied.

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27 'Codices autem legantur in vigiliis divinae auctoritatis, tam veteris testamenti quam novi, sed et expositiones earum, quae a nominatis et orthodoxis catholicis patribus factae sunt' (9.8); *RB 1980*, ed. Fry et al., pp. 204–5.

28 On Quinquagesima Sunday, for example, the readings were drawn from (1) Genesis 12, (2) Ambrose's sermon 'de Abraham patriarcha', and (3) Gregory's homily on Luke 18:31ff. (*Homilia in Evangelia* 2. 2. 1–2a). Only the first few words of the gospel text were read, followed by 'et reliqua'.

29 In his *Regula ad monachos*, Aurelian of Arles (d. 551) called for three or four pages at each reading, depending on the size of the script (*PL* 68, col. 394); J. A. Jungmann, *Pastoral Liturgy* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1962), pp. 165–6.

30 *Udalrici consuetudines cluniacenses* 1.1; *PL* 149, col. 643.

Beginning in the eighth century, collections of patristic sermons (homiliaries) were compiled by Bede, the Roman priest Agimund, Alan of Farfa, Egino of Verona, and Paul the Deacon (acting on a commission from Charlemagne).[31] It is believed that they all stem from a lost sixth-century original created for St Peter's basilica in Rome. The selection of authors was not particularly wide: early favourites Jerome and Leo the Great were later joined by Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Caesarius of Arles, Bede and Maximus of Turin. While all the homilies and sermons in the medieval collections were duly attributed, a not inconsiderable number of 'pseudo' authors insinuated themselves, Augustine being the favoured recipient of such false attributions.[32]

Responsories

In the earliest monastic rules (Caesarius, Aurelian, the Master) the *responsorium* did not follow a reading, as was later the norm, but was associated with the preceding psalmody. The Rule of the Master counted the responsory (as well as the *responsorium hortationis* (Ps. 94) sung by the abbot at the beginning of vigils) as the equivalent of a full psalm.[33] The Rule of Benedict, following Roman practice, linked responsories with readings, twice using the expression 'readings with their responsories' (*lectiones cum responsoriis suis*).[34]

A responsory is a moderately embellished chant that provides a brief musical interlude, offering the opportunity to contemplate either what had just been read or the text of the responsory itself. It begins with the respond, intoned by the cantor and continued by the choir. At the end of the respond a solo verse is sung to a standard formula specific to the mode of the responsory, after which the choir repeats all or part of the respond.[35] At Rome the respond was repeated from the beginning (*a capite*) after the verse. Frankish preference was for a partial respond, *responsio a latere*, as in the example below, *Deus qui sedes*, the second responsory of the first nocturn for Monday after the first Sunday

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31 The contents and sources of the readings are listed in R. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux. Analyse de manuscrits*, Biblioteca degli Studi Medievali 12 (Spoleto: CISAM, 1980).

32 Ibid., p. 530 (index).

33 *La règle du maître*, ed. de Vogüé, vol. 1, pp. 49–63; *The Rule of the Master*, trans. Eberle, pp. 202–3.

34 Rule of Benedict, 11.2, 5; *RB 1980*, ed. Fry et al., pp. 204, 206.

35 Alternatively, the respond might be repeated in its entirety after being sung through by the cantor. Representative responsories may be found in *Liber responsorialis pro festis I. Classis et commune sanctorum* (Solesmes: Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1895), and *Liber usualis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1956), *passim*. Responsories are discussed in W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1959), pp. 330–44, and D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant. A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), pp. 69–76.

after Epiphany. The respond after the verse begins with 'Quia . . .'. Romans would have repeated the entire respond from 'Deus qui sedes'.

> R. Deus * qui sedes super thronum et iudicas aequitatem, esto refugium pauperum in tribulatione: quia tu solus laborem et dolorem considera
>
> (Ps. 9:5, 10)
>
> V. Tibi enim derelictus est pauper, pupillo tu eris adiutor
>
> (Ps. 9:35)
>
> R. Quia tu solus laborem et dolorem considera.

The last responsory of each nocturn adds the first half of the *Gloria patri* and a final return of the (partial) respond. It should be noted that the text of the responsory is compiled from non-contiguous verses of the psalm.

The earliest layer of responsories was exclusively psalmic: *Ordo Romanus XVI* considers this the 'default' condition.[36] Some few combine psalmic with non-psalmic texts. As early as the first half of the eighth century, however, a large portion of this psalmic layer was replaced by pieces with texts derived from the Old Testament narratives read at vigils, but cast in the form described above.[37] These *historiae*, as they later came to be called, emphasise affective aspects of the readings rather than merely reiterate their content. The first responsory of the *historia de Iob* series epitomises Job's supreme patience by combining two separate verses (Job 2:10 (slightly altered) and 1:21): *Si bona suscepimus de manu domini, mala autem quare non sustineamus? Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, sicut domino placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen domini benedictum* ('If we received good things from the hand of the Lord, why should we not endure evil things as well? The Lord gave, the Lord took away, as it pleased the Lord, so it was done; may the name of the Lord be blessed').[38]

During special seasons of the liturgical year – Advent, Passiontide and Paschaltide – the responsory texts were chosen from biblical sources that underscored the unique character of these seasons. The responsories of the first nocturn of the fourth Sunday of Advent, for example, are drawn from Jeremiah (*Canite tuba*), Genesis (*Non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda*), and John (*Me*

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36 *Ordo Romanus XVI.53*; *Les ordines romani*, ed. Andrieu, vol. III, 154; P. Alfonzo, *I responsori biblici dell'Ufficio romano. Note sulla centonizzazione* (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Seminarii Romani, 1936), pp. 18–29; the findings of this study have been substantially confirmed by musical analysis in Maiani, 'Readings and Responsories'.

37 A century later, according to Amalar of Metz, Romans still retained the *de psalmis* responsories for the first week or two of a month, then switched to responsories based on the book being read; *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, prol. 4; *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. J. M. Hanssens, 3 vols., Studi e Testi 138–40 (Vatican City: BAV, 1948–50), vol. III, p. 13.

38 *Liber responsorialis*, p. 422.

oportet minui), the latter combined with a verse from Mark (*Ego baptizavi vos in aqua*).[39] Only the second responsory and the verse of the third use the biblical text verbatim. The others paraphrase the text – a frequent procedure in the responsory repertoire and the Proper chants of the Mass.

The music of the Office

Nothing can be known about the melodies to which the psalms were chanted in the early cathedral or monastic Office, given the virtual absence of practical musical notation before the late ninth century. Since so many psalms had to be recited daily, the melodic formulae used for reciting them could not have been too different in substance from the psalm tones of the medieval western Office.[40] Until the end of the seventh century, the psalms were performed solo by a member of the clerical or monastic community with or without refrains (antiphons). In some instances, however, the text may have been simply monotoned.

There were three methods used for chanting the psalms: direct, responsorial or antiphonal. Direct psalmody was a simple recitation of the text (with or without musical inflexions at the middle and end of the verse). The other two methods imply a refrain, but how that refrain interacted with the psalm text remains unclear. Responsorial psalmody, attested from the later fourth century but surely much older, involved the solo recitation of psalm verses interrupted periodically with a choral refrain on a text derived from the psalm. Separating this mode of performance from antiphonal psalmody has proven to be a nearly intractable problem. Though *antiphona* occurs hundreds of times in documents from the late fourth century onwards, the sources assume that readers will understand its meaning.[41] Of course, it can scarcely be possible that an antiphon was inserted between very many verses (or groups of verses) of a psalm when a dozen or more psalms had to be accommodated at vigils.[42] Such repetition of an antiphon was feasible for the antiphonal chants of the Mass (introit and communion), which accompany processional actions.

39 (1) Jer. 4:5, (2) Gen. 49:10,12, (3) John 3:30 and 1:27. The verse is from Mark 1:7–8.
40 The psalm tones are conveniently available in editions of *Liber usualis*, pp. 112–17. Some of the tones in newer monastic chant books from the Abbey of Solesmes, based on a modern theory of the development of modality, are not found in medieval sources. Examples from these sources are discussed in J. Dyer, 'The Singing of Psalms in the Early Medieval Office', *Speculum* 64 (1989), 535–77.
41 In some monastic rules, *antiphona*, irrespective of the manner of performance, must often be interpreted as an entire psalm; see A. de Vogüé, 'Le sens d'*antifana* et la longeur de l'office dans la *Regula magistri*', *RB* 71 (1961), 119–24.
42 Only the invitatory Ps. 94, the sole survivor of the Roman psalter among the psalms of the Office, was chanted with a refrain.

Aux - i - li-um me-um a do-mi - no qui fe-cit cae-lum et ter-ram.

Ps. Le-va-vi o -cu-los me-os in mon-tes, un-de ve-ni-et au-xi-li-um mi-hi.
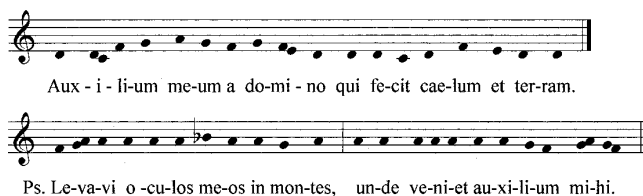
Example 1 Antiphon to Psalm 120 at Monday Vespers

Medieval noted psalters indicate the antiphon before and after the psalm, but its first appearance is reduced to the incipit only.

By the end of the eighth century, the practice of singing alternate verses by a choir divided into two halves had taken hold.[43] This method, the norm of the medieval Office, has been given architectural expression in the ranks of choir stalls to be seen in monastic churches and medieval cathedrals (or their modern replicas).

Office antiphon melodies consist of two, three or four musical phrases, though the texts of some are so short that a single musical gesture suffices. Typically, Sunday and ferial (weekday) antiphons borrow a verse from the psalm with which they are sung, as for example the antiphon *Auxilium meum* for Ps. 120 at Monday vespers (Example 1).[44] The antiphon falls into two parts, its musical shape mirroring the verbal syntax. Example 1 also shows the first verse of Ps. 120 set to the prescribed psalm tone, whose final cadence on F provides a smooth link to the first note of the antiphon (D). This connection was a matter of concern to medieval music theorists, who assigned antiphons to the psalm tones with which they were sung according to the system of eight ecclesiastical modes. Books known as tonaries provided detailed lists of these groupings.[45]

The antiphons for the gospel canticles of matins (Benedictus) and vespers (Magnificat) were borrowed from the scripture readings of the Mass of the day.[46] Example 2, *Cognovit autem pater*, the Magnificat antiphon for the twentieth Sunday after Pentecost, quotes verbatim from the day's gospel, the healing of the ruler's son (John 4:46–53).[47] The melody may be analysed as three phrases ('Cognovit . . . in qua dixit . . . et credidit'). The shaping of

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43 It has been suggested that 'alternating psalmody' might be a better description of this method.
44 *Antiphonale romanum . . . pro diurnis horis* (Tournai: Desclée, 1949), p. 100.
45 M. Huglo, *Le tonaires. Inventaire, analyse, comparaison*, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie 3/2 (Paris: Heugel, 1971).
46 Especially Sundays and the weekdays of Lent. 47 *Antiphonale romanum*, p. 571.

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Example 2 Magnificat antiphon (Twentieth Sunday after Pentecost)

the melody throws into relief the phrases 'illa hora' and 'credidit', which are arguably the points to be emphasised. By contrast 'filius tuus vivit' ('your son lives') is understated.[48] I have added the first verse of the Magnificat (Example 2). The Magnificat antiphon for the first Sunday of Lent, *Ecce nunc tempus*, selects phrases from the first six verses of the epistle of the day (2 Cor 6:2–10), compressing them into a striking admonition for the beginning of a penitential season: 'Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis; in his ergo diebus exhibeamus nos sicut dei ministros, in multa patientia, in jejuniis, in vigiliis et in caritate non ficta'.[49] This same 'editorial' principle is likewise found in the Proper chants of the Mass. Antiphons for feasts of the saints were often drawn from appropriate biblical verses or from the saint's *vita*.

Mass

The essence of the Eucharist is the offering of bread and wine, prayers of praise, expressions of thanksgiving, recollection of the events of salvation history, confession of personal sinfulness and prayers for the living and dead, culminating in the transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and communion.[50] Although scriptural readings were associated with the Eucharist from apostolic times, they are not absolutely essential to its celebration. A fortiori, the chants sung during Mass, progressively introduced over the centuries, are strictly speaking less essential, though they powerfully enhance the solemn celebration of the Mass liturgy.

48 One can imagine that a modern musical setting of the text might reverse the emphasis.
49 'Behold now is the acceptable time, behold now is the day of salvation: let us therefore during these days exhibit ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in fastings, in watchings, and in charity unfeigned'; *Antiphonale romanum*, 571; *Liber usualis*, p. 540.
50 The standard work is J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum solemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2 vols., 5th edn (Vienna, Freiburg and Basel: Herder, 1962); an earlier edition was translated by F. A. Brunner as *The Mass of the Roman Rite. Its Origins and Development*, 2 vols. (New York: Benziger, 1951–5); an excellent introduction is E. Foley, *From Age to Age. How Christians Have Celebrated the Eucharist*, 2nd edn (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008).

Epistle and Gospel

Unlike the long readings at vigils, the readings at Mass, perhaps by the late fourth century, had become fixed in length. There is some evidence of the *lectio continua* principle at certain times of the year, for example, towards the end of Lent (the Gospel of John) and Eastertide (Acts). A dedicated lectionary was not essential, since the texts could be read directly from a biblical codex, some of which had marginal annotations indicating the first and sometimes last words of the assigned reading ('pericope').[51] The arrangement of the text 'per cola et commata' (small sense units into which ancient and medieval texts were divided) facilitated public reading from such a codex. These marginal indications were complemented by lists of readings in liturgical order. They indicated the opening and closing words of the pericope, separated by the preposition 'usque' ('as far as'). Gospel readings might be accompanied by the number assigned to the passage in the tables devised by Eusebius of Caesarea (*c.* 260–339).[52] An epistle list was known as a *comes* (after 'commata') or *capitulare lectionum*. A gospel list was known as a *capitulare evangeliorum*.[53] The manuscript Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 62, which represents the mid-seventh-century stage of development at Rome, contains the earliest surviving epistle and gospel lists, but they are not coordinated with each other.[54]

For the sake of convenience it became the practice to create separate books with the required readings copied out in full and arranged in liturgical order.[55] Surviving epistolaries are rather rare, but evangeliaries, whose calligraphy, decoration and binding could be quite sumptuous, survive in larger number.

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51 For a survey with citations of manuscript sources, see A. G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 21–43, 51–8. Many lists are assembled in G. Godu, 'Epîtres' and 'Évangiles', in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols. in 30 (1907–53), vol. v, cols. 245–344 and 852–923.
52 Canon tables using these numbers to indicate parallel readings from all four gospels precede many gospelbooks.
53 The families of gospel *capitularia* have been analysed by *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum*, ed. T. Klauser, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 28 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1935).
54 G. Morin, 'Le plus ancien *comes* ou lectionnaire de l'Église romaine', *RB* 27 (1910), 41–74; G. Morin, 'L'évangéliaire de Wurtzbourg', *RB* 28 (1911), 296–330.
55 One of the oldest sources of the western liturgy, the palimpsest Gallican lectionary Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Weiss. 76 (*c.* 500) contains complete readings, some of them compiled from non-contiguous verses; see P. Carmassi, 'Das Lektionar Cod. Guelf. 76 Weiss. Beispiele liturgischer Verwendung der heiligen Schrift im frühmittelalterlichen Gallien', in P. Carmassi (ed.), *Präsenz und Verwendung der Heiligen Schrift im christlichen Frühmittelalter. Exegetische Literatur und liturgische Texte*, Wolfenbüttler Mittelalter-Studien 20 (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2008), pp. 251–98.

The earliest book to combine the full text of Epistles and Gospels in liturgical order is the Comes of Murbach (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 84; eighth to ninth century).[56] Another example of a full lectionary of about the same age is a deluxe *codex purpureus* from north Italy (Paris, BNF, lat. 9451; late eighth century) written with gold and silver letters.

The readings at Mass were sung to flexible reciting formulae ('tones') that both clarified the grammatical structure of the text and allowed it to be heard at a distance. Since following along with a printed text (as often done in churches today) was quite impossible, bad oral 'punctuation' could easily distract and confuse listeners. Properly executed, the reciting formulae enhanced the solemnity of the readings, and mastering them was part of the task of learning how to read for young clerics and monks. Lectionary texts were often divided by *positurae* that marked shorter and longer sense units. These signs were familiar to all who had studied the *Ars maior* of Donatus (fourth century), the standard grammatical handbook of the Middle Ages. While the formulae were based on and reflected these sense units, the chanter had to know how to adjust the formula to the changing accent patterns of the text.[57] Completion of a unit of meaning within the sentence was marked by a median cadence. If this phrase were too long to be taken conveniently in a single breath, it was be interrupted by a descent (*flexa*) to the pitch one note lower than the reciting tone. The end of a sentence was marked by a distinctive melodic gesture (final cadence). The reader was free to pause and vary the speed of the recitation as the text demanded. In his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Isidore of Seville devoted a short chapter to the responsibilities of the lector.[58] In addition to explaining the requirements of clear declamation and projecting the structure of the text Isidore encouraged the reader to express by appropriate vocal inflections the 'specific meanings of the thoughts' (*proprios sententiarum affectus*).

Example 3 is a specimen of the prophecy tone, also used in the Office.[59] The final cadence, marked by the descending fifth B–E, introduces direct discourse

56 A. Wilmart, 'Le *Comes* de Murbach', *RB* 30 (1913), 25–69.
57 See M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 35–40, 76–8 (mainly concerning the collects); P. Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien. Ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1910–21), vol. II, pp. 82–94 ('Die lateinischen Lektionszeichen').
58 *Sancti Isidori episcopi Hispalensis De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. C. M. Lawson, CCSL 113 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), pp. 70–1.
59 Examples 3–5 are adapted from the prototype of the Dominican liturgy (Rome, S Sabina, Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum, XIV.L1), prepared by order of the Master General, Humbert of Romans, in 1254. I have used the edition in *Tonorum communium iuxta ritum Ordinis Praedicatorum regulae* (Rome: Sabina, 1965), pp. 40–63. Comparable tones (different from the ones reproduced here) and rules for their application are given in *Liber usualis*, pp. 102–9, 120–3.

Le-cti-o I - sa - i - ae pro-phe-tae. In di-e-bus il-lis: Lo-cu-tus est do-mi-nus ad A-chaz di-cens:

Pe-te ti-bi si-gnum a do-mi-no de- o tu-o in pro-fun-dum in-fer-ni, si-ve in ex-cel-so.

Et di-xit A-chaz: Non petam, et non ten-ta-bo do-mi-num

Example 3 Tone for the Prophecy

Le-cti-o e-pi-sto-lae be-a-ti Pau-li a -po-sto-li ad Ti-mo-the-um. Ca-ris-si-me .....

Bo-num cer-ta-men cer-ta-vi, cur-sum con-su-ma-vi, fi-dem ser-va-vi. In re-li-quo re-po-si-ta est

mi-hi co-ro-na iu-sti-ti-ae, quem re-det mi-hi do-mi-nus in il-la di-e iu - stus iu-dex:
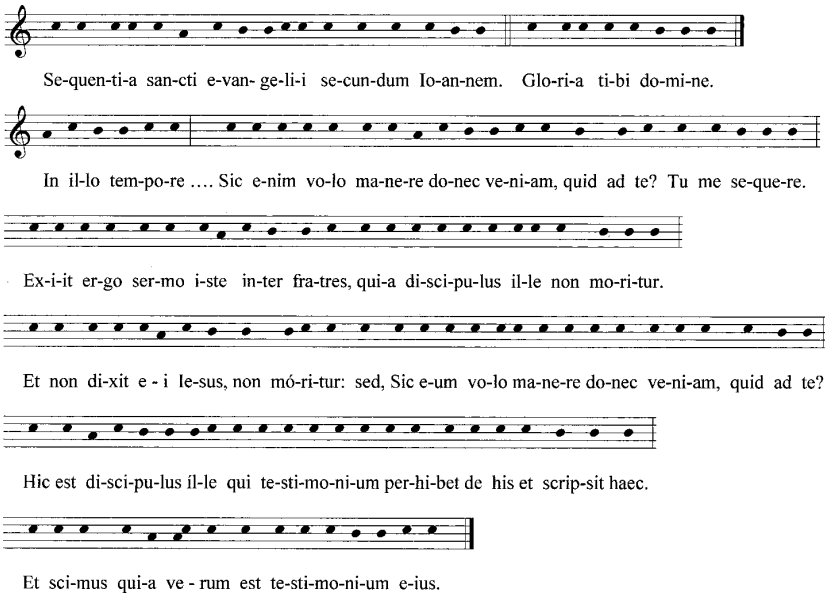
non so-lum au-tem mi-hi, sed et i-is qui di -li- gunt ad-ven-tum e-ius.

Example 4 Tone for the Epistle

(lines 1 and 2). Example 3 demonstrates the adjustment of the cadence to both paroxytone (*prophétae*, *Áchaz*) and proparoxytone (*dóminum*) cadences.[60] The opening title and the introductory phrase 'In diebus illis' were standard components of the tone for a prophecy. The same tone was used for the Old Testament reading at vigils, in which case the reader would first have sought a blessing ('Jube domne benedicere') and concluded the reading with 'Tu autem domine, miserere nobis', to which the choir responded 'Deo gratias'.

The epistle tone begins with a standard introduction ('Lectio epistolae . . . '). Example 4 illustrates this and sets the conclusion of a reading from the second Epistle to Timothy (4:7–8) from the Mass of the Common of Doctors. The

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60 In a paroxytone, the stress falls on the second last syllable; in a proparoxytone, on the third last syllable.

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Example 5 Tone for the Gospel

median cadences fall on C (*certávi*, *iustítiae*), the final cadences on B (*servávi*, *iúdex*). Here also the cadences are adjusted for paroxytone and proparoxytone endings. The last phrase ('non solum . . . ') is set to the standard formula that signals the end of the reading.

Example 5 illustrates the tone for the gospel. 'Sic enim volo', the conclusion of the pericope from the Gospel of John, is prefaced with the standard introduction ('Sequentia sancti evangelii . . . ') and response ('Gloria tibi domine'). All of the final cadences (*séquere*, *móritur*, *scrípsit haec*) are proparoxytones; the median cadences exemplify adjustments for paroxytone (*frátres*, *ílle*) and proparoxytone (*véniant*, *móritur*) endings. Also shown is the special phrase used for questions ('quid ad te?'), direct or rhetorical, but not for the repetition of Jesus' question in the narrative (line 4).

A special tone was reserved for the reading of the passion according to the four evangelists on Palm Sunday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday of Holy Week. The words of Jesus were sung slowly at a low pitch, that of the 'narrator' more rapidly at a medium pitch, and the words of other participants (Pilate, Peter, the crowd) at a higher pitch – a mode of presentation indicated in lectionaries by the letters 't' (*tractim* ('slowly') or *tenete* ('hold back')), 'c' (*celeriter* ('quickly')), and 's' (*superius* ('higher')). Later, the drama of the passion

reading was further enhanced by assigning these parts to three different clerics, and the letters were reinterpreted: 't' as a cross, 'c' as *chronista*, and 's' as *synagoga*.

Proper chants of the Mass

The Proper chants of the Mass, variable according to liturgical season or feast, are distinguished not only by their place in the liturgy but also by their musical form and degree of melodic elaboration.[61] Two (introit and communion) are 'processional'; two others (gradual and alleluia) fill up the space between the epistle and gospel readings. The offertory occupies an anomalous position inasmuch as it accompanies the reception of offerings, the preparation of the bread and wine, and the incensing of the altar. The Proper chants of the Mass were introduced incrementally in an order that has yet to be fully clarified.

The text form of most Proper chants is either the Roman or the Old Latin psalter, an indication that the creation of the Mass repertoire took place before the Hexaplaric ('Gallican') psalter was generally accepted for liturgical use.[62] While some contamination from the Hexaplaric psalter is to be expected, this can be difficult to demonstrate in specific cases, since the chants of the Mass were very often based on ad hoc 'editions' of the biblical text, created by the addition or suppression of words to render the text suitable for musical setting. Sometimes this required only minimal modifications (the addition of 'et' or 'domine', or the excision of redundant words), but very often the biblical text was treated with considerable freedom. An extreme example is the introit for Holy Thursday, *Nos autem*, as is demonstrated by the comparison below.

Gal. 6:14 (Vulgate)	Introit: Holy Thursday
Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo.	Nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce domini nostri Iesu Christi: in quo est salus, vita, et resurrectio nostra; per quem salvati et liberati sumus.[63]

The opening phrase of the introit may depend on an Old Latin version of Galatians that has not survived, but the remainder transforms St Paul's words

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61 Chants of the Mass and Office have entries in the two principal musical encyclopedias: S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), and L. Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edn, Sachteil, 10 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008).

62 See also Bogaert in this volume, pp. 78–9, 85–6, and Gross-Diaz, pp. 428–30.

63 Gal. 6:14: 'But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world'; Introit: 'We ought to glory in the cross

from a fervent personal declaration to a communal confession of confidence in the salvific power of the cross.[64] The text of the introit *Nos autem gloriari* might have been extracted from an unknown commentary, but it is more likely that it was crafted specifically for musical setting.

The Roman introit chant accompanied the procession of clergy from the sacristy or vesting area at the rear of the church to the altar.[65] It consisted of a neumatic (3–5 notes per syllable) antiphon repeated after every psalm verse, the number of verses (always beginning with the first verse of the psalm) dependent on the time required for clergy and assisting ministers to reach the altar. The introit concluded with the doxology ('Gloria patri . . . Sicut erat') and a final repetition of the antiphon. (Frankish practice inserted a *versus ad repetendum* extracted from the body of the psalm between the doxology and the final statement of the antiphon). The text of the introit often expressed the 'tone' of the day's liturgy, but often (for example, the Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost) the text selections tended to be generic. Most introits were psalmic, but feasts of singular importance and antiquity had texts from other books of the bible, the introits for Christmas Day, *Puer natus est* (Isa 9:6), and Pentecost, *Spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum* (Wisd 1:7), being two prominent examples.

The gradual and the alleluia follow each other immediately between the chanting of the epistle and the gospel. They were not designed to accompany a liturgical action, as were the introit and communion, although the procession to the place for the gospel reading gathered during the alleluia.[66] The gradual *Haec dies* has several verses, sung successively on Easter Day and throughout the following week. Two such substantial chants, one after the other, is unusual in the Roman liturgy. This has been explained as a relic of a time when there were three readings, but the existence of three readings in the Roman liturgy has been challenged.[67]

The gradual replaced the ancient responsorial psalm that stood at this point in the Mass since at least the late fourth century. The responsorial psalm

of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom is salvation, life, and our resurrection, through whom we are saved and freed.'

64 An investigation of the non-psalmic introits has demonstrated their dependence on Old Latin versions rather than on the Vulgate; see C. Tietze, *Hymn Introits for the Liturgical Year. The Origin and the Early Development of the Latin Texts* (Chicago, IL: Hillenbrand, 2005), pp. 59–87.

65 The papal Mass *c.* 700 is described in detail in *Ordo Romanus I; Les ordines romani*, ed. Andrieu, vol. II, pp. 76–108.

66 The word 'gradual' is thought to be derived from *gradus*, the lower step of the ambo (pulpit) from which the soloist sang the chant.

67 A. G. Martimort, 'À propos du nombre des lectures à la messe', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 58 (1984), 42–51.

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was a complete psalm sung by a soloist, interrupted every few verses by a short congregational refrain. The gradual, on the contrary, is an embellished (melismatic) chant of sophisticated formulaic construction that could be executed only by a skilled soloist and a comparably skilled choir.[68] Like the Office responsory described above, it consists of two parts: a respond, introduced by the cantor and continued by the choir, followed by a solo verse, melodically embellished and frequently moving in a higher pitch level. The piece concluded with a repeat of the respond, but this was later abandoned, the choir merely joining the soloist for the last phrase of the verse.

The connection between the gradual and the preceding reading was never as close as that between the Old Testament readings and the *historiae* of the Office. An exception is the feast of the Epiphany: the gradual, *Omnes de Saba*, echoes the prophetic reading's 'ambulant . . . reges in splendore ortus tui' ('kings walk in the splendour of thy rising') and even quotes its opening words: 'Surge, illuminare, Jerusalem' ('Arise, shine, Jerusalem'). Like other Mass chants, graduals adapt the biblical text for the requirements of the musical setting. The gradual for the Vigil of the Nativity, for example, *Hodie scietis*, combines passages from Ezekiel (16:6–7), Isaiah (35:4) and Ps. 79 (verses 2–3).

The gradual is followed immediately by the alleluia with its verse. (Two alleluias are sung during Eastertide, beginning with Low Sunday.) The alleluia was intoned by the cantor and repeated by the choir with an extended melisma (later called 'jubilus') on the final syllable of 'alleluia'. The cantor continued with a (usually psalmic) verse, at the end of which the alleluia and its jubilus returned. Because 'alleluia' was so closely identified with the joyfulness of Easter, it was omitted during Lent and on penitential occasions, its place taken by the tract, though not all tracts have mournful texts.[69] The successive verses of the tract (as many as thirteen for the first Sunday of Lent) were sung without interruption by a soloist or a small group of expert singers in the manner of direct psalmody. From the musical point of view, the tracts are unusual in that they are restricted to only two (of the possible eight) modes. Each mode has its own set of formulae to which the text was adapted.

The offertory was sung during the reception of offerings and the ceremonies surrounding the preparation of bread and wine for Eucharistic consecration.

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68 M. Huglo, 'Le répons-graduel de la messe. Évolution de la forme, permanence de la fonction', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, NS 2 (1982), 53–73; repr. in his *Chant grégorien et musique médiévale* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2005), item III.

69 Notable exceptions are the four tracts of the Easter Vigil, which may be Frankish creations; J. Dyer, 'The Eleventh-Century Epistolary of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 46 (2004), 311–50 (with comments on the *lectio cum cantico* of the Easter Vigil).

The earliest verifiable reference to singing at this point in the Mass occurs in the early eighth-century *Ordo Romanus I*. There was no proper offertory procession; the pope and members of his entourage descended from the presbyterium to receive donations from members of the Roman aristocracy at their places in the basilica.[70] The Roman offertory chant was thus never an (antiphonal) processional chant like the introit and communion. Its musical form, a choral refrain in richly neumatic style with two or three melodically more elaborate verses sung by a soloist, resembles that of the gradual of the Mass or the Office responsory, neither of which accompanies an action. The last portion of the refrain (*repetendum*) was repeated after each verse.[71] The complete performance of an offertory with all its verses could last ten or more minutes.

The most extraordinary (and heretofore unexplained) feature of the offertory is the immediate repetition of text and music – a phenomenon unknown elsewhere in the chant repertoire.[72] Verse 2 of the offertory *Jubilate deo universa* offers a typical example: 'Locutum est os meum in tribulatione mea, locutum est os meum in tribulatione mea, holocausta medullata offeram tibi' ('My mouth hath spoken when I was in trouble; my mouth hath spoken when I was in trouble. I will offer up to thee holocausts full of marrow').[73] Sometimes the second statement of the melody is slightly embellished. Unique in this respect (and indeed one of the most remarkable pieces in the entire chant repertoire) is the offertory *Vir erat*: verse 4 begins 'Quoniam, quoniam, quoniam non revertetur oculus meus' ('Because, because, because my eye shall not return') and continues with eight (or more, depending on the manuscript source) repetitions of Job's desperate cry, 'ut videat / videam bona' ('that [my eye / I] might see good things'), the groups of repetitions rising in pitch with quasi-operatic intensity.[74] One must wait until the seventeenth century to find a comparable phenomenon in the history of music.

The custom of singing during communion can be traced back to the fourth century, when Ps. 33 was the preferred communion chant, a choice attributable

70 R. Maloy, *Inside the Offertory. Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

71 The text and music of the offertories with neumes added from two early chant manuscripts (Laon 239 and Einsiedeln 121) are published in *Offertoriale triplex cum versiculis*, ed. R. Fischer (Solesmes: Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1985); based on the edition of C. Ott, *Offertoriale sive versus offertoriorum* (Tournai: Desclée, 1935).

72 See Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, pp. 364–7.

73 The pattern A-B-A (e.g., the offertory *Domine in auxilium*) is rarely encountered.

74 *Offertorale triplex*, pp. 124–5 and 195 (the verses do not always appear in the same order in the manuscript sources); cf. Job 7:7: 'Remember that my life is but wind, and my eye shall not return to see good things' (Douai translation).

to the appropriateness of its eighth verse 'taste and see that the Lord is good'. The number of psalm verses sung, then as later, depended on the number of communicants. With the sharp decline in the reception of communion in the Middle Ages the verses were largely eliminated, except for the non-psalmic communion of the Requiem Mass, *Lux aeterna*. Likewise, the abandonment of the long entrance procession also curtailed the psalmody of the introit.

For all practical purposes the medieval liturgy was the singing of the Bible. The generally brief prayers of the liturgy were framed according to the principles of 'artistic prose' (*Kunstprosa*), a stylised form of rhythmic speech that hovered between poetry and prose. Their language differed considerably from that of the Bible. Even though monks and nuns, as well as the secular clergy obligated to the choir Office (canons secular and regular), read the sacred texts privately, their primary engagement with them was through the psalms, antiphons and responsories of the Office and the readings and Proper chants of the Mass. They also listened to the expositions of these texts by the fathers. Chant settings of the biblical texts (with the exception of formulaic Office antiphons) were not neutral, but interpreted the meaning of the texts by subtle emphasis on significant words and phrases,[75] thus drawing on the power of music to imprint the biblical message on the minds and hearts of those who sang and those who listened.

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75 See most recently F. K. Prassl, 'Gregorianische Gesänge als klingende Exegese im Kontext der Liturgie', in Carmassi (ed.), *Präsenz und Verwendung der Heiligen Schrift*, pp. 323–57.

The use of the Bible in preaching

SIEGFRIED WENZEL

There can of course be no doubt that medieval preaching was closely and intimately linked to the Bible. By definition, preaching dealt with the 'word of God',[1] as found in the books of holy scripture, both Hebrew and Christian, and proclaimed not just their teachings and ideas but their very words. From the beginning of the Christian church, whether in oral discourse or in written communications, preachers drew on scripture extensively. Jesus himself quoted the Jewish scriptures,[2] and so did the apostles from the earliest days of the church onwards.[3] Later theologians would define, with scholastic crispness, that 'preaching is the announcement of the word of God to inform faith and morals';[4] hence scripture is the foundation of all sermon making,[5] for the word of God is food for the life of our souls, a sound to ward off error, and a sword to cut back our vices.[6] The question, then, is not whether the Bible was used in medieval preaching, but in what ways, to what extent and with what attitudes.

Such questions can be most fully answered with regard to Christian preaching in western Europe, which has been studied extensively and for which there

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1 In medieval documents of all kinds the object of preaching is overwhelmingly referred to as 'the word of God' (*verbum Dei*), with only an occasional use of 'the Gospel' (*evangelium*). Wyclif and his followers, however, were more prone to speak of preaching the Gospel. Both usages derive equally from the New Testament: 'the seed is the word of God' (Luke 8:11 and parallels) and 'preach the Gospel to every creature' (Mark 16:15 and parallels).

2 For example, Mark 11:17: 'And he taught saying to them, "Is it not written that my house will be called a house of prayer for all nations?"', or Luke 4:16–22, etc.

3 For example: Acts 1:15ff. (Peter) or Gal. 3:10ff. (Paul), etc.

4 Thomas de Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, ed. F. Morenzoni, CCCM 82 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), p. 15. Unless otherwise indicated, the medieval texts here quoted are originally in Latin, and translations are my own.

5 Thomas Waleys, cited in T. M. Charland, *Artes praedicandi. Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Paris: De Vrin, 1936), p. 341.

6 See Alexander of Ashby, in F. Morenzoni, 'Aux origines des "artes praedicandi". Le "De artificioso modo predicandi" d'Alexandre d'Ashby', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser. 32 (1991), 887–935, at p. 903.

is a wealth of documentation. For the use of the Bible in Jewish preaching in the medieval period, Marc Saperstein's studies reveal strong parallels between medieval Jewish and Christian preaching, such as: the connection between sermon and the biblical reading as part of the liturgy (here primarily the Torah or Pentateuch); the difficult and varying relationship between what was said in the sermon and surviving written documents; and the rise of the 'thematic' sermon (in Jewish preaching, only in the late fifteenth century).[7] For preaching in the Byzantine East, however, comprehensive studies are lacking. It can be said, though, that there the 'homily' form (see below) continued in use through to the fourteenth century, together with other conventional types of sermons, such as encomia of saints or secular rulers, funeral speeches and others.[8]

In the absence of extensive reports about medieval preachers and their practices, we have to rely on written texts that preserve their sermons. Defining what texts should be considered sermons has taxed medievalists for some time and continues to do so.[9] In this chapter I consider a sermon to be the written record (if available) of a public oral proclamation of the word of God, and set sermons apart from such related but distinct genres as spiritual addresses given to monks, eulogies of saints or emperors, private meditations on the passion of Christ, and so on. Sermon texts have survived in vast numbers, but modern scholars are notoriously uncertain about the extent to which they reflect what was actually spoken from the pulpit. Even where homiletic discourses have been preserved in the notes of some actual hearers, the *reportationes*, it is often the case that hearers of one and the same sermon jotted down different things and later elaborated them in different fashions.[10] It is equally clear that these texts are almost always products of a literary activity in

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7 M. Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching 1200–1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), and Saperstein's briefer account, 'The Medieval Jewish Sermon', in B. M. Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 81–3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 175–201.

8 H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft 12.2.1 (Munich: Beck, 1959); and H. O. Old, 'Byzantine Preaching', in his *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church. Vol. III: The Medieval Church* (Grand Rapids, MI / Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 1–72.

9 See B. M. Kienzle, 'Definition of the Genre', in Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon*, pp. 144–59, as well as similar discussions by other contributors to that volume. Another example is V. O'Mara and S. Paul (eds.), *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, 4 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), vol. I, pp. xxvi–xxxiii.

10 N. Bériou, 'Latin and the Vernacular. Some Remarks about Sermons Delivered on Good Friday during the Thirteenth Century', in V. Mertens and H.-J. Schiewer (eds.), *Die deutsche Predigt im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), pp. 268–84, at pp. 270–2. For further examples, see M. O'Carroll, 'Two Versions of a Sermon by Richard Fishacre, OP, for the Fourth Sunday of Lent on the Theme "Non enim heres erit filius ancille cum filio libere" (Gal. IV. 30)', *Archivum Fratrum*

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which a preacher's actual discourse might after its delivery have been enriched with further authoritative quotations.[11] In addition, sermon texts themselves appear in a large variety of shapes, from simple sketches and outlines to fully elaborated discourses, from formal, rather faceless, unlocalised cycles that offer one or more sermons for each Sunday of the church year in regular order, to individual pieces that not only bear indications of when and where and before whom they were delivered but may also carry some personal notes about a specific audience or even the preacher himself. Nonetheless, in spite of their distance from actual delivery and their diversity, these texts leave no doubt that they were 'first of all commentaries on scripture'.[12]

They use the Bible in essentially two different ways. First, the Bible furnished a text on which the entire sermon focused and which it dealt with through its many paragraphs. Second, scripture likewise furnished innumerable 'authorities' or quotations that would 'prove' the assertions the preacher made. Both usages occur in Christian preaching through all ages, yet in the centuries under consideration here they underwent some significant changes and developments.

In speaking of medieval preaching from its earliest times on, modern historians customarily distinguish between 'homily' and 'sermon' (*homilia*, *sermo*), a distinction based on Latin usage (though that was not always precise and unequivocal) and on the structures found in actual texts.[13] In simple terms, a 'homily' begins by citing the text of a liturgical reading, usually the pericope of the day, and then goes through it phrase by phrase and comments on it, sometimes merely explaining the literal meaning of the words, sometimes drawing out their spiritual meaning, and most often doing both. In essence it was biblical exegesis applied to a liturgical reading and perhaps addressed to a particular audience (with or without address forms, such as 'Friends' or 'Beloved'). In contrast, a 'sermon' would deal with a specific doctrinal or moral topic, also addressed to a particular audience, but only loosely built upon a scriptural verse that, in earlier centuries, was not necessarily recited at its beginning. In the period here covered, the two forms always existed side by side. An early instance is furnished by Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), who wrote two sermon cycles for different recipients. One, his three-volume

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Praedicatorum 54 (1984), 113–41; and C. Delcorno, 'La diffazione del testo omiletico. Osservazioni sulle doppie "reportationes" delle prediche bernardiniane', *Lettere Italiane* 38 (1986), 457–77.
11 See S. Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 18.
12 J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1983), p. 14.
13 T. N. Hall, 'The Early Medieval Sermon', in Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon*, pp. 203–69, at pp. 203–5.

homiliary written for Emperor Lotharius in response to the latter's request to have the homilies of the fathers,[14] presents in regular order commentaries on the Gospels and Epistles for the feasts of the church year from Christmas to the Sundays after Pentecost and the saints' feasts, which were to be read before the emperor. The other, a collection of sermons written for Archbishop Haistulf, furnishes seventy sermons 'to be preached to the people',[15] which deal with major feasts, saints' feasts and such topics as vices and virtues. For the feast of Pentecost, for instance, the respective homily begins with the day's epistle lection of Acts 2:1–6 and then comments on each verse or phrase. Thus the place where the apostles 'were all together' is explained as 'the upper room where they had gathered right after the Lord's ascension and were waiting for the promised Holy Spirit';[16] and the appearance of tongues of fire draws the comment: 'The Holy Spirit appeared in tongues of fire because he causes all whom he fills to burn and to speak, for after being spread through all the earth, Holy Church was to speak in the voice of all nations.'[17] This verse-by-verse commentary ends with a general reflection and exhortation to rejoice in the Holy Spirit and points forward to the salutary practice of fasting on the coming ember days. In contrast, Hrabanus' sermon for the same feast begins with a general remark about the feast: 'The more we understand the joy of today's celebration, beloved brethren, the more we desire it; and the more eagerly we drink in its sweetness, the more fervently we burn with thirst for it.'[18] Next Hrabanus explains the literal and liturgical meaning of 'Pentecost', and only then does he quote Acts 2:2 – the only verse he selects from the day's epistle lection. In the remainder of the sermon he discusses an Old Testament type of Pentecost, and the Lord's descending in fire on Mt Sinai on the fiftieth day after Passover (see Exodus 19), and he ends by exhorting his 'brethren' (*fratres*) to live in faith and practise the virtues.

While Hrabanus utilised patristic and early medieval homilies in both works, it is particularly his work for Emperor Lotharius that represents the characteristic sermon collection produced through the tenth and eleventh centuries, the homiliary. Primarily, homiliaries collected material from earlier biblical exegesis and applied it to a given liturgical occasion. There is some debate about the specific purpose for which individual homiliaries were made, but it is clear that besides being read privately or in the lessons for

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14 In Hrabanus, *Epistolae Karolini aevi III*, 49, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898–9), pp. 503–4. Hrabanus' reply is ibid., 50, pp. 504–5.
15 *PL* 110, col. 9.   16 *PL* 110, col. 255.   17 Ibid.   18 *PL* 110, col. 43.

the Office they were also used in preaching.[19] Synodal decrees demanded that if a parish priest was ill or unable to make his own sermon, a deacon should at least read out the homilies of the church fathers,[20] and as late as 1435, in a synodal sermon, an English preacher still repeated the ancient canon that among the books a priest should own for his instruction was to be one containing 'homilies throughout the year that are appropriate to Sundays and feast days'.[21] The process of commenting seriatim on the biblical text of a liturgical lection, eventually called *postillatio*, continued through the Middle Ages and beyond: in the 1520s, Martin Luther still composed postils for preachers who lacked the skill or knowledge to write their own sermons.[22] Such *postillatio* resulted in large cycles that served as treasuries where preachers could find material for their individual sermons – essentially biblical exegesis of the lections for Sundays, feast days, saints' feasts and other occasions, and enriched with moral topics. A good example from England is the cycle of Sunday sermons by Philip Repingdon, probably written at Oxford between 1382 and 1394.[23]

The scholastic sermon

In contrast, the 'sermon' underwent a significant development. From the latter part of the twelfth century on, under the influence of the schools and eventually the dedicated work of the mendicant orders, sermons came to be more and more rigorously based on a verse, a phrase or even a single word of scripture, which served as the verbal foundation, called 'thema', from which the entire discourse was developed – in a favourite image, the root from which the tree of the sermon with its many branches grew. This new type of sermon (hence called 'modern') beginning with and developing a short thema (hence called 'thematic') seems to have been developed in the university milieu

19 R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), ch. 3, gives a good orientation on Carolingian and earlier homiliaries, their sources, use and audience, as well as relevant legislation regarding preaching.
20 Ibid., p. 88.
21 Oxford, BodL, Lat. th. d. 1, fol. 88v, referring to Gratian, *Decretum*, distinctio 38, cap. 5; *Corpus juris canonici 1. Decretum magistri gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879; repr. Graz: ADEVA, 1955), p. 141. The same canon was cited in a synodal sermon by the Benedictine Robert Rypon (d. after 1419), in London, BL, Harley 4894, f. 203v.
22 M. Brecht, *Martin Luther. Vol. II: Ordnung und Abgrenzung der Reformation 1521–1532* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1986), pp. 250–1, 256, 278–9.
23 S. Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England. Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 50–3.

(hence called 'university sermon') but was eventually employed everywhere and dominated the field to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond.[24] As a first step in making a tree grow from this root, the thema was divided into two, three or more parts, and these were subsequently developed. A fairly simple sermon for Pentecost, for example, uses as its thema 'They were all filled with the Holy Spirit' (Acts 2:4). In these words, so the preacher declares, three things are touched upon: the generosity of the giver, in 'they were filled'; the goodness of the one who shares, in 'all'; and the worthiness of him who came, in 'the Holy Spirit'.[25] These two steps, of selecting a thema and dividing it, are the essential constitutive features of this new form of the scholastic sermon, to the point that one technical treatise on sermon-making could define preaching as 'the clear and devout expounding of the announced thema by means of dividing [it]'.[26] Arts of preaching further affirmed strongly that the thema of a sermon must be chosen from scripture, either Old or New Testament, and must not be taken out of context or substantively changed.[27] These rules were clearly based on what preachers had been doing for some time, and they were observed in thousands of sermons preached on all occasions and before all kinds of audiences.

At this point we meet the second major use of the Bible in medieval preaching, its furnishing authoritative quotations. As another art of preaching prescribes, 'the members of the division are to be confirmed with authorities from the Bible',[28] that is, the preacher had to find authoritative quotations that would show why the words of the thema had been given the meaning the preacher had suggested in his division – in other words, proof-texts. For these, scripture was the primary and preferred source. The connection between the concepts generated by the division and their proof-texts could be only notional (*concordantia realis*), but was preferably to be verbal *(concordantia vocalis)*, in that the concept and its proof-text contained the same word or at least a related form. Thus an Easter sermon on the words of an angel to Elijah 'Arise and eat' (1 Kings 19:5) divides its thema as follows:

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24 None of the three labels is entirely satisfactory, and 'scholastic sermon' has been suggested instead: Wenzel, *Preachers*, pp. 61–2.

25 Oxford, Merton College, 112, fol. 153v. For the sermon collection see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 223.

26 John of Wales (d. perhaps 1285), *Ars praedicandi*, in W. O. Ross, 'A Brief *Forma praedicandi*', *Modern Philology* 34 (1937), 337–44, at p. 340, n. 18.

27 For example, Robert Basevorn, *Forma praedicandi*, in *Artes*, ed. Charland, pp. 244, 250, 252, 264–5.

28 An anonymous *ars praedicandi*, in Ross, '*Forma praedicandi*', p. 341.

In these words are two things: first a commandment of Christ which you should fulfill, when it is said 'Arise' – namely from your sin; and second, the reception of heavenly food to strengthen you to resist the enemy's will, when it is said 'Eat', that is, receive the venerable sacrament of the altar, namely the Body of Christ. Of the first it is said in Ephesians 5: 'Rise, you who are asleep, and arise from the dead, and Christ will enlighten you', namely with the light of his grace. Of the second it is written in Corinthians 11: 'Take and eat, this is my body'.[29]

But confirming the members of the division was only the beginning of scripture's entering the verbal texture of the scholastic sermon. Throughout, a preacher would equally 'prove' any point he raised with authoritative quotations, among which scriptural verses were foremost. Often even a biblical person or event, called 'figura', served the same purpose, a practice which could incidentally transmit to the audience a good deal of little-known Old Testament history. In a sermon on 'The Lord waits that he may have mercy on you' (Isa. 30:18), a Franciscan preacher declared that God not only waits for us but even seeks us:

A figure of this can be found in 2 Samuel 9, where David, after being anointed king, asked if anyone were left of the house of Saul, so that he might be merciful to him. And they found Mifiboseth, who limped on both feet and was lame. The king had him called to himself that he might stay in his house. 'Saul' stands for 'abusing' and signifies the devil, who by misusing what is naturally good finds his ruin. Of his house is anyone who is in mortal sin, who is fittingly called Mifiboseth, which means 'a confused mouth'. For he is confused and also limps on both feet when he becomes useless for the joy of heaven in both his deeds and words, or because he lacks the love of God and neighbour. And yet David, that is, the Son of God, waits for him that he may have mercy on him.[30]

As a result, a fully developed medieval sermon is replete with material drawn from all sections of scripture, as can be quickly learned from the *Index biblicus* that accompanies most modern editions, especially those of twelfth-century preachers.[31] In this way, audiences of a scholastic sermon – or at least priests who studied it for their own work – were exposed to a great deal of biblical

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29 London, BL, Harley 331, fol. 22. On the collection see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 193–6. A further example and discussion of such confirmation can be found ibid., pp. 12–14.
30 Oxford, BodL, Lat. th. d. 1, fol. 164. For the collection see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 95–9. Further discussion of figurae ibid., pp. 321–2.
31 See also the statistics in J. Longère, 'La prédication en langue latine', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de Tous les Temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 517–35, at pp. 525–6.

material, in fact to much more in sheer quantity than audiences of supposedly more scripture-oriented preachers such as John Wyclif.[32] It must be said, however – in fact, strongly emphasised – that much of the biblical material which thus entered medieval sermons was, as the quoted passage demonstrates, subjected to heavy allegorisation, a pervasive feature of medieval attitudes to scripture that went far beyond preaching.

To compose such a sermon required skill as well as auxiliary tools – skill primarily in finding a thema for whose confirmation and development scripture might furnish plentiful material. The English author of a treatise on the art of preaching (*ars praedicandi*), Robert Basevorn, for example, included among the requirements of a good thema 'that abundant concording authorities can be found for its words, especially verbal ones', for 'it is clear that scripture is of itself sufficiently rich so that one can easily and quickly find what is necessary if one chooses a good beginning of one's discourse'.[33] Auxiliary tools for this entire process were created from the early thirteenth century on and became available in several forms: concordances to the Bible made it possible to quickly find other occurrences of a word; lists of biblical words gathered the several spiritual meanings a word in the Bible could have (*distinctiones*) and eventually led to large dictionaries; and model sermons, especially the *postillae* with their exegesis of the liturgical readings, not only provided structural help for making a sermon but gathered much topical material for their development and for the instruction of the faithful.

The critics

As one reads the technical treatises on sermon making (*artes praedicandi*), one cannot escape the impression that for their authors and practitioners sermon making may not have been so much concerned with opening up scripture to hear the good news, to learn what doctrine and exhortation, threat and promise God's word contains, as conversely with finding a short biblical text on which they could profitably build their messages; in the words of a modern scholar, himself a member of the Order of Preachers: 'Biblical words may not provide the wool out of which the jumper is knitted, they may be more like beads which are knitted into it . . . The [scholastic] sermon does not grow out of a biblical text, it grows out of an idea, a topic, and then

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32 For an example, see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 392, n. 101.
33 Basevorn, in *Artes*, ed. Charland, pp. 249 and 258. Similarly Thomas Waleys, ibid., pp. 345–6.

has biblical texts woven into it.'[34] Indeed, the edifice thus verbally resting on scripture and chock-full of biblical and many other authorities and devices that were used both to amplify the discourse and to hold the audience's attention frequently tended to become a work of verbal and rhetorical ingenuity rather than sober reflection on revealed truth. To the danger that preaching thus becomes an exercise in verbal gymnastics should be added that biblical texts might be quoted out of context, even if theoreticians of preaching firmly warned against it. An early fifteenth-century English preacher, for instance, apparently saw nothing wrong in ignoring that the verse 'He took him into the city' (Matt. 4:5) refers to the devil's tempting Christ and instead preaching on it as an exhortation to seek the city of God's mercy.[35] It is no wonder that the scholastic sermon drew the sharp strictures of reformers like Wyclif:

> But nowadays, if anyone speaks, he will not preach as it were the words of God [*sermones Dei*] but – for the sake of illustration – deeds, poems, and fables that lie outside Scripture; or when he preaches Scripture, he will divide it beyond its smallest particles and bind them together with rhetorical devices like weeds, until the text of the Scripture no longer appears, but instead the words of the preacher as if he were the author and first inventor.[36]

Wyclif's own sermons use divisions and subdivisions and interpret texts allegorically just as other contemporary preachers did, but they avoid the failings listed in his quoted critique and are noticeably more unified and more closely linked to their biblical themata. It is of course also the case that they and the sermons of his followers gain such closer attention to scripture and rhetorical soberness at the expense of engaging Christian thought and the Gospel message with wider human experience at various levels, and even of a larger knowledge of scripture (such as David's dealing with Mifiboseth, discussed above).

Medieval heretical movements, however divergent they may have been from orthodox doctrine, likewise based their views on scripture and propagated them primarily through preaching. The earlier Cathars and Waldensians have left few if any sermon texts that would illustrate their use of the

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34 S. Tugwell, '*De huiusmodi sermonibus texitur omnis recta predicatio*. Changing Attitudes towards the Word of God', in J. Hamesse and X. Hermand (eds.), *De l'homélie au sermon. Histoire de la prédication médiévale. Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9–11 juillet 1992)* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1993), pp. 159–68, at p. 166.

35 The sermon is summarised in S. Wenzel, 'Preaching the Seven Deadly Sins', in Richard Newhauser (ed.), *In the Garden of Evil. The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Toronto: PIMS, 2005), pp. 145–69, at pp. 160–2.

36 John Wyclif, sermon 265, in *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones*, ed. J. Loserth, 4 vols. (London: Wyclif Society, 1887–90), vol. iv, p. 265.

Bible in preaching.[37] It is not until around the year 1400 that sermon cycles reflecting heretical views were written: those by Wyclif and the Lollards, Hus and his followers and very late-medieval Waldensian collections.[38] All of these show the soberness, rhetorical sparseness and focus on the biblical text that one finds in Wyclif, and they use the Bible in exactly the same way we observed earlier, in both 'homily' and 'sermon' form. They may extract different meanings and emphases from biblical texts than their orthodox brethren, but they quote them for the same thematic and probative purposes. Their technique in this respect was exactly the same as that of orthodox preachers, probably because all sermon writers, whether orthodox or not, were *literati* sharing the same clerical training. Thus the 294 items in the large cycle of *English Wycliffite Sermons* are formally homilies that expound biblical texts and occasionally quote other scriptural material for proof.[39] In contrast, a different sermon collection that has been labelled 'Lollard Sermons' and shows some Wycliffite sympathies follows the scholastic sermon model more closely, with a biblical *thema* and plentiful scriptural and other proof-texts.[40] Similarly, William Taylor, who was accused, investigated and eventually burned as a heretic, preached a sermon in 1406 that used a biblical *thema* with division and scriptural proof-texts just like those of contemporary orthodox preachers.[41] The same can be said of another Wycliffite sympathiser, who left fifty-five sermons on the Gospels for Sundays and saints' feasts.[42] In their formal reliance on the Bible for texts to be expounded as well as a source of proof-texts, none of them differed from contemporary orthodox preaching.

37 See M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 4, 118–19. For the Cathars, see C. Thouzellier, 'L'emploi de la Bible par les Cathares (XIIIe s.)', in W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds.), *Bible and Medieval Culture* (Leuven University Press, 1979), pp. 141–56; and J. Duvernoy, 'La prédication dissidente', in *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XIIe–début XVe siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 32 (Fanjeaux: Centre d'Études Historiques, 1997), pp. 111–24.

38 Sermons by later Waldensians have been preserved in Latin and in the vernacular; see E. Balmas, 'Note su i lezionari e i sermoni Valdesi', *Protestantesimo* 29 (1974), 149–69 (with precise discussion of actual sermon texts); and P. Biller, 'The Oral and the Written. The Case of the Alpine Waldensians', *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 4 (1986), 159–67, esp. p. 165; repr. in his *The Waldenses, 1170–1530. Between a Religious Order and a Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2001), item IX.

39 *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. A. Hudson and P. O. Gradon, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983–96).

40 *Lollard Sermons*, ed. G. Cigman, EETS 294 (Oxford University Press, 1989).

41 *Two Wycliffite Texts*, ed. A. Hudson, EETS 301 (Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 3–23.

42 C. Von Nolcken, 'An Unremarked Group of Wycliffite Sermons in Latin', *Modern Philology* 83 (1986), 233–49; see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 91–4. For an example in translation: Wenzel, *Preaching*, pp. 144–53.

Wyclif's critique is echoed by modern historians in their attempt to answer how much biblical matter was transmitted through the major form of mass communication available in the pre-print culture of the Middle Ages, the sermon. In his substantial study of the preacher's craft in France during the period of 1350 to 1520, Hervé Martin concluded about late-medieval audiences:

> Perhaps they heard some parables, miracles, or episodes from the life of Christ. But for the rest they received a Bible in bits and pieces, reduced to banal fragments; . . . a Bible glossed or condensed; a Bible subjected to scholastic systematisation; a Bible whose simple and immediate meaning is lost.[43]

Wyclif's critique of abuses in the use of the scholastic sermon form was also shared by orthodox churchmen, who similarly criticised glossing and excessive attention to rhetoric, from Grosseteste and especially FitzRalph[44] to fifteenth-century theologians and bishops who were seriously concerned with biblical studies and preaching.[45] One among the latter group, Thomas Gascoigne (d. 1458), Oxford scholar and several times chancellor of the university, condemned modern preachers (whose sermon structure he viewed as originating with the coming of the friars) for spending 'more labour on the form and mode of divisions and verbal agreements of their texts than on preaching useful things'.[46] In addition to such criticism, there is good evidence that in the last two medieval centuries the scholastic sermon, while predominant, did not in fact rule unchallenged. Thomas Waleys acknowledged that in Italy the older 'homily' form (see above) continued to be employed,[47] and recent studies have confirmed this.[48] In England, too, the pure, straightforward thematic sermon structure existed side by side with sermons that, in various

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43 H. Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du moyen âge (1350–1520)* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), pp. 268 and 625.

44 K. Walsh, 'Preaching, Pastoral Care, and *sola scriptura* in Later Medieval Ireland. Richard FitzRalph and the Use of the Bible', in K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 251–68. Walsh showed that in his early years as archbishop of Armagh, FitzRalph used both sermon forms in his preaching, the simpler 'homily' and the scholastic 'sermon', pp. 259–68.

45 R. M. Ball, 'The opponents of Bishop Pecok', *JEH* 48 (1997), 230–62.

46 *Loci e libro veritatum. Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary Illustrating the Condition of Church and State 1403–1458*, ed. J. E. T. Rogers (Oxford: Clarendon, 1881), p. 24; see pp. 44, 179–80, 183–84; and Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 396–7. See also S. Gieben, 'Thomas Gascoigne and Robert Grosseteste: Historical and Critical Notes', *Vivarium* 8 (1970), 56–67, esp. p. 64.

47 In *Artes*, ed. Charland, p. 344.

48 Especially C. Delcorno, 'L'ars praedicandi di Bernardino da Siena', *Lettere Italiane* 4 (1980), 441–75.

forms, dealt with the entire lection of the day.[49] Even from the very fountain from which the new scholastic sermon had sprung, the university, we hear that in the 1420s a sermon heard at Cambridge 'non splendet rethoricis' ('does not shine with rhetorical colours') and that its preacher 'postillavit totum euangelium' ('explained the whole Gospel step by step').[50] In fact, modern studies have pointed out that even at the height of scholastic preaching in the thirteenth century, both old and new style – what is roughly meant by the distinction between 'homily' and (scholastic) 'sermon' – were practised by the same preacher.[51] And more than a century later, when Jan Hus in his *de tempore* sermons gave a sermon on the day's epistle and another on the gospel, the former was a phrase-by-phrase 'homiletic' exegesis, the latter a 'sermon' on a selected verse.[52]

One therefore needs to remain aware that scripture retained its continued respect and fundamental position in late medieval preaching. One very minute yet telling indication is the treatment of biblical quotations in vernacular texts. In surviving Middle English sermons – as well as in macaronic ones – the preacher frequently quoted the Bible in the official Latin form and then translated it into the vernacular, often with expansion:

> Oure Lorde Ihesu synned neuere, as holy wrytt wyttenesse: 'Qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore eius' – oure blessed Lorde dude neuer synne nere þere was neuer gyle in ys mowthe. [Our Lord Jesus never sinned, as Holy Writ witnesses: 'Who did no sin, nor was any deceit found in his mouth' – our blessed Lord never committed any sin, nor was there ever found any guile in his mouth.][53]

> Sicut dixit Apostolus Ad Hebreos 5, 'cum clamore valido et multis lacrimis offerens exauditus est pro sua reuerencia'. 'Wyt a greyt cry', inquit Apostolus, 'et multis lacrimis ipse fecit suam obligacionem', idest sui preciosi sanguinis, 'et fuit exauditus' in sua bindinge 'for ys reuerens.' [As the Apostle said in the Letter to the Hebrews 5, 'with a strong cry and many tears offering [up

49 Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 365–9.
50 Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 356, pp. 20–19 bis. For other instances see S. Wenzel, 'A Sermon Repertory from Cambridge University', *History of Universities* 14 (1995–6), 43–67, at p. 57.
51 L.-J. Bataillon, 'Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching as Exegesis of Scripture', in M. D. Jordan and K. Emery, Jr. (eds.), *Ad litteram. Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), pp. 165–98, esp. pp. 174–6. Bataillon's focus on sermons for the Third Sunday of Lent is continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 354–69.
52 Magister Iohannes Hus, *Sermones de tempore qui collecta dicuntur*, ed. A. Schmidtová (Prague: Academia Scientiarum Bohemoslavaca, 1959).
53 *Middle English Sermons*, ed. W. O. Ross, EETS 209 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 4.

prayers] he was heard for his reverence'. 'With a great cry', says the Apostle, 'and many tears he made his offering', that is, of his precious blood, 'and was heard' in his being bound 'for his reverence'.][54]

Another indication of the same reverence emerges visibly from the pages of more carefully executed manuscripts, where scribes underlined biblical quotations, often in red ink. This is typical of Wycliffite texts, particularly the Middle English sermons, which may have been copied under close supervision,[55] but it also occurs in non-Wycliffite sermon collections,[56] even if in both instances this practice may reflect only a standard scribal convention used in *postillatio*. And finally, through the later medieval centuries, one can hear voices of theologians, canonists and preachers who declare that listening to the word of God is more important than hearing Mass – 'maius ergo videtur verbum Domini quam corpus Domini' ('for the word of the Lord seems to be greater than the body of the Lord'). This startling affirmation is based on a canon in Gratian's *Decretum*, according to which allowing the Body of Christ to fall on the ground is not more sinful than hearing the word of the Lord with inattention. The sentiment appeared already in the sermons of the sixth-century bishop Caesarius of Arles,[57] and it was paralleled by similar remarks suggesting that in the long run, other things being equal, preaching and hearing the word of God are more fruitful in their effect on moral conduct than receiving the sacrament.[58]

54 London, Lambeth Palace Library, 352, fol. 216v. Further examples can be found in S. Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons. Bilingualism and Preaching in Late Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 109 and notes. This practice was also observed in France: ibid., n. 12.
55 *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Hudson and Gradon, vol. 1 (ed. A. Hudson), pp. 134–6.
56 For example, Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin 367, fols. 199–300r, heavily indebted to Repingdon (see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 198–202).
57 For these and similar passages see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 335–6.
58 Y. Congar, 'Sacramental Worship and Preaching', in K. Rahner (ed.), *The Renewal of Preaching. Theory and Practice*, Concilium 33 (New York: Paulist Press, 1968), pp. 51–63, at p. 62.

The Bible in the spiritual literature
of the medieval West

E. ANN MATTER

From the twelfth century through to the period of the Protestant Reformation, western Christian authors produced a great library of texts focusing on the relationship between human beings and God, offering insights to and paths for the spiritual life of the believer. Many of these were visionary texts, directly revealed to the author; some were formally theological and thus more properly could be called (using a word that medieval authors did not use in the way we do) 'mysticism'.[1] When twentieth-century scholars finally came to terms with this literature as part of the legacy of Christian thought, they basically agreed on two things: first, that the corpus (which had been largely neglected in favour of works of systematic theology) was an important part of the development of Christian theology, and second, that an encompassing term that could aptly describe a variety of these texts with a minimum of anachronism is 'spirituality' or 'spiritual literature'.[2]

Besides the fact that western Christian spiritual literature and the tradition of biblical exegesis are literary genres that have been relatively neglected by historians of Christianity, spirituality and exegesis have much in common. For one thing, spiritual literature relies on received traditions of biblical

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[1] For a discussion of visionary literature and the problematic term 'mysticism', see B. McGinn, *The Presence of God. A History of Western Christian Mysticism. Vol 1: The Foundations of Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad, 1992), pp. xi–xx and 265–343, where McGinn distinguishes between theological, philosophical and comparative/psychological approaches to 'mysticism.' He points out (pp. 157–8) that the term 'mystical theology' was invented in the early sixth century by Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite (see below), and used by Teresa of Avila in the sixteenth century (*Vida*, 1.10), but our current understanding of the term 'mysticism' was a creation of the seventeenth century.

[2] There has been an explosion of scholarly literature on western Christian spirituality in the past four decades, including the influential, and ongoing, series of English translations The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1978–). Although this series includes works from other religious traditions, most volumes (starting with the *Showings*, or *Revelations of Divine Love*, of the fourteenth-century anchoress, Julian of Norwich) translate texts from western Christian authors, mostly writing after 1100. McGinn's multi-volume *The Presence of God. A History of Western Christian Mysticism* uses the term with caution, and selects its subjects accordingly.

interpretation for fundamental keys to living a Christian life. In fact, many works of medieval biblical exegesis can be read as spiritual guides. This chapter will begin by discussing some of the most important examples of such 'spiritual exegesis', and then conclude with a look at how the traditions of biblical exegesis influenced a broader selection of spiritual literature.

Spiritual exegesis

Biblical exegesis with a spiritual message has a long pedigree in western Christianity. Augustine of Hippo, the most influential of the Latin patristic authors, circled around the book of Genesis during the central part of his career, writing at least four commentaries on the full text or parts of it, including Book 13 of his great autobiographical work, *Confessiones*, in which the first three chapters of Genesis are interpreted so that the creation of the world is understood, in a masterpiece of allegorical exegesis, as the working of the third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, that ends in the creation of humanity in God's image and likeness.[3] James J. O'Donnell has pointed out that this is Augustine's best attempt to live up to his observation in *De doctrina christiana*, that, unless strict matters of doctrine are involved, 'multiple interpretations of scripture can and should flourish side by side'.[4]

O'Donnell also makes an important distinction between Augustine's Bible and ours, the simple fact that until several hundred years after Augustine's period, there was no one pandect, no single-volume 'Bible' in the way we know it. Instead, 'the separate scriptural books came to him behind a shimmering veil of meaning, something that both separated him from them and pointed the way, if the reader was graced and wise by his lights, beyond words to meanings hinted with delicate indirection'.[5] Ironically, Augustine's reading of scripture helped to change this situation, as his interpretations, especially of Genesis and Psalms, became classical texts inherited as part of the 'shimmering veil' behind which later exegetes saw biblical truth. In other words, Augustine's writings became an important part of medieval spiritual exegesis.

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3 Augustine's earliest treatise on Genesis, the polemical *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, is dated to 388, just a few years after his conversion to Christianity. He subsequently addressed the task of a 'literal' commentary on Genesis, producing the unfinished *De Genesi ad litteram inperfectus liber* in 393, and *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim* in 401. The *Confessiones* are dated 397–8; see book 13, and the commentary in *Augustine. Confessions*, 3 vols., ed. J. J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Clarendon / New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), esp. vol. III, pp. 343–65.

4 J. J. O'Donnell, *Augustine. A New Biography* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), p. 134.

5 Ibid., p. 135.

Other writings from the early period of Latin Christianity also became classics of spiritual exegesis. For example, the commentary on the book of Job by the late sixth-century monk and pope, Gregory the Great, announces by its title, *Moralia in Iob*,[6] that it will approach the story of Job's sufferings in what, in John Cassian's four senses of scripture, would be called a 'tropological' frame, as a morality tale for the human soul.[7]

Certainly, the book of Job calls out for such a moral interpretation, but my point here is that there are a number of medieval biblical commentaries, undertaken in a no-nonsense, line-by-line exegetical mode, that have spiritual goals at the centre of interpretation. Perhaps it is even fair to say that preference for a polysemous biblical interpretation by such giants as Origen and Augustine, codified in the four-fold method of exegesis of Cassian, subtly directed most, if not all, biblical exegesis to multiple meanings, and thus favoured spiritual interpretations. In any event, the tradition of spiritual exegesis loomed large in the later Middle Ages, and provided a way of using the Bible that was readily available to authors of spiritual treatises that were not primarily exegetical.

Apophatic spirituality

Another tradition inherited by medieval authors, this time from the eastern church, is what is called 'apophatic' spirituality, centred on the awareness that God can never be revealed in human language, and that the most a mystic can accomplish is to describe what God is not, rather than to try to affirm anything about God in positive, concrete terms. The founder of this school of thought wrote in the early sixth century; he was probably a Syrian monk, who took the name of Dionysius, the philosopher converted by Paul in Athens, according to Acts 17:34. This identity was accepted for much of the Middle

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6 See C. Straw, *Gregory the Great. Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988). Gregory also wrote commentaries on 1 Kings, Ezekiel and the Song of Songs, for which see ibid., pp. 6ff., and G. A. Zinn, 'Exegesis and Spirituality in the Writings of Gregory the Great', in J. C. Cavadini (ed.), *Gregory the Great. A Symposium* (Notre Dame, IN, and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. 16–180; for Gregory on the Song of Songs, see E. A. Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved. The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 92–7.
7 Cassian's famous example is Jerusalem, which can be understood as a city (*secundum historiam*), the church *(secundum allegoriam)*, the eschatological city of the end times (*secundum anagogen*) or the human soul (*secundum tropologiam*). See *Collationes*, XIV. 8, in *Jean Cassien. Conférences*, ed. E. Pichery, 3 vols., SC 42, 54, 64 (Paris: Cerf, 1955–9), vol. II, p. 190. The most common medieval listing of the 'four senses of scripture' was in the form: historical, allegorical, tropological/moral, anagogical. For a discussion of these terms and how they differed from Augustine's senses of scripture, see Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, pp. 53–5.

Ages, and was further conflated with St Denis, the founder of Christianity in France. Because of this welter of personalities, this author is usually referred to as Dionysus the Pseudo-Areopagite, or the Pseudo-Dionysius.[8] There are a number of Greek works attributed to him: *The Divine Names*, *The Mystical Theology*, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* and a series of letters. They share a profound struggle with the ineffable nature of God and the impossibility of describing the divine in human terms. This makes biblical references to God, as well as visionary experiences, somewhat problematic, since they are based on sense perceptions, and actually try to describe God's being. Dionysius says:

> For all sorts of reasons and because of all sorts of dynamic energies they have applied to the divine Goodness, which surpasses every name and every splendor, descriptions of every sort – human, fiery, or amber shapes and forms; they praise its eyes, ears, hair, face, and hands, back, wings, and arms, a posterior, and feet. They have placed around it such things as crowns, chairs, cups, and mixing bowls, and similar mysterious items of which I will do my best to speak in *The Symbolic Theology*.[9]

The Symbolic (or *Symbolical*) *Theology* was a spurious or lost work of Dionysius, evidently focused on the problem that even biblical symbols for God are based on human sense perception and therefore cannot do justice to God's grandeur, but this theme is found abundantly in all of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus,[10] from the ninth century on, through a series of translations into Latin. The first Latin translation of the Dionysian corpus was done around 838 by Hilduin, abbot of the monastery of St Denis near Paris, a community that thought of Dionysius as their patron. It was such a weak translation that Charlemagne's grandson, Charles the Bald, commissioned another from his most brilliant scholar, John Scottus Eriugena. This version was finished in 862, and revised by Anastasius, the papal librarian, in 875. John Sarrazin, a monk of St Denis, produced yet another translation in 1165.[11] Dionysian apophatic theology made an impact on western spiritual writings; McGinn says his 'influence on the Latin West was to be more powerful than any other eastern

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8 For a clear and concise discussion of Pseudo-Dionysius, see McGinn, *Foundations*, pp. 157–82. For his works, see *Pseudo-Dionysius. The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid, with introductions by P. Rorem, R. Roques, J. Pelikan, J. Leclercq and K. Froehlich (New York: Paulist Press, 1987).
9 *The Divine Names*, I.7, *PG* 3, col. 597A–B, *Pseudo-Dionysius*, trans. Luibheid, p. 57.
10 See *Pseudo-Dionysius*, trans. Luibheid, p. 57, nn. 72 and 89.
11 On the Latin versions, see Leclercq's introduction to *Pseudo-Dionysius*, trans. Luibheid, pp. 26–30.

mystic'.[12] Much of this influence is seen in scholastic theology; indeed, Leclercq notes that Dionysius's ideas 'were frequently abstract and had little basis in sacred scripture. The monks certainly found him insufficiently biblical.'[13] His influence can be seen in the writings of the German Dominican Meister Eckhart, who lived at the turn of the fourteenth century and is especially remembered for his teachings on unity with God in 'the ground of the soul', a concept that works well with the Dionysian rejection of sense perceptions.[14] The Pseudo-Dionysian tradition of being unable to speak about God can also be clearly seen in fourteenth-century English vernacular spiritual writings, such as *Denis Hid Divinity*, a Middle English translation of *The Mystical Theology*, and *The Cloud of Unknowing*.[15]

Since this apophatic tradition struggled with the representational quality of the biblical text, it tends to be an exception to the way the Bible was most often used in western Christian spiritual writings. Far more common is the connection between the sort of spiritual exegesis seen in Augustine and Gregory and works of spiritual guidance that use the Bible as a constructive guide to the religious imagination.

Meditations on the life of Christ

A striking contrast to the Pseudo-Dionysian tradition are the meditations on the life of Christ that flourished in the later Middle Ages, especially among authors associated with the mendicant traditions. A set of such meditations was attributed to the important early Franciscan, Bonaventure, probably because of its similarity to Bonaventure's treatise *Lignum vitae*, where scenes from the life of Christ are imagined as leaves on a tree, inviting meditation moving upward from Christ's earthly life to his passion to his glorification.[16]

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12 McGinn, *Foundations*, pp. 157–8; see also the introductions by Pelikan and Leclercq in *Pseudo-Dionysius*, trans. Luibheid.
13 Leclercq, introduction to *Pseudo-Dionysius*, trans. Luibheid, p. 31.
14 Compare Eckhart's discussion of three classes of beings in his Latin commentary on Genesis (I.151) in *Meister Eckhart, The Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense*, trans. E. Colledge and B. McGinn (New York: Paulist Press, 1981), p. 115, with *Divine Names*, 5.2–3, in *Pseudo-Dionysius*, trans. Luibheid, pp. 97–8.
15 These texts are thought to be by the same anonymous author, probably a member of the Carthusian order. See J. McCann (ed.), *The Cloud of Unknowing, and Other Treatises, by an English Mystic of the Fourteenth Century; with a Commentary on the Cloud by Father Augustine Baker*, ed. J. McCann (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1947). There are many modern English translations of *The Cloud of Unknowing*.
16 The text, the *Meditaciones vitae Christi*, is now attributed to the fourteenth-century John of Caulibus. It was also known in a number of vernacular languages, mostly under the name of Bonaventure.

This type of Franciscan devotion became a much more widely used practice, also among laypeople and in vernacular languages, through the popularity of the *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus the Carthusian in the fourteenth century.[17] A meditation on the life of Christ is still an important type of Christian spirituality, especially through such devotions as the Way of the Cross and the Rosary.

Spiritual exegesis and the yearning for God

An influential example of spiritual exegesis from the central Middle Ages is the treatise on the building of the Ark of the Covenant revealed to Moses in Exodus 25, as explicated by the twelfth-century Parisian scholar, Richard of St Victor. This work, known as *The Mystical Ark*, or *Benjamin Major*,[18] uses the instructions for the building of the Ark to explicate six levels of contemplation, beginning with the human imagination, and ending above, and seemingly beyond, reason.[19] *The Mystical Ark* is most clearly a work of spirituality when Richard contemplates the cover of the Ark, the mercy seat (or 'propitiatory') of the same length and breadth as the gold-sheathed wooden Ark, but made of one piece of pure gold, with a cherub of pure gold at either end. The cherubim are to be of one piece with the mercy seat:

> Make one cherub on the one end, and one cherub on the other end; of one piece with the mercy seat shall you make the cherubim on its two ends. The cherubim shall spread their wings above, overshadowing the mercy seat with their wings, their faces one to another; toward the mercy seat shall the faces of the cherubim be.[20]

According to Richard, the two cherubim face each other and sing to each other, across the mercy seat out of yearning, as the human soul yearns for God. As Richard's translator Grover Zinn puts it:

> Few passages in mystical literature catch so well the subtleties of divine calling, human yearning, equally human procrastination and laziness, and the final outpouring of love in the mutual embraces of lovers that signifies mystic ecstasy for Richard.[21]

17 See 'Influence of the Vita Christi', in Ludolphus the Carthusian, *Vita Christi*, ed. J. Hogg, A. Girard and D. Le Blévec, 5 vols., Analecta Carthusiana 241 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 2006–7), vol. I, pp. 53–92.
18 *Benjamin Major*, I. 3–4, *PL* 196, cols. 63–202; *The Twelve Patriarchs. The Mystical Ark. Book Three of The Trinity*, trans. G. A. Zinn (New York: Paulist Press, 1979).
19 I. 6, *PL* 196, cols. 70B–72B; *Twelve Patriarchs*, trans. Zinn, pp. 161–5; see Zinn's discussion, ibid., pp. 23ff.
20 Exod. 25:22; *The Mystical Ark*, IV. 21, *PL* 169, col. 163B; *Twelve Patriarchs*, trans. Zinn, p. 100.
21 *Twelve Patriarchs*, trans. Zinn, p. 38.

For this interpretation, Richard turns to several biblical passages outside Exodus, passages that also refer to human diffidence in the face of God's love: to the hesitant 'a little here, a little there' of Isaiah 28, to Abraham, who sat in the doorway of his tent (Gen. 18:1), to Elijah, who stood in the entrance to his cave (3 Kings 19:13) as the Lord approached; and especially to the coming of the Lover to the unprepared Beloved as described in Song of Songs 2 and 5, two vignettes that tell similar stories, of the Beloved waiting the arrival of the Lover by night.

This yearning, the aching human desire to be embraced by the divine, is at the heart of Christian spirituality, and thus the exegesis of the Song of Songs became the most important locus of medieval Christian spiritual exegesis. It is a curious book to carry such a heavy burden of meaning. Counted as one of the books of Solomon, it circulated in medieval manuscripts most often together with other texts of 'wisdom literature', including Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, but unlike these books, does not offer spiritual guidance, nor even mention the name of God.[22] Yet this series of eight love poems was included in the canon of scripture, by Jews and Christians alike, because of the prevailing spiritual reading that the love described was between God and Israel, or God and the church, or, especially in Christian interpretation, between God and the human soul.[23] This last mode of understanding (what John Cassian called the 'tropological' or 'moral' sense of scripture) had a great influence in Christian spiritual literature.

Cassian took much from Origen of Alexandria, whose sermons and commentary on the Song of Songs were the first Christian biblical interpretations to be widely read. These texts are at least partially preserved in Latin translations, and offer a 'literal' meaning (in which the interlocutors are Solomon and his Beloved), as well as interpretations according to which God (the Lover) is speaking to the church or the human soul (the Beloved).[24] Origen's spiritual

22 For overviews of the interpretation of the Song of Songs in western Christianity, see F. Ohly, *Hohelied-Studien. Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Hoheliedauslegung des Abendlandes bis um 1200* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1958); H. Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit der Kirche in den lateinischen Hoheliedkommentaren des Mittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 38.3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1958); and Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*.

23 For the Jewish allegorical tradition, see *Midrash Rabbah. Aggadat Shir Ha-Shirim*, trans. H. Freedman and M. Simon, vol. IX (London: Soncino, 1939), and the discussions of R. Lowe, 'Apologetic Motifs in the Targum to the Song of Songs', in A. Altman (ed.), *Biblical Motifs. Origins and Transformations*, Brandeis University Texts and Studies 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 159–69; and A. Green, 'The Song of Songs in Early Jewish Mysticism,' *Orim* 2 (1987), 48–63; repr. in H. Bloom (ed.), *Modern Critical Interpretation. The Song of Songs* (New York: Chelsea House, 1988), pp. 141–53. For a brief discussion of the impact of these readings on medieval Christian interpretation, see Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, p. 51.

24 The texts of Origen on the Song of Songs are edited by W. A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*, vol. VIII, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 33 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925), pp. xiv–xx and

interpretation of the Song of Songs is reflected in Richard of St Victor's *Mystical Ark*, but filtered through hundreds of years of Christian exegesis, including, most importantly, the enormously influential interpretation of the twelfth-century Cistercian abbot, Bernard of Clairvaux. We have inherited this text as eighty-six 'sermons', but they were probably intended for the instruction of Cistercian novices rather than for preaching, and treat the Song of Songs only through to the opening verse of chapter 3.[25] After Bernard's death, two of his fellow Cistercians attempted to finish the interpretation: Gilbert of Hoyland took it to 5:9, and John of Ford commented from 5:8 to the end of chapter 8.[26] There are as well other twelfth-century Cistercian treatments of the Song of Songs inspired by Bernard, such as Geoffrey of Auxerre's compendium, and an original commentary by Bernard's close friend, William of St Thierry,[27] but Bernard's unfinished work is one of the most influential examples of Christian spiritual exegesis, including the famous metaphor of the human soul as 'a book of experience' in Sermon 3. Bernard emphasises here that the Song of Songs must be read carefully in order to ascertain whether or not one deserves the embrace of the Beloved:

> For it is not given to just any man to say this with emotion (*ex affectu*), but if anyone has received this spiritual kiss (*spirituale osculum*) from the mouth of Christ even one time, he seeks again that intimate experience, and repeats it willingly.[28]

It would be no exaggeration to say that the high point of Christian spiritual exegesis, that is, a tradition of biblical commentary per se with a spiritual message, was reached in the monastic world of the twelfth century, and especially in the treatment of the Song of Songs by these authors. But this does

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26–60 for the homilies, and pp. xx–xxviii and 61–241 for the commentary, as well as the more recent edition of the homilies by E. Rousseau, *Homélies sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, SC 37bis (Paris: Cerf, 1966), English translation as *Origen. The Song of Songs. Commentary and Homilies*, trans. R. P. Lawson, Ancient Christian Writers Series 26 (New York: Newman Press, 1957). For a discussion of these texts, see Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, pp. 20–48.

25 Bernard of Clairvaux, in *Sancti Bernardi opera*, 8 vols., ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot and H. M. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–8), vol. I.

26 For Gilbert, see *PL* 184, cols. 11–252. John of Ford's additions are edited by E. Mikkers and H. Costello in *Ioannis de Forda. Super extremam partem Cantici Canticorum sermones CXX*, CCCM 17–18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1970).

27 Geoffrey of Auxerre's text, in a long version for contemplation and a short gloss for consultation, is edited by F. Gastaldelli, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*, Temi e Testi 19–20 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1974); William's *Expositio* is edited by J. M. Déchanet, *Expositio super Cantica Canticorum*, SC 82 (Paris: Cerf, 1962) and translated into English as *William of Saint Thierry, Exposition on the Song of Songs*, trans Mother Columba Hart, Cistercian Fathers Series 6 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1970).

28 Sermo III. ii. 4; *Sancti Bernardi opera*, vol. I, p. 16.

not mean that other centuries, and other biblical books, were not interpreted this way. For example, as we have seen, Gregory the Great's commentary on the book of Job seems to calls out for such an interpretation, as much as (or to modern sensibilities, even more than) the Song of Songs suggests the love between God and the soul. In some cases, the biblical inspiration for spiritual insights spills out in almost every sentence without even explicit acknowledgement. A good example of this is Bernard of Clairvaux's *On Loving God*.[29] Although this book is organised in order to provide answers to the questions of why and how God should be loved, it is solidly based on biblical citations, especially from the Pauline Epistles, the Gospel of John, the Song of Songs and Psalms. These sources are hardly surprising, since the importance of the Song of Songs in Bernard's spiritual life has already been noted; the psalms play an especially important part in spiritual literature, inasmuch as the daily monastic office included a weekly recitation of all 150 psalms, so that monastic authors knew them by heart; and Paul and John were, of course, important sources for Christian theology, especially having to do with obedience to and love for God.

Spiritual exegesis and vernacular spirituality

One of the most important spiritual authors of fourteenth-century England, Richard Rolle, moved as easily as Bernard between biblical exegesis and biblical spirituality, adding the significant move already noted in the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* from Latin to vernacular language. Richard was born in Yorkshire, spent a few years as a student at Oxford, may have attended the Sorbonne and ended his life as a hermit in Yorkshire, near a house of Cistercian nuns at Hampole.[30]

Rolle's works include a variety of literary genres: biblical commentaries in both Latin and English (Latin commentaries on the psalter and the Apocalypse, and parts of Job and the Song of Songs, and an English translation and commentary on the psalter), spiritual treatises, religious lyrics and epistles;[31] but as Rosamund Allen has noted, the classification is tricky, since 'each of his

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29 Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diligendo Deo*, in *Sancti Bernardi opera*, vol. III, pp. 119–54, trans. as *On Loving God* by R. Walton in *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux. Vol. v: Treatises II*, Cistercian Fathers 13 (Washington, DC: Cistercian Publications, 1973), pp. 93–132.
30 For Richard's life, see the introduction to *Richard Rolle. The English Writings*, ed. and trans. R. S. Allen (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), pp. 9–63. I would like to thank Tekla Bude for urging me to pay special attention to Rolle in this essay.
31 For references to the English and Latin works, see *The English Writings*, ed. and trans. Allen, pp. 223–5.

works contains some measure of each of these forms, in varying proportions'.[32] Two Latin treatises, *Emendatio vitae* and *Incendium amoris*,[33] are particularly suggestive of the ways in which the tradition of spiritual exegesis, above all of the Song of Songs, naturally became part of a literature of spiritual direction in the later Middle Ages. These works, especially the *Incendium*, are strongly autobiographical in nature, yet full of the longing for union with God that characterises exegesis of the Song of Songs. Evelyn Underhill, comparing the four great mystics of the fourteenth century – Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, Julian of Norwich and the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* – calls Rolle the most interesting, and 'a born romantic', comparing him to Francis of Assisi in his 'tendency to seek in the spiritual world the ultimate beauty and the ultimate love'.[34] Richard may have left Oxford because he was more interested in biblical than philosophical studies,[35] and seemed to make it a point to cite the Bible but not other theologians. He speaks of the union with God as an intimate 'Ghostly Song:'

> Good Jesu, give me the organ-like and heavenly song of angels that in that I may be ravished and Thy worship continually sing.[36]

The intense longing of this passage evokes one of Rolle's English works, *Ego dormio*, a short work based on a verse from Song of Songs:

> *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat.* [You] who desire love, [open your ears] and hear of love. In the Song of Love I find the expression [which I have quoted at the beginning of this piece of writing]: 'I sleep but my heart is awake.'[37]

Rolle here cites Song 5:2, one of the passages where the Beloved ardently awaits the coming of the Lover, that is, one that Richard of St Victor's cherubim sing to each other across the mercy seat of the Mystical Ark. Rolle, in fact, immediately goes on to summarise the nine orders of angels of the Pseudo-Dionysian *Celestial Hierarchies*, focusing on the seraphim, the only rank higher

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32 Ibid., p. 41.
33 Richard Rolle, *Emendatio vitae. Orationes ad honorem nominis Ihesu*, ed. N. Watson (Toronto: PIMS, 1995); and *The Incendium amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole*, ed. M. Deanesly (Manchester University Press, 1915). Watson (Richard Rolle, *Emendatio*, p. 5) calls Misyn's Middle English translation (see n. 36) 'crabbed'.
34 'Introduction' in *The Incendium amoris*, ed. Deanesly, pp. vii–xxv.
35 As suggested by Allen in *The English Writings*, ed. Allen, pp. 13–14.
36 'Ihesu bone redde mihi organum celicum canticum angelorum, ut in hoc rapiar laudes tuas iugiter modulari,' *Incendium amoris*, cap. 42, ed. Deanesly, p. 278; trans. as *The Fire of Love, Or Melody of Love and the Mending of Life or Rule of Living*, trans. R. Misyn, ed. F. M. M. Comper (London: Methuen, 1914), p. 191.
37 *Ego dormio* in *The English Writings*, ed. Allen, p. 133.

than the cherubim, the closest to God of all creation, and the most burning in his love. This, he advises his reader, is the goal of the spiritual life of a Christian, to burn in the love of God.

The fourteenth-century hermit Richard Rolle may indeed have preferred the Bible to any theological source, but, like the Parisian schoolman Richard of St Victor two centuries earlier, he received the Bible through a 'shimmering veil' of allegorical meaning, long established, but sufficiently flexible to be moulded for particular spiritual needs. This is the prime intersection of the Bible and Christian spiritual writings, the place where medieval Christian biblical exegesis found a use beyond rhetorical theories of monastic and scholastic classrooms, in the lived religion of the age. The western Middle Ages abound with many more examples than I could use in this essay, which has ignored some important authors: Anselm of Canterbury; much of the Franciscan tradition, including Angela of Foligno; Julian of Norwich; the Flemish Beguine Hadewijch; Johannes Tauler, Henry Suso and other Rhineland mystics. All these and many other medieval spiritual authors could have provided beautiful, moving and fascinating examples of the importance of the Bible and its reception to what Nicholas Watson has called 'one of the most important broad cultural developments of the four centuries after the year 1000 . . . the spread, throughout western Europe, of a newly specific sense of the complex interior world of individual human consciousness [resulting in] a body of writing which was concerned with the relationship of the individual soul and God, conceiving of that relationship in mainly emotional terms, often as a passionate love affair'.[38] Thus medieval Christian readings of the Bible were intricately connected to spiritual and devotional practices, so the story of the reception of the Bible in this period must include the world of western Christian spiritual traditions.

38 'Introduction' to *Emendatio vitae*, ed. Watson, pp. 1–2.

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Literacy and the Bible

MARIE-LUISE EHRENSCHWENDTNER

Defining literacy

Balduin II, count of Guines (1169–1206), was passionately interested in science, theology and the interpretation of the Bible. He used to discuss theological matters *quasi litteratus* ('like a literate person') with masters of arts and clerics. Additionally, he assembled a huge library. However, he himself never did learn 'the letters'. The chronicler Lambert of Ardre called him *omnino laicus et illitteratus* and *liberalium . . . omnino ignarus artium* ('a layman in every respect and illiterate' and 'without any knowledge of the liberal arts'). Contemporaries admired his erudition, wondering how he had acquired it. Lambert provided the answer: the count surrounded himself with clerics and masters who translated for him and answered his questions. In exchange, he introduced the learned men to vernacular stories and songs which he knew by heart. Obviously, Balduin never attempted to learn Latin or to read his books himself. Despite his interest in all scholarly matters and books, he was deeply steeped in what can be seen as the secular culture of his time, which was predominantly shaped by the vernacular. Latin was the language of the clerics and scholars; if a layman had command of Latin and could read, this was seen as a remarkable achievement. Lambert of Ardre reported, however, that Balduin's librarian – also *omnino laicus* – did become literate, *litteratus*, in the count's service.[1]

The example of count Balduin and his clerical coadjutors seems to fit neatly into the medieval pattern of literacy and illiteracy. It was generally assumed that *clerici* were literate, whereas laymen lacked this quality; they were illiterate. Laypeople, male and female, formed the majority of society; the clerics were seen as the spiritual and educated elite who by their consecration were

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1 *Lamberti Ardensis Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, ed. J. Heller, MGH SS 24 (Hanover, 1879; repr. 1964), chs. 80–1, p. 598; see also H. Grundmann, 'Litteratus – illitteratus. Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter, in *his Ausgewählte Aufsätze. Vol. III: Bildung und Sprache*, Schriften der MGH 25.3 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978), pp. 1–66, at pp. 10–11.

dedicated to the service of God. The antitheses *clericus / laicus*, *litteratus / illitteratus* were repeated throughout the Middle Ages but they became increasingly relative, as the example of Balduin's librarian shows. Despite the perception of contemporaries who still divided the educated world into two groups, illiterate laymen and literate clerics, laymen became more and more literate, and they developed different forms of literacy.[2]

The case with women had always been altogether different; they never did fit into the received pattern. Many secular women were literate to a certain degree. According to several medieval German legal records devotional books, particularly psalters, were inherited exclusively by women. The reason given for this was that women were usually the readers of these books.[3] However, already in the early Middle Ages many laymen, too, have been identified as owners of small libraries, occasionally dividing their books as heirlooms among all of their children, irrespective of gender.[4] As for religious women, they, like clerics, had to have a certain amount of education in order to fulfil their obligations concerning worship and prayer. Their gender placed them 'on the borderline between clergy and laity',[5] as we shall see.

Thus the medieval usage of *litteratus* and *illitteratus* may be misleading, especially as these terms were connected with literacy in Latin.[6] Between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, persons designated as *litterati* had at least a basic knowledge of that language. *Litteratus* was 'the normal term for describing someone who knew how to read and to write' and 'referred almost invariably to literacy in Latin'.[7] Those who did not have command of the Latin language were characterised by various terms: apart from *illitterati* or *laici* they were called *indocti*, *rustici* or *idiotae*, 'words which in their philological setting convey the cultural barriers'[8] which were – in the perception of the *litterati* – separating them from the non-educated majority.

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2 J. W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*, University of California Publications in Education 9 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1939), p. 1; see also the study of M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 226–30.

3 *Der Sachsenspiegel*, ch. XXIV, fol. 17r: www.sachsenspiegel-online.de/cms/meteor/toc.html (consulted 20 May 2009).

4 R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 159.

5 B. Millett, 'Women in No Man's Land. English Recluses and the Development of Vernacular Literature in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in C. M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500*, 2nd edn (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 86–103, at p. 88.

6 Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity*, p. v.

7 B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 27.

8 Ibid., p. 27.

However, a definition of literacy restricted to the individual ability to read and write in Latin is not sufficient when we try to understand the function of literacy in medieval society,[9] since it does not take into account the whole range of possibilities concerning literacy which already coexisted in the early Middle Ages: complete Latin literacy, a partial or basic understanding of Latin, literacy in the vernacular without command of Latin, or even the use of Latin under certain circumstances without a thorough understanding of the language.[10] Since we are investigating literacy focused on the Bible, we must take into account various conditions which enabled individuals to approach the biblical texts. Thus our definition of literacy has to be broader than that of medieval clerics, who used the yardstick of Latin to measure it. We would otherwise have to dismiss men like the Waldensians of Lyon, who are called *homines idiotae, illitterati*, despite being able to read. They offered Pope Alexander III a book, written in French, which contained 'the text with a gloss, of the psalter and many of the books of the two Testaments'. They saw themselves as learned, but the assembled clerics regarded them as quite the contrary, with Walter Map ridiculing their claim: 'Shall then the pearl be cast before the swine, the word be given to the ignorant . . . ?'[11]

The languages of literacy

How an individual had private access to the Bible depended on his or her social rank. The 'professional readers' – scholars, clerics and monks – usually referred to the Latin text, which was also the only version in liturgical use.[12] However, students of the Bible were well aware that their text was a translation, and – as well as efforts to revise it – we occasionally find attempts to refer to both the Hebrew and the Greek versions.[13] On the whole, however, a profound knowledge of the biblical languages was very rare in the earlier medieval period.

9 F. H. Bäuml, 'Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Speculum* 55 (1980), 237–65, at pp. 238–9.
10 McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, p. 3; and see K. Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in G. Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word. Literacy in Transition. Wolfson College Lectures 1985* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), pp. 97–131, at pp. 99–100.
11 Walter Map, *De nugis curialium. Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, rev. C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), p. 124.
12 M. B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in D. Daiches and A. Thorlby (eds.), *Literature and Western Civilization. Vol. II: The Medieval World* (London: Aldus, 1973), pp. 555–77, at p. 555.
13 See B. M. Kaczynski, 'Edition, Translation, and Exegesis. The Carolingians and the Bible', in R. E. Sullivan (ed.), *'The Gentle Voices of Teachers'. Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995), pp. 171–85; also B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 335–7.

The late seventh-century Archbishop Theodore brought Greek learning to Canterbury, though there is no evidence that the language was taught there. Bede may actually have known some Greek.[14] The situation slightly changed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and beyond. The growing interest in translating philosophical texts from Greek and Arabic further drew attention to the biblical texts.[15] The English Franciscan scholar Roger Bacon (*c.* 1214–*c.* 1292), who was active in Oxford and Paris, demanded a sound knowledge of Hebrew and Greek to enable scholars to check translations and to amend the Latin translation.[16] He made dismissive remarks about his contemporaries' abilities, but there were at least some scholars who acquired a certain familiarity with both languages.[17] The full impact of such linguistic studies, however, was felt only from the late fifteenth century onwards, among humanists and representatives of the Protestant Reformation alike.[18]

Thus for the period under review, the Latin Bible was holy scripture for the majority of the western population. Since books were not easily available and were expensive, until the invention of the printing press,[19] and since most illiterate members of society needed – at least to a certain degree – professional help to get access to scripture, religious environments were all-important for the transmission of biblical matters. But it was not only those involved in transmitting the Christian message to laypeople who were continuously focusing on biblical subjects; the same was true of strictly enclosed religious men and women who did not teach or preach. Their daily life centred on the psalms, canticles and lessons taken from the Old and New Testaments, which they read and sang during their daily prayers and services.[20] For all who wanted to study the Bible the necessary prerequisite was to become literate, that is, to learn how to read it. Accordingly, *grammatica*, as the basic subject of the *trivium*, was considered the way in, or, as Matthew of Rievaulx,

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14 M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Greek at the School of Canterbury', in *his Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 123–39; M. L. W. Laistner, 'The Manuscripts of Bede', in A. H. Thompson (ed.), *Bede. His Life, Times, and Writings. Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death* (Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 230–66, at p. 251.

15 F. van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West. The Origins of Latin Aristotelianism* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1970), pp. 89–94.

16 *Opus minus*, in *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita. Vol. I: Containing I. Opus tertium; II. Opus minus; III. Compendium studii philosophiae*, ed. J. S. Brewer, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 15 (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859; repr. London: Kraus, 1965), p. 332.

17 Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, p. 334–55.

18 O. Chadwick, *The Early Reformation on the Continent* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 12–30.

19 See McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, pp. 135–8.

20 For a general overview see S. J. P. van Dijk, 'The Bible in Liturgical Use', in *CHB II*, pp. 230–6; and Dyer in this volume, ch. 34.

that abbey's late twelfth-century precentor, wrote in a poem about the liberal arts: 'Here is the way for the mind that wants to understand the scriptures.'[21] Therefore, on an elementary level both the monastic and scholarly curricula concentrated on teaching the basics of the Latin language, despite all the differences between the ways of life and preoccupations of those who followed them.[22] The Latin of scholastics – whatever their religious background – differed widely from the language used in the traditional monastic context. Scholastic Latin was not the Latin of Jerome's Vulgate nor that of the liturgy and the church fathers which was so familiar to the inhabitants of monastic houses; it was a highly artificial language, an instrument to express precisely philosophical and theological speculation, as well as religious sentiments and emotions.[23]

Accordingly, the approach to reading the Bible was distinctively different in the two environments. Whereas, as Leclercq notes, 'the scholastic *lectio* takes the direction of the *quaestio* and *disputatio*', the reader putting 'questions to the text' and then questioning himself on the subject matter, the monastic *lectio* 'is oriented toward the *meditatio* and the *oratio*'. The monastic readers were searching for wisdom, ultimately yearning for a close relationship with God. They did not only take in the words with their eyes to get a rational understanding of the contents but tried literally to 'inscribe . . . the sacred text in the body and in the soul'. Thus *lectio* and *meditatio* cannot be separated. It was a constant process, often described metaphorically as *ruminatio*: 'To meditate is to attach oneself closely to the sentence being recited and weigh all its words in order to sound the depths of their full meaning.' The words were committed to memory; the Bible became learned by heart. 'In this way, one can spontaneously supply a text or a word which corresponds to the situation described in each text, and which explains each separate word.'[24] In the monastic environment, therefore, being literate meant far more than it did for the majority of readers, who could be called literate as soon as they were able to decipher and to understand a text. Apart from being able rationally to argue about the texts and their interpretation, monks and nuns had to achieve what might be called 'spiritual literacy', in order to gain deeper

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21 A. Wilmart, 'Les mélanges de Mathieu préchantre de Rielvaux au début du XIIIe siécle', *RB* 56 (1940), 15–84, at p. 59.
22 J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. C. Misrahi, 2nd edn (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974), pp. 88–9.
23 M.-D. Chenu, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris: Vrin, 1950), pp. 87–98, esp. p. 92.
24 Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 89–96.

insights into the meaning and the context of the written words. The same was true for the friars, despite their involvement in schools and universities. Like their fellow religious in traditional houses, the friars were to familiarise themselves with the biblical books and devotional texts, committing them to memory in a ruminative process. Additionally, as Roest notes, the friars' reading and meditating 'was complemented with structured exegesis in the order's schools of theology'.[25]

An altogether different situation was experienced by parish priests, who were not members of religious or academic communities. Of course, they had to refer to the Bible in administering sacraments and preaching, and to familiarise their flock with basic issues of the Christian faith, with regard to both dogmas and morals. Since neither the pastor nor his flock was, usually, very familiar with Latin, however, preaching and catechising were often done in the vernacular.[26] Throughout the Middle Ages the literacy and the education of the clergy were recurring concerns of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, and many a bishop complained about the lack of literacy and erudition in his clergy, and some theologians derided their ignorance.[27] As Roger Bacon wrote scornfully: 'It makes no difference if they do much studying, and read and argue, and preach . . . They will nevertheless always recite the words of others without any intellectual understanding, like a parrot or a magpie, which imitates the sound of human voices it does not mentally grasp.'[28] However, scholars and laymen had different standards. When asked, the (mostly uneducated) parishioners usually described their ministers as adequate, without turning a blind eye to their major faults.[29] On the whole, no one expected standards of clerical education to be exceptionally high. Thomas Aquinas stated that it was necessary for everyone supposed to exercise the office of an order to have as much knowledge as sufficed for his direction in the act of that order. Therefore he was not required to have knowledge enough to be able to understand Holy Writ, only to know how to pronounce it correctly.[30]

25 B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210–1517)*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 11 (Leiden, Boston and Cologne: Brill, 2000), p. 252.

26 J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp. 81–3.

27 ibid., pp. 90–4.

28 *Compendium studii philosophiae*, ch. 2, in *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, ed. Brewer, p. 413.

29 Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p. 93.

30 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica diligenter emendata de Rubeis, Billuart et aliorum notis selectis ornata*, 6 vols. (Turin: Marietti, 1926–7), v, *Supplementum*, *quaestio* 36.2, pp. 410–11. See also P. Riché, *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne* (Liverpool University Press, 1978), pp. 193–7.

Use of the vernacular

It was not in fact easy for either the faithful or their priests to get access to biblical texts. Quite apart from material obstacles of all kinds (such as the scarcity and the expensiveness of books in general), the language barrier made it difficult. As a consequence, from an early period we find attempts to transfer essential biblical texts into the local vernaculars. The linguistic situation varied from region to region. 'The whole process of Germanic settlement must have created great linguistic diversity in all areas once part of the Roman Empire', McKitterick notes, despite 'the continuity of the Latin language'. In some areas (like France) 'late Latin was early Romance', and only when spoken and written Latin drifted apart did difficulties of understanding arise.[31] A different situation arose in the Insular areas with their only recently arrived Christianity – Ireland was linguistically Celtic and England was never widely latinate, even during the Roman occupation.

As the translation of the Greek Bible into the Visigoths' language by Ulfilas (d. 383) shows,[32] from as early as the fourth century Christian missionaries had perceived the necessity to facilitate access to essential matters of the Christian faith as indispensable for conversion – despite the general assumption that for practical, institutional and liturgical reasons, it would be necessary that the recently converted nations become familiar with Latin.[33] The first obstacle some of the missionaries had to overcome was the lack of an alphabet to represent the target language. In central Europe, Roman influence had provided the population with a written language which was used for the affairs of state as well as matters religious. Gothic societies were in a different situation. Ulfilas had to provide the Arian Visigothic church with an alphabet before he could start to translate the Bible, and the one he created was also adopted by other Gothic groups; fragments of his Bible resurfaced in Ostrogothic productions, and the famous *Codex Argenteus* (containing much of the text of the four Gospels) was written in Italy under Ostrogothic reign.[34]

A similar development began when Christianity arrived among Celtic societies.[35] As soon as it came to Ireland, writing had to be adopted by members

31 McKitterick, *The Carolingians*, pp. 7–12, with n. 10.
32 E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), pp. 116–17.
33 B. Bischoff, 'The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 36 (1961), 209–24, at p. 223.
34 Thompson, *Visigoths*, pp. xxiii, 116, 118, 144–55.
35 See J. Stevenson, 'Literacy in Ireland. The Evidence of the Patrick Dossier in the Book of Armagh', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 11–35.

of the Christian establishment, since its culture was closely linked to writing. Although the Irish already knew writing in the form of the ogam script, the new art was soon extended to Irish secular culture: 'For this to come about, a considerable intellectual effort was required, namely the achievement of writing the Irish language in Latin symbols, despite a phonetic system which was very different from that of Latin.'[36] The Gaelic vernaculars played a notable role in biblical studies in the Celtic churches, since scholars used the traditional Latin as well as the vernacular when commenting on biblical books, often mixing both languages in their glosses and commentaries.[37] Writing was mostly confined to Christian circles, however; it did not become a way of communication for administrative purposes.[38]

The situation in England was not dissimilar. When Christian literary culture arrived, it met with a pagan Anglo-Saxon society which was not completely ignorant of writing and which used the runic alphabet for inscriptions.[39] In Northumbria, Irish scholarship had an enormous influence on the church during the seventh and eighth centuries. The representatives of the Gaelic churches, like the Anglo-Saxons themselves, 'spoke a vernacular which had no basis in Latin', unlike Italian or Frankish missionaries, and were 'therefore accustomed to learning the literary language of the church as a foreign tongue'.[40] This experience of bilingualism may have helped them in training their Anglo-Saxon counterparts and may thus have contributed to the growing importance of the vernacular in Anglo-Saxon England. From very early on, both languages were used in writing. Christian monks introduced the Latin alphabet for writing Old English, having to provide several new letters to represent sounds unrepresented in Latin. Parts of the Bible were eventually translated or made accessible by means of added Old English glosses.[41] Poets, following the example of the Whitby cowherd Cædmon, if Bede is to be believed, versified biblical stories even before there was direct translation of biblical texts. In the ninth century King Alfred (871–99) lamented what he

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36 M. Richter, *Ireland and her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), p. 19; see also Stevenson, 'Literacy', pp. 33–4.

37 P. P. Ó Néill, *Biblical Studies and Mediaeval Gaelic History*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the Sources of Mediaeval Gaelic History 6 (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2003), p. 11.

38 See the introduction to H. Pryce (ed.), *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 1–14, at p. 9.

39 S. Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word', in McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy*, pp. 36–62, at p. 36.

40 Ibid., p. 39.

41 See Marsden in this volume, pp. 218–26; also N. Brooks (ed.), *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester University Press, 1982).

claimed to be the almost complete collapse of Latin learning after the Viking attacks. He promoted translations of essential religious texts into English as 'a remedy for the general ignorance of the clergy'. Even those who were destined to take holy orders were to learn to read such works in the vernacular before they moved on to study the Latin texts. In the tenth and eleven centuries, therefore, 'English had a respected place as an alternative literary and documentary language'.[42]

The Roman heritage made its influence felt more strongly on the Continent. As McKitterick notes, 'the emergence of lay and vernacular culture in the former Roman provinces of the Continent was expressed in the same language, namely Latin, as that of religion and administration'; in the Romance-speaking parts of the former Roman empire, 'Latin *was* the vernacular'.[43] This is one reason why comparatively few texts have survived in the early German vernaculars, Old High German and Old Saxon.[44] In geographical regions which had Latin as the language of education, politics and international communication, the vernacular was chiefly employed when its use provided practical advantages.[45] The following episode illustrates this. In 813, the canons of the Frankish reform councils showed an awareness of communication problems. The need to instruct those who were in the bishops' (and their clerics') care about 'the Catholic faith as far as they can understand it, about perpetual reward of the good and the eternal damnation of the evil, also about the future resurrection and the Last Judgement and by which merits one may be rewarded with a blessed life or by which [actions] one may be excluded' made it necessary to transfer sermons *in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Thiotiscam*, 'into the rustic Roman language or the Teutonic [language]'.[46] The adjective *rusticus* 'appears in specific contrast to the Latinity of the rest of the Church services', which was no longer comprehensible to all members of the congregation.[47]

Accordingly, we are able to trace sermons in local vernaculars from the ninth century onwards. The subjects and texts of reference did not differ widely

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42 Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society', pp. 51–2.
43 See the conclusion to McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy*, pp. 319–33, at p. 330.
44 C. Edwards, 'German Vernacular Literature. A Survey', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture. Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 141–70, at p. 141.
45 D. H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading. The Primary Reception of German Literature 800–1300* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 49–50.
46 *Concilia aevi Karolini (742–842)*, ed. A. Werminghoff, MGH Conc. 2.1 (Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1906), no. 38, *Concilium Turonense* [813], canon 17, p. 288.
47 R. Wright, *A Sociophilological Study of Latin*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), p. 120.

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from the traditional Latin ones, since their humble aim was to familiarise the 'uneducated' flock with scripture. Over the course of time, however, sermons *in vulgari* elaborated on the original Latin models, combining elements of Latin sermons with resources derived directly from the vernacular, its modes of expression and literature.[48] We may note that scholars and school practice did not ignore the vernacular completely, since it was the starting point for all who 'were to be educated in Latinity', and glosses and interlinear translations speeded up the reading and understanding of Latin texts.[49]

Carolingian learning – of clerics and laypeople alike – was centred on the Vulgate, an impressive illustration being the case of Dhuoda, an educated Frankish laywoman in the first half of the ninth century. She wrote a manual for her son and drew heavily on the Latin Bible (which she knew in Alcuin's recension), far more than all the other sources she relied on. She frequently quoted from, or alluded to, both Testaments, but above all the Old.[50] Notwithstanding the predominance of Latin, however, we find the beginnings of religious literature in the German vernacular at roughly the same time. The unknown author of the Old Saxon *Heliand* ('Saviour') composed a religious epic based on Tatian's *Diatessaron*. To make his subject more easily accessible to his audience, he ascribed to Christ the characteristics of a Germanic ruler.[51] Otfrid of Weissenburg, the author of the *Liber evangeliorum*, who described the life and passion of Christ in a narrative based on that of the Vulgate, was proud of his achievements but despised the vernacular at the same time.[52] He dedicated his poem to Louis the German, alluding to the necessity of putting the Christian Gospel into the vernacular to spread it further: 'For him I write this book . . . / Then here in these narratives he may hear the Gospel, / that Christ imposed on the Frankish people'.[53] The readers whom the anonymous author of the *Heliand* and Otfrid had in mind were provided with texts which were only to some extent dependent on their written sources, namely, the Gospels. The written vernacular had 'reached a

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48 M. Zink, 'La prédication en langues vernaculaires', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 489–516.

49 Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, p. 53.

50 *Handbook for William. A Carolingian Woman's Counsel for her Son, by Dhuoda*, trans. C. Neel (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

51 M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe a.d. 500 to 900*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1957), pp. 376–7; and see Gow in this volume, p. 203.

52 *Liber evangeliorum*, ch. 1, lines 31–4, in *Otfrids Evangelienbuch*, ed. O. Erdmann, 3rd edn, rev. L. Wolff, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 49 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957), p. 12; and see Edwards, 'German Vernacular Literature', p. 142.

53 *Ad Ludowicum*, lines 87–90, in *Otfrids Evangelienbuch*. Translation based on Edwards, 'German Vernacular Literature', p. 156.

point of autonomy',[54] which in the following centuries was to be developed ever further in different social contexts.

The meaning of literacy to different groups

Medieval societies depended on the written word in many respects; it became indispensable when religious matters were concerned. Christianity as a religion founded on the written and the spoken word was inseparably linked to its scriptures and its written traditions. Nevertheless, notes Clanchy, 'literate habits and assumptions, comprising a literate mentality, had to take root in diverse social groups and areas of activity before literacy could grow or spread beyond a small class of clerical writers'.[55]

New developments which emerged in the wake of the papal reform of the eleventh century were driven by a quest for ways of life conforming to the Gospel. The faithful were encouraged to follow its precepts and the examples of the apostles; they were urged to leave their material possessions behind and to focus exclusively on Christ's life and teaching. This resulted not only in the foundation of new monastic orders and communities; it generally changed the attitudes towards listening to and reading the scriptures in western societies. While in religious houses, schools and universities texts of various kinds had sustained the intellectual life, 'among the laity, reading for purposes of devotion, information, or amusement, was a steadily growing practice' from the twelfth century onwards.[56]

Within religious communities, the ability to read (albeit not to write) had always been of overwhelming importance to the performance of liturgical obligations.[57] Additionally, there were other elements of community life which required this faculty: reading was deeply engrained in the fabric of religious daily routine. Therefore religious men and women were generally literate if they were fully professed and performed choir duties. Monks and friars, nuns and mendicant sisters were confronted with biblical texts and devotional texts based on the Bible whenever they sang or recited the Divine Office or read during mealtimes, chapter meetings, hours of work and times of private contemplation. Nevertheless, what they were actually

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54 Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, p. 53.
55 Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 185.
56 Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy', p. 98.
57 Ibid., p. 111; T. de Hemptinne, 'Reading, Writing, and Devotional Practices. Lay and Religious Women and the Written Word in the Low Countries (1350–1550)', in T. de Hemptinne and M. E. Góngora (eds.), *The Voice of Silence. Women's Literacy in a Men's Church* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 111–26, at p. 121.

able to access depended on their language abilities and the state of their libraries. During the Middle Ages, the approach to Latin literacy changed significantly. Whereas until the twelfth century books in monastic libraries were predominantly written in Latin, writings in the vernaculars from then on gathered momentum. The traditional monastic communities and the new orders at first stuck to Latin as the standard language for all matters religious, however; Benedictine monks and nuns, Cistercians, both male and female, and canons regular and canonesses – to give only some examples – preserved the traditional ecclesiastical language, since it was revered as the language of the Vulgate and the liturgy. The remnants of their libraries mirror this predilection, varying, however, according to the communities' specific focuses.[58]

Female religious

Subsequent developments become particularly obvious if one looks into the situation of the communities' female branches. Well-educated Benedictine nuns like Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179) or Herrad of Landsberg (d. 1195, the author of the encyclopaedic work *Hortus deliciarum*), both firmly grounded in biblical and liturgical matters, never doubted the status of Latin as the official language of their religion.[59] For the thirteenth-century Dominican author of the Unterlinden 'Sister-Book' – herself capable of writing Latin but otherwise deeply steeped in the different approach of her own order – being Latin-literate and well instructed was synonymous with being a Benedictine nun. She writes about Sister Hedwig of Steinbach: 'She, from her earliest years onwards educated in the monastery of Steinbach, of St Benedict's order, afterwards however transferred to our convent, . . . did a great deal of work on us. She first introduced us to the knowledge of the holy scriptures and quite diligently instructed us in singing the divine office.'[60] Similarly, canonesses preserved the instructions, originally issued at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (816), the *Institutio sanctimonialium*, requiring canonesses to study the Bible intensively. The latter followed the most ancient

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58 See, for example, K. Christ, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*, trans. and ed. T. M. Otto, rev. A. Kern (Metuchen, NJ, and London: Scarecrow, 1984), pp. 198–207, 275–6, and *passim*.

59 See C. Muessig, 'Learning and Mentoring in the Twelfth Century. Hildegard of Bingen and Herrad of Landsberg', in G. Ferzoco and C. Muessig (eds.), *Medieval Monastic Education* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), pp. 87–103.

60 'Les "Vitae sororum" d'Unterlinden. Édition critique du manuscrit 508 de la bibliothèque de Colmar', ed. J. Ancelet-Hustache, *Archives d'Histoire Littéraire et Doctrinale du Moyen Age* 4 (1930), 317–509, at p. 365.

tradition concerning religious women's education by inserting Jerome's letter to Laeta into their statutes; his instructions centred on the study of the Bible.[61]

The overall situation changed during the twelfth century, and religious women generally increased the number of vernacular texts they put into their libraries.[62] This tendency was particularly strong among the female branches of the new mendicant orders; similarly, the growing number of hermits and recluses, as well as Beguines and Beghards, generally preferred the vernacular from the very beginning. Until the monastic reform movements of the fifteenth century took over, the Benedictine and Cistercian nuns also increasingly relied on vernacular texts. Then, however, at least in central Europe, a kind of north–south divide opened up. Whereas the northern reform convents tried to give their members better access to the Latin Bible and the Latin tradition (chiefly by having already trained the novices), female houses further south accepted the predominance of the vernacular outside the choir.[63] In the Cistercian convents of Kirchheim am Ries and Lichtenthal, for example, we find libraries which – as was often the case – were extended after the introduction of strict observance and mainly contained books in the vernacular.[64] Apart from liturgical texts, whose language of course remained Latin, the sisters provided not only devotional texts for private prayers in the vernacular, but also included all kinds of biblical material (translations, excerpts and adaptations) in their book collections, to make provision for their daily routine as fixed in the communities' statutes.[65] A different situation again is found among the members of northern Benedictine and Cistercian houses,[66] and the canonesses of Windesheim, female representatives of the *Devotio moderna*. The latter were very well instructed in Latin in order to give

61 *Concilia aevi Karolini (742–842)*, vol. I, ed. Worminghoff, ch. 22, pp. 452–4.
62 D. N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries*, Cistercian Studies Series 158 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 75–6; A. Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles. Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), pp. 171–5.
63 E. Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung. Die Lebenswelt der Nonnen im späten Mittelalter. Mit einer Edition des 'Konventstagebuchs' einer Zisterzienserin von Heilig-Kreuz bei Braunschweig (1484– 1507)*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation, NS 24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), p. 272.
64 A. Schromm, *Die Bibliothek des ehemaligen Zisterzienserinnenklosters Kirchheim am Ries. Buchpflege und geistiges Leben in einem schwäbischen Frauenstift*, Studia Augustana 9 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 58–9, 86–88; G. Stamm, 'Klosterreform und Buchproduktion. Das Werk der Schreib- und Lesemeisterin Regula', in H. Siebenmorgen (ed.), *Faszination eines Klosters. 750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Lichtenthal* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995), pp. 63–70.
65 Stamm, 'Klosterreform und Buchproduktion', p. 64.
66 Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, pp. 148, 273–81.

them full access to Latin literature, especially the Bible, and even to enable them to converse in that language.[67]

From their very foundation, the female branches of the mendicant orders never expected their members to acquire more Latin than they needed to perform their liturgical duties. Since they had no part in the orders' responsibilities in the universities, in pastoral care and preaching, sisters did not need to study theological literature. An illustration is provided by the development of the Dominican constitutions. Whereas the 1250 constitutions for the order's *Francia* province recommended that sisters learn Latin grammar in order to understand what was said during Mass and the Divine Office, any allusion to this point is omitted from the final constitutions of 1259, which were to be adopted by the female houses all over Europe. It is remarkable that the author of both versions was – most probably – the same person, the fifth master general Humbert of Romans.[68] Consequently, the women wrote, read and collected books preferably in the vernacular.

The lack of knowledge of Latin implies that most women did not understand readings from the Vulgate word by word. They relied therefore on texts which provided biblical matters in different contexts; Green distinguishes 'literature of religious worship and instruction', 'biblical literature' and 'legends'.[69] The *biblica* the women had command of were often a combination of paraphrase, which was occasionally poetical, and interpretations or summaries of biblical histories. We find proper translations only rarely in their libraries (after 1350, when translations of biblical books became more common). In this respect, we have comparable situations among female religious all over Europe. In England, convent libraries were not so very different from their Continental counterparts – with the exception that French and Middle English texts coexisted in the libraries.[70] The most common Latin books we find in the libraries of nunneries and convents are liturgical ones like breviaries and psalters, books the women needed to fulfil their obligations in respect of worship and divine service.

If we compare the situation of the Beguines with what has been said so far about other female religious communities, we find similar circumstances. The importance of Latin recedes even further, however, since Beguines did

[67] W. Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries. The 'Modern Devotion', the Canonesses of Windesheim and their Writings* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 41–7.
[68] M.-L. Ehrenschwendtner, *Die Bildung der Dominikanerinnen in Süddeutschland vom 13–15. Jahrhundert*, Contubernium 60 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), p. 125.
[69] Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading*, pp. 204–7.
[70] M. C. Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 31–47.

not have the extensive liturgical obligations of nuns or mendicant sisters. Beguines who were not literate – and the rules of Beguine communities distinguish between those who were literate and those who were not – were simply advised to recite the *Ave Maria* and *Pater noster* at services; literate Beguines were required to use their psalters. Some Beguine communities required their members to be able to say by heart the *Credo in Deum*, *Ave Maria*, *Confiteor*, *Miserere*, Benediction and Grace.[71] Their education and knowledge were more or less exclusively rooted in the vernacular tradition, secular as well as devotional and biblical. Among them we find some exceptional writers using their native languages, for example Hadewijch (fl. 1240), Mechthild of Magdeburg (d. 1285/91) and Marguerite Porete (d. 1310).[72] The Beguines' learning and education matched – at least in general – the requirements which lay brothers and lay sisters of mendicant communities, the so-called third orders, had to fulfil. These similarities are quite obvious if we keep in mind that the lifestyle of the Beguines' male counterparts, commonly called Beghards, was likened sometimes to that of the lay brethren of the Dominicans and Franciscans.[73]

Laypeople

There are similarities also with those lay brothers and sisters inside monastic communities whose existence was closely linked to manual labour and the menial tasks of community life. They usually did not achieve the spiritual insights to which some Beguines aspired. Generally the regulations found in the 'Usages of the Cistercian lay brothers' applied to all lay members of the different communities: 'No one is to have a book or learn anything except the *Pater noster* and the *Credo in Deum*, and the *Miserere mei, Deus*, and this not from a written text, but only by heart.'[74] Similar regulations were valid among other groups, especially female religious. Nevertheless, we occasionally find well-educated lay sisters who entered a convent only at a later stage in life.[75] The wealthy Nuremburg widow Katharina Tucher

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71 W. Simons, '"Staining the Speech of Things Divine". The Uses of Literacy in Medieval Beguine Communities', in de Hemptinne and Góngora (eds.), *The Voice of Silence*, pp. 85–110, at pp. 106–7.

72 See, for instance, E. A. Petroff (ed.), *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

73 E. W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture, with Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene* (New Brunswick, NJ: Octagon Books, 1954), p. 261.

74 *Cistercian Lay Brothers. Twelfth Century Usages with Related Texts. Latin Text with Concordance of Latin Terms, English Translations and Notes*, ed. C. Waddell, Commentarii Cistercienses. Studia et Documenta 10 (Nuits-Saint-Georges: Abbaye de Cîteaux, 2000), p. 182.

75 Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung*, pp. 100–2.

(d. 1448), who joined the city's Dominican convent after her husband's death and bequeathed her private library to her community, was such a lay sister. Her book collection, already assembled when she was still in the 'world', was typical of a contemporary layman's library and gave her a solid grounding in biblical and spiritual knowledge. Two of her manuscripts are directly related to the Bible – a harmony of the four Gospels and a history Bible containing Old Testament stories.[76]

Why were the lay members of various communities – unlike Beguines and Beghards – kept from reading and accordingly from direct access to the Bible? Their function was different from what was expected from choir monks and nuns, friars and choir sisters. Whereas these had to learn what was necessary to fulfil their obligations in the church's spiritual life, lay members were not to be distracted from their functions within the communities, usually relating to household or farm work. The position of the Beguines, like that of the members of the mendicant *Penitentes*, was different. They chose – often out of their own free will – a more independent lifestyle which allowed combining (often charitable) activity with spiritual pursuits; being literate was vital for facilitating the latter.

From the twelfth century onwards a steadily growing number of laypeople became literate throughout Christian Europe; M. B. Parkes has called them 'cultivated reader[s]', their literacy being the 'literacy of recreation'.[77] Among the books they commissioned, read and collected was a large number of secular and devotional works written in the vernacular. The nobility started this development, but it soon extended to the growing middle classes, who used their literacy not only for business purposes but also 'for edification and delight'. Thus the author of the *Ménagier de Paris*, advising his young wife about her duties and proper apparel and behaviour, recommended her to read 'the Bible, the *Golden Legend*, the Apocalypse, the *Life of the Fathers*, and divers other good books in French which I have and whereof you are mistress and free to take them at your pleasure'.[78] The context suggests that the author had assembled quite a substantial library, containing at least several books of a devotional nature in the vernacular, with biblical texts featuring prominently among them. In this, his book collection resembles that of the Nuremberg

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76 *Die 'Offenbarungen' der Katharina Tucher*, ed. U. Williams and W. Williams-Krapp, Unter-suchungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte 98 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 13–23.

77 Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', pp. 555, 565.

78 *The Goodman of Paris (Le Ménagier de Paris). A Treatise on Moral and Domestic Economy by a Citizen of Paris c. 1393*, trans E. Power (London: Routledge, 1928; repr. London: Folio Society, 1992), p. 63.

Dominican Katharina Tucher. The widespread literary interests mirrored in their books demonstrate the religious self-confidence of contemporary laypersons. The city environment enabled them to acquire books for private reading according to their spiritual interests, based on the knowledge they obtained from vernacular literature.[79]

The Bible as focus of the Christian faith played, of course, a prominent role in the laity's religious education. Nevertheless, outright translations of the Bible, as a whole or in parts, were not widespread and were often seen as quite problematic because of the fears of 'heresy'.[80] Biblical histories and essential teachings, however, appeared in different genres of devotional literature and could thus be easily absorbed by laypeople, often giving them a profound knowledge of central Christian issues.[81] The vernacular literacy of laypeople – especially with regard to the Bible and its translations – aroused suspicion among clerics and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who feared to lose control over the belief-systems of their flocks. This was certainly not without reason. Unauthorised interpretations of biblical texts by laypeople were often connected with heterodox propositions which were vehemently opposed by the representatives of the church. From Late Antiquity, with the case of the Arian Bible translation of Ulfilas, to the end of the Middle Ages, 'heresy' was regularly connected with vernacular translations giving laypeople easy access to the otherwise not easily accessible Bible: 'Naïve unquestioning belief in authoritative sacred texts without profound theological education' was a criticism raised against various religious communities from the eleventh century onwards.[82] Waldensians, Cathars, Lollards, heterodox Beguines and Beghards and Hussites relied extensively on translations of biblical texts into the vernacular, since their ability to read – as far as it went – was closely connected to their mother tongue.[83] Even if some of their adherents possessed a little knowledge of Latin it would not have been sufficient to read and understand the text of the Vulgate with ease.

It should not be overlooked, however, that the simpler members of a heterodox community were often not literate at all and, being embedded in

79 Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', pp. 569–70.
80 See Sneddon in this volume, pp. 257–9, and Gow, pp. 198–9.
81 H. Kuhn, 'Versuch über das fünfzehnte Jahrhundert in der deutschen Literatur', in H. U. Gumbrecht (ed.), *Literatur in der Gesellschaft des Spätmittelalters*, Begleitreihe zum Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters 1 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1980), pp. 19–38, at pp. 28–9.
82 A. Patschovsky, 'The Literacy of Waldensianism from Valdes to c. 1400', in P. Biller and A. Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 112–36, at p. 118.
83 See Biller and Hudson (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy*, passim.

an overall oral culture, recited central biblical texts by heart. Only the 'spiritual and organisational elite of the community was literate, and sometimes even highly literate', notes Patschovsky.[84] The reaction of the authorities was the obvious one. They made attempts to bar unauthorised persons from access to the Bible by prohibiting or hindering translations into the vernaculars, since they were well aware that the growing literacy of laypeople implied also a growing interest in reading scripture themselves without ecclesiastical mediation.[85] However, even prohibitions like the one Archbishop Thomas Arundel of Canterbury issued in 1409 for England, restricting the circulation of vernacular scripture, could not reverse the widening of access to biblical texts and the deepening knowledge of the Bible among laypeople, culminating in the momentous religious changes of the sixteenth century.

84 'The Literacy of Waldensianism', p. 134.
85 See, for instance, M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 1920).

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The Bible and canon law

GERALD BRAY

The early canon law

Few things are more firmly rooted in the Middle Ages than the church's canon law. It is true that medieval society produced universities, parliaments and secular legal systems, but these have developed in ways which make the originals hard to recognise now. Canon law on the other hand, acquired its classical shape by about 1350 and despite subsequent developments, still remains closely tied to it.[1] Secularisation has pushed it to the margins of modern life, but within the church it retains its traditional role, and it is not unusual for ancient precepts and examples to be cited even today as valid principles for modern use.

Canon law came into being because the church needed rules to govern its internal life and define its relationship to wider society.[2] The question of who should be permitted to minister in the church's name (and at what level), the administration of the sacraments and the regulation of spiritual matters, including such things as divorce and defamation of character, formed the core issues around which a body of legal principles and precedents was developed. To them were added matters dealing with church finance, the rights and duties of the clergy in relation to secular society and the rules of procedure used in the church courts. As the power of the church increased in the Middle Ages, so its canon law reached more deeply into the lives of ordinary people so that, even after the church retreated from the secular sphere, its legal system left a deposit of principles and procedures which still influence western societies today.[3]

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1 See J. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London: Longman, 1995) and, for a more detailed treatment of the ethos governing canon law principles, R. H. Helmholz, *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996).
2 For the history of this process, see J. Gaudemet, *Les sources du droit de l'Église en Occident du IIe au VIIe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1985), and J. Gaudemet, *Les sources du droit canonique. VIIIe–XXe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1993).
3 See H. J. Berman, *Law and Revolution. The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983).

Historians of canon law generally divide it into two major periods, divided by the year 1140. Before that date, the law of the church was contained mainly in the canons of different church councils, the decrees of various popes (not all of them authentic) and sayings gleaned from the church fathers, who often quoted the Bible in support of their statements.[4] There is also a substantial amount of late Roman ecclesiastical legislation, found today mainly in the Codex Theodosianus (late fourth century) and in the *Corpus iuris civilis*, which is a compendium of the Digest and Codex of the Emperor Justinian I (527–65), along with the so-called *Novellae*, which continued to be produced into the eighth century.[5] It is difficult to say when the concept of a law for the church took root, and some scholars would trace the origins of canon law back to the New Testament itself. However it is generally accepted that canon law did not properly begin until after the legalisation of Christianity in the fourth century, when the church began to legislate in earnest and to attempt to define its place in secular society. It is from that time that the earliest canonical collections can be dated, and in the main they do no more than assemble the decrees of various popes and church councils. These decrees occasionally quote the Bible, but it cannot be said that they make a serious attempt to use it as the basis for their legislation, which normally dealt with questions which had not arisen in biblical times.

One early collection which stands out, precisely because it did try to develop a positive law based on biblical principles, was made in Ireland about 700 and is therefore known to us as the *Collectio Hibernensis*. Its sixty-seven chapters contain 326 quotations from the Bible (of which 217, or two thirds, come from the Old Testament), and these cover topics ranging from the priesthood to criminal procedure, civil obedience and the powers of the king as well as matters of what would now be called family law. Particularly noticeable is the way in which the biblical texts are used to establish what the law should be and not merely to support opinions based on other forms of reasoning. In this respect, the *Hibernensis* and another short treatise on the law of Moses, also of Irish provenance and very similar in approach, stand in sharp contrast to the so-called False Decretals, composed about 850 from a mixture of authentic and inauthentic sources, where the Bible is frequently cited as evidence to back up an argument but seldom if ever allowed to determine what the legal agenda should be. The most famous example of this is the use which the Decretals

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4 See J. Gaudemet, 'La Bible dans les collections canoniques', in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 4 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 371–84.
5 A good modern translation of *The Digest of Justinian* was produced by Alan Watson and published in two volumes by the University of Philadelphia Press (Philadelphia, PA, 1998).

make of Matt. 16:18 in defence of papal primacy, an argument which was to become classic in later times but which was clearly read into the gospel passage rather than out of it.

As time went on, the impulse to study the ancient canons increased and several different collections were made. The best of these were the one put together by Burchard of Worms (1008–12) and the one by Ivo of Chartres (1093–4), both of which were circulated far and wide. In the eastern Orthodox church, a collection was made by the patriarch Photius of Constantinople (867–70; 880–6), and this was later developed and commented on by John Zonaras (c. 1080–1150) and Theodore Balsamon (d. after 1195). Both of these can be found in J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.[6] Unlike the western church(es), the eastern Orthodox church has not developed its canon law as a systematic discipline, though each national church has its own set of canons and rules which it applies today. These are drawn from the traditions recorded by Zonaras and Balsamon, with such adaptations and adjustments as may be necessitated by circumstances. There is a possibility that a future pan-Orthodox council may try to codify the canon law as the western churches have done, but to date there has been no progress on that front.

The achievement of Gratian

In the western church, the early canonical collections were important sources for the church's law, but their usefulness was limited by the fact that they were not properly systematised and therefore contained a number of discrepancies and contradictions which arose from their very diverse origins.[7] This problem was tackled about the year 1140 by an obscure Italian monk called Gratian, who lectured at Bologna. His *Concordance of Discordant Canons*, more familiarly known as the *Decretum*, never acquired official status in the church, but rapidly imposed itself as a universal standard and forms the basis of what we now regard as canon law. Gratian followed earlier writers – about a third of his canons come from Ivo of Chartres – but he edited his material in a more coherent way and added a great deal of his own commentary to it, so as to resolve the apparent contradictions and provide a coherent system of law for the church's everyday needs. The *Decretum* falls into three separate parts, of which the first consists of 101 'distinctions' or legal topics which the individual

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6 *PG* 137–8 (Paris, 1865).
7 Very little has been done about the use of the Bible in these collections, but see T. M. Izbicki, 'La Bible et les canonistes', in Riché and Lobrichon (eds.), *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, pp. 371–84, and P. Landau, 'Alttestamentliches Recht in der *Compilatio prima*', *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976), 113–33.

canons address. The second is a collection of case studies (the 'causes'), which illustrate the ways in which canon law can be applied to particular questions at issue. The third is a section devoted to the theme of consecration, and deals mainly with church matters, including the administration of the sacraments. Inserted into the second section is a long treatise on penitence, which is almost always treated separately and is sometimes regarded as a fourth section of the *Decretum*.

In his drive for greater systematisation Gratian found himself expounding the theoretical foundations of the church's law, which naturally led him to work out his own doctrine of scripture.[8] In common with the fathers of the church, Gratian believed that the Bible was the eternal word of God, and that it expressed the perfect natural law. What was contained in the law and the prophets was the will of God, limited in the Old Testament to the people of Israel but extended in the New to embrace the whole of mankind. In the process the dispositions of the law changed to meet different circumstances, but the underlying principles remained the same. In applying the Old Testament in particular, it was therefore necessary to look beyond the specific provisions of the Jewish law to see how it reflected the will of God and then work out how that same divine will could best be transposed into the daily life of Christendom.

Gratian began by making a distinction between the moral aspects of the law and what he termed the 'mystical' ones. The former include such things as the prohibitions against murder, adultery and theft, which are valid at all times and in all places. The second concern ritual practices associated with public worship, the Jewish food laws and so on. These 'mystical' precepts have been abolished as far as the letter of the law is concerned, but they nevertheless contain spiritual principles which must be discerned and reapplied in a Christian context. Gratian also maintained that civil law came into being after the fall of Adam, beginning with Cain and coming to fruition with Nimrod, whom he regarded as the first earthly king (Gen. 10:8). This history explains why the civil law is imperfect, since it was the creation of fallen men, which of course made it susceptible to reform according to the will of God expressed in his word.

The significance of these principles appears very clearly in the church's legislation regarding matrimony, where traditional practices frequently clashed with biblical ideals. The New Testament revoked the Mosaic law's provisions

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8 See G. Le Bras, 'Les Écritures dans le Décret de Gratien', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonische Abteilung* 58/3 (1938), 47–80, and R. H. Helmholz, 'The Bible in the Service of Canon Law', *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 (1995), 1557–81.

for divorce, its permission to put away a barren wife, the possibility of concubinage with a slave in order to obtain offspring and marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity. Gratian also made allowances for the biblical precept that some things which were lawful were not expedient, and should therefore be discouraged, like for example, the marriage of the clergy. Clerical celibacy was not specifically enjoined in the Bible, but the apostle Paul had recommended it as the better way, and so the canon law could impose penalties on those who failed to maintain it, even though they were strictly speaking within the bounds established by scripture. In cases like these, it was the duty of the canon law to promote what the Bible revealed as being the higher will of God and in so doing help Christians achieve a more perfect imitation of Christ.

Gratian's work contains no fewer than 1356 quotations from the Bible, of which 581 are from the Old Testament and 775 from the New. Just under two thirds of these come from the canons themselves, but the remaining 500 or so are Gratian's own contribution, which reflects a similar balance between Old and New Testament sources. This represents a much greater use of the New Testament than what we find in the *Codex Hibernensis*, which may be evidence that the new dispensation in Christ was making a greater impact on the law in the twelfth century than had been the case 400 years earlier, though great caution must be exercised in trying to evaluate the importance of statistics like these. Gratian's actual use of the Bible varied enormously from one distinction or cause to another, with subjects like heresy, simony and (above all) penitence attracting the greatest number of citations, which are taken from every part of scripture, though with preference being given to Psalms and the wisdom literature in the Old Testament and the Pauline Epistles in the New. The Pentateuch and the Gospels (except Mark) are also well represented, but the historical books of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse in the New are virtually ignored. This imbalance, if such it is, must be explained primarily by the nature of the subject at issue. For example, when discussing the question of to which church tithes ought to be paid, Gratian managed to cite no fewer than fourteen biblical texts, taken equally from both Testaments, though four come from Deuteronomy and another four from 1 Corinthians 9. Not all the verses he quoted are directly related to the subject, but they are all intended to shed light on the question in one way or another.

In dealing with ecclesiological matters, Gratian often began with scripture and regarded his discussion of the question as primarily a practical application

of the text.[9] This is particularly clear in Distinctions 25–48, which deal with different aspects of ordination and are based on the Pauline principles laid down in 1 Timothy and Titus. He also based his discussion of papal primacy (Distinctions 20–1) on the biblical texts traditionally invoked to support it. But Gratian was also capable of citing numerous biblical passages which illustrated practices of which he disapproved. For example, in Cause 24 he gave a long list of passages in which an entire family is punished for the sin of one of its members, only to conclude that such behaviour is wrong and ought to be forbidden! In this case it is fairly clear that Gratian could appeal to the abrogation of the Old Testament (from which the examples were taken) by the New, but such an easy solution was not possible when dealing with episodes in the life of Jesus, which caused embarrassment to the medieval lawmaker.

An interesting case of this can be found in Cause 1 (question 1, chapter 24). It was apparently claimed by some people that if Christ could work the miracle of healing Malchus' ear after being sold for thirty pieces of silver (Luke 22:50–1; John 18:10), the Holy Spirit could also work miracles after being sold – a logic used to justify charging for the sacraments. Gratian answered this by saying that Jesus did not work miracles for the benefit of those who had paid for him, but for an innocent man who had got caught up in the transaction through no fault of his own. For good measure, he added that at the time of his crucifixion, Jesus had interceded for those who (like Malchus) did not know what they were doing – not for those who were only too conscious of the significance of their actions. A modern reader is immediately struck by the absurd use of scripture to justify an immoral practice in the church, but it is interesting to note that Gratian managed to counter the abuse not by denying the hermeneutical validity of the argument but by showing that it failed to draw all the relevant conclusions from it. What we see here is Gratian's willingness to work within the allegorical tradition of scriptural interpretation, but in a way which effectively prevented the abuses to which it could be put by the unscrupulous.

This use of scripture extended to a critique of abuses which Gratian perceived in the medieval church. For example, he used both the sixth commandment (Exod. 20:13) and Jesus' saying that 'he who lives by the sword will perish by the sword' (Matt. 26:52) as proof that ordained clergy must not take up arms. He was also able to criticise the avarice of the bishops of his day by saying

9 See B. Tierney, '*Sola scriptura* and the Canonists', *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967), 347–66.

that they were not content to confess, with the ancient Levites, that the Lord was the portion of their inheritance (Ps. 15:5). He also pointed out that they had to pay secular taxes on their ill-gotten gains, because in this world they were subject to the demands of Caesar (Matt. 22:21; Rom. 13:7). At the same time, he could be remarkably conservative, as when he used Num. 5:12–28 as a precedent for casting doubt on whether the prohibitions of trial by ordeal by popes Gregory the Great and Stephen VI were all-encompassing. Gratian may not have wanted to reinstate such trials, but he was honest enough to recognise that their abolition was not as solidly grounded in biblical principles as some may have thought.

The subtlety with which Gratian used the Bible can perhaps best be seen in the ways in which he used it to decide questions relating to women. On the one hand, he upheld the rights of women by insisting that marriage vows must be voluntary, and quoted the example of the Virgin Mary in support of this position. He also used Matt. 19:9 in order to uphold the indissolubility of a marriage once solemnised (a judgement which, in the medieval context, was a form of protection for women who might otherwise be abandoned), and in the same spirit he used both John 8:7 and Luke 6:42 as evidence that a husband had no right to divorce his adulterous wife if he too were guilty of adultery. He also refused to accept the suggestion that the marriage of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11) could be used as a precedent for allowing a man to marry the widow of another man whom he had deliberately killed with that aim in mind. In that case, Gratian was saved by the allegorical interpretation of the incident as prefiguring the marriage of Christ (David) and the church (Bathsheba) which had previously been married to the devil, who had to be killed off! The exegesis is extraordinary, to say the least, but Gratian was able to make it work for the cause of justice as he saw it.

On the other hand, when Gratian was asked whether the testimony of a woman against a clergyman should be admitted in court, he replied that although women had indeed been judges in ancient Israel, this was part of the old law which had been abolished at the coming of Christ and replaced by a doctrine of wifely subordination to her husband (Eph. 5:22–3), which effectively prevented women from having a legal personality of their own. In this way, the practice of Roman law was upheld over against biblical precedents which might suggest something different, and the limitations of Gratian's use of scripture become clear.

To sum up, Gratian used the Bible not to fix the precepts of canon law in some immutable eternity, but to liberate them from such a fate. By developing the distinction between the natural law, given by God in the scriptures, and

the changing dispensations of that law over time (most clearly manifested in the abrogation of the Old Testament law by that of the New), Gratian was able to say that the canon law of the church was dispensational, not eternal, and that God himself had provided for alterations by creating the institution of the papacy with its universal jurisdiction and dispensing power. In other words, even when the practical consequences of legal evolution might lead to a departure from the letter of the biblical text, it was the Bible which provided the theoretical justification for this and which remained the unchanging testimony to the eternal will of God for his creatures.

The canon law after Gratian

Gratian's work was supplemented in due course by further collections, taken mainly from church councils and papal decrees and arranged under five principal headings – judicial officers (*iudex*), procedure in the courts (*iudicium*), the duties and status of the clergy (*clerus*), marriage and divorce (*connubium*) and finally various misdemeanours and the punishments appropriate for them (*crimen*). The first of these collections was made by Pope Gregory IX and published in 1234 as the *Liber extra*. It was followed by another, somewhat shorter anthology published by Pope Benedict VIII in 1298 (the *Liber sextus*) and then by still shorter additions made by Pope Clement V in 1313 (the *Clementines*) and Pope John XXII in 1334 (the *Extravagantes*). A further collection of *Extravagantes* was made independently about 1500 by Pierre Chapuis, who included them in his complete printed edition of the canons which we now call the *Corpus iuris canonici*. This collection retained its authority in the Roman Catholic church until 1917, when it was replaced by a new canon law code (itself replaced in 1983), though most of the Protestant churches rejected it at the time of the Reformation. A curious exception was the Church of England, where the canon law was frozen in 1535, pending the introduction of a new ecclesiastical code. This never happened, with the result that those parts of the *Corpus iuris canonici* which have not been superseded by subsequent legislation retain their authority in the English church, and (by extension) in other parts of the Anglican Communion.

In general, it has to be said that the use of the Bible in these later canons and decretals is considerably less than in Gratian. This was less apparent in areas where the subject matter itself came from the scriptures, and discussions of the sacraments and different orders of ministry inevitably leaned on biblical sources to a significant extent. Elsewhere, however, the impact of the Bible on canonical legislation declined, probably because as the legal system became

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more sophisticated, direct recourse to the Bible was much harder. Biblical principles were usually too general to have much influence on judgements dealing with specific cases, and biblical examples could usually be shown to be irrelevant (or inapplicable) to the issue at hand, once the mitigating circumstances were taken into account. The popes would continue to invoke scripture in their pronouncements, but seldom in a way which had any direct impact on what they said. By 1500 canon law and theology were separate disciplines which no longer influenced each other to any significant extent. The result was that as interest in the Bible increased among theologians, appreciation of the biblical basis of canon law did not, so that when conflict came it was relatively easy for them to dismiss the latter as fundamentally unbiblical.

This judgement was made all the easier because alongside the *Corpus iuris canonici* there grew up a huge body of judicial commentary, which formed the substance of canon law instruction in the universities and is just as important for our understanding of the law as the canons themselves. It has to be said that the influence of the canonists generally worked against that of the Bible, if only because they were inclined to interpret biblical references in the canons in ways which diminished or eliminated the practical application of what they said. Perhaps this was only to be expected, since if the text of scripture was clear and accepted as valid, no commentary was necessary, but it is easy to see how the sixteenth-century reformers could denounce the canonists in the terms which Jesus used of the Pharisees, claiming that they had made the word of God of no effect by their traditions.

In the development of the *Corpus iuris canonici* the role of the Bible was both fundamental and ambiguous. The medieval church operated in a world in which there were laws based on Roman imperial jurisprudence and laws rooted in ancient tribal customs, particularly in the Germanic north where Roman influence had not penetrated. However, in theological terms, both these kinds of law were non-Christian in origin. The Bible was to a great extent the law book of ancient Israel, given to the Jewish people by God so that they could live lives worthy of him. Jesus had transformed the Jewish law in two fundamental ways. By introducing such concepts as faith, hope and love into what might otherwise appear as a series of cold legal precepts with little spiritual relevance, he internalised it, making the fulfilment of the law a matter of conscience rather than of outward compliance with a set of rules. By proclaiming salvation for the Gentiles, he also universalised it, making things which could apply only to the life of a particular people in

ancient Palestine effectively redundant. But this could also happen to Gentile laws, as it did in the case of the Roman law of prescription. On the whole, the canonists were happy to take this over and apply it to the church, but they insisted that anyone who claimed possession of property on the ground of prescriptive right must do so in good faith, as befitted a Christian. This insistence went against Roman law, which recognised bad faith as valid in a number of specific instances. Here the canonists used the Bible to reform Roman legal practice, though it must be noted that the reform proceeded from a general principle and was not tied to specific examples. In other words, Roman law was Christianised where necessary; it was not supplanted by a new legal system based on the scriptures.

For the canonists, this created both problems and opportunities. Chief among the problems was the status of the Old Testament, which as the word of God was infallibly true, but which had been largely abrogated by Jesus and was in any case often inapplicable in a non-Jewish context. Also problematic was the relationship between grace and law in the New Testament. On the one hand, the canon lawyers had to defend notions of law against 'antinomians' who believed that spiritual impulses must be obeyed, however disruptive they might be to ordinary, everyday life. On the other hand, they also had to develop an understanding of the purpose for which laws were originally given and try to ensure that it was the spirit and not merely the letter of these laws which would prevail in judgements. It was in these problems that the canonists found their opportunities. Jesus' abrogation of God's ancient law in the name of overriding fundamental principles gave them the freedom to disregard inconvenient scriptural injunctions as long as the intentions behind those injunctions (which were left to the canonists to spell out) were honoured. In this way, most of the Old Testament and large parts of the New were either disregarded completely or else used primarily as examples of how another society had handled such things as inheritance, property rights, slavery and so on in ways which were no longer applicable.

A good example of this can be found in the way in which they handled incidences of blasphemy. The Bible obviously had a good deal to say about this, and it was frequently commented on. The difficulty was that the punishment for the crime was death by stoning (2 Sam. 12:14) which the canonists felt was far too extreme. They themselves never went beyond punishments such as fines or flogging, but they used the biblical evidence to underline the seriousness of the offence, something which in itself made imposing punishment for it possible in the first place. In defence of this apparent leniency,

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they argued that a strict application of the biblical law would decimate the population!

So far did this tendency towards 'reinterpretation' go that it was not unusual for a canonist to quote the Bible (and especially the Old Testament) specifically in order to demonstrate its inapplicability to the Christian community. Quite often questions relating to inheritance, property rights and the like would be illustrated from ancient Jewish examples on the understanding that these were meant to show how other people in different circumstances had resolved the difficulties posed by the subject matter under discussion, but on the understanding that their solutions could not be ours because the context had changed. This was even true of the New Testament, which also spoke to a society that no longer existed and whose precepts therefore had to be adjusted accordingly. None of this was intended to diminish the authority of scripture, which was thought to contain immutable divine principles which were actually intended by God to be applied in different ways according to conditions prevailing at any given time. The canon law was not divine or eternal in itself; rather it was the temporal (and temporary) application of divine laws and therefore remained open to constant change and improvement. Fortunately, the canonists argued, God had provided for this situation by giving the church a presiding judge – the bishop of Rome – whose duty and privilege it was to determine how the divine law should be applied in any given circumstance. Contrary to what many Protestants were later to think, this did not give the pope the right to overturn scripture; only the right to reinterpret it as required. This might indeed involve going against the letter of the biblical text, but only in order to maintain the underlying principle(s) which the text proclaimed.

Neither the papacy nor the canonists could claim absolute hermeneutical freedom, and in some important respects they did their best to ensure that biblical principles were applied to practical legal situations. It was faithfulness to the Bible which drove them to press for important modifications to their inheritance of Roman or Germanic tribal laws in cases where these were contradicted by biblical precepts which no Christian could ignore. This was especially apparent in the realm of matrimony, where the canonists insisted on abolishing divorce and giving each party to a marriage the right to refuse a partner not freely chosen by him or her. To a culture where divorce had been a simple affair and where parental wishes were usually decisive in matrimonial matters, such changes were far-reaching and did much to create a society in which biblical notions of the worth of the individual and of the basic equality of the sexes were turned into principles of law. To put it another way, 'human

rights' as we now understand them owe much to the vision of the canonists in applying the teachings of the Bible to the practical matters of everyday life.

It is at the level of fundamental theological principle that the influence of the Bible on canon law is most apparent. The canonists themselves interpreted the reaction of God to Adam's disobedience in the garden of Eden in ways which demonstrated that the rule of law (as they understood it) was rooted in creation. Adam was not condemned without being given a fair hearing first, even though God obviously knew what he had done. The law itself was rehearsed, as was the penalty for breaking it, but when Adam confessed he was given a lesser punishment (expulsion from the garden as opposed to immediate death) as an example of how justice ought to be tempered with mercy. The whole story became an argument for due process, even in cases where the defendant was manifestly guilty. The covenant made with Abraham was clearly a legal transaction, and one moreover which was revived and reworked in the New Testament. The apostle Paul's insistence that it had to be interpreted as a relationship based on faith, not on ceremonial works like circumcision, was paradigmatic for the interpretation of almost everything in the Old Testament, which could be allegorised away as indicative of a mystical relationship with God which is now worked out in quite different ways. At the same time, the Old Testament also contained moral precepts which were not abrogated by Jesus – on the contrary, he extended them and increased the demands they made on believers. For example, the command not to kill which was given to Moses was interpreted by Jesus as applying to hatred in the heart for others, which was just as murderous as the physical act. The canonists were therefore driven to divide the Old Testament law into moral principles which were intensified, and 'mystical' ones which were abolished and reinterpreted. This distinction was carried over and theologised by the Protestant reformers, who declared that the 'mystical' or ceremonial law was abolished in Christ whereas the moral law was retained and strengthened along the lines already mentioned.

It must, however, be said that this way of reading the Bible was open to abuse, as occurred in the interpretation commonly given to Matt. 18:15–17. In that passage, Jesus tells his disciples to warn a trespasser privately first, and if he failed to mend his ways, to report him to the authorities. This came to be known as 'evangelical denunciation', a standard procedure in the canon law courts and one which helped to make the task of the later Inquisition that much easier.

On balance, it must be said that the canonists recognised the authority of the Bible in principle but knew how to adapt it in practice to what they saw

as the needs of the moment. In doing this, they did not intend to undermine the status of the Bible, but ultimately to reinforce it by finding ways in which it could be credibly applied in the church. In doing this, they became pioneers of what we would now call 'contextualised heremeneutics' and in this respect their methods and conclusions are still of interest today.

The Qurʾān and the Bible

ANGELIKA NEUWIRTH

The Qurʾānic text transmitted to us betrays a peculiar composition, essentially different from that of both the Hebrew Bible – which relates salvation history through a roughly chronological sequence of events – and the Gospels, which narrate the life of Christ and the emergence of the earliest Christian community. The Qurʾān does not present a continuous narrative of the past, but, in its early texts, conjures the future (the imminent day of judgement), while later entering into a debate with various interlocutors about the implementation of monotheist scripture in the present. It consists of 114 text units, known as suras, which vary in length from two-sentence statements to lengthy polythematic communications. These suras are arranged roughly according to their length; the longest suras are placed first, with the shorter ones generally following in order of decreasing length.

Though we possess manuscript evidence only from the last third of the seventh century, the most plausible hypothesis is that the texts in the transmitted Qurʾānic corpus do reflect, more or less faithfully, the wording of communications that were actually pronounced by the Prophet during his ministry in Mecca (610–22 CE) and subsequently Medina (622–32).[1] The strikingly mechanical composition of the corpus betrays both a conservative and a theologically disinterested attitude on the part of the redactors, which fits best with a very early date of redaction. Though the view upheld in Islamic tradition – that the Prophet's recitations were fixed already some twenty-five years after his death by the third caliph, ʿUthmān (644–56), thereby forming the corpus we have before us – cannot be positively proven, there is no evidence to contradict it.

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1 See, for a comprehensive introduction to the genesis and structure of the Qurʾān, A. Rippin (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Qurʾān* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) and A. Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike. Ein europäischer Zugang* (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2010). A most successful modern translation has been provided by T. Khalidi, *The Qurʾān* (London: Penguin, 2008).

Despite its peculiarities, the Qurʾān is often understood to be the Bible of the Muslim community, not only since it obviously occupies in Islam a place comparable to that of the Bible in Judaism and Christianity, but also in view of many textual – semantic and structural – features that it shares with the Bible. Most of the Qurʾānic figures have a biblical prehistory and the major Qurʾānic narratives retell the stories of Adam, Noah, Abraham and Lot, Joseph, Moses, Pharaoh, Mary and Jesus, as well as Iblīs (a figure subsequently identified with Satan). Further biblical figures remain more marginal, such as David and Solomon, the queen of Sheba, the wife of Potiphar and King Saul. Others, again, appear without a narrative frame, in order to fill a genealogical gap (such as Isaac and Jacob) or to give an established genealogy a new course (like Ishmael). Though populated by a few extra-biblical figures from ancient Arabian lore, the Qurʾānic scenario is peopled predominantly with biblical figures.

In terms of structure, the Qurʾān likewise reflects the biblical genres. Not unlike the Bible, its spectrum entails narratives, hymns, prayers, wisdom apophthegmata, homiletic addresses and legislative pronunciations. In contrast with the Bible, however, these are not distributed over separate 'books' but rather constitute generically mixed ensembles within single shorter text units, called suras. The sura, a textual type not known outside the Qurʾān, should be viewed as a major Qurʾānic innovation. Its shape and development are significant indicators of both the new objective that the Qurʾānic scripture pursues and the peculiar setting from which the Qurʾān emerged.

The orally communicated message and the codified text

We are accustomed to understanding the Qurʾān as the 'Islamic text' *par excellence*. Historically speaking, however, this view is not at all justified. Before rising to the rank of the founding document of Islam, the Qurʾān was, for more than twenty years, an oral communication. Its message was not yet addressed to Muslims – who would become such only by adopting the Qurʾānic communication as their scripture – but to pre-Islamic listeners who might best be described as Late Antique religiously educated persons (be they pagans or pious people familiar with monotheist tradition). This fact is usually neglected in modern scholarship, which over the last decades has focused on the Qurʾān as an historical event in early Islamic history, manifest in the written text, rather than exploring its oral 'prehistory', or the sequence of messages pronounced by a speaker (Muḥammad) while addressing a public

(his emerging community). This primary concern with the codified text as a fait accompli may be justified by modern scholars' desire to overcome what had been the prevailing philological-historical search for an 'urtext'. It is, however, highly problematic, since it involves the risk of a teleological interpretation of the Qurʾānic texts.

The difference between the oral and the written texts can hardly be overestimated. The transmitted text is a fixed, 'frozen' text, a codex (*muṣḥaf*), that presents the single text units (suras) juxtaposed, unconnected to each other, regardless of the dynamic relation they had maintained during the Prophet's ministry. In that communication process, the oral texts – in the Qurʾān itself termed *qurʾān*, meaning 'reading' or 'text to be recited' – built on one another, with the later ones sometimes presenting revisions, amplifications or interpretations of previously communicated ones. The Qurʾānic intertextuality is, however, no longer effective in the *muṣḥaf*, where the temporal sequence of the communications is beyond the text's scope. The transmitted arrangement of the suras, presented regardless of their chronology, makes an immediately historical reading of the Qurʾān impossible.

The achronological final shape that hides the process of communication also suppresses the Qurʾān's textual referentiality. The oral Qurʾān is made up of those discourses that were successively debated within the circles of its listeners. It may be loosely compared to a telephone conversation in which the speech of only one party is audible, yet the silent speech of the other is not totally absent, but roughly deducible from that which is heard. Indeed, the social concerns and theological debates of the Qurʾān's listeners are widely reflected in the text pronounced by the Prophet's voice.

A text from Late Antiquity

As a scripture that emerged in Late Antiquity, the Qurʾān responds to multiple developments that had occurred after the closure of the earlier scriptures and therefore brought about substantial theological change. The most significant of these developments was the inclusion of a hypostasis of the divine word (logos) beyond scripture, among the divine self-manifestations. The Qurʾān thus emerged in an age already imprinted by Christian thought. At the same time, the Qurʾānic community – during their Medinan phase of development (622–32) – came close to the living Jewish exegetical tradition, another challenge to which the Qurʾān responds. Both Christian and Jewish traditions form an almost continuous web of intertexts underlying the text.

As a consequence, although uniquely speech-centred and unframed by any narrative scenario, the Qurʾān is not only a mantic communication but at the same time a highly discursive text. It often entails a meta-discourse, a speech about speech, be it a comment on parts of the Qurʾānic message itself or – more frequently – on earlier traditions. This text-referentiality is hardly surprising: in biblical tradition, sages (indeed, scriptural interpreters in general) had already some centuries before taken over part of the ancient prophet's role. For, to quote James Kugel, 'if the word of the Lord was no longer reliably spoken by chosen messengers sent directly to Israel, it was because that word had already been set down in writing, in the great library of divine wisdom that Scripture had become'.[2] Similarly to the biblical sages, the Qurʾānic speaker continuously refers to the earlier scriptures, adapting them to the epistemic horizons of his audience. And yet the overall shape of the Qurʾānic expression is presented as spontaneous prophetic speech, a mode which in the Arabian peninsula – unlike in Israel – seems to have survived into Late Antiquity. Muḥammad therefore should be regarded as both a prophet in the antique style and an interpreter of tradition, an exegete in the vein of later sages.

It is no strong exaggeration, then, to classify the Qurʾān – in addition to its being prophecy – as 'exegesis'. Viewed in terms of its contents, the Qurʾān is interpretation and rephrasing of well-known biblical and post-biblical traditions, while viewed in terms of its form it is – despite its richness of literary genres – largely apologetic-polemical debate. It has early been acknowledged by Islamic critics that the Qurʾān, as an oral communication, involved listeners whose linguistic and ideological expectations operated as the parameter of the persuasiveness of the Prophet's speech. Such an awareness of this dramatic character of the Qurʾān's first communication is, however, almost totally absent from both Islamic and western Qurʾānic scholarship, where the Qurʾān is taken not as the transcript of an orally performed, open-ended drama, but rather as a written, premeditated corpus of prophetical sayings.

Scholarly insights and misconceptions

Whereas in Islamic tradition it was the fact of canonisation that, through its amnaesiac effect on the erstwhile rivalling traditions, blurred the preceding process of communication, in western scholarship it was a narrow textual focus that marginalised the preceding oral process of negotiation. Critical

2 J. L. Kugel, *The Bible as it Was*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1998), p. 17.

Qurʾānic scholarship started in nineteenth-century Germany with Abraham Geiger's pioneering work from 1833, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* ('What did Muhammad borrow from Judaism?').[3] Geiger, however, did not yet stand on the firm ground of well-developed Arabic studies but, with his investigation, submitted a text to historical analysis that had in western scholarship never been recognised as a literary artefact. Contrarily, western scholarly preoccupation with the Bible had, prior to the adoption of critical approaches, already crystallised into a highly sophisticated theology whose theoretical potential had further been increased by the dramatic revisions it underwent during the Reformation and the Enlightenment. The Bible was thus familiar in virtually all its facets of meaning when that epistemic revolution – to which modern scholars refer as a 'major break in biblical studies': the introduction of historical-critical scholarship in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – occurred. It was then, to quote Robert J. Wilken, that 'Biblical scholarship acquired a life of its own as a historical enterprise independent of the church and of the synagogue'.[4]

What may be viewed as a critical turning point and innovation in biblical studies was thus, in western Qurʾānic scholarship, neither a turn nor a renewal, but the very beginning. The Qurʾān had been virtually unknown to the western scholarly public when it was submitted to the newly developed approach of historical-critical research. It is true that in Muslim scholarship, at approximately the same time, critical attempts to explore new theological and anthropological dimensions of the Qurʾān were under way: in the second half of the nineteenth century, reformist thinkers put forward new approaches that shared important ideas with western biblical scholarship. Those approaches were, however, marginalised and have remained detached from western developments. Western Qurʾānic studies thus started with a striking non-synchronicity, with both biblical studies – which it only superficially resembled – and with Muslim Qurʾānic studies, which were, from the outset, excluded from its scope.

From the point of view of western cultural critique however, the beginnings of critical Qurʾānic scholarship deserve to be recognised as a significant achievement, given the fact that well into the nineteenth century the Qurʾān had been regarded polemically as the writing of a false prophet (despite empathetic views held about his person by some Enlightenment and later

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3 A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, repr. of 2nd edn of 1833 with introduction by F. Niewöhner (Berlin: Parerga, 2005).
4 R. L. Wilken, 'In Defense of Allegory', *Modern Theology* 14 (1998), 197–212.

Romantic thinkers). Abraham Geiger,[5] who in 1833 published his famous work, offered a pivotal revalorisation of the Qurʾān, intimately linked to a new evaluation of Muḥammad as a sincere seeker of truth. Geiger was one of the founders of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, a movement that strove not only to historicise the Hebrew Bible, following Christian philological models, but also to contextualise Judaism within the three religious traditions. However complex his motives, the result of his analytical study was to turn out highly ambivalent. Historical-critical scholarship is not least a quest for the urtext or urtexts of scripture – a quest that for the Bible resulted in the unearthing of a large number of ancient Oriental traditions. These texts were apt to throw light on the historical setting of the Bible, but could rarely seriously compete with their far more sophisticated counterparts, shaped by the biblical authors. In the Qurʾānic case, however, the opposite is true: what was discovered was not an 'inferior text', but the most prestigious ancient text imaginable – the Hebrew Bible itself. To Geiger, the Qurʾān presented itself as a florilegium of innumerable biblical and rabbinic traditions that the Qurʾān's 'author' had 'borrowed' from Judaism in order to compose a work of guidance for his community. Since deviation from such an authoritative urtext equalled a distortion, the Qurʾān emerged as an unsuccessful attempt to rival the Bible and was to remain stigmatised as an epigonal text until this very day.

Yet the scholarship of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, which was soon supported by some equally pioneering philological works, such as Theodor Nöldeke's *History of the Qurʾān*,[6] certainly marks the climax of western Qurʾānic studies. After its violent disruption, with the expulsion of Jewish scholars from German universities during the Nazi terror of the 1930s, Qurʾānic studies took a new and less ambitious course, following a trend in the vein of the *Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (that is, the quest for the historical Jesus), focusing on the person of the Prophet and his psychological development. The Qurʾānic text as such disappeared from the foreground.

To retrieve once again not only the Qurʾānic text but also its original manifestation as an oral communication, we have to contextualise it within

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5 For Geiger and the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* see A. Hughes, 'Contextualizing Contexts, Loss of Focus. Orientalism and Geiger's *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen* Reconsidered', in D. Hartwig, W. Homolka, M. Marx and A. Neuwirth (eds.), *'Im vollen Licht der Geschichte'. Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und die Anfänge der Koranforschung* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2008), pp. 87–98.
6 T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1860); 2nd enlarged edn by F. Schwally (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1909; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1961).

the traditions contemporary with it (namely, pre-Islamic and Late Antique traditions).[7]

Looked upon as the document of a communication process, the Qurʾān effected a double achievement: it caused the emergence of a canon and the emergence of a community. That is, the Qurʾān contributed to shaping a new community, while simultaneously documenting that very process. The Qurʾān's audience – by developing ever more sophisticated cultic rituals and by reaching a consensus on both theological and exegetical positions – gradually assumed a collective identity, a process that, we wish to argue, can be roughly reconstructed. Proceeding from Theodor Nöldeke's still indispensable chronology, one can trace a sequence of topics or even discourses – theological, ethical and liturgical – that will have preoccupied the community during the ministry of Muḥammad. These will be briefly outlined in the remarks that follow.

Five discourses of the Islamic community

Qurʾānic reflections of Jewish–Christian liturgy

The first of these Qurʾānic discourses can best be described as the 'liturgical'. The earliest communications, when closely examined, reveal themselves to be in dialogue with Psalms.[8] Not only in terms of poetical form, but equally in their imagery and the devotional attitude of their speaker, they clearly reflect the language of the psalms familiar from Jewish and Christian liturgy. Heinrich Speyer, an eminent representative of pre-Second World War German Qurʾānic scholarship, has alerted us to the numerous traces of psalm verses reflected in the Qurʾān.[9] He lists no fewer than 141, a number that can easily be increased through a microstructural reading. However, the evaluation of these psalm references, with regard to their new function in the Qurʾān, still remains – eighty years after Speyer's death – incomplete. There are obstacles in the way for both western criticism and Islamic tradition. In contrast to the narrative parts of the Qurʾān, whose relation to earlier

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7 This approach is systematically pursued in the project *Corpus Coranicum* at the Berlin Academy of Sciences. See for its rationale M. Marx, 'Ein Koranforschungsprojekt in der Tradition der Wissenschaft des Judentums. Zur Programmatik des Akademienvorhabens Corpus Coranicum', in Hartwig et al. (eds.), *'Im vollen Licht der Geschichte'*, pp. 41–54.

8 A. Neuwirth, 'Qurʾānic Readings of the Psalms', in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai and M. Marx (eds.), *The Qurʾān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations in the Milieu of the Genesis of the Qurʾān* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 733–78, and A. Neuwirth, *Der Koran. Vol. 1: Frühmekkanischen Suren* (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2011).

9 H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, 2nd edn (Hildesheim: Olms, 1961).

traditions is often immediately evident in view of shared protagonists and plots, reminiscences of the psalms often consist of small-scale references, like an individual image or idea, and thus easily escape scholarly attention. For traditionalist Muslim scholars, the problem of their retrieval lies deeper: though there is a significant interest in the discussion of the traces of earlier scriptures in the Qur'ān (documented already in the early classical exegetical genre of the 'Isrā'īlīyāt', i.e., the contextualisation of Qur'ānic texts with biblical traditions), there is complete silence in Islamic tradition vis-à-vis the Qur'ānic reflections of the psalms. Indeed, to draw a connection between the psalms and the Qur'ān touches on a core Qur'ānic prerogative: the exclusive 'Arabness' of its linguistic form, its imagery and its literary composition. The obviously given Arab character of the Qur'ānic text – its poeticality – on the one hand, and the factual presence of psalm intertexts in the Qur'ān on the other, thus raise the challenging question of how the Qur'ān could appropriate psalm texts without itself turning into a paraphrase of those earlier Hebrew or Syriac texts, which, in the milieu of its emergence, played a formative role in shaping its liturgical language. What is certain is that we are here confronted not with simple mimesis, but with the much more dynamic process of particular new literary texts 'eclipsing' older others – a process which here involves a deep awareness of the significance of the Arabic language.

The Qur'ān and Psalms

From early on Psalms, as a part-volume of the Bible, was familiar to the Qur'ānic community. Already a middle Meccan sura, 17:55, mentioned a scriptural text ascribed to David, called *zabūr* ('psalms'), a designation that is ultimately a south Arabian loan; *zabūr* is also mentioned in 21:105 (middle Meccan) and 4:163 (Medinan). The psalms, strictly speaking, thus coexist as a scripture in themselves with the Torah (*al-tawrāh*), given to Moses, and the Gospel (*al-injīl*) related to Jesus – without, however, reaching a position comparable to theirs as an authoritative precursor of the new revelation; likewise David's Qur'ānic significance is much below that of Moses and Jesus. Only one Qur'ānic statement, 21:105, is explicitly connected to the psalms: 'We wrote in the psalms, after the praise: the Just will inherit the earth' – a wording reminiscent of Ps. 36:9, 11 and 29.

Even more, however, than through their concrete textual form, the psalms are present in the Qur'ān as a liturgical typus, to such a degree that one can infer psalm intertexts for wide swathes of the early Qur'ānic texts. Indeed, many early suras sound like distant echoes of the psalms, such as the 'consolation suras' (108 and 98), Qur'ānic hymns such as 87 and 96, or 'refrain suras' like

55 and 56, which recall psalms shaped in the form of a litany. Since liturgical piety shaped by psalm texts must be presupposed for the Syrian churches (whose impact reached out into the peninsula) this mode of liturgical self-expression would not have been alien to the Qur'ānic community either[10] – though it would be problematic to exclude the impact of Jewish liturgical traditions on the peninsula, as well. Since there are no translations of the psalms attested for the pre-Islamic period,[11] one must assume that the psalms were transmitted to their Arabic-speaking recipients through oral, perhaps even non-Arabic, tradition. A recently proposed hypothesis deriving the term 'sura' from a Syriac term denoting 'recitation of psalms' would fit well with the intertextual presence of the psalms in the early sūras. Sura, according to that hypothesis, would be related to the Syriac *shūrāyā* ('beginning'), denoting the introductory recitation of psalm verses preceding the reading of biblical core texts.[12] The concept of *shūrāyā*, originally referring to the liturgical function of the texts, thus might have been the model for the Arabic sura.

It is striking to observe that the particular type of piety relying on psalms was already apparent in the period when the new cult of the community was developing – in early Meccan time.[13] Fixed texts are, therefore, not to be assumed as current in the milieu of the Qur'ān's emergence, but instead, a common liturgical language, promoted through oral tradition, that in only a few cases is connected closely enough to individual psalm texts as to result in their unambiguous reflections in the Qur'ān. In contrast to the Qur'ān, the psalms are immediate expressions of a rural society's way of life. Without the assumption of psalm intertexts, it would be hard to account for the presence in the Qur'ān of rural images also predominant in Psalms – such as the fruit-bearing tree that symbolises the Just (14:24–6), or allusions to the vegetative cycle, reflected, for example, in the sprouting, but quickly withering, grass which illustrates transitoriness (105:5). Blessings of nature in Qur'ānic contexts are, as a rule, viewed as gifts necessitating human gratefulness, an idea that is less frequent in the psalms. Figures of thought – like the derivation of a human commitment from the experience of divine grace (indeed the duty to utter

10 S. H. Griffith, 'Christians and Christianity', in J. D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 307–16.

11 In Christian Arabic tradition the psalms are called *al-mazāmīr* (pl. of *mazmūr*), after Hebrew *mizmōr*.

12 C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle: Olms, 1928), p. 488.

13 An attempt to synchronise the developments of both text and cult has been presented by A. Neuwirth, 'Vom Rezitationstext über die Liturgie zum Kanon. Zur Entstehung und Wiederauflösung der Surenkomposition im Verlauf der Entwicklung eines islamischen Kultus', in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'ān as Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 69–107.

praise), the idea of the impossibility of hiding one's deeds from divine notice, the permanently ongoing divine trial and his guidance – are all characteristic of both textual corpora. In both texts there is much mention of nocturnal vigils and prayer, as well as of faithfulness to what has been personally recognised as truth – even in defiance of a majority of 'liars' and 'deniers'. Equally, the ambivalence of man as well as his liability to hubris and self-deceit are familiar to the speaker/transmitter of both textual corpora. But most strikingly, the psalmist and the persona of the transmitter of the Qurʾān were equally deeply stirred by the closeness of their personal God, whose face (*wajh/pānīm*), they believed, was turned toward them.

Yet the early Qurʾānic communications differ from traditional liturgical speech. They are informed by a meta-discourse, the discourse of knowledge. Thus the introduction of one of the earliest suras, 96:

> Recite in the name of thy lord who created / created man from clotted blood / recite, for thy lord is the most generous / who taught by the pen / taught man what he did not know.

These verses are hymnic in the psalmic vein, where creation figures as God's most celebrated deed. Yet what makes up God's generosity is not, as in the psalms, primarily the maintenance of his creation and his continuous providence, but his furnishing of creatures with understanding. It is divine knowledge – conferred by the transcendent act of writing (*qalam*) – that God generously (*akram*) shares with them. The bestowal of scriptural knowledge is not part of the psalmic inventory of divine grace, but accords, rather, with the image of the divine drawn in some biblical apocrypha,[14] and most persuasively in the Syriac treatises of Ephrem of Nisibis.[15] Jewish–Christian models of liturgy have become tools of rhetoric to promote an argument: in this case, human accountability established through divinely communicated knowledge – this knowledge being the essential premise for mankind's ultimate rendering account at the end of time.

Eschatology

The second discourse – 'the end of time', 'eschatology' – is equally early Meccan. Whereas the liturgical discourse inspired confidence in divine care and

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14 The book of Jubilees deserves to be mentioned here; see Hindy Najman, 'Interpretation as Primordial Writing. Jubilees and its Authority Conferring Strategies', *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 30 (1999), 379–410.

15 See A. H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom. The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

providence, the eschatological discourse induced friction. While the earliest hymnic texts in praise of the Lord, like the one quoted above, were easily accommodated, even within a heterogeneous (both pagan and monotheist) cultic community, the idea of the Last Judgement tended to unsettle confidence in virtually all existing social and ideological structures. It projects the scenario of the last day, when the cosmic structures will be dissolved and man will appear – each one by himself – before his divine judge, a scenario inspired by New Testament prophecies. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the early break with the pagan Meccans,[16] the revocation of the original cult communion signalled by Muḥammad's adherents choosing new times of prayer, is connected with the emergence of the second discourse – the controversial, and even polarising, idea of the Last Judgement.

Electedness: from Mecca to Jerusalem

It is only logical that the community – having attained independence in cultic matters and following the monotheists' hours of prayer – should have looked upon the structure of those prayer services as models. In middle Meccan times the Qurʾānic sura displayed the structure of a monotheist service, with the recital of a biblical narrative at its centre, framed by a polyphone (or even antiphonal) beginning and end. A verbal service, therefore, after Jewish–Christian models, had obviously come to counterbalance the formerly predominant ritual. At the same time, the *Fātiḥa*[17] – obviously a communal prayer, but serving the function of the introit to a verbal service – was introduced, giving voice to the community itself. The *Fātiḥa*, which in the Qurʾānic codex figures as the first sura, is clearly evoked as a prayer already in use in one of the central texts of the Qurʾān, *sūrat al-ḥijr* (15:87) – a middle Meccan sura[18] that entails the primordial election of the Qurʾānic community. The merit of electedness conferred on the community in sura 15 entailed a huge increase in prestige. It is conveyed through a narrative

16 U. Rubin, 'Morning and Evening Prayers in Early Islam', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), 40–67; repr. in G. R. Hawting (ed.), *The Development of Islamic Ritual* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2006), pp. 105–29.

17 A. Neuwirth and K. Neuwirth, 'Surat al-Fatiha – "Eröffnung" des Text-Corpus Koran oder "Introitus" der Gebetsliturgie?', in W. Gross, H. Irsigler and T. Seidl (eds.), *Text, Methode und Grammatik. Wolfgang Richter zum 65. Geburtstag* (St Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1991), pp. 331–7.

18 See for the entire sura, A. Neuwirth, 'Referentiality and Textuality in Surat al-Hijr. Some Observations on the Qurʾānic "Canonical Process" and the Emergence of a Community', in I. J. Boullata (ed.), *Literary Structures of Religious Meaning in the Qurʾān* (London: Curzon, 2000), pp. 143–72.

(15:26–43) which may be summarised thus: Iblīs,[19] a figure closely akin to that of Satan in the book of Job, is commanded by God to bow down before the newly created Adam. Aware of his noble descent as a demon created of fire, he refuses to pay respect to a creature formed from clay. God condemns him, but grants him a respite to fulfil an essential task: the testing of mankind by means of seduction. There is one group, however, to which he will have *no* access: *ʿibāduka al-mukhlaṣūn* ('God's faithful servants'), who are – in the same text – identified as the Qurʾānic community, the historical listeners to the Qurʾānic recitation. This 'community' is, in pre-existence, received amongst God's elect – not unequal to the Israelites, whose leader, Moses, is the prototype for their leader, Muḥammad. The community is addressed a few verses later as the recipients of a divine message (*nabaʾ*), namely the story of Abraham and Lot (15:49–76), which is presented as a divine example of both God's justice and his grace, exerted in the earlier *Heilsgeschichte* (salvation history).

Biblical narrative and the emergence of a cultus

Biblical narratives like this henceforth occupied the centre of the sura for a longer period of time. For most of the later Meccan periods, the suras thus no longer mirrored the psalms, but rather a monotheist service, likewise centred around a reading of biblical texts. This distinguishes them from the earlier suras that seem to have been part of the more ritually informed ceremonies performed at the Kaʿaba. It is no surprise that with the retreat from the traditional framework of the Meccan rituals, the community marked its new adherence to the biblical tradition by adopting the direction of prayer cherished by the older religions – toward Jerusalem[20] – thereby expressing their preference for the biblical tradition over the local Meccan. At the same time, the use of a communal prayer, the *Fātiḥa*, represented an important advance in the shaping of a complex and polyphone communal service.

To sustain their function as verbal services – entailing an introductory part, a reading from the Bible, sometimes followed by a sermon, and a final

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19 A. Neuwirth, 'The Qurʾān, Crisis and Memory. The Qurʾānic Path towards Canonization as Reflected in the Anthropogonic Accounts', in A. Neuwirth and A. Pflitsch (eds.), *Crisis and Memory in Islamic Societies* (Beirut and Würzburg: Ergon, 2001), pp. 113–52.
20 A. Neuwirth, 'The Spiritual Meaning of Jerusalem in Islam', in N. Rosovsky (ed.), *City of the Great King. Jerusalem from David to the Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 94–129.

part – almost all the middle Meccan and many of the late Meccan suras adopted a tripartite composition, centring on a biblical narrative framed by dialectical speech (such as hymns, prayers, polemics, consolation, etc.). Stories about major biblical figures, like Moses, Jesus and a number of patriarchs known from Genesis, which had initially been embedded in narrative catalogues of partly extra-biblical tradition, gained a significance of their own through their function as 'scriptural readings'. They became the stock inventory of the central part of longer Meccan suras, most of them renarrated more than once. The phenomenon of recurring narratives retold in slightly diverging fashions has often been interpreted as mere repetition, that is, as a deficiency. The divergence between particular narratives, however, points to a successively changing narrative pact, to an ongoing education of the listeners and to the achievement of a moral consensus within the community that is reflected in the texts.

As against the meticulous shaping of personages and the sophisticated coding and decoding of their motives, which characterise biblical narrative, Qurʾānic narrating pursues complex 'para-narrative' aims. Narratives first of all convey a message from the transcendent scripture (*al-kitāb*), of which they are perceived to be excerpts or communications. That transcendent scripture is understood as a corpus of knowledge apart from all the known stories current in oral tradition. This origin of the Qurʾānic stories conveys a kind of remoteness from ordinary speech within the '*kitāb*-generated' narratives. It endows them with a distinct linguistic code that, on the one hand, confers a highly stylised form on the diction: a rhymed prose resulting in somewhat forced syntactic structures. On the other hand, it imbues these narratives with the new tension brought on by the message of the imminent eschatological catastrophe, a tension that brings the narrative close to an exhortative appeal, or later, a sermon. It is exactly the discursive elements so marginal in biblical narrative that matter primarily in the Qurʾānic narrative – that is, the explicit presentation of the moral or theological implications for the community that can be deduced from the narrated facts given in speeches.

To fulfil this purpose, a stylistic device (akin to the biblical style) was created, in order to accommodate the particular moral or theological deductions of the Qurʾānic discourse: the *clausula*.[21] This stylistic device marked

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21 A. Neuwirth, 'Structure and the Emergence of Community', in Rippin (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Qurʾān*, pp. 140–58.

the closure of the long verses of late Meccan and Medinan times and was displayed in their final phrase, which does not partake in the main strand of communication but comments on it, indicating divine approval or disregard of the fact reported. It may also refer to one of God's attributes – for instance, 'Truly he is the hearer, the seer' (*innahu huwa l-samīʿu l-baṣīr*, 17:1) – which in the later stages of Qurʾānic development have become parameters of ideal human behaviour.

Appropriation of texts from the earlier traditions

For the audience of the Qurʾān to become a scriptural community, however, more than a divine assignment was required. Core texts of the older traditions had to be reread and adapted to the newly developing world view, as well as to the Arabic linguistic standards. The rereading of a particularly prominent liturgical text, Psalm 135, in *sūrat al-Raḥmān* (55),[22] most strikingly reflects this ambitious enterprise, as it is an artistic *tour de force* that draws on virtually all the registers of the Arabic language: phonology, morphology and even syntax.

A number of common structural characteristics – primarily the unique phenomenon of antiphonal speech and the employment of a refrain – suggest that 55 is not merely a text replete with references to the similarly antiphonal Psalm 135, but a critical 'rereading', a 'countertext' intended as such. The two refrains already expose the essential difference between the texts. The psalm has the hymnic *kī le-ʿōlām ḥasdō* ('for his kindness endures forever'), a conviction deduced from historical experience, whereas the Qurʾānic refrain is an address to men and demons alike, *fa-bi-ayyi ālāʾi rabbikumā tukadhdhibān* ('so which of your Lord's bounties / signs do you both deny?'), a call on the entire creation to attest that there are divine self-manifestations, in signs, that should be heeded. The remembrance of historical experience so pivotal in Jewish tradition is thereby confronted with the Qurʾānic call for understanding of the divine signs.

Sūrat al-Raḥmān begins: 'The merciful / He taught the Qurʾān / He created man / He taught him clear speech (or understanding)'. What are inherent in the world, since the act of creation, are both the divine message and the distinctness of human articulation, or understanding (*bayān*). God created the world as a manifestation of his presence, as a text of no

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22 Neuwirth, 'Qurʾānic Readings of the Psalms', pp. 733–78.

lesser standing than his verbal revelation, and endowed man with the understanding of both his verbal and his creational self-expression. The text of sura 55, with its insistence on symmetry and dual structures, rhetorically orchestrates this double theological claim to a sign system in both creation and scripture.

Both texts remain closely parallel in their initial parts, extolling the acts of divine creation. It is only at the point where the psalm turns to expound God's past interventions for his people's sake that the sura diverges. In the Qur'ānic world view it is not history, but creation and its entelechy in the beyond that serve as proof of God's presence. *Sūrat al-Raḥmān*, which had begun with the contention that creation and language are part of the same primordial divine project, ends with a dual – and extremely ornate – linguistic representation of the consummate form of creation in paradise. In the Qur'ān, eschatological future, celebrated in language, has taken the place of historical past.

Another trait of the Qur'ānic rereading of the psalm is equally significant: the focus on clear language, which – right from the beginning – is claimed as one of the sura's main topics and which (in 55:1–3) is placed on a level with creation itself. This sura can be regarded as an exemplar for perceiving a hermeneutic residing in creation itself: an analogy created by language, set on a par with the 'linguistic quality' of divine creation. Assuming that the sura is a rereading of Psalm 135 would seem to suggest that *bayān* (clear speech, or understanding, as mentioned in 55:4) echoes *tebhūnah* (wisdom, in the sense of insight or understanding, as mentioned in the creation of the heavens in Ps. 135:5), a view supported by the terms' etymological affiliation. But whereas, in the psalm *tebhūnah* characterises a divine disposition, in the Qur'ān *bayān* appears as a human faculty. Along with physical existence, man is endowed with the power of understanding from the beginning of creation.

The sura's seemingly playful employment of the morphological tools of Arabic grammar, particularly the dual form, thus on a closer look proves both theologically functional and significant. On the one hand, it serves to demonstrate the binary structure of divinely intended harmony (and thus order and intelligibility) that underlies physical creation no less than it underlies language. The rhetorical sophistication of the sura thus attained endows the discourse with a highly significant epistemic dimension. God, though unknowable in his essence, bridges the ontological and epistemological chasm between himself and the humans through various modes of self-revelation:

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first and foremost through his word, but no less through the diverse signs (*āyāt*) that he has set throughout physical creation. The two Qurʾānic manifestations of God in *āyāt*, creational and linguistic, thus entail a hermeneutic message: the exhortation to realise their 'textual' structure, that is, to practise exegesis. This insight does not reflect biblical but post-biblical arguments; it is Ephrem of Nisibis' sign theology that is reflected here.

'Correcting' focal traditions from the Jewish and Christian heritage

The emigration (*hijra*) of the Prophet and his Meccan followers to Medina (622) induced a number of decisive changes in terms both of Qurʾānic topics and of structures. One of the most significant innovations was the discovery of a theological, and often religious, political dimension that could be read into the familiar biblical narratives. This alertness was due to the new proximity of the living traditions of both Jews and Christians which marked the Medinan habitat of the Prophet and his community. Whereas in Mecca, biblical traditions had been current as part of common knowledge, in Medina the 'older heirs' of biblical tradition – learned Jews and Christians – appeared on stage to reclaim their monopoly on the exegesis of biblical tradition. Exegetical debates over particular theological issues have left their traces in the Qurʾān. The short sura 112 ('The pure belief'), which builds on two central texts from Jewish and Christian tradition, may serve as a testimony. It reads: *Qul huwa llāhu aḥad / Allāhu ṣ-ṣamad / lam yalid wa-lam yūlad / wa-lam yakun lahu kufuwan aḥad* ('Say: He is God, one / God the absolute / He did not beget, nor is He begotten / and there is none like Him').

It is hard to miss the fact that verse 1, 'Say: He is God, one' (*qul, huwa llāhu aḥad*), echoes the Jewish credo, 'Hear Israel, the Lord, our God, is One' (*Shema' Yisra'el, adonay elohenu adonay ehad*). It is striking that the Jewish text remains audible in the Qurʾānic version, which – against grammatical norms – adopts the Hebrew-sounding noun *aḥad* instead of the more pertinent adjective *wāḥid*, for the rhyme. This 'ungrammaticality' cannot go unnoticed. I am referring to the notion analysed by the text linguist Riffaterre, meaning the awkwardness of a textual moment that semiotically points to another text which provides a key to its decoding. The other text, in our case, is the Jewish credo (see diagram below).[23]

23 M. Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry* (Bloomington, IN, and London: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 92.

Nicene creed		Jewish creed (Deut. 6:4)		Qur'ān, sura 112 (al-Iḫlāṣ)	
We believe in one God,	Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν	Hear, Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One.	שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל, יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, יְהוָה אֶחָד׃	Say: He is God, one,	قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ
the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible	Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων.			God the absolute,	اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ
And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds (aeons), Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made,	Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα,			He did not beget, nor is He begotten,	لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ
being of one substance with the Father;	ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί			And there is none like Him.	وَلَمْ يَكُن لَّهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ

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This striking translingual quotation is part of the Qurʾānic negotiation strategy, which strives to appropriate the Jewish credo. Though the Qurʾānic transcript is modified, being universalised (no longer addressing Israel, exclusively, but any believer in general) it continues – through the sustained sound presence of the Jewish credo – to partake in the older text's authority, an important political stratagem. The new version sounds like a challenge addressed to Jewish listeners in particular, who, during the first Medinan years, needed to be won over to the new movement. But there is yet another credo involved: the Christian credo in its authoritative wording formulated at the Council of Nicea (325).

The sura's third verse, 'He did not beget nor is he begotten' (*lam yalid wa-lam yūlad*), is a reverse echo of the Nicene creed. It rejects the emphatic affirmation of Christ's sonship – 'begotten, not made' (Greek: *gennethenta, ou poiethenta*) – by a no less emphatic double negation. This negative theology is summed up in verse 4 'and there is none like Him'. This verse not only inverts the Nicene formula of Christ's being of one substance with God – *homoousios to patri* – but also forbids one to think of any being equal in substance with God, let alone a son. While these verses negate the essential statement of the Nicene creed, they nonetheless 'translate' the Greek (or Syriac) intertext, adopting its rhetorical strategy of intensification. Theology is modified; biblical authority is maintained. The Qurʾānic credo thus inscribed itself on to the Jewish and the Christian creeds.

PART V

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THE BIBLE TRANSFORMED

The Bible in public art, 600–1050

JOHN MITCHELL

Introduction

The Bible was the supreme point of reference, the principal source of narrative imagery for artists working in the public sphere throughout the early Middle Ages, in the extended Mediterranean basin and across transalpine Europe. Public art, from its exposure to the elements, to the wear and tear of use and to the vagaries of changing fashion, is perhaps more vulnerable and liable to damage, replacement or total destruction than is art from the private sphere. Nevertheless, in a fragmentary state and inevitably sometimes with unbridgeable gaps in the evidence, a considerable sample of public imagery referencing the Bible survives from the period.

Traditions of illustrating the Old and the New Testaments had existed throughout the Roman world from at least the late second century CE and had become firmly established in the Mediterranean theatre by the fifth century. Individual scenes and narrative sequences had been devised and deployed by artists working for Christian patrons for a range of contexts, funerary, ecclesiastical and secular – the galleries and cubiculi of the catacombs on the outskirts of Rome, sarcophagi, the walls, fittings and fabrics of churches, liturgical vessels, as well as the personal jewellery and clothing of Christians in everyday life. In Rome, probably by the mid-fifth century, at Old St Peter's, sequences from the two Testaments, starting with the creation and finishing with the mission of the apostles and the establishment of the church, faced each other on the walls of the nave;[1] at the Lateran basilica also, the two Testaments were opposed, but this time antithetically, with typologically matched episodes set

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[1] S. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna and Munich: Schroll, 1964), pp. 69–71, figs. 484–5a; G. Grimaldi, *Decorazione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. R. Niggl (Vatican: BAV, 1972), pp. 142–3, 148–9; H. L. Kessler, 'St Peter's Basilica at the Time of the First Jubilee', in his *Old St Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Italy* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2002), pp. 1–13, at pp. 7–11, figs. 1.7–8.

against each other down the length of the nave.[2] Similarly in the third great early five-aisled basilica in Rome, S Paolo fuori le mura, an Old Testament sequence from the creation to Jacob on the south wall of the nave faced forty-two episodes from the life of St Paul, drawn from Acts, culminating in a single conceit from Revelation, the twenty-four elders adoring Christ, over the arch to the transept;[3] and a generation later, in S Maria Maggiore, in the 430s, the mosaics of the nave comprised a selection of narratives from the Old Testament, episodes from the acts of four major patriarchs, before and under the Law, Abraham, Jacob, Moses and Joshua, while an idiosyncratic cycle of episodes from Christ's infancy covered the apsidal arch, drawing on apocryphal tradition as well as on the Pentateuch.[4] Extensive programmes of biblical imagery were also deployed in churches in the Greek-speaking eastern Mediterranean. Little survives, but contemporary written sources are clear on this. The function of these great pictorial schemes, to judge from contemporary commentators, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius and Pope Gregory the Great in the West and St Nilus of Sinai in the East, would appear to have been instruction in the truths of Christian doctrine and belief underlying the narratives of the two Testaments; the faithful were expected actively to engage with the events which they saw visually enacted before their eyes, and to emulate the actions of Christ and his saints depicted on the walls.[5]

In the following centuries in western Europe, between the age of Gregory the Great and the eleventh century, these traditions continued and developed, although the accidents of survival make it sometimes difficult to achieve a clear sense of what was canonical and what was particular in the deployment of scriptural subjects in churches. However, it is clear that these programmes almost never involved straight uninflected, chronologically sequential narratives from the Old and New Testaments. In almost all cases, the imagery was used to articulate the space of a structure – to define the various parts of a building in terms of their function, use and symbolic significance in relation to cult and liturgy.

2 R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett and A. K. Frazer, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, vol. v (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1977), pp. 10, 86.

3 Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien*, pp. 56–61, figs. 328–408; H. L. Kessler, 'Pictures as Scripture in Fifth-Century Churches', in his *Old St Peter's*, pp. 15–43, at pp. 28, 33–9.

4 B. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973), pp. 9–132; Kessler, 'Pictures as Scripture', pp. 31–3.

5 Kessler, 'Pictures as Scripture', pp. 26–30; A. van Dijk, 'Type and Antitype in Santa Maria Antiqua. The Old Testament Scenes on the Transennae', in J. Osborne, J. R. Brandt and G. Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano cento anni dopo* (Rome: Campisano, 2004), pp. 113–27, at pp. 117–18.

Rome: S Maria Antiqua

A microcosm of the ways in which imagery from scripture was used in the West can be found in S Maria Antiqua, the old church at the foot of the Palatine Hill on the north side of the Forum Romanum in Rome, in which the painted schemes on the walls were renewed and revised repeatedly between the sixth and ninth centuries. Episodes from each of the Testaments figured both in narrative sequences and as single images. Under Pope John VII (705–7) the chancel was painted out with a New Testament cycle, in two registers, on the lateral walls, with ten episodes from the infancy of Christ above and ten scenes from the passion and afterlife below.[6] At the same time, the screens which define a central choir in the bema, the space before the sanctuary, were painted with scenes from the Old Testament.[7] Here the Old Testament literally precedes the New, articulating a physical and symbolic progression. However, while the scenes in the sanctuary form consecutive narratives of the incarnation and passion, those on the screen in the bema follow no obvious chronological sequence but rather are exemplary subjects, chosen to demonstrate the typological prefiguration of the principal episodes of Christ's redemption of mankind in the Old Testament: his triumph over death and the devil in David's victory over Goliath and Judith's over Holophernes, and his resurrection in the respite from death granted by God to Hezekiah.[8]

A second confrontation of sequences from the two Testaments was introduced on the outer walls of the aisles fifty years later under Pope Paul I (757–67), with the Old Testament, in two tiers, starting at the creation and finishing with seven episodes from the story of Joseph, on the south wall, and a corresponding New Testament cycle, now extremely fragmentary, in the north aisle.[9] This later scheme seems to follow the example of Old St Peter's and other Late Antique churches in which narratives from the two Testaments confronted each other on facing walls, while the earlier programme of John VII worked differently, establishing a progression from the Old Testament, in the nave and bema, to the sanctuary where the pictorial narratives celebrated the incarnation, the passion and the resurrection, stages in the scheme of

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6 P. J. Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 3 (1968), 22–38, pls. XVI–XXXIX, CXXXIII–IV.
7 Ibid., pp. 67–71, pls. LXXXV–XCI, colour pls. III–IV.
8 Van Dijk, 'Type and Antitype', pp. 118–19.
9 G. M. Rushforth, 'S. Maria Antiqua', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1 (1902), 1–123, at pp. 25–8, 81–2.

redemption which are re-enacted at the altar in their midst in the liturgy of the Mass.[10]

There are also single iconic scenes. These show considerable variation in their forms and in their functions and offer a good example of the range of uses to which depictions of individual episodes from scripture could be put throughout the overall decorative programme of a church in the early medieval West.

From the Old Testament, the three young men in the furnace are painted on the façade of the sanctuary on the north side,[11] and a small abbreviated image of Daniel with the lions on the south-west pier.[12] Prominent on the nave face of the pier on the right, northern, side of the entrance to the bema is a large panel with the seven Maccabees surrounding their mother, Salomone.[13] The three in the fiery furnace were commonly understood as prototypes of all martyrs, calm in their faith and achieving salvation by divine intervention,[14] and similar values were associated with the Maccabees.[15] Individual scenes from the New Testament include the Annunciation;[16] Christ healing a blind man on a column in the north aisle;[17] the Crucifixion, on the wall above the apse where it is depicted as a symbolic rather than an historical event,[18] and again in the focal niche in the oratory of Theodotus, to the left of the sanctuary;[19] and the Anastasis, Christ's Descent into Hell (from the Gospel of Nicodemus), in two locations, on a jamb of the door leading from the nave to the Palatine ramp,[20] and in front of the atrium on the façade of the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs.[21] Like the single scenes from the Old Testament, these all served exemplary iconic functions. The Annunciation, the primary image

10 S. Lucy, 'Palimpsest Reconsidered. Continuity and Change in the Decorative Programs at Sant Maria Antiqua', in Osborne, Brandt and Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua*, pp. 83–96, at p. 92.
11 P. J. Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of the Seventh Century', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 8 (1978), 89–142, at pp. 112–14, fig. 8, pls. xxxv–xxxvi.
12 Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII', pp. 76–7, pls. xcii, xciva, cxxii.
13 Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of the Seventh Century', pp. 114–20, pls. xxiii, xxxviii–xliii.
14 K. Gulowsen, 'Some Iconographic Aspects of the Relationship between Santa Maria Antiqua and the Oratory of the Forty Maryrs', in Osborne, Brandt and Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua*, pp. 187–97, at pp. 190–3.
15 Rushforth, 'S. Maria Antiqua', pp. 85–6.
16 P. J. Nordhagen, 'The Earliest Decorations in Santa Maria Antiqua and their Date', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 1 (1962), 53–72, at p. 58, pl. i; Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII', pp. 78–9, pls. xcviii–xcix; Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of the Seventh Century', pp. 107–9, fig. 6, pls. xxi, xxiv–xxv.
17 Nordenfalk, 'The Frescoes of the Seventh Century', pp. 128–30, fig. 11, pl. lxiia.
18 Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII', pp. 43–54, pls. liii–lxx, colour pl. ii.
19 H. Belting, 'Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), 55–69, figs. 1–2.
20 Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII', pp. 81–2, pl. cb.   21 Ibid., p. 86, pl. ciii.

of the reversal of original sin, the start of the path to redemption, widely understood at the time as the portal to salvation for mankind, here first in an early image, flanked the main apse of the church; a later more prominent version was painted on the pier separating the nave from the bema, where it faced the nave, announcing the incarnation and Christ's saving sacrifice, re-enacted on the altar in the sanctuary beyond. The Anastasis, with Christ rescuing Adam from death, on the other hand, appears in two locations, both entrances. This was the prime image of Christ's and mankind's resurrection and so the way to salvation. It would appear that in addition it may also have been used here in an apotropaic sense, watching doorways, the pre-eminent image of Christ's victory over death and the forces of evil. On another level, it is possible that these single iconic episodes from the Old and New Testament may have been deployed around the church, together with images of particular saints sometimes accompanied by donors, to provide a visual articulation of the interior of the church in terms of social hierarchy and gender, signposting areas by the chancel barriers reserved for elite members of the congregation and marking out the left-hand south aisle for men and the right-hand north aisle for women.[22]

Northumbria and the Virgin Mary

A more or less contemporary use of Old and New Testament imagery, from Northumbria, in a monastic context, is recorded by Bede. There painted images were imported from Rome: on one occasion, for St Peter's at Monkwearmouth, images of the Virgin Mary and the twelve apostles, which were attached to a wooden screen or beam across the nave, scenes from the gospel story on the south wall and others from the Book of Revelation on the north wall; and on another occasion, scenes from the life of Christ, which were set all round the church dedicated to Mary at Monkwearmouth, and in the principal church of St Paul at Jarrow typologically paired episodes from the Old and New Testaments, including Isaac bearing the wood for his own sacrifice with Christ carrying his cross, and the brazen serpent raised up by Moses in the desert with Christ's crucifixion.[23] This last was clearly a programme inspired by the old scheme in the nave of the Lateran basilica in Rome.

22 Lucy, 'Palimpsest Reconsidered', pp. 86–8.
23 *Historia abbatum*, 6 and 9; *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), pp. 369, 373. See P. Meyvaert, 'Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth and Jarrow', *ASE* 8 (1979), 63–77.

The images of Mary and the apostles at Monkwearmouth, presumably set at the juncture of the nave and the sanctuary, would have been early painted versions of a scheme known from sixth-century carved stone chancel screens from the eastern Mediterranean.[24] At Monkwearmouth the prominence of the Virgin may be associated with her increasing status in this period, both as the gate to the incarnation and redemption and as the principal intercessor for mankind with Christ at the Last Judgement. These early chancel barriers established an iconography for the threshold between nave and sanctuary which endured in both western Europe and the Byzantine East to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond. The scenes from the Book of Revelation on the north wall of St Peter's at Monkwearmouth pick up these themes of intercession and judgement, illustrating the wonders and terrors which will occur at the end of time, set against the eventual salvation ensured for the faithful by the life and sacrificial death and resurrection of Christ pictured on the facing wall. Bede himself, developing a dictum of Pope Gregory I, spelled out the function of these pictorial programmes: 'so that everyone who entered the church, even if they could not read, wherever they turned their eyes, might have before them the amiable countenance of Christ and his saints, though it were but in a picture, and with watchful minds might revolve on the benefits of our Lord's incarnation, and having before their eyes the perils of the Last Judgement, might examine their hearts the more strictly on that account'.[25] He saw them as eliciting a strong compunctive emotional response in the beholder.[26]

This new Marian iconography flourished in Rome and was developed there in funerary contexts. Mary as prime intercessor, as the exemplar of a complete humility, which led to her comprehensive advancement as Mother of God and as Queen of Heaven,[27] was the major divine protagonist in the programmatic imagery of the funerary oratories of the popes in Old St Peter's, starting with John VII (705–7).[28] Over the tomb of Pope John a dominant central image of

24 L. Nees, 'The Iconographic Program of Decorated Chancel Barriers in the Pre-Iconoclastic Period', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46 (1983), 15–26.
25 *Historia abbatum*, 6; *Baedae opera*, ed. Plummer, p. 369.
26 *On the Temple*, II. 19.10: *Bede: On the Temple*, trans. S. Connolly, Translated Texts for Historians 21 (Liverpool University Press, 1995), p. 91.
27 On the type of Maria Regina, see M. Lawrence, 'Maria Regina', *Art Bulletin* 7 (1925), 150–61; G. Wolf, *Salus populi romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1990), pp. 119–24.
28 M. Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation. Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupecht, 1989), pp. 97–112. On the chapel of John VI: Nordhagen, 'The Mosaics of John VII', pp. 121–66; R. Deshman, 'Servants of the Mother of God in Byzantine and Medieval Art', *Word and Image* 5 (1989), 33–70, at pp. 35–44.

the Mother of God, Maria Regina, regally robed and crowned, with John at her side, prominently identified as 'servant of the blessed Mother of God', stood amid an array of scenes from Christ's infancy, ministry, passion and resurrection. Here a relatively straightforward sequence of episodes from Christ's life is deployed to frame Mary, all-puissant example and intercessor, a paradigmatic sequence of events to guarantee salvation for the pope buried and ritually remembered in the chapel.

The age of Charlemagne

From the following era, a number of sites demonstrate the range of uses to which scriptural subjects on the walls of churches were put. Ermoldus Nigellus, in his account of Charlemagne's palace at Inghelheim on the Rhine, described the programme of painted imagery in the church serving the palace – Old Testament scenes from the Creation and Fall, through the stories of Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon, on the left wall, and on the facing wall the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Ascension. It would seem there were well over twenty panels on each wall, probably in more than one register.[29]

On the other hand, the narrative imagery in the oratory of Charlemagne's adviser Theodulf, at Germigny-des-Prés, near Orléans, seems to have been restricted to one particular motif from the Old Testament, the Ark of the Covenant with cherubim and angels in the main apse.[30] While making a clear association between the chapel and the holy of holies in the Temple of Solomon, the subject of the ark and the angels must have been purposefully selected by Theodulf as one of the few works involving images of living beings condoned and associated with the presence of God in the Old Testament, at a time in which issues relating to the use of mimetic images from scripture in religious contexts constituted a critical issue of debate.

The paintings in the monastery church of St Johann at Müstair in the old Churraetian diocese of Chur, with over 100 framed compositions, probably from the late eighth century, constitute one of the most extensive programmes

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29 Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici Imperatoris*, IV, lines 179–246; *Ermoldi Nigelli carmina*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poet. lat. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884), pp. 63–5; C. Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art 300–1150. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 85–6.
30 A. Freeman and P. Meyvaert, 'The Meaning of Theodulf's Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés', *Gesta* 40 (2001), 125–39; C. B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture. Building in Europe, A.D. 600–900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 129–36, fig. 140.

Fig. 40.1 St Johann, Müstair: Christ's healing of the blind man and the deaf-mute; *c.* 800.

of painted imagery to have survived from early medieval Europe.[31] Both the
Old and the New Testament are represented, but in asymmetrical fashion.
On the north and south walls of the nave there are five registers of scenes:
at the very top under the roof an extended sequence of episodes from the
life of David, the foremost Old Testament antitype of Christ, in the second
register scenes from Christ's infancy, in the third his ministry (Fig. 40.1), and
in the fourth his passion. The lowest register, now all but destroyed, may

31 J. Goll, M. Exner and S. Hirsch (eds.), *Müstair. Die mittelalterlichen Wandbilder in der Klosterkirche*
(Zurich: Verlag Neue Züricher Zeitung, 2007).

have been devoted to the lives and passions of the apostles. The Ascension ran along the top of the east wall over the three apses and the Last Judgement filled the central section of the west wall. The programme is dominated by the christological cycle, which covers three registers in the nave and extends back into the story of John the Baptist, the titular saint of the church, in the central apse and forward into the passions of Peter and Paul and possibly other apostles in the north apse and on the lowest surfaces of the lateral walls. It has been argued that a particular emphasis is laid on the apostles throughout this programme, on the role played by teaching and preaching in the spread of the word of God, with the imagery aimed primarily at a lay congregation which frequented the monastic church, where in the course of sermons the pictures would have served as pointed visual illustrations to the words of the preachers.[32] The David cycle, with its Saul and Absalom sequences, has long been seen as making an overt contemporary political reference, and recent opinion identifies this as being to the conflict between the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious and his son Lothair, in the years 829–33.[33] However, aside from the extreme visual inaccessibility of this highest register, contemporary political comment sits awkwardly on the walls of churches, and a counter-proposal posits here a moral theme, contrasting pride and humility.[34]

A generation later, at the monastery of St Gall on Lake Constance, Abbot Gozbert's new basilica, completed and dedicated in 835, was similarly provided with an elaborate scheme of painted imagery, now long gone but known from the identifying labels inscribed under each panel.[35] Unlike at Müstair, here only the Gospel story was represented: Christ in Majesty in the main apse, ten scenes from his infancy on the left-hand wall of the choir, facing ten scenes from his ministry and miracles on the right wall; ten further ministry episodes on the right wall of the nave facing ten scenes from his passion on the left wall; and finally on the west wall a complex Last Judgement.

32 J. K. Ataoguz, 'The Apostolic Commissioning of the Monks of Saint John in Muestair, Switzerland: Painting and Preaching in a Churraetian Monastery', unpubl. PhD thesis, Harvard University (2007). This interpretation has been contested by H. R. Sennahauser, who sees Müstair as a closed church reserved exclusively for the monastic community: 'Kirche und Konventflugel im Kloster St. Johann in Müstair. Raumorganisation und Nutzung', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 67 (2010), 1–8.
33 M. Exner, 'Das Bildprogramm der Klosterkirche im historischen Kontext', in Goll, Exner and Hirsch (eds.), *Müstair*, pp. 83–113, at pp. 92–4.
34 Ataoguz, 'The Apostolic Commissioning', pp. 13–17.
35 J. Hecht and K. Hecht, *Die frühmittelalterliche Wandmalerei des Bodenseegebietes*, 2 vols. (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 14–28; A. Arnulf, *Versus ad picturas. Studien zur Titulusdichtung als Quellengattung der Kunstgeschichte von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1997), pp. 160–3.

The exceptionally well-preserved mariological scheme of paintings in the main apse of the little triconch chapel of S Maria foris portas at Castelseprio, on the River Olona, north of Milan, is of roughly the same date as the paintings at Müstair.[36] The sequence may start with an episode from the story of Mary's parents, Joachim and Anna, and continues to Christ's Presentation in the Temple, with some episodes drawn from apocryphal sources, including the trial of the Virgin by water. The programme has been seen as a dogmatic homily in pictures on the theme of the incarnation;[37] the particular emphasis accorded to the Virgin – Christ himself figures in only three of the eight surviving scenes (from an original eleven) – suggests that she is the principal protagonist. Her virginity and her role as the instrument of the incarnation and the vehicle of redemption emerge as major themes; she has also been seen here as symbolising the Church.[38]

The so-called crypt of Epyphanius at the southern Lombard monastery of S Vincenzo al Volturno, a funerary oratory of the 830s containing the tomb of a major lay benefactor, has a complex painted scheme, combining episodes from the infancy of Christ, the crucifixion and resurrection with scenes of martyrdom and figures of angels, saints and contemporary patrons in a dense programme which articulates a way for the deceased to salvation (Fig. 40.2).[39] Again the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, is the principal protagonist; as the type of an exemplary humility, which would lead to her elevation as Queen of Heaven enthroned above the angels, she sets the pattern for the deceased, who by imitating her service to God could also hope for preferment and eternal life.

The Apocalypse

In a very different context, conceits drawn from the Book of Revelation, first devised in Late Antiquity, were deployed high over the apse on the sanctuary wall of Pope Paschal I's new church of S Prassede in Rome, *c.* 820. These revealed Christ of the Second Coming and Last Judgement, flanked by the seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are

36 P. D. Leveto, 'The Marian Theme of the Frescoes in S. Maria at Castelseprio', *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), 393–413, with a review of previous bibliography.
37 K. Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio* (Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 88–90.
38 Leveto, 'The Marian Theme' pp. 409–13.
39 J. Mitchell, 'The Crypt Reappraised' in R. Hodges (ed.), *San Vincenzo al Volturno. Vol. 1: The 1980–86 Excavations Part I* (London: British School at Rome, 1983), pp. 75–114, with a review of previous literature.

Fig. 40.2 Crypt of Epyphanius, S Vincenzo al Volturno: the Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion and the Marys at the tomb; *c.* 830.

the spirits of God, and accompanied by the four apocalyptic beasts associated with the evangelists, and acclaimed by the twenty-four white-garbed elders offering their crowns up to the Lamb on the throne (Rev. 4). This imagery was supplemented on the nave arch by a crowded composition of the heavenly Jersualem, framing the altar, crypt and transept, where the remains of 2,300 martyrs from the catacombs were conserved and venerated.[40]

The Book of Revelation appears to underlie the main pictorial programme, now fragmentary, in the early ninth-century chapel at Seppanibile, near Fasano in Puglia, where in one cupola there is a composition with the 'one like unto the Son of man' flanked by the seven candlesticks (Rev. 1:13–18) and Satan, the dragon with seven heads, persecuting the woman who bore the man child (Rev. 12).[41] A better-preserved and more extensive cycle of scenes from the Apocalypse, from the late tenth century, rings the interior of the baptistery at

40 R. Wisskirchen, *Die Mosaiken der Kirche Santa Prassede in Rom* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1992); C. J. Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I. Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817–824* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 228–44.

41 G. Bertelli, *Cultura longobarda nella Puglia altomedievale. Il tempietto di Seppannibile presso Fasano* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1994), pp. 68–71; G. Bertelli and G. Lepore (eds.), *Masseria Seppanibale Grande in agrodi Fasano (BR). Indagini in un sito rurale (aa. 2003–2006)* (Bari: Mario Adda, 2011), pp. 142–4.

Novara;[42] and a century later apocalyptic elements were deployed to dramatic effect in the church of S Pietro al Monte at Civate by Lake Como.[43]

Lake Constance in the tenth century

From the tenth century there is both textual and surviving material evidence for wall paintings with biblical subject matter from the area of Lake Constance in southern Germany. At Petershausen, under Bishop Gebhard II (979–95), the walls of the new abbey church of St Gregory were painted with episodes from the Old Testament on the left-hand wall and from the New Testament on the right.[44] In two other well-preserved mural programmes from the same region, at the chapel of St Silvester at Goldbach[45] and in the monastic church of St George at Reichenau Oberzell,[46] the programmes were restricted to Christ's miracle-working ministry. In neither church were the events organised in strict chronological order. A similar tendency to focus predominantly on the life of Christ, at the expense of the Old Testment, is apparent in the West in the illustration of contemporary liturgical books and in the Byzantine East in the decoration of churches.

The Byzantine eastern Mediterranean

In the Byzantine eastern Mediterranean the gospel stories, particularly the principal events of Christ's life, were predominant in schemes of scriptural imagery in churches. A strong association drawn between the principal events of Christ's life and the main symbolic physical components of the church in Byzantium is clearly expressed in the *Historia mystagogica*, attributed to Patriarch Germanus I of Constantinople (715–30), where the church is called a heaven on earth, typifying the nativity, the crucifixion, the burial and the

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42 A. Peroni, 'Das Baptisterium von Novara. Architektur und Ausmalung', in M. Exner (ed.), *Wandmalerei des frühen Mittelalters. Bestand, Maltechnik, Konservierung* (Munich: Icomos, 1998), pp. 155–60.

43 O. Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting* (New York: Abrams / London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), pp. 70–1, 292–4, pls. 13, 16–17; S. Lomartire, 'La pittura medievale in Lombardia', in C. Bertelli (ed.), *La pittura in Italia. L'altomedioevo* (Milan: Electa, 1994), pp. 47–89, at pp. 71–3, figs. 91–3.

44 Hecht and Hecht, *Die frühmittelalterliche Wandmalerei*, vol. i, p. 30.

45 Ibid., pp. 37–64, figs. 7–118; H. F. Reichwald, 'Die Sylvesterkapelle in Goldbach am Bodensee. Bestand – Restaurierungsgeschichte – Maßnamen –Technologie', in Exner (ed.), *Wandmalerei des frühen Mittelalters*, pp. 191–218.

46 D. Jakobs, *Sankt Georg in Reichenau-Oberzell. Der Bau und seine Ausstattung. Bestand, Veränderungen, Restaurierungsgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1999), vol. i, pp. 46–50; K. Koshi, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien der St. Georgskirche zu Oberzell auf der Bodenssinsel Reichenau* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1999).

resurrection of Christ.[47] That it was normal to equip a church interior with images of the life of Christ in the early medieval period in Byzantium is suggested by the *Epistola synodica patriarcharum orientalium*, a text purportedly of 836, addressed to Emperor Theophilus, in which it is stated that the apostles – eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word – adorned the holy church with painted pictures and mosaics representing the likeness of Christ, even before the composition of the Gospels; a comprehensive christological cycle running from the Annunciation to the Pentecost is enumerated.[48]

After the repeal of Iconoclasm in 843, a new type of church came into widespread use, the cross-in-square domed church, with a central cupola supported by piers or columns and barrel-vaulted arms. This tended to be smaller than its Late Antique predecessors, with a reduced pictorial programme, usually limited to a more or less canonical christological cycle, illustrating the events commemorated in the major liturgical feasts of the church, and single figures of angels, prophets, patriarchs, apostles, martyrs, confessors, church fathers and ascetics, in mosaic or in paint.

A strong emphasis on the New Testament is first recorded in Constantine's old Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, in the mosaic programme described by Constantinus Rhodius, probably dating from the restoration of the building under Basil I (867–86). Here on the walls beneath the central cupola, in which the Ascension was depicted, eleven scenes from the life of Christ were set out: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Raising of the Son of the Widow at Nain, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, Judas' Betrayal of Christ on the Mount of Olives, and the Crucifixion.[49] A similar scheme is recorded by Leo VI (886–912) in a church built in Constantinople by his father-in-law, Stylianos Zaoutzas.[50] Here under Christ Pantokrator in the central cupola, the Incarnation narrative was depicted in twelve episodes, from the Annunciation to the Ascension.

In some of the earliest surviving Byzantine cross-in-square churches with relatively intact imagery, from the eleventh century, the programmes consist

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47 *On the Divine Liturgy. Germanus of Constantinople*, trans. P. Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1999); C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1972; repr. University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 141–3.
48 L. Duchesne, *Roma e l'Oriente* 5/27 (1912–13), 273–85, at p. 273; Mango, *The Art*, pp. 176–7.
49 Mango, *The Art*, pp. 199–201; O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice. Part 1: The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. Vol. 1: Text* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 232–41.
50 Sermon 34; Mango, *The Art*, pp. 203–5.

of gospel narratives in successive panels, of precisely this type, a scheme which Mathews has called the 'selected narrative'. These are not sequential cycles of the main liturgical feasts, as has sometimes been suggested, but Incarnation cycles, progressing in chronological sequence around the nave, which could be expanded and contracted as required, with an emphasis on Christ's passion and resurrection, on the fate of his body. Some of the major surviving early examples are in Greece, at Hosios Loukas in Phocis, at the Nea Moni on the island of Chios, and at the Church of the Dormition at Daphni, near Athens, all of them monastic churches. At Daphni, the latest of these, around 1100, a new subject enters the programme – a sequence illustrating the early life of the Virgin in the narthex, drawn from the Protoevangelium of James, and the Dormition on the west wall of the nave, from one of the apocryphal narratives of the Virgin's death.[51]

Here the gospel narrative functions variously. In one way, it serves a didactic purpose, to bring before the eyes and minds of the faithful the life and actions of Christ and to stir the observer to emulation. The worshipper, ringed around with the example of Christ's life, and standing beneath his Lord in the cupola, is confirmed in understanding and faith and assisted in his transformation and assimilation with Christ.[52] In another way, the events can be deployed so as to articulate the liturgical use of the interior. Thus the Annunciation, the gateway to redemption and salvation, at the outset of the sequence, is usually set on a pier between nave and sanctuary. Events in which the Holy Spirit plays a major part – such as the Annunciation, the Pentecost and the throne prepared for the coming of the Lord – are also located in the vicinity of the altar, at which the Holy Spirit is instrumental in the transformation of the elements of the Eucharist into the body and blood of Christ. By contrast, the Last Supper, the Betrayal and the Mission of the Apostles were often set in the narthex because it was there that a monastic community would meet for the night hours, and the Washing of the Feet also, as that rite was performed in the narthex.

51 O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London: Kegan Paul Trench Trubner, 1948); D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*, 2 vols. (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 1985); T. F. Mathews, 'The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration', *Perkins Journal* (July 1988), 11–21; T. F. Mathews, 'Transformation Symbolism in Byzantine Architecture and the Meaning of the Pantokrator in the Dome', in his *Art and Architecture in Byzantium and Armenia. Liturgical and Exegetical Approaches* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), item XIV; T. F. Mathews, *The Art of Byzantium. Between Antiquity and the Renaissance* (London: Everyman, 1998), pp. 106–35.
52 Mathews, 'The Sequel', p. 19.

Cappadocia

A related but somewhat different situation is to be found in the rupestral churches of Cappadocia. During the eighth and ninth centuries, in the period of Iconoclasm, a dominant role in the imagery in these monastic churches in central Anatolia was taken by the Cross.[53] Subsequently, when the veneration of images was reinstated, in the later ninth and early tenth centuries, the upper walls and vaults of these rock-hewn churches were covered with extensive christological programmes, with a variable emphasis laid on the infancy and the passion and afterlife of Christ, and episodes from his ministry and miracle-working also figuring in larger schemes. In the tenth-century church of St Eustachios at Göreme, the scheme is restricted to the infancy of Christ, deployed about a spine of prophets running down the apex of the vault of the nave and framed by images of saints on the lower walls; in the church of St John at Gülü Dere, an Infancy cycle in the half of the vault closest to the sanctuary is set against the Ascension filling the whole western half of the vault, with the Transfiguration on the west tympanum and a framing sequence of episodes from the passion and afterlife on the surrounding walls. The Baptism close to the sanctuary forms a bridge between the two themes.[54]

Within these early Cappadocian cycles certain scenes are given particular emphasis, by their position or by their visual prominence. One of these is the crucifixion, increasing in importance over time but in varying locations, sometimes at the central focus on the north wall of the church and once, at the New Church at Tokali Kilise, in the apse of the sanctuary. Even more prominent is the Ascension, in which Christ's divine nature is manifested at the conclusion of his incarnation; this often dominates the central vault or fills a major tympanum at the western end of the nave. The Transfiguration, in which Christ revealed his divine nature to the apostles during his life on earth, is also commonly given emphasis, often on the west wall of the nave. The Pentecost by contrast is rarer; rather than being associated with the bema and the principal altar, as is the case elsewhere in the Byzantine East, in Cappadocia it is commonly located near the entrance to a church or in the narthex, where on entering the building the faithful are invested with the Holy Spirit. The Last Judgement also makes its appearance in these churches – these are some

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53 C. Jolivet-Lévy, *L'arte della Cappadocia* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2001), pp. 34–40.
54 Ibid., pp. 283, 281.

of the earliest surviving instances of this composition, commonly on the west wall of the nave, its regular position in later centuries.[55]

In the Infancy sequences, particular emphasis is laid on Mary as the Virgin bearing God in her womb and enabling the incarnation at the birth itself. One scene from Christ's childhood which is often particularly highlighted, pairing the Annunciation at the threshold to the sanctuary or, at the Old Church at Tokali Kilise, standing alone on the foot of the sanctuary arch, is the Presentation of the Newborn Christ to Simeon in the Temple. Simeon recognises in the infant the coming passion and death on the cross, in effect foreseeing the Eucharistic sacrifice and offering at the altar (Luke 2: 21–38).[56]

Episodes from the life of Mary figure in a number of churches in the region. The most exceptional case is the Church of Joachim and Anna at Kilil Çukur in which the whole programme of the chapel is given over to the life of the Virgin, with a detailed narrative of her own conception, her infancy and her life as the Mother of Christ in the nave and an image of her as Theotokos ('the one who bore God') with the Christ-child above the apse on the east wall.[57] However, normally only her Presentation in the Temple and her Dormition are represented, both the subjects of major liturgical feasts; the latter is regularly given prominence but is rarely located on the west wall of the nave, the position it normally takes in Byzantine churches.[58]

By contrast, the Old Testament plays a minor role in these Cappadocian churches; those making regular appearances are two scenes from the book of Daniel, the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace and Daniel in the Den of Lions, exemplary visual prayers asking for divine intervention and salvation, and, in the bema of churches, episodes like the Hospitality of Abraham and the Three Youths are deployed as prefigurations of the passion and the Eucharistic sacrifice.[59]

In the cross-in-square Cappadocian churches of the eleventh century the generally chronological sequence of the tenth-century programmes tended to be abandoned in favour of schemes in which the architecture framed related and antithetical assemblages, in which scenes from the infancy were opposed to ones from the passion.[60] An increasing emphasis was laid on the passion and afterlife of Christ.

Panel icons

Biblical imagery was probably quite widely deployed on panel paintings both in the Byzantine East and in western Europe throughout the early Middle Ages.

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55 Ibid., pp. 179–297.   56 Ibid., p. 194.   57 Ibid., pp. 305–6.
58 Ibid., pp. 305–11.   59 Ibid., p. 302.   60 Ibid., pp. 199, 250.

The survivals from the West in this period are minimal; however, it is possible, even probable, that the extensive sequences of narrative pictures from both the Old and the New Testament brought from Rome in 678–80 and 685–6 by Benedict Biscop to furnish his new monastic churches at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow were painted on wooden panels.[61] In the eastern Mediterranean, devotional narrative images – icons – painted on panel probably continued to be a major area of pictorial production. It is not always easy to determine whether particular surviving panels were intended for public or private use but Weitzmann proposes that an early tenth-century icon with Christ washing the feet of the apostles at St Catherine's on Mt Sinai derives from an iconostasis beam (the upper beam of the sanctuary screen) in the church.[62]

The Byzantine secular world

In the Byzantine secular sphere, the tenth- or eleventh-century epic of Digenes Akrites contains a description of the hero's palace on the Euphrates, with pictures in mosaic of heroes of the Old Testament apparently mingled with heroes from classical antiquity on the golden ceilings of dining chambers. The biblical figures included the exploits of Samson, David overcoming Goliath and his subsequent altercations with King Saul, the miracles of Moses and the actions of Joshua.[63] The palace is an imaginary one and the scheme of decoration, in its details, probably fabulously exaggerated, but the fact that the author describes the rooms in these terms suggests that a programme incorporating Old Testament heroes with legendary figures from the Greek past was not unthinkable in the context of a noble residence.

Sculptural relief, church fittings and personal artefacts

Sculptural relief

In the West, biblical imagery was also occasionally represented in relief sculpture. In his great new monastery church of St Riquier at Centula (Abbéville), around 800, Angilbert, one of the leading figures at the court of Charlemagne, described four relief panels, apparently of stucco, gilded, painted and set with

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61 Meyvaert, 'Bede and the Church Paintings', pp. 72–4.
62 K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Vol. I: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 91–3, cat. B. 56, pls. xxxv and cxi.
63 Digenes Akrites, 7, 59–10; E. Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 204–9; Mango, *The Art*, pp. 215–16.

mosaic, with representations of the Nativity, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and the Ascension, situated at the western entrance, at the cross altar in the nave and towards the eastern ends of the side aisles, north and south, staking out the interior with devotional stations, crucial points on the daily processional liturgy of the monks.[64]

A further instance of sculptured reliefs being used for the exemplary articulation of a church occurs in Anglo-Saxon England, at the elite Mercian monastery of Breedon on the Hill, where large figures of the annunciant Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary probably confronted each other across the entrance to the sanctuary, and where a fragmentary relief panel with the Miracle of Cana implies either an extensive carved christological cycle or the use of selected episodes from scripture in a Eucharistic sense in the vicinity of the main altar.[65]

High crosses

A peculiarity of the British Isles in this period was the deployment of biblical imagery on large stone crosses and related monuments, usually standing in the open air. On the cross at Ruthwell, a complex programme from the infancy, ministry and passion glosses the idea of the crucifixion in image and word, with emphasis laid on the Eucharist, on penance, on the forgiveness of sins and the path to redemption;[66] at St Andrew, Auckland, a simpler scheme focuses on key moments in the scheme of redemption and on the imitation of Christ by St Andrew in his own passion.[67] This predilection for outdoor sculpted biblical imagery became even more prevalent in Ireland, where high crosses laden with imagery played a major role in the disposition of monastic settlements, marking liturgical points which punctuated the daily stational liturgy of the community. The programmes were extensive and varied, never the same on two monuments, never straightforward Bible narratives, incorporating episodes from both Testaments, sometimes on opposite faces of a cross, but more commonly in combination, the gospel story dominant with a strong emphasis laid on the passion and on redemption (Fig. 40.3).[68] On

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64 C. Heitz, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne* (Paris: Picard, 1980), pp. 57–8.
65 J. Mitchell, 'England in the Eighth Century. State Formation, Secular Piety and the Visual Arts in Mercia', in V. Pace (ed.), *L'VIII secolo. Un secolo inquieto* (Cividale del Friuli: Commune di Cividale del Friuli, 2010), pp. 262–70, 427–32, figs. 322 and 326.
66 E. Ó'Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood* (London: BL / Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2005), with reference to earlier literature.
67 J. Calvert, 'The Iconography of the St Andrew Auckland Cross', *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984), 543–55.
68 P. Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland. An Iconographic and Photographic Survey* (Bonn: Habelt, 1992).

Fig. 40.3 Muiredach's cross, east face, Monasterboice: Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Moses Drawing Water from the Rock, David and Goliath, Adoration of the Magi, Last Judgement; *c.* 900.

certain ninth-century crosses from Leinster and Ulster, Old Testament scenes along with salvific episodes from the life, ministry and passion of Christ appear to have been selected to evoke the *commendatio animae*, the commendation of the soul at the moment of death, a popular prayer which also had its place at the heart of the liturgy of the Mass, invoking instances of God's saving intervention, bringing succour and deliverance to the faithful in their hour of

need.[69] This transference of biblical imagery to outdoor stone monuments – which may well have been brightly polychrome – in Ireland and in Anglo-Saxon England in complex and exemplary programmes illustrating the fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith, punctuating processional liturgy and framing everyday devotional practice, is one of the most remarkable manifestations of the visual culture of the early medieval West.

Window glass and doors

Stained glass windows with polychrome figural imagery were a new development in western Europe in the immediately post-Roman centuries. The surviving evidence is not sufficient to show whether these extended to complex biblical narratives, but the recent discovery of a meticulously detailed figure of Christ, from the first half of the ninth century, in excavations at the southern Lombard monastery of S Vincenzo al Volturno, suggests that windows were being used to frame elaborate figural imagery in this period.[70] A little more is known of the imagery associated with the doors of churches, although it is likely that storiated doors were always extremely rare in the first millennium and came into somewhat more common use only in the later eleventh century. There was a tradition of wooden doors with figural decoration in Late Antiquity, evidenced in Italy and in Coptic Egypt.[71] In the West, the idea was revived in Ottonian and Salian Germany, in the first half of the eleventh century. At Hildesheim, in 1015, Bishop Bernward hung newly cast great bronze doors, either for the cathedral or possibly for his new basilica of St Michael, with scenes from the Old Testament on the left valve and ones from the New Testament on the right.[72] The Old Testament starts at the top with the creation of Adam, ending with the murder of Abel by Cain and the New Testament sequence follows directly on with the Annunciation at the

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69 R. Flower, 'Irish High Crosses', *JWCI* 17 (1954), 87–97.

70 F. Dell'Acqua, 'The Christ from San Vincenzo al Volturno. Another Instance of Christ's Dazzling Face', in V. Sauterel (ed.), *Les panneaux des vitrail isolés. Actes du XXIVe Colloque international du Corpus Vitrearum Zurich 2008* (Berne, etc.: Lang, 2010), pp. 11–22.

71 Rome, S. Sabina: G. Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1980); Milan, Sant'Ambrogio: M. P. L. Pedrazzini (ed.), *Milano capitale dell'impero romano 286–402 D.C.* (Milan: Silvana, 1990), pp. 129–32, 186–7; and C. Bertelli, 'Wolvinio e gli angeli', in his *Wolvinio e gli angeli. Studi sull'arte medievale* (Mendrisio Academy Press, 2006), pp. 69–87; and Cairo, St Barbara and the al-Mo'allaqa: M. Zibawi, *L'arte copta. L'Egitto cristiano dalle origini al XVIII secolo* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2003), pp. 45–52.

72 U. Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters 800–1200* (Munich: Hirmer, 1983), pp. 135–6, pls. 9–27; R. Kahsnitz, 'Bronzetüren im Dom', in M. Brandt and A. Eggebrecht (eds.), *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen. Katalog der Ausstellung Hildesheim 1993*, vol. II (Hildesheim: Bernward / Mainz: von Zabern, 1993), pp. 503–12; P. Lasko, *Ars sacra 800–1200*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 115–21.

bottom right and culminates with the risen Christ and Mary Magdalene in the garden (*noli me tangere*) at the top. The subject is the fall and redemption, with Eve and Mary, Adam and Christ juxtaposed as antithetical characters in the sacred drama. Very different are the bronze doors at Augsburg Cathedral, which are composed of cast panels, in some cases repeated, each with a single figural motif. These include episodes from the Old Testament, God creating Adam and Eve and Samson rending the lion and slaughtering the Philistines, and two compositions of a man with a snake, who has been identified as Moses.[73] A somewhat later pair of figured wooden doors, from around the middle of the century, with an extensive christological cycle, is preserved at St Maria im Kapitol in Cologne.[74]

Another extraordinary piece of church furniture with christological imagery from Bernward's Hildesheim is a great bronze column, a single casting over twelve feet (3.6 m) high, which supported a bronze crucifix made for the basilica of St Michael, which according to a late tradition stood in the eastern crossing behind the altar of the Holy Cross.[75] Twenty-four scenes from the ministry of Christ spiral up its length in unbroken succession, starting with the Baptism and concluding with the Entry into Jerusalem. Here the acts of Christ's active life are laid out in apparently conscious emulation of the victorious military campaign of a Roman emperor, climbing to the summit where Christ crucified stood in place of the bronze statue of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius. The scenes do not follow the exact chronological sequence of any of the Gospels, but they may correspond to the lections of an as yet unidentified liturgical order.

Altars

A further item of church furniture, which, like doors, sometimes supported imagery from scripture, was the altar. Altars constructed of masonry, common in early medieval churches in the West, were probably regularly painted, sometimes with imagery from both Old and New Testaments, as can be seen on the tenth-century altar in S Maria di Vescovio in the Sabina, on which are depicted the Theotokos (Mary, who bore God) flanked by angels and the

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73 Mende, *Die Bronzetüren*, pp. 137–9, fig. 22, pls. 28–39; Lasko, *Ars sacra*, pp. 117–18.
74 R. Wesenberg, *Frühe mittelalterliche Bildwerke. Die Schulen rheinischer Skulptur und ihre Ausstrahlung* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1972), pp. 27–47, figs. 1–2, pls. 38–98 and colour pls.; Lasko, *Ars sacra*, p. 141.
75 R. Kahsnitz, 'Bernwardsäule', in Brandt and Eggebrecht (eds.), *Bernward von Hildesheim*, pp. 540–8; Lasko, *Ars sacra*, p. 121, figs. 164–7.

apostles, Aaron and Melchizedek, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist.[76] Gospel narratives figure on some, like the stone altar of Duke Ratchis at Cividale (737–44), where the Visitation and the Adoration of the Magi are carved on the two flanks with Christ carried by angels – the Ascension – on the front.[77] On the mid-ninth-century golden altar of Wolvinius in S Ambrogio in Milan, Christ in Majesty at the centre of a cross, on the front face, is surrounded by the apostles and flanked by twelve scenes from his life, five from his ministry, emphasis being laid on his divinity, on his miracle-working powers.[78] A series of ivory plaques with christological scenes from Magdeburg have long been thought to derive from the antependium of an altar, covering the whole of Christ's life in some forty to fifty episodes, presented to the newly built cathedral by Otto I in the third quarter of the tenth century, although the size of the plaques and the emphasis given to Christ's ministry might be more appropriate on a pulpit or even a bishop's throne.[79] The selection of episodes on the front of the golden altar in the basilica of St Maria at Aachen, on the other hand, probably a gift of the Emperor Henry II, *c.* 1020 – a dense sequential narrative of episodes running chronologically from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Marys at the Sepulchre of the Resurrected Christ – is more directly related to the passion symbolism associated with an altar.[80] A related object is the late ninth-century portable altar of King Arnulf of Carinthia, the ciborium of which is embellished with scenes from Christ's public life in sheet gold worked in repoussé: the Temptation, the Parable of the Lilies of the Field, the Calling of Peter, the Resuscitation of the Young Man of Nain and the Resurrection of Lazarus.[81] There would seem to have been no fixed canon of practice in the thematic selection of christological scenes for altars in the West in this period.

76 S. Waetzoldt, 'Die Malereien am Hochaltar von S. Maria in Vescovio', *Römische Quartalschrift* 52 (1957), 1–12; C. Montagni and L. Pessa, *Le chiese romaniche della Sabina* (Genoa: Sagep, 1983), p. 67, pls. 42–4.

77 L. Chinellato, 'L'altare di Ratchis. Nota storica ed iconografica', *Vultus Ecclesiae* 5 (Udine, 2004), 9–21.

78 Lasko, *Ars sacra*, pp. 42–6; C. Cupponi (ed.), *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milan: Silvana, 1996).

79 Lasko, *Ars sacra*, pp. 88–90; M. Puhle (ed.), *Otto der Grosse. Magdeburg und Europa* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2001), pp. 363–80, cat. v. 35.

80 E. G. Grimme, 'Der Aachener Domschatz', *Aachener Kunstblätter* 42 (1972), 29–30, pls. 16–21; Lasko, *Ars sacra*, p. 131, pl. 180.

81 P. E. Schramm and F. Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. 768–1250* (Munich: Prestel, 1962), pp. 139, 270–1, cat. 61; H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (London: Faber, 1967), p. 38, pl. 8; Lasko, *Ars sacra*, pp. 56–7.

Veils and hangings

In the context of the church, textiles constituted another medium which could serve as a support for biblical imagery. The *Liber Pontificalis* of the Church of Rome records in detail papal gifts to churches, registering the extraordinary quantities of fine textiles, altar cloths (*vestes*), small curtains or drapes (*vela*) and large curtains (*cortinae*) given during the last quarter of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century. Scenes from the Old Testament rarely figure on these – there are occasional images of Daniel – but representations of the life of Christ were common, and scenes relating to the apostles and to the life of the Virgin Mary are also recorded. [82] On altar cloths these included frequent depictions of the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple, and single instances of the Massacre of the Innocents and Christ among the Doctors in the Temple; episodes from Christ's ministry are less common, with a few cases of the Baptism but only single examples of the Calling of the Apostles, the Healing of the Blind, the Multiplications of the Loaves and Fishes, and Zacchaeus. The passion is widely represented with a few examples of the Entry into Jerusalem and the Last Supper, a dozen of the Crucifixion and thirty-eight cases of the Resurrection. The Ascension and the Pentecost are also common.[83] Episodes from the life of the Virgin are recorded, as on a cloth with golden discs with scenes of the Annunciation and Joachim and Anna given to S Maria Maggiore by Leo III (795–816),[84] and the image of the Assumption on a golden jewelled cloth presented by Pope Hadrian I (772–95) to the high altar of S Maria Maggiore;[85] there were also occasionally episodes from the lives of St Peter and St Paul and the apostles. In the ninth century larger hangings (*vela* and *cortinae*) are also sometimes recorded as carrying narrative scenes, like the great curtain in golden cloth with the Annunciation and the Nativity which was hung on the triumphal arch of S Paolo fuori le mura under Gregory IV (827–44).[86]

82 J. Croquison, 'L'iconographie chrétienne à Rome d'après le "Liber Pontificalis"', *Byzantion* 34 (1964), 535–606, at pp. 577–606; J. Osborne, 'Textiles and their Painted Imitations in Early Medieval Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992), 309–51, at p. 315.

83 Croquison, 'L'iconographie chrétienne', pp. 583–7.

84 *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols., rev. edn (Paris: de Boccard, 1981), vol. II, p. 9, line 3; *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. R. Davis, Translated Texts for Historians 13 (Liverpool University Press, 1992), p. 193.

85 *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. I, p. 500, lines 1–2; *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. Davis, p. 144.

86 *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. II, p. 79, lines 8–9; *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis). The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from A.D. 817–891*, trans. R. Davis, Translated Texts for Historians 20 (Liverpool University Press, 1995), p. 62.

On these cloths and hangings, scenes were often represented in pairs or groups, commonly in medallions: the Annunciation and the Nativity,[87] the Annunciation, the Presentation and Christ among the Doctors,[88] the Crucifixion, Ascension and the Pentecost.[89] Narrative sequences of this type also often figure on sets of hangings. Thus at S Maria Maggiore, Paschal I (817–24) hung the arches of the presbytery with twenty-six golden veils with scenes from the life of Christ and the Nativity and Assumption of the Virgin;[90] the same pope gave two sets of forty-six veils to St Peter's, for the columns of the sanctuary, one with miracles of the apostles, the other with scenes of Christ's passion and resurrection,[91] the two sets presumably to be hung in different seasons, Lent and Easter.[92] These textiles, altar cloths and curtains, silks worked with gold, must have played a dominant role in the visual apparel of churches and would have been major statements of Christian narrative and doctrine, designed to inflect and punctuate the liturgy.

Books

Books, which played a major role in the public liturgy of the church, could also carry christological imagery on their public fronts, their covers. Following Late Antique precedent, books produced in the orbit of Charlemagne's court in the years around 800 were commonly embellished with carved ivory panels. In the case of the Lorsch Gospels, the Nativity and the Annunciation to the shepherds served as a kind of predella (a small subordinate lower panel), illustrating the moment of the incarnation, beneath the main image of the Mother of God with the Christ-child on the front cover, and on the back the three magi shown twice, first attending the false monarch Herod and second presenting their gifts to Christ the true king.[93] Around the middle of the ninth century a de luxe altarbook made for Drogo, archbishop of Metz, was fitted with ivory covers with the Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi and Massacre of the Innocents on the front, and episodes from the passion culminating in

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87 *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. II, p. 79, line 9; *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, trans. Davis, 62.

88 *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. II, p. 146, lines 12–14; *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, trans. Davis, p. 182.

89 *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. II, p. 32, line 27; *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. Davis, p. 182.

90 *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. II, p. 61, lines 24–5; *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, trans. Davis, p. 27.

91 *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. II, p. 62, lines 17–19; *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, trans. Davis, p. 29.

92 Croquison, 'L'iconographie chrétienne', p. 599.

93 Lasko, *Ars sacra*, pp. 19–21, figs. 27–8; P. Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings. Early Christian to Romanesque* (London: V & A Publishing, 2010), pp. 168–75, cat. 45.

the Crucifixion on the rear cover, making exemplary distinction between the actions: the greeting of Gabriel to Mary at the Annunciation on the front set against that of Judas to Christ at the Betrayal on the back, the magi offering their gifts to the Messiah Christ set against Christ before the pagan Roman official Pilate, and the violent massacre of the children on the front cover set against the death of Christ and the thieves on their crosses on the rear.[94] Here the word of God in its public liturgical use is exemplified in images which mark out an itinerary to salvation.

Caskets and reliquaries

Another category of artefact which played a central role in public as well as private life and devotion in the early medieval period is the reliquary casket. Generally these did not carry narrative imagery but notable exceptions are two cross reliquaries made for Pope Paschal I (817–824), with sequences of scenes from the life of Christ.[95] The first of these consists of a large cruciform box housed within a rectangular gilded silver casket. The lid of the cruciform reliquary, which contained a fragment of the True Cross, is adorned in cloisonné enamel with scenes from Christ's infancy with the Nativity at the centre. In these Mary is visually prominent, making the incarnation the heart of the programme, with the Virgin and the Cross, present in both relic and container, embodied as the primary vehicles of redemption.[96] The silver rectangular casket has a straightforward Infancy cycle on its sides but with extraordinary emphasis laid on Mary, who is visually dominant throughout; in a unique image she is shown enthroned in the Presentation while the priest Simeon advances with inclined head to receive the infant Christ from her.[97] Mary is given exceptional prominence also on the second gilded silver cross reliquary of Paschal, which carries christological narratives on all its exposed surfaces.[98] On all three of these reliquaries, Pope Paschal deployed episodes from the Gospels to proclaim the instrumental role of the cross in the incarnation and resurrection, the part played by Mary as the principal mediator between humankind and God, the real, sacramental and symbolic role of both in the establishment of the church on earth, and finally the primacy of the Church of Rome.

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94 Lasko, *Ars sacra*, pp. 36–7, figs. 47–8.
95 E. Thunø, *Image and Relic. Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2002), pp. 17–127.
96 Ibid., pp. 25–51, pls. I–II.   97 Ibid., pp. 53–78, pl. II, figs. 35–9.
98 Ibid., pp. 79–117, pl. III, figs. 65–79.

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Equally recherché and contrived in its way is the extraordinary silver-plated reliquary arch, commissioned as the support for a large cross, which Charlemagne's councillor and confidant, Einhard, presented to his abbey of Maastricht. Conceived in the form of a Roman triumphal arch, this was embellished with figures in repoussé, including two narratives on the narrow ends – corresponding images of the Annunciation and John the Baptist bearing witness to Christ as the Lamb of God. These two actions introduced the incarnation and the sacrificial death of Christ, the two foundations of redemption, two revelatory annunciations, which presaged the passion and resurrection, for which the Cross was the vehicle.[99]

In the secular realm, the Franks Casket, a luxury whalebone box, produced by a workshop working for elite clients possibly in Northumbria in the eighth century, provides a unique instance combining biblical imagery – the Adoration of the Magi – with scenes taken from Germanic mythology and Roman history, framed by complex, allusive, cryptic, riddling runic inscriptions, to reveal its function and its contents, in the public/private arena of marriage.[100]

Jewellery

A further large arena in which biblical imagery was widely deployed in the immediate post-Antique centuries was about the person, on finger rings, on pectoral necklaces, on pectoral crosses and on clothing. These artefacts, like the Franks Casket, functioned in the personal sphere but they can also legitimately be considered as operating in the public realm, designed to engage and communicate with those whom the wearer met in the course of daily life.[101]

From the beginning of our period, in the sixth and seventh centuries, there are wedding rings with octagonal hoops, carrying an image of Christian marital concord on the bezel and on the ring a sequence of seven scenes from the life of Christ, typically, on an example in London, four from the infancy,

99 H. Belting, 'Das Zeugnis des Johannes und die Verkündigung an Maria. Die beiden Szenen des Einhardsbogens', in K. Hauck (ed.), *Das Einhardkreuz: Voträge und Studien der Münsteraner Diskussion zum Arcus Einhardi* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1974), pp. 68–81, esp. pp. 79–81; pls. 31.1, 33.1 and final plate.
100 N. F. Onesti, 'Roman Themes in the Franks Casket', in R. Brusegan and A. Zironi (eds.), *L'antichità nella cultura europea del medioevo* (Greifswald: Reineke, 1998), pp. 295–311.
101 H. Maguire, 'The Cult of the Mother of God in Private', in M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God. Representations of the Mother of God in Byzantine Art* (Milan: Skira, 2000), pp. 279–88.

then Baptism, Crucifixion and Resurrection.[102] Here the christological scenes as well as the octagonal form of the ring, with its numerological evocation of salvation and eternal felicity, would have provided spiritual example, support and protection to the bridal couple. Other wedding rings carry just one such narrative, in some cases the Annunciation,[103] or, on a ring in Baltimore, the Ascension.[104] Here apotropaic power is concentrated into one image, the gate to the incarnation and redemption or Christ's heavenly ascent and final triumph over death.

Christological imagery also figures prominently on necklaces. A splendid gold pectoral from late Roman Egypt, from the early seventh century, now in Berlin, supports a large pendent medallion which carries an image of the Annunciation on the front and the Miracle of Cana on the back, the latter accompanied by the words 'first of signs', in Greek.[105] Both faces of the large imitation imperial medallion which forms the centrepiece of the main torque of this neckpiece bear the inscription 'Lord help/protect the wearer'. In similar mode, a gold medallion, in London, carries the Adoration of the Magi on one side, with the inscription 'Lord protect the wearer, Amen', and on the other the Ascension, with 'Our peace we leave with you' (John 14:27).[106] These are impressive instances of the use of biblical images as apotropaic devices in this period, calling up the prime images associated with the incarnation, Christ's first miracle and his glorious triumph over death, as all-powerful amuletic signs to protect the wearer from harm and misadventure caused by malignant spirits.

Clothing

Another common support for biblical imagery about the person was clothing. From the fourth and fifth centuries images were increasingly worked into garments. The majority of these were secular or mythological in subject but a significant proportion carried Christian imagery, increasingly so in the sixth

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102 D. Buckton (ed.), *Byzantium* (London: British Museum, 1994), pp. 98–9, cat. 106; A. Yeroulanou, 'The Mother of God in Jewellery', in Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God*, pp. 227–35, at p. 232, pl. 181; Maguire, 'The Cult', pp. 280–1.
103 Maguire, 'The Cult', p. 281; R. Cormack and M. Vassilaki (eds.), *Byzantium 330–1453* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008), pp. 415–16, cat. 147.
104 A. Garside (ed.), *Jewelry. Ancient to Modern* (New York: Viking, 1980), p. 152, cat. 427.
105 W. Dennison, 'A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period from Egypt', in W. Dennison and C. R. Morey, *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1918), pp. 88–166, at pp. 121–35, pls. xiv–xvii; Cormack and Vassilaki (eds.), *Byzantium 330–1453*, pp. 410–11, cat. 127.
106 Cormack and Vassilaki (eds.), *Byzantium 330–1453*, pp. 85, 385, cat. 28.

Fig. 40.4 Tapestry-woven medallion with scenes from the life of Joseph; 7th–8th century.

and subsequent centuries.[107] Asterius, bishop of Amaseia in the fourth century, described this phenomen, assailing those who wore garments embroidered with scenes of Christ working miracles: 'gay-coloured dresses decorated with thousands of figures . . . When they come out in public dressed in this fashion, they appear like painted walls to those they meet . . . In doing this they consider themselves to be religious and to be wearing garments that are agreeable to God'.[108] Maguire has argued that, as with the contemporary pendants,

107 H. Maguire, 'Garments Pleasing to God. The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 216–24.
108 *Homilia* 1; *pg* 40, col. 168; Mango, *The Art*, pp. 50–1.

depictions of episodes from Christ's infancy and his miracles were worn on clothes as charms to ensure success and good health and to protect the wearer from harm. The scenes are often compressed and simplified to little more than signs and are reproduced more than once on the same garment, as if to gain potency and effectiveness by repetition. A commonly reproduced sequence of episodes from the Old Testament story of Joseph, in which his brothers take his many-coloured coat, throw him into a well and sell him to passing Ishmaelites, culminating in his arrival in Egypt and his dream of the sun, moon and stars which presaged his future advancement and triumph, can be understood in this way (Fig. 40.4). In this narrative Joseph triumphs over the jealousy of his brothers – here serving visually as a canonical instance of the subjugation of envy, *invidia*, which in the late Roman world was seen as the principal cause of misfortune, affecting health, the home, possessions or state of mind.[109] On one level, these amuletic depictions were aimed at what Maguire has called an unseen audience, and were designed to invoke the assistance of holy powers and counter the effects of malign influences. However, as Asterius of Amaseia had recognised, the biblical narratives depicted on these were also public statements.[110]

Conclusion

The half-millennium following the final effective disintegration of the Roman world system in the decades around 600 witnessed an engagement with the Bible in the public visual arena which was dynamic, inventive and extremely varied. On the one hand, the traditions of deploying biblical imagery in churches, on artefacts and also about the person, which had evolved in the fifth and sixth centuries, continued to be followed and developed. On the other hand, fresh patterns and emphases in devotion emerged which called for new schemes. The narratives from the Old and New Testaments were deployed to various ends; to tell and instruct, to invite active mental and emotional engagement, to compel immediate empathetic experience of moments of sacred history, to articulate and structure the liturgical and social functioning of a sacred space, always to confirm and construct the identity and status of institution and patron, and continually, both on walls and about the person, to function in an amuletic sense, to harness the power and divine agency exemplified in the scene depicted to offer protection against danger and ambient malevolence of all kinds. In all this imagery, often ambitious, visually

109 Maguire, 'Garments', pp. 221–4.   110 Ibid., p. 220.

arresting and ingeniously contrived, there tends to be a sense of adventure and experimentation in the way scripture is visually accommodated to the public requirements of society in the early medieval period, rather different from the increasingly canonical, typologically complex programmes of the succeeding age.

The Bible in public art, 1050–1450

C. M. KAUFFMANN

The subheadings used below – wall paintings and mosaics, sculpture, stained glass, altarpieces – which are supplemented by references to textiles, reliquaries and altar furniture, provide an indication of the enormous amount of material involved in this topic, even though a large proportion no longer survives.

Purpose and audience

Gregory the Great's twofold justification of images, that they can teach the unlettered and also stimulate religious emotion,[1] remained standard throughout the Middle Ages. Bonaventure and Durandus were among those who quoted Gregory's dictum. Jean Gerson compared a good sermon with a pious painting in its ability to 'inspire devotion' and John Mirk, in defending images against the Lollards, insisted that 'there are many thousand people who could not imagine in their hearts how Christ was treated on the cross, except as they learnt it from the sight of images and paintings'.[2]

Durandus' emphasis on the symbolism of the medieval church and its liturgy[3] was taken up during the early twentieth century by Emile Mâle, whose

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1 *Epistolae*, IX. 209 and XI. 10, discussed by L. G. Duggan, 'Was Art Really the Book of the Illiterate?', *Word and Image* 5 (1989), 227–51; C. M. Chazelle, 'Pictures, Books and the Illiterate. Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles', *Word and Image* 6 (1990), 138–53.

2 These sources and recent commentaries are discussed by J. F. Hamburger, 'The Place of Theology in Medieval Art History. Problems, Positions, Possibilities', in J. F. Hamburger and A.-M. Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye. Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 11–31, esp. pp. 14–15; also the introduction to T. E. A. Dale (ed.), *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting. Essays in Honour of Otto Demus* (London: Pindar, 2004), pp. 7–16. For Mirk, see J. A. Ford, *John Mirk's Festial. Orthodoxy, Lollardy and the Common People in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), pp. 146–7.

3 *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, 1.3; *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, trans. J. M. Neale and B. Webb (Leeds: T. W. Green, 1843), pp. 51–83.

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influence on the subject has been profound. Mâle stressed the fundamental importance of the text behind the image, but when it came to New Testament depictions in churches it was, he said, the liturgy which determined the choice of scenes. Life of Christ cycles were largely limited to the childhood and passion with very little depiction of the ministry because of the liturgical emphasis on Christmas-Epiphany and Holy Week respectively.[4] This may be applicable to France but in other countries, as we shall see, Christ's miracles were commonly depicted in churches.

Nevertheless, a general relationship of art and liturgy remained widely acknowledged and in recent decades detailed studies of this relationship have become central to research in this field. A study of the well-known relief of the penitent Eve from the lintel of the north portal at Autun Cathedral concluded that the lintel and the tympanum above with the raising of Lazarus (destroyed) identified it as the portal of penance and confession by which penitents entered the church on Maundy Thursday.[5]

Such detailed linkage of biblical imagery in churches with the liturgy has recently covered all media and most countries – for example, the Romanesque wall paintings in Lambach, Austria, in Brinay, central France, and in the Panteón de los Reyes, León,[6] the reliefs on the portal royal at Chartres[7] and the thirteenth-century paintings on the vaults of the crossing at Salisbury Cathedral (destroyed)[8] and of the nave at Bominaco in the Abruzzi.[9] Not all these interpretations are wholly convincing, but they have certainly broadened the scope of the study of the subject.

Other research has stressed the impact of political concerns, most strongly the royal propaganda in the twelfth-century Sicilian mosaics[10] and the influence of Gregorian reform, specifically the attack on simony which has been detected in the centrality of the cleansing of the Temple and the payment of

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4 E. Mâle, *The Gothic Image. Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century* (New York: Harper, 1958), p. 179.

5 O. K. Werckmeister, 'The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from St Lazare, Autun', *JWCI* 35 (1972), 1–30. For a general assessment of liturgical sources, see R. E. Reynolds, 'Liturgy and Monument', in V. C. Raguin et al. (eds.), *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings* (University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 57–68.

6 For Lambach, Brinay and León, see below, pp. 793–5. For a general survey, see the introduction to Dale (ed.), *Shaping Sacred Space*, pp. 17–21.

7 M. Fassler, 'Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympanum at Chartres', *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993), 499–520.

8 M. M. Reeve and O. H. Turner, 'Mapping Space, Mapping Time. The Thirteenth-Century Vault Paintings at Salisbury Cathedral', *Antiquaries Journal* 85 (2005), 57–102.

9 J. Baschet, *Lieu sacré, lieu d'images. Les fresques de Bominaco (Abruzzi 1263)* (Paris and Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991).

10 See below, pp. 793–5.

Judas in the wall paintings at Chalivoy-Milon in central France.[11] The inspiration of the Crusades was seen behind the tympanum at Vézelay, where the mission of the apostles was interpreted as a prototype of the mission of the Crusaders as long ago as 1944.[12] More recently, the fresco cycles in the cathedral of Le Puy and in S Maria in Cosmedin, Rome (destroyed) have been considered to be inspired by crusading ideology.[13] Most of these interpretations imply the influence of theologians on the disposition and iconography of biblical imagery, but what remains a more difficult question is to what extent the different classes of viewer were made aware of such liturgical and ideological content.

The iconography of individual scenes was usually based on pictorial tradition, much of it better preserved in manuscript illumination. Artistic invention or a patron's wishes could be responsible for some changes; major innovations – for example, the more realistic presentation of Christ's suffering on the cross from the thirteenth century – tended to be linked with wider changes in biblical interpretation and devotional practice.[14]

Wall painting and mosaics

Following the tradition established in the early Christian churches of Rome, the major theophanic themes of Christ in majesty or the Virgin and Child provided the focal point in the conche of the apse, while biblical narrative extended in registers on the walls of the nave. As the clergy occupied the choir and the laity the nave, this may be taken as a rare indication of the educational level of different viewers. Yet it becomes blurred when the picture cycle decorating the choir of a parish church is repeated in the nave of a neighbouring church, as happened in the fourteenth century at Chalgrove (Oxfordshire) and Croughton (Northamptonshire).[15]

The most common sequence of narrative scenes in the nave, particularly in Italy from the eleventh century, dubbed the 'wrap-around' system, begins each register at the apse end of the south wall moving to the west door and

11 M. Kupfer, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France. The Politics of Narrative* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 84–94.
12 A. Katzenellenbogen, 'The Central Tympanum at Vézelay', *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944), 141–51.
13 A. Derbes, 'A Crusading Fresco Cycle in the Cathedral of Le Puy', *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991), 561–76, and 'Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes of S. Maria in Cosmedin', *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995), 460–78.
14 G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 2 vols. (Greenwich, CN: New York Graphic Society, 1971–2), E. Kirschbaum (ed.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1968–72).
15 C. M. Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 700–1550* (London: Harvey Miller / Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 255–7.

returning on the north wall towards the apse.[16] In northern Europe, it was more common to start the New Testament sequence at the west end on the north wall, that is to the left on entering the church, continuing to the rood screen and then working back to the west entrance, which was sometimes surmounted by a Last Judgement.[17] The individual pictures tended to be framed in Italian churches, less so in northern Europe.

In chapels, the sequence was often vertical, read either up or down, and there were also narrative scenes below the theophanic image in the apse. Vaults painted with narrative were also common – occasionally a full biblical sequence appeared on a flat wooden ceiling, most notably at Zillis.[18] Domes, particularly in Italian baptisteries, for example in Florence (c. 1300), were sometimes decorated with biblical narrative in circular registers.[19]

Romanesque

In Italy, one of the most complete ensembles is that of S Angelo in Formis, near Capua, a church given to Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, in 1072 and probably completed by the time of his death in 1087.[20] A Byzantine-looking Christ in Majesty in the apse dominates the pictorial programme (Fig. 41.1). The Old Testament cycle in two registers is confined to the aisles and the west wall, surrounding the Last Judgement. The New Testament is in three registers in the nave arranged in the wrap-around system starting at the apse on the south wall. Thirty-nine out of the original fifty-nine New Testament scenes survive, twenty-two of them illustrating Christ's ministry (Fig. 41.2). There is generally one subject per frame, with an explanatory hexameter below. Typical of Romanesque art, the compositions are centred on imposing, hieratic figures, with particular emphasis on their eyes and their expressive gestures, which serve to drive the narrative. The Old Testament scenes, of which only fourteen survive, are not individually paired with the New Testament, but the emphasis on the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, Noah and Abraham has been taken as referring to the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.[21] Precisely to what extent the painters echoed the destroyed cycle of

16 M. A. Lavin, *The Place of Narrative. Mural Decoration in Italian Churches 431–1600* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 7, with diagrams.
17 O. Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting* (New York: Abrams / London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), p. 24.
18 See below, p. 795.   19 Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, p. 40.
20 Demus, *Romanesque*, pp. 294–8, and J. Wettstein, *Sant Angelo in Formis et la peinture médiévale en Campanie* (Geneva: Ambilly-Annemasse, 1960).
21 H. Toubert, *Un art dirigé. Réforme grégorienne et l'iconographie* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), pp. 101–9, and for the Gideon scenes, pp. 139–53, 166–82.

Fig. 41.1 S Angelo in Formis, apse wall painting: Christ in Majesty, *c.* 1072–87

Desiderius at Monte Cassino remains a tantalising question, but it is worth noting that Romanesque wall paintings have survived better in small rural sites than in the great abbeys and cathedrals.

One of several cycles based on the early Christian tradition of St Peter's and S Paolo fuori le mura in Rome is the abbey church of S Pietro at Ferentillo

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Fig. 41.2 S Angelo in Formis, nave wall painting: the Raising of Lazarus, *c.* 1072–87

in Umbria, late twelfth century.[22] Old and New Testament in three registers face each other across the nave, Old Testament on the left, New Testament on the right. Also influenced by the emphasis on Peter and Paul in Roman church decoration is the fresco cycle of the acts of the apostles at the abbey of Nonantola, discovered in 1983.[23]

The fullest biblical narratives are the mosaics of Norman Sicily. The Cappella Palatina, consecrated under King Roger in 1140, has mosaics largely dating from the reign of William I (1154–66), and the cathedral of Monreale, a monastic foundation endowed by William II (1166–89) which became an archiepiscopal see in 1183, has mosaics dating from *c.* 1183–9.[24] Both represent combinations of a Latin basilica and a Greek cross-in-square church; in both

22 Demus, *Romanesque*, p. 302. Demus covers the Romanesque cycles except for Scandinavia, see, for example, U. Haastrup and R. Egevang, *Danske kalkmalerier Romansktid, 1080–1175* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1986).
23 Toubert, *Un art dirigé*, pp. 403–30.
24 O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London: Routledge, 1950), respectively pp. 25–72, 91–177, also 245–65. E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1960).

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the style of the mosaics is Byzantine but they cover the walls from top to bottom, quite unlike the austere, liturgically based system of Byzantine church decoration. In both, Christ Pantocrator dominates the apse; the nave contains scenes of Genesis from the creation to Jacob wrestling with the angel, while the New Testament cycle is in the crossing and transepts. Monreale has the fuller sequence: sixty-two christological scenes in three tiers of which twenty-two are of the miracles, making the largest monumental New Testament cycle of the Middle Ages. For Genesis, there are forty-two pictures containing forty-seven scenes; respectively thirty-two and forty-one at Palermo. Both churches also illustrate the lives of Peter and Paul. At Monreale, the largest panels with the largest figures are in the topmost registers to allow clear visibility from below (Fig. 41.3). In both churches, the mosaics are supplied with inscriptions placed within the pictures, mainly in Latin rather than Greek. Demus's conclusion that 'these illustrations are to be taken at their face value and not as embodying typological or allegorical ideas'[25] was not accepted by Borsook, who based her interpretations on the royal origin of both churches,[26] but the question remains open.

The Monreale mosaics, Byzantine in style and iconography, contrast with the western, Romanesque aspect of the figured bronze doors[27] and the carved capitals in the cloister of *c.* 1172–89, which contain sixteen Old Testament scenes scattered among more numerous decorative carvings.[28] This Sicilian mixture of eastern and western elements is equally true of St Mark's in Venice, where the sculpture of the central portal is in a late Romanesque Italian style, again contrasting with the Byzantine appearance of the mosaics in the interior.[29] The architecture of the five-domed, free cross interior differs fundamentally from the Byzantine cross-in-square church. The decorative programme is highly complex, partly because, unusually, it was carried out over a period of 150 years, from about 1100.[30]

The main apse has Christ (replaced in 1506) with four saints beneath; the east dome Christ Emmanuel (*c.* 1100–20), the central dome the Ascension

25 Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, p. 245.
26 E. Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic. The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily 1130–87* (Oxford University Press, 1990).
27 See below, p. 803.
28 R. Salvini, *The Cloister of Monreale and Romanesque Sculpture in Sicily* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1964).
29 O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice. History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1960), pp. 148–65.
30 O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice. Part 1: The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. Vol. 1: Text*.

Fig. 41.3 Monreale Cathedral, nave mosaic: Jacob leaving home; his vision and anointing the stone of Bethel (type of the Christian altar), *c.* 1183–9

(late twelfth century) and the west dome the Pentecost (*c.* 1150). In the vaults below the central dome there are four gospel scenes centred on the last supper, while the northern vault of the central square contains twenty-nine miracles. A sequence of the life of the Virgin and the infancy of Christ is in the vaults of the transepts. The christological cycle was completed at the end of the twelfth century on the west vault below the central dome with eight scenes of the passion and resurrection.

The undisputed power of Venice after the fourth Crusade led to further campaigns of mosaics in the early thirteenth century, most strikingly the extensive Old Testament cycle from the Creation to Moses in six cupolas and lunettes of the atrium. Whereas the New Testament scenes in the body of the church are dependent on Byzantine iconography, the Creation cycle was shown long ago to be linked with the early sixth-century Cotton Genesis (London, BL, Cotton Otho B. vi). The first three cupolas, Creation to Abraham, have been dated *c.* 1215–25, the second and third Joseph cupolas *c.* 1260 and that of Moses *c.* 1275–80, when the Judgement of Solomon was also added.

In France, the outstanding monument is the late eleventh-century Old Testament cycle on the tunnel vault in the nave of the abbey church of St Savin-sur-Gartempe (Vienne).[31] Thirty-six surviving scenes cover Genesis and Exodus up to Moses receiving the tablets of the Law. The story starts at the west end, and the failure to proceed in a regular sequence from west to east in four registers has been attributed to the incomplete building programme when the painting was under way. There are also repainted remnants of a Passion cycle over the west entrance and a more extensive, but also damaged, Apocalypse sequence in the atrium. Both the Old Testament and, even more so, the Apocalypse are very rare in extant French wall painting.

After St Savin, the best-preserved biblical cycles in France are those at Vicq, Brinay and Chalivoy-Milon, parish churches dependent on monasteries in the diocese of Bourges and all dated *c.* 1125–50.[32] The biblical narrative is almost entirely of the New Testament and, with the exception of one sequence on the transverse wall facing into the nave at Vicq, in each church entirely limited to the choir, indicating that the clergy were envisaged as the principal audience. Vicq has the most engaging and dramatic scenes; the arrangement is disjunctive, with the Passion cycle facing three scenes of the Parable of Dives and Lazarus. At Brinay, there are two registers of Christ's infancy and early public life; the predominance of the magi, covering six scenes, has been

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31 Demus, *Romanesque*, 420–3.   32 Kupfer, *Romanesque Wall Painting*.

linked with the liturgical importance of Epiphany.[33] At Chalivoy-Milon, there are twenty-two gospel scenes, with the infancy in two registers proceeding from left to right on the north side, facing the passion on the opposite wall.

Romanesque painting in Spain is best known from the early twelfth-century images from Tahull in the Museum of Catalan Art at Barcelona, but these contain very little biblical narrative. Of the more extensive biblical cycles, one covers the walls and vault lunettes of a burial chamber: the Panteón de los Reyes linked with the church of S Isidoro at León (c. 1100). Demus attributed the jumbled nature of the scenes on the vault to incompetence, but more recently the extensive infancy of Christ scenes on the walls and arches have been linked with the liturgy.[34] The body of Ferdinand I (d. 1065) was returned to León, probably in the 1080s, on 24 December, and the commemorative ceremony took place during the Christmas vigil.

A more readily comprehensible narrative was, until its destruction in 1936, in the chapter house of the convent of Sigena (Huesca), a large rectangular hall spanned by five arches. Close in style to the later hands of the Winchester Bible and probably the work of English artists, it may be dated c. 1200.[35] Some of the twenty Old Testament scenes, from the Creation to the Anointing of David, in the vault arcades have been preserved in the Barcelona Museum; the New Testament scenes, of which there were originally about fifteen, on the main walls, are known mainly from photographs.

Of the major surviving Romanesque cycles in Germany and Austria, the earliest is in the abbey church of Lambach in upper Austria, consecrated in 1089.[36] The church was much altered in the baroque period and the only wall paintings to survive are on the vault and walls of the west choir. Twenty-three New Testament scenes or fragments survive, covering the infancy and early life to the temptation and ending with two healing miracles. The originality of the cycle lies partly in the extended treatment of the magi (five scenes) and, in particular, of Herod (three largely apocryphal scenes). This has been attributed to the influence of the magi plays and the Epiphany vigils, but a

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33 Ibid., pp. 98–9.
34 Demus, *Romanesque*, pp. 165–6; R. Walker, 'The Wall Paintings in the Panteón de los Reyes at León. A Cycle of Intercession', *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000), 200–25.
35 O. Pächt, 'A Cycle of English Frescoes in Spain', *Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961), 166–75; W. Oakeshott, *Sigena. Romanesque Painting in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists* (London: Harvey Miller, 1972).
36 N. Wibiral, *Die romanische Klosterkirche in Lambach und ihre Wandmalereien* (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998); for the Epiphany cycle, see pp. 20–1.

detailed examination by H.-J. Genge of the picture cycle in relation to the liturgy at Lambach is more tentative in its conclusions.[37]

Two of the major monuments are painted wooden ceilings, of which the one in the former abbey church of St Michael in Hildesheim, Lower Saxony (thirteenth century) figures a huge Tree of Jesse.[38] The earlier one, in the alpine church of St Martin in Zillis near Chur (southern Switzerland), probably mid-twelfth century, contains ninety-eight panels of the life of Christ with a framework of sea monsters at the outer edge.[39] The christological cycle is very full for the infancy scenes, including fifteen panels for the magi, and eight miracles are illustrated in detail, compared with the short and dense treatment of the passion.

In England, the only extensive surviving Romanesque cycles are those at Hardham and Clayton, originally part of a group of five related schemes in Sussex churches dating from about 1100.[40] Hardham has Christ in Majesty with the elders of the apocalypse in the apse, a christological series, including the Parable of Dives and Lazarus in nave and choir, and a Last Judgement on the nave west wall. The story of Adam and Eve on the west wall of the choir includes the highly unusual scene of Eve Milking a Cow as her labour. At Clayton, an extensive treatment of the Last Judgement covers the nave walls. Rare remnants of biblical narrative in a major cathedral are the scenes of the life of St John the Baptist in St Gabriel's Chapel at Canterbury (c. 1130).[41] In the Holy Sepulchre Chapel at Winchester Cathedral are the remains of the Deposition and, below, the Entombment flanked by the Marys at the tomb and the Harrowing of Hell, dating from c. 1180.[42]

Typological cycles

There is clearly an element of prefiguration in all depictions of Old Testament narrative in churches (see Luke 24:44), but strictly defined typological cycles show Old Testament types paired with scenes of their fulfilment in

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37 H.-J. Genge, *Die liturgiegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Lambacher Freskenzyklus* (Münsterschwarzach: Vier Türme, 1972).
38 Demus, *Romanesque*, pp. 614–15.
39 E. Murbach, *The Painted Romanesque Ceiling of St Martin in Zillis* (London: Lund Humphries, 1967).
40 D. Park, 'The Lewes Group of Wall Paintings in Sussex', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1983), 200–37.
41 Demus, *Romanesque*, p. 509.
42 D. Park, 'The Wall Paintings of the Holy Sepulchre Chapel', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1980 (London: British Archaeological Association, 1983), pp. 38–62.

the New Testament.[43] Such pairings were described by Bede in the abbey church at Jarrow in *c.* 682. For our period, an early documented example is provided by the *tituli* prepared by Ekkehard IV of St Gall for Mainz Cathedral at the request of Bishop Aribo (d. 1031). The typological series painted on the vault of the chapter house at Worcester Cathedral in *c.* 1120 has recently been reconstructed with the aid of the surviving descriptive verses, the depictions in a Worcester manuscript (Eton, Eton College Library, 177, *c.* 1260) and three enamelled ciboria of *c.* 1160 with closely similar imagery (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library).[44] The reconstruction shows one New Testament scene with three Old Testament types in each of the ten bays of the vault. In France, in 1144, Abbot Suger of St Denis commissioned an enamelled cross with sixty-eight Old and New Testament scenes from a Mosan goldsmith, and from that period the Crucifixion surrounded by Old Testament types was a popular subject on Mosan crosses, portable altars and reliquaries.[45] Most notable of such typological church furnishings is the ambo by Nicholas of Verdun at Klosterneuburg in Austria, which has fifty-one enamel plaques under the titles *ante legem*, *sub legem* and *sub gratia*.[46] The largest collection of types and antitypes is that in the so-called *Pictor in carmine* of *c.* 1200, with 138 New Testament subjects and 508 Old Testament types clearly intended to be used by artists.[47]

Wall painting: later Middle Ages, 1250–1450

In northern Europe, two factors militated against the production of painted biblical cycles in later medieval churches. Architectural changes led to an increase in the number and size of windows, leaving fewer surfaces for wall paintings, and the growing emphasis on purgatory and the consequent need for intercession led to an increase of images of saints and a gradual decline in biblical subjects. On the walls of churches in post-Black Death England,

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43 For a summary and bibliography, see Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery*, pp. 79–84.

44 T. A. Heslop, 'Worcester Cathedral Chapter house and the Harmony of the Testaments', in P. Binski and W. Noel (eds.), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures. Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), pp. 280–311.

45 E. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St Denis* (Princeton University Press, 1948), pp. 56, 176; and J. Stiennon and R. Lejeune (eds.), *Rhin-Meuse. Art et Civilisation 800–1200* (Brussels: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1972), G13, 17, 21.

46 F. Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar* (Stift Klosterneuburg, 1955).

47 M. R. James, 'Pictor in carmine', *Archaeologia* 94 (1951), 141–66. K. A. Wirth, *Pictor in Carmine. Ein typologisches Handbuch aus der Zeit um 1200* (Berlin: Mann, 2006).

biblical imagery, with the exception of the last judgement, is almost totally absent.

One of the few extensive cycles was situated in a secular setting: the Painted Chamber in the palace of Westminster.[48] What was left of these paintings was destroyed in the great fire of 1843 but we are fortunate in having copies made in 1819 by Charles Stothard (Society of Antiquaries) and Edward Crocker (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). The Old Testament scenes were arranged round the walls in six bands, one above the other from dado to ceiling. The upper register contained an extensive series of pictures from 1 Maccabees showing the death of Judas Maccabeus, the epitome of the heroic ruler. Apart from Maccabees, the Painted Chamber contained illustrations to Judges, Samuel and Kings, of which only the sequence of 2 Kings remained in 1819. These stories of good and bad rulers were clearly relevant in the setting of a king's audience chamber. These paintings are now tentatively dated *c.* 1292–7 under the patronage of Edward I.

In Italian churches, relatively untouched by the innovations of Gothic architecture, there was a revival of wall decoration in the second half of the thirteenth century.[49] The growing cult of St Francis made Assisi an international pilgrimage centre. In the nave of the lower church of S Francesco, wall paintings of *c.* 1253–66 show five christological scenes on the wall to the right of the apse, facing five scenes from the life of St Francis as a parallel on the opposite wall.

In the upper church of S Francesco at Assisi,[50] the international connections of the Franciscan order led to the introduction of a series of stained glass windows, by a German workshop in *c.* 1277–8, with Old and New Testament scenes. In the nave, round these windows, in two registers each running east to west, sixteen scenes of Genesis faced sixteen of the New Testament in the tradition of early Christian cycles in Rome. In some instances, there is a clear concordance – the Entombment is opposite Joseph in the Well – but on the whole the two series form a general parallel rather than a pairing of individual scenes. The scheme is completed by the addition of a St Francis cycle beneath the biblical scenes. In the left transept, there are five scenes from the Apocalypse, balanced by the lives of Peter and Paul on the right.

48 P. Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986).
49 Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, pp. 27–70; J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250–1400*, 2nd edn, Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), pp. 91–157.
50 H. Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi* (Berlin: Mann, 1977).

At the same period, under the papacy of Nicholas III (1277–80) and Nicholas IV (1288–92), there was a revival of church decoration in Rome.[51] Pietro Cavallini undertook the six mosaics of the life of the Virgin below the twelfth-century apse mosaic of the Coronation of the Virgin in S Maria in Trastevere (1298–1300), just after Jacopo Torriti had completed the apse mosaic, also with the Coronation of the Virgin and narrative scenes below, in S Maria Maggiore. Of Cavallini's biblical wall paintings in S Cecilia in Trastevere, only the monumental Last Judgement survives.

Many of the monuments of early Renaissance Italian painting are on the walls of private chapels, and one of the earliest is the Arena Chapel, dedicated to the Madonna della Carità, in Padua, which Giotto was commissioned to decorate by the banker Enrico Scrovegni (Fig. 41.4).[52] Built in 1303–5 to expiate his father's sin of usury, Scrovegni had a broader audience in mind than just his family. In 1304, Benedict XI offered indulgences to those who 'visit the chapel in the spirit of humility . . . having confessed and fully penitent', and it was open to the public several times during the liturgical year.[53]

Working from east to west and west to east in the wrap-around system, Giotto painted thirty-nine scenes in three registers, modified on the south wall to allow for the windows. Starting at the top level, the cycle begins with twelve scenes from the apocryphal infancy and youth of the Virgin, followed by the Annunciation and Visitation on the triumphal arch and continuing along the north and south walls with six scenes of the infancy of Christ and seventeen of the passion and resurrection. The sequence ends with the Last Judgement, with Scrovegni kneeling below, on the west wall. The emphasis on Judas' Betrayal, which is placed on the triumphal arch opposite the Visitation and following on from the Cleansing of the Temple, has been linked with Scrovegni's expiation of his father's usury.

In Italy, as in northern Europe, images of saints and scenes from their lives predominated over biblical narrative in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century wall paintings. One of the most famous monuments with biblical content is the Brancacci chapel in S Maria del Carmine, Florence, decorated by Masaccio

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51 White, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 144–61. P. Hetherington, *Pietro Cavallini* (London: Sagittarius, 1979), pp. 13–58.
52 L. Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel. Art, Architecture and Experience* (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2008); A. Derbes and M. Sandona, *The Usurer's Heart. Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in Padua* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008). The latter revives the 'expiation for usury' interpretation which is confuted by Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, pp. 7–12, 191–202.
53 Derbes and Sandona, *The Usurer's Heart*, p. 2.

Fig. 41.4 Arena Chapel, Padua, view of the east end, wall paintings by Giotto, 1303–5: Judas' Betrayal on the left of the triumphal arch

and Masolino in the mid-1420s. Depictions of the Fall and Expulsion at the entrance are followed by extensive scenes of the life of St Peter, taken mainly from the Acts, arranged in a complex sequence on three walls of the chapel.[54]

54 P. Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino. A Complete Catalogue* (London: Phaidon, 1993), pp. 313–49.

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Notwithstanding the greatly increased naturalism in the work, respectively, of Giotto and Masaccio, the biblical cycles are still largely made up of separate scenes and it is worth noting that the earliest example of a more fluid narrative form, with a sequence of numerous scenes within one panel, is on Ghiberti's second bronze doors (c. 1437) of the baptistery in Florence (see Fig. 41.8).[55]

Sculpture

Romanesque

The revival of monumental architectural sculpture, linked with large-scale building programmes and monastic reform, took place in the eleventh century. An early example, carved in flat relief with Christ and the apostles, is the lintel at St Genis-des-Fontaines in Roussillon (1020–1).[56] Figured capitals, including some with biblical scenes, appear on the ground floor of the tower porch of the abbey church of St Benoît-sur-Loire (c. 1050–75).[57]

The cloister of the Cluniac abbey of Moissac in Languedoc (c. 1100) is one of the earliest to contain numerous capitals carved with biblical subjects.[58] There are eleven scenes of the Old Testament and twenty-four of the New Testament, including some miracles, two parables, the lives of Peter and Paul and the Apocalypse, as well as the infancy of Christ. Scattered among capitals carved with floral ornament and animals, they are in no particular order and, impressive as they are individually, they do not form a coherent programme. At St Lazare, Autun, which was consecrated in 1130, there are nine Old Testament and nineteen New Testament scenes on capitals in the choir and nave, some in coherent groups, such as the infancy series in the north side of the choir near the north entrance.[59] Yet even here the majority are scattered among non-biblical subjects and the same applies to those, mainly Old Testament, in the nearby abbey church at Vézelay.[60]

For more consistent programmes at this period one must look to portals rather than capitals. We can gather from the eleventh-century drawing of the fifth-century mosaic of Christ with the Twenty-four Elders on the façade of

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55 See below, p. 810.
56 M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1981), pp. 26–7; T. Droste, *Die Skulpturen von Moissac. Gestalt und Funktion romanischer Bauplastik* (Munich: Hirmer, 1996), p. 33.
57 E. Vergnolle, *St Benoît-sur-Loire et la sculpture du XIe siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1985).
58 Droste, *Die Skulpturen von Moissac*, pp. 64–151.
59 D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus Sculptor of Autun* (London: Trianon, 1961), pp. 57–67, esp. p. 66.
60 F. Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay. L'oeuvre des sculpteurs* (Paris: Société Française d'Archéologie, 1995), pp. 152–61.

Old St Peter's (Eton, Eton College Library, 124), that great importance had long been attached to the imagery visible at the entrance to a church. The visitor was transformed from rapid physical movement into a more spiritual mood, a preparation for entering the sacred space of the church interior. Some major monuments have relief friezes on the façade, notably, for example, at the cathedrals of Modena, with scenes of Genesis (c. 1100), and Lincoln, with Genesis and the Last Judgement (c. 1140).[61] Romanesque portals of the period 1090–1150 may lack the programmatic coherence and complexity of the three west portals of Chartres Cathedral, but their message is clear. The tympana predominantly deal with the Second Coming of Christ at the end of time, a triumphal image, often with the Virgin in the lintel to affirm the humanity as well as the divinity of Christ. Variations are considerable, but the majority may be grouped under the general headings of the Ascension, often with angels carrying Christ in mandorla (as at Cluny and Charlieu, Toulouse, Petershausen near Constance, Ely and Rochester), the Last Judgement (Beaulieu, Conques, Autun) and Christ in Majesty, the most popular of all.[62] Other biblical subjects also appear on tympana, for example the Sacrifice of Isaac below the Lamb at S. Isidoro, León, south portal (c. 1120). The tympanum at Verona Cathedral (1139) has a central Virgin and Child, with the Adoration of the Magi, which became a popular theme from this period.[63]

A masterpiece of the genre, the tympanum at Moissac (variously dated 1115–30) shows the apocalyptic vision of the Second Coming, with Christ Adored by the Twenty-four Elders (Fig. 41.5).[64] The theme is amplified by reliefs on the side walls of the porch: scenes of the infancy of Christ on the right, facing the Parable of Dives and Lazarus, symbolising the Last Judgement, on the left. Moissac also has the stepped portal with a series of decoratively carved voussoirs, as well as figures on the jambs, from which the fully fledged Gothic portal was to develop.

At Vézelay, which catered for pilgrims visiting the shrine of the Magdalen, there is a more fully worked out programme over three portals in the narthex (c. 1130–40).[65] The central tympanum has Christ sending out the apostles on

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61 Respectively, G. H. Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy* (London: Routledge, 1954), pp. 3–16, and G. Zarnecki, *Romanesque Lincoln. The Sculpture of the Cathedral* (Lincoln: Honywood,1988), pp. 36–89.
62 Y. Christe, *Les grands portails romans. Études sur l'iconologie des théophanes romanes*(Geneva: Droz, 1969), pp. 61–136.
63 Respectively, Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 154, 161.
64 Droste, *Die Skulpturen von Moissac*, pp. 153–205. For problems of dating, see J. Wirth, *La datation de la sculpture médiévale* (Geneva: Droz, 2004), pp. 26–35.
65 Salet, *Cluny et Vézelay*, pp. 85–151.
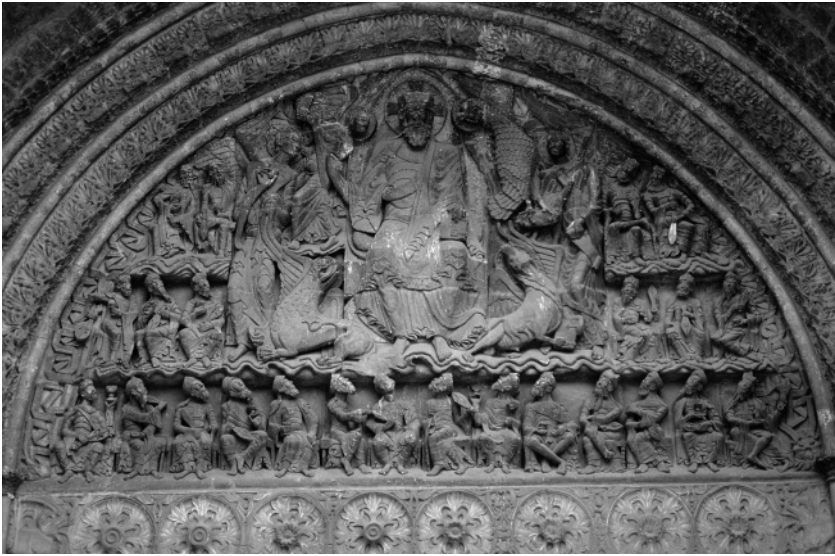
Fig. 41.5 Moissac Abbey, tympanum: Christ Adored by the Twenty-four Elders, *c.* 1115–30

their mission, which has remained a unique image. It is balanced by the Adoration of the Magi, with an Infancy cycle below, on the right tympanum, and by Christ's Appearance to the Apostles prior to the Ascension and the Supper at Emmaus, on the left. Capitals below the infancy scenes are carved with subjects from Samuel, including the Coronation of David, and the inner voussoirs with the occupations of the months and signs of the zodiac to complete the cosmological picture.

Perhaps the most consistent iconographical programme is in the three west portals at the Cluniac abbey of St Gilles-du-Gard in Provence (*c.* 1140–50). The central Majesty tympanum is flanked by tympana with the Adoration of the Magi on the left and the Crucifixion on the right, with a Passion cycle extending from left to right across the façade, below the three tympana. It has been suggested that the emphasis on the passion, and particularly the Crucifixion, rarely depicted on tympana, was a statement against the anti-sacramental doctrines of Peter of Bruys, which had been attacked by Peter the Venerable in 1137–8 and which were seen as the principal heretical views of the time.[66]

66 W. S. Stoddard, *The Façade of St Gilles du-Gard* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), pp. 139–44.

Biblical imagery on the church doors themselves formed a separate tradition going back to early Christian examples such as the early fifth-century wooden doors of S Sabina in Rome. Of carved wooden doors, those at St Maria im Kapitol, Cologne (*c.* 1065), almost three-dimensional, and at Le Puy Cathedral (*c.* 1100–50) in very flat relief, are rare survivors.[67] Both have the infancy on the left wing and the passion on the right, and both have inscriptions. Bronze doors cast with figures, which are recorded from Charlemagne's time, have a better survival rate, though some of the most highly praised, such as those of Abbot Suger at St Denis (1140),[68] have long disappeared. Out of some twenty major survivors prior to the fifteenth century, six have extensive biblical cycles.[69]

The earliest, in the west portal of Hildesheim Cathedral (1015), unusually with each wing cast in one piece, has eight Genesis scenes from the Creation to Cain and Abel in the left wing, read from top downwards, balanced by eight gospel scenes on the right, read from bottom to top. The twelfth-century bronze doors were usually cast in separate panels nailed to a wooden base, and often reached a height of five metres. Those at S Zeno, Verona, have the fullest picture cycle, a total of forty-six scenes on forty-eight panels, each wing with eight registers of three panels, read from top down. The left wing (*c.* 1120–30), more archaic in style than the right, has the infancy and the passion; the right (*c.* 1138) the Old Testament, in particular the Creation and Fall, Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham and Moses, ending with the Tree of Jesse. Several of these were clearly chosen for their typological content: both the sacrifice of Isaac and Moses and the brazen serpent were very common types of the Crucifixion.

The doors of Novgorod Cathedral, cast in Magdeburg in *c.* 1152–6, have extensive New Testament imagery, but the late Romanesque period is dominated by Bonanus of Pisa, who was responsible for the bronze doors of Pisa Cathedral (*c.* 1180–90) and Monreale Cathedral (dated 1186). Those at Pisa have twenty New Testament scenes read across both wings from bottom to top, and each scene is inscribed in relief with its subject. They have justifiably been seen as having the greatest clarity of structure and simplicity of composition of all such doors.[70]

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67 Respectively, P. Bloch, *Die Türflügel von St. Maria im Kapitol* (München Gladbach: Kuhlen, 1959); W. Cahn, *The Romanesque Wooden Doors of Auvergne* (New York University Press, 1974), pp. 11–58.
68 Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 46–9.
69 U. Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters 800–1200* (Munich: Hirmer, 1983), pls. 8–27, 56–99, 100–21, 164–84, 185–205.
70 J. White, 'The Bronze Doors of Bonanus and the Development of Dramatic Narrative', *Art History* 11 (1988), 158–94.

Fig. 41.6 West portal (Portail Royal), Chartres Cathedral, *c.* 1145–50

Gothic sculpture

Abbot Suger's new choir at St Denis, consecrated in 1144, is usually seen as the earliest monument of Gothic architecture and the term is also applied to the sculpture of the Ile de France at this period.[71] The portals at St Denis are very heavily restored and it is, therefore, the Portail Royal at Chartres Cathedral (*c*. 1145–50) which is usually considered as the earliest surviving Gothic façade (Fig. 41.6).[72] Its sculpture is essentially Romanesque in style, spiritual rather than naturalistic, but the clarity and complexity of the sculptural programme provide justification for the new term. The left tympanum shows the Virgin and Child with scenes of the infancy below; the right has the Ascension with the apostles below, and the central tympanum has the apocalyptic vision of Christ, with the twenty-four elders in the voussoirs and the apostles in the lintel below. These images, representing the fundamentals of Christian dogma – the Incarnation, the Ascension and the Second Coming – are amplified by the column figures of Old Testament kings, queens and prophets and by the signs of the zodiac, liberal arts and mental and physical labours in the voussoirs. Finally, the three portals are drawn together by the carved capitals, below the level of the lintels, with a total of forty-two scenes read across the façade from left to right.[73] The first twelve scenes are of the early life of the Virgin, based on the Greek Protoevangelium of St James, followed by the infancy of Christ and then the passion and resurrection.

Most of the rest of Chartres Cathedral was destroyed in the fire of 1194, and much of the rebuilding of the entrance porches at the north and south transepts took place in the second decade of the thirteenth century.[74] The south portal is dominated by the Last Judgement in the central tympanum, with, respectively, martyrs and confessors on the left and right tympana. On the north transept portal, the central tympanum has the Coronation of the Virgin, a subject of increasing popularity, with the Dormition in the lintel below. The side porches, added later in the 1220s, have, on the left, Job on the

71 P. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140–1300*, Pelican History of Art (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 11–65; W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140– 1270* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972). For the relationship of architecture and decoration in Gothic churches, see W. Sauerländer, 'Integration. A Closed or Open Proposal?', in Raguin et al. (eds.), *Artistic Integration*, pp. 3–18.
72 P. Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres* (London: Tiranti, 1958), pp. 8–25; A. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1959), pp. 3–49.
73 A. Heimann, 'The Capital Frieze and Pilasters of the Portal Royal, Chartres', *JWCI* 31 (1968), 73–102.
74 Kidson, *Sculpture at Chartres*, pp. 8–25; M. Büchsel, *Die Skulptur des Querhauses der Kathedrale von Chartres* (Berlin: Mann, 1995).

tympanum with the Judgement of Solomon below, and narratives of Esther and Gideon in the voussoirs, and, on the right tympanum, the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi. The programmes of the transept portals lack the clarity of the Portail Royal, though the emphasis on the Virgin Mary and on the Old Testament on the north portal has been ascribed to the ideology of the crusade against the Albigensians, who had condemned images of Mary and rejected the Old Testament.[75]

The interior at Chartres is now dominated by its great stained glass windows,[76] but until its destruction in 1763 there was also a monumental piece of sculpture, the *jubé* or choir screen separating the choir from the laity's space in the nave. A few fragments of sculpture survive and, together with written sources and engravings, there is sufficient evidence to show that there were at least seven large reliefs of the infancy just below the crucifix at the top of the screen.[77] The *jubé* was central to the church service, for it served as the pulpit from which sermons were preached. Nor was Chartres, and nor indeed were French cathedrals, alone in having carved narrative on the choir screen. The screen at Naumburg (*c.* 1249–55), for example, has eight reliefs of the passion,[78] and in England there is evidence for such carvings on cathedral screens combined with pulpits, notably at Lincoln and Exeter.[79]

Following on from the Chartres west front in the period 1150–1220 are the portals at Le Mans, Bourges, Paris, Senlis – the first tympanum with the Coronation of the Virgin, *c.* 1165–70 – and Laon. At Amiens (*c.* 1225–35), the porches are similar, with the Last Judgement in the central tympanum and the Coronation, Death and Assumption of the Virgin on the right. However, the biblical programme is greatly expanded by the addition of reliefs in quatrefoil which extend across the façade. Apart from the calendar illustrations (left) and virtues and vices (centre), the reliefs on the right have narrative scenes of the infancy of Christ and of Solomon. Another innovation at Amiens is that of showing the jamb figures in narrative action, as, for example, in the Annunciation.[80]

The other notable west front of this period, that at Rheims Cathedral, is characterised by the realism of the physiognomies, at times even caricatures,

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75 Büchsel, *Skulptur*, p. 54.   76 See below, p. 814.
77 J. Mallion, *Le jubé de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 1964).
78 Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 181–4.
79 A. Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens* (London: Batsford, 1947), pp. 65, 79.
80 Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 141–5.
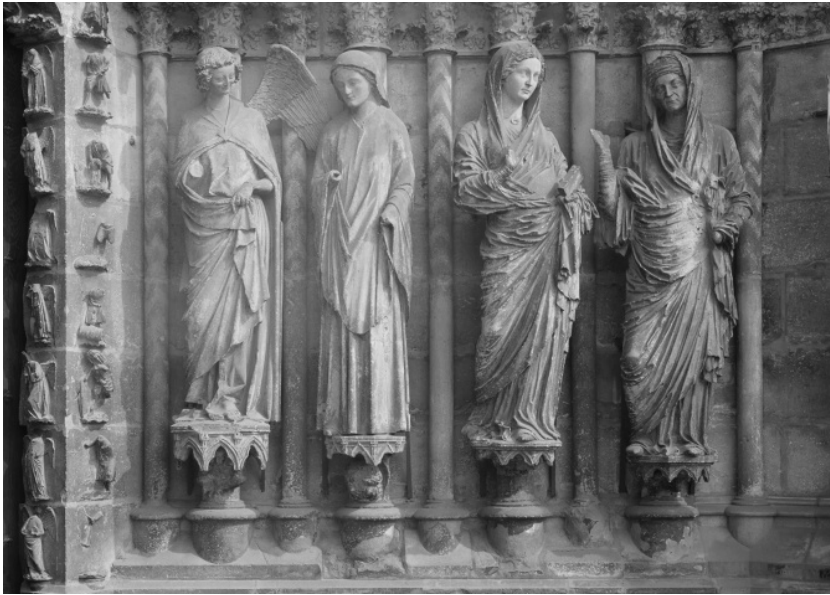
Fig. 41.7 Rheims Cathedral, central doorway, west portal: the Annunciation; the Visitation, *c*. 1220–40

of its biblical and saintly figures (Fig. 41.7).[81] The supreme otherworldliness of the figures on the Portail Royal at Chartres had long been replaced by more realistic representation, though there is nothing in late twelfth-century French sculpture as realistic as the figures on the metalwork Shrine of the Three Magi by Nicholas of Verdun (*c*. 1200) in Cologne Cathedral.[82] The striking realism of the figures on the façade at Rheims and subsequently that at Strasbourg (*c*. 1280) may be connected with the striving for a more personal religion in line with the decrees of the fourth Lateran Council.

Germany produced portal sculpture similar to that in France, notably at Bamberg Cathedral (*c*. 1220 and 1230–40), as did Spain, particularly at the south transept portal at Burgos (*c*. 1240–5) and León, west portal (*c*. 1275).[83] But in England – as far as the scant remains allow one to judge – there was little tradition of narrative sculpture in and around the doorway. Quatrefoil

81 P. Kurmann, 'Die Vermenschlichung der Heilbotschaft. Französische Skulptur der Gotik 1140–1260', in M. Büchsel and P. Schmidt (eds.), *Realität und Projektion. Wirklichkeitsnahe Darstellung in Antike und Mittelalter* (Berlin: Mann, 2005), pp. 103–16.

82 A. Legner (ed.), *Ornamenta ecclesiae* [exhibition catalogue] (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1985), no. E 18.

83 Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 91–97, 225, 230.

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reliefs with biblical narrative appear across the façade at Wells Cathedral (*c*. 1220–30), the Old Testament on the right, the New Testament, from the Annunciation to the Ascension, on the left of the main doorway.[84] Yet the most detailed biblical cycle of the thirteenth century is in an interior – the chapter house at Salisbury Cathedral (*c*. 1265).[85] In the spandrels above the arcades, there are sixty scenes from the Creation to Moses. The preponderance of Joseph scenes has been attributed to the influence of the thirteenth-century English romance *Jacob and Josep*, which provides apocryphal additions. For example, Rachel is shown weeping behind Jacob when the brothers bring back Joseph's coat whereas she is not present in the Genesis account.

Even rarer survivals are the carved stone roof bosses in the cloister of Norwich Cathedral (*c*. 1323–47),[86] 102 of which are carved with scenes of the Apocalypse. Derived from the Anglo-French Apocalypse manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, these images were popular in churches, as the wall paintings in Westminster Abbey chapter house (*c*. 1400),[87] the east window of York Minster[88] and the six tapestries made for Louis of Anjou and subsequently in Angers Cathedral (1375–9)[89] serve to demonstrate. There were other surfaces in churches which could be carved with figure subjects. Pulpits and fonts were often decorated with biblical scenes, fonts most frequently with the Baptism of Christ, as on the bronze one by Reiner of Huy (*c*. 1107–18) in St Barthélemy, Liège, to name perhaps the most famous.[90] On misericords, biblical imagery is rare; the Old Testament subjects in Worcester Cathedral (*c*. 1379) are exceptional and probably mirror the typological themes of the chapter house vault paintings.[91]

Biblical subjects occur more often in the wood carvings on choir stalls, which were common from the thirteenth century. In Cologne Cathedral, there are Old and New Testament scenes (1322) but without an apparent typological programme, and there are twenty New Testament subjects on

84 J. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral West Front* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998).
85 Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery*, pp. 185–9.
86 M. Rose, 'The Vault Bosses', in I. Atherton et al. (eds.), *Norwich Cathedral. Church, City and Diocese 1096–1996* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 363–78.
87 P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 187–93.
88 See below, p. 815.
89 P.-M. Auzas et al., *L'Apocalypse d'Angers. Chef d'oeuvre de la tapisserie médiévale* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1985); see p. 28 for two other sets of Apocalypse tapestries at this period.
90 *Rhin-Meuse*, no. G1.
91 G. L. Remnant, with M. D. Anderson, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. xxx, 169–72.

the stall ends in Magdeburg Cathedral (1355–63), but they remained unusual.[92] One of the most splendid of all biblical themes carved on choir stalls (sadly destroyed by fire in 1983) was the series of twelve life-size apostles and twelve prophets in the choir of the former monastery of St Claude in the Jura, near Besançon (c. 1446–9).[93] The apostles, holding books or scrolls with their respective contribution to the Creed, face the prophets, who had prefigurative texts. Such images of the double Creed of the apostles and prophets originated in the twelfth century, when they appear on the shrine of St Heribert in St Heribert's Church, Cologne (c. 1160–70),[94] and became popular in churches and cathedrals in the fifteenth century.

Italy, 1250–1450

Tuscan sculpture in the half-century 1260–1310 was dominated by Nicola Pisano and his son Giovanni, and their most famous work is on pulpits. For the Pisa baptistery, Nicola carved five marble reliefs on the hexagonal pulpit in a very classical style (1259–60), quite unlike the Romanesque tradition of his predecessors. The selection of scenes covers the gospel story in abbreviated form: Nativity with the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Crucifixion and Last Judgement.[95] This scheme was essentially repeated in Nicola's octagonal pulpit in Siena Cathedral (c. 1265–8), with the addition of the Massacre of the Innocents and the expansion of the Last Judgement to cover two panels. Giovanni followed his father with a similar selection of scenes in his hexagonal pulpit in S Andrea, Pistoia (1301), and in the massive octagonal one in Pisa Cathedral (1302–10), but the more complex, twisting movements of the figures serve to transform his compositions.[96]

For Italian sculpture of the early fifteenth century, the fullest biblical cycles are again on bronze doors and, in particular, on the two sets cast by Lorenzo Ghiberti for the baptistery in Florence. In 1402–3, Ghiberti won the competition to make the east door, opposite the west door of the cathedral and, therefore, the major entrance for processions on high festivals. Reading in registers across the two doors and from the bottom upwards in the sequence established by Bonanus of Pisa two centuries earlier, it covers the New Testament from

92 U. Bergmann, *Das Chorgestühl des Kölner Domes* (Neuss: Neusser, 1987); G. Porstmann, *Das Chorgestühl des Magdeburger Domes* (Berlin: Lukas, 1993).
93 P. Lacroix et al., *Penseé, image et communication en Europe médiévale. À propos des stalles de St Claude* (Besançon: Asprodic, 1993).
94 *Rhin-Meuse*, no. H17.   95 Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 243–59.
96 White, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 122–39.

Fig. 41.8 Florence baptistery, Gates of Paradise, gilt bronze, by Lorenzo Ghiberti: Joshua panel, *c.* 1428–37. In the foreground, crossing the Jordan, laying down the twelve stones and pitching the twelve tents; above, the walls of Jericho

the Annunciation to the Pentecost. Completed, gilded and installed in 1423–4, these doors were moved to the north portal in 1452 to make way for Ghiberti's second baptistery doors – the 'Gates of Paradise' – for which he had been commissioned in 1425 (Fig. 41.8).[97]

97 R. Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (Princeton: University Press, 1970), pp. 34–104, 159–97; J. Lubbock, *Storytelling in Christian Art from Giotto to Donatello* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 227–43.

The committee of the Arte de Calamale (Merchants' Guild) consulted the humanist Leonardo Bruni to advise on the doors and the resultant document is one of the few in existence that detail the collaboration of artist and adviser. Bruni insisted that the new doors should have two qualities, 'splendour', defined as a feast to the eye, and 'significance' or sufficient importance to be worthy of memory.[98] He suggested twenty narrative panels with subjects covering the Old Testament from the Creation to Solomon to complement the New Testament cycle in the earlier door. However, while broadly retaining Bruni's proposed subjects, Ghiberti preferred to tell the story in ten larger panels, each devoted to one patriarch or king. The innovation lay in his extended narrative within the panels, each of which contains several scenes. Some show as many as six events developing within a unifying landscape, achieving a new unity of narrative, time and space within a single design.

Stained glass

Stained glass, or, more precisely, stained and painted glass, brings to the fore, even more forcefully than do the other arts, the question of the viewers' understanding of the imagery depicted. Undoubtedly, the changing effect of sunlight brilliantly refracted through the coloured glass has a strong and immediate effect on the senses. On the other hand, the complex layout of the narrative in different geometrically shaped panels is often difficult to follow, and, at the higher levels, barely discernible to the naked eye. The concept that such windows were the 'Bibles of the poor' has been effectively challenged,[99] yet the extent to which the subject matter was clarified by the clergy for the laity, in sermons and at other times, should not be underestimated.

There are surviving fragments of figured stained glass of the second half of the eleventh century, but the history of the art is inextricably linked with the development of Gothic architecture, with its expanses of glass. At St Denis, the new choir, consecrated in 1144, had nine ambulatory chapels and of the nine windows described in Suger's *De administratione*, four were biblical in content and the remainder had hagiographical or historical themes.[100] Fragments of only six survive, most fully the Tree of Jesse window, 4.5 m high and almost

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98 Krautheimer, *Ghiberti*, p. 372, doc. 52.
99 M. H. Caviness, 'Biblical Stories in Windows. Were they the Bibles of the Poor?', in B. S. Levy (ed.), *The Bible in the Middle Ages. Its Influence on Literature and Art* (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1992), pp. 102–47.
100 Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 73–7; L. Grodecki, *Études sur les vitraux de Suger à Saint-Denis (XIIe siècle)*, CVMA France 3 (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1995).

2 m wide. The other biblical windows include one of the infancy of Christ, read across the window from the bottom upwards, one devoted to Moses, and a typological window comparable with the imagery on Suger's Mosan altar cross. This no longer survives but the fullness of its typological programme is recalled on extant enamelled works such as the foot of the cross in the museum at St Omer (*c.* 1160–70) and on numerous Mosan crosses and portable altars.[101]

At Canterbury Cathedral, largely rebuilt after the fire of 1174, there is evidence for the existence of a considerable number of biblical windows, of which fewer than a quarter survive.[102] Most memorable are the ancestors of Christ, originally paired one above the other in each lancet in the clerestory of the choir (from *c.* 1175).[103] Forty-three of the original eighty-six survive, most of them now in the south-west transept window and in the west window. Based on the seventy-eight names contained in Luke 3:23–38, they formed the largest cycle of the genealogy of Christ, though the theme became common around 1200 and there were nearly as many in the Sigena chapter house paintings. The sequence was interrupted by the Last Judgement in the apse, indicating the ancestors' role as witnesses to the Second Coming.

The fullest biblical cycle at Canterbury was contained in the twelve typological windows (*c.* 1180), which were placed low down in the choir aisles to allow for ready access. The contents were recorded in three manuscripts of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, of which the scroll preserved at Canterbury may have acted as a guide for the public. Three windows covered the infancy, six the ministry and three the passion. Reading from the top down, the New Testament scenes in the centre panel are surrounded by two Old Testament types. For example, in the middle of the best-preserved window, made up of the second and sixth typological windows, the magi's dream in the central circle is surrounded by two square panels with, respectively, Lot's wife, who failed to heed God's warning, and the prophet in Bethel, who was warned not to return to Judah by the way he came (3 Kings 13:1–9) (Fig. 41.9). The cycle is very close to that of the *Pictor in carmine*, though this did not include the parables, of which eight were depicted in the Canterbury windows. Consequently, new pairings had to be invented for them, often moralising rather than strictly typological. The scene of the Sower on Good Ground and Among Thorns,

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101 *Rhin-Meuse*, no. G17, also G13, G21.

102 M. H. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury*, CVMA Great Britain 2 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1981), pp. 7–63 (ancestors), 77–156 (typological windows).

103 For a concise text and colour reproductions, see M. A. Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2004), pp. 32–41, 46–84.
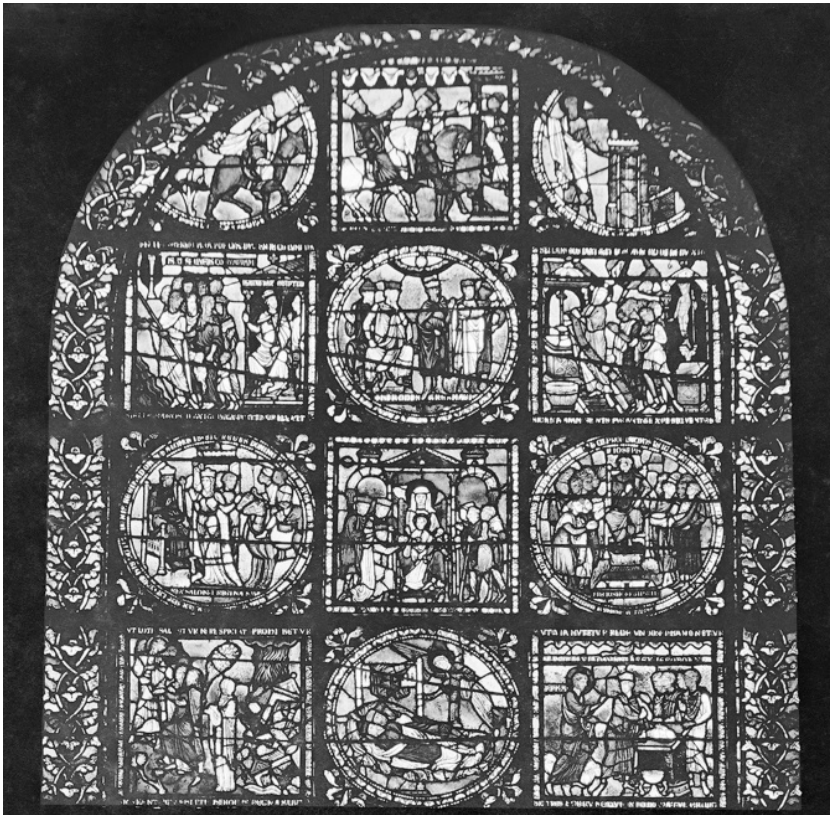
Fig. 41.9 Canterbury Cathedral, north choir aisle: typological window (upper half) with scenes of the magi in the central panels surrounded by Old Testament types, *c.* 1180–1200

for instance, is paralleled by David, Job and Noah, three righteous men, for the good ground, and the emperors Julian and Maurice for the thorns.[104]

Typological cycles, if less complete, were also common elsewhere. An example of *c.* 1150–60, one of the earliest survivals of German stained glass, was in the Premonstratensian abbey church at Arnstein, of which five panels are in the Westfalisches Landesmuseum at Münster.[105] These are scenes of Moses and of the Tree of Jesse; the recorded New Testament panels have not

104 Ibid., pp. 78–9.
105 L. Kalinowski, 'Virga versatur. Remarques sur l'iconographie des vitraux romans d'Arnstein-sur-la-Lahn', *Revue de l'Art* 62 (1983), 9–20.

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survived. At Chartres, the lower registers of the unrivalled display of windows (from *c.* 1210) contain some 1,200 scenes organised in increasingly complex patterns of circles, quatrefoils and half-quatrefoils, but only a minority are biblical and these are scattered among other, mainly hagiographical, windows.[106] The Tree of Jesse, life of Christ and passion windows on the west front belong to the mid-twelfth-century building. Of the thirteenth-century windows, those of Noah and Joseph on the north side of the nave are the only ones dedicated to the Old Testament. Christ's ministry is figured at the end of the south side of the ambulatory and the passion, combined with typological panels, is on the north side of the nave next to the transept.

Prominent in the north transept is the Prodigal Son, who also appears in the windows of the cathedrals at Sens (*c.* 1207–15), Bourges (*c.* 1210–15), Poitiers (*c.* 1215–20), Coutances (after 1220) and Auxerre (1233–44), as well as on the tapestry from St Elisabeth's church at Marburg (Marburg University Museum).[107] The popularity of this particular parable has recently been interpreted as a moral warning against the temptations offered by life in the towns, which were growing rapidly at this time.[108] Nor was the Prodigal Son the only parable to be frequently depicted. Dives and Lazarus, symbolic of the Last Judgement, was almost as popular, appearing at Poitiers and Bourges, and, equally, the Good Samaritan is depicted in the windows at Sens and Bourges, as well as at Chartres.

Perhaps the fullest cycle of biblical windows is that at the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, the palace chapel of Louis IX, built to house the relic of the crown of thorns and consecrated in 1248.[109] About 800 scenes of the Old Testament, many of them repetitive, are covered in windows devoted respectively to Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus/Numbers, Deuteronomy, Judges, Isaiah – interrupted by the infancy and passion of Christ at the east end – Daniel, Ezekiel, Jeremiah/Tobit, Judith/Job, Esther and Kings. Ending with David, immediately before the window of the relics of the passion, which had been acquired by Louis IX, the cycle is clearly centred on kingship and shows the Old

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106 C. Manhès and J.-P. Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres*, CVMA France 2 (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1993), esp. pp. 37–114.

107 W. Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 3–41.

108 G. B. Guest, 'The Prodigal's Journey. Ideologies of Self and City in the Gothic Cathedral', *Speculum* 81 (2006), 35–75.

109 A. A. Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

Testament patriarchs and kings, heroes and heroines as exemplars for the Capetian kings and queens of France.

In England, the lack of biblical cycles in thirteenth- to early fifteenth-century stained glass should not be allowed to conceal the biblical imagery in one of its greatest monuments: the east window of York Minster (1405–8).[110] Reading from top down across the window, there are twenty-five Old Testament scenes from the Creation to the Death of Absalom. Some have clear typological content – for example, Abraham and Melchizedek, Jacob's Ladder and Moses and the Brazen Serpent. The Old Testament sequence leads directly on to seventy-one scenes of the Apocalypse, a popular subject, as we have seen, in monumental art at this time.[111]

Altarpieces

We have seen examples of altar furnishings, particularly crosses and ciboria, with biblical imagery, notably Mosan enamelwork with typological scenes, and also reliquaries adorned with biblical figures. Noteworthy also are the ecclesiastical vestments embroidered with scenes of the life of Christ or of the Virgin. This was an English speciality, particularly in the period 1270–1360, when *opus anglicanum* was widely admired and exported. For example, the copes at Anagni Cathedral (*c.* 1280) and Bologna (Museo Civico, *c.* 1315–35) have numerous scenes of the infancy and passion in geometric panels. Passion scenes were also depicted on other vestments, famously on a cross-orphrey for a chasuble, where a black man is shown beating Christ carrying the cross, as in illuminated manuscripts of the time (Victoria and Albert Museum, T. 31–1936; *c.* 1315–35).[112]

Yet the most prominent item furnishing an altar was the retable or altarpiece. It was preceded by the antependium or altar frontal, of which there are a few splendid survivors in metalwork, notably the early eleventh-century gold frontal with Christ and angels from Basle Cathedral,[113] and also in embroidery, such as the frontal of *c.* 1290 in Anagni Cathedral, with scenes of the lives

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110 T. French, *York Minster. The Great East Window*, CVMA Great Britain, Summary Catalogue 2 (Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1995).
111 See above, p. 808, and nn. 87, 89.
112 A. G. I. Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1938), nos. 86, 72; D. King (ed.), *Opus anglicanum. English Medieval Embroidery* [exhibition catalogue] (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1963), nos. 53, 58.
113 *Musée national du Moyen Age, Thermes de Cluny. Guide to the Collections* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1993), p. 75, colour pl.

of Peter and Paul.[114] There are more numerous survivors from Scandinavia, some with extensive imagery of the infancy and passion.[115]

The practice of placing a pictorial image on top of the altar emerged in the early thirteenth century in both northern Europe and Italy.[116] Its origins have been linked with liturgical changes in the Mass and the centralisation of observance from the fourth Lateran Council, but there was no mention of retables at the time and it was only from the Synod of Trier in 1310 that it was required to have an image or inscription to identify the saint to whom the altar was dedicated.[117] Other reasons have been given, including the suggestion that the altarpiece took the place of the cult image in the apse, which was replaced by ribbed construction in Gothic churches.[118] The origin of the altarpiece probably had manifold reasons; the one necessary condition was the relatively new practice of the celebrant standing on the west side of the altar with his back to the congregation.

Whereas altar frontals had most commonly been of textile or metalwork, Catalan examples show the development to painted wooden antependia in the twelfth century and there are numerous thirteenth-century survivors from Norway, most of them depicting the Virgin and Child. Wood also became the most common medium for retables. For England, there is documentary evidence of altarpieces from about 1200, but the earliest survivor is the Westminster Abbey retable of c. 1270–80.[119] Christ with Mary and John in the centre are surrounded on each side by five star-shaped medallions, on the left with the miracles, including the Blind Man Healed and the Feeding of the Five Thousand, which were probably balanced by passion scenes on the right, but these have not survived.

For a larger number of surviving early altarpieces one must turn to Italy and, in particular, to Tuscany. The earliest examples, such as the one with Christ in Majesty from the abbey of Beradenga, dated 1215 (now Siena, Pinacoteca), tend to be antependium-shaped, only 1 m high, essentially using the old format for

114 J. Gardner, 'The Stefaneschi Altarpiece', *JWCI* 37 (1974), 57–103, at p. 84, pl. 17a.
115 P. Binski, *Becket's Crown. Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170–1300* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 161, fig. 131; E. B. Hohler et al. (eds.), *Painted Altar Frontals of Norway 1250–1350* (Oslo: Archetype, 2004), esp. pp. 44–55.
116 Binski, *Becket's Crown*, pp. 155–67.
117 J. Gardner, 'Altars, Altarpieces and Art History. Legislation and Usage', in E. Borsook and F. S. Gioffredi (eds.), *Italian Altarpieces 1250–1550* (Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 5–40.
118 H. Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes* (Munich: Schroll, 1962), pp. 20–2, also pp. 101–2 for the position of the celebrant.
119 Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, pp. 152–67.

a new position on the altar.[120] Others are concentrated on the central image of the titular saint, most frequently St Francis, with scenes of his life at the sides. From about 1270, the 'architectural façade' altarpiece, with prominent Gothic tracery and pinnacles, replaced other formats.

Of those containing biblical narrative, the supreme example is Duccio's *Maestà*, the retable commissioned in 1308 and placed on the high altar of Siena Cathedral in 1311.[121] The name derives from the image of the Virgin and Child surrounded by her celestial court of angels and saints, but its fame has rested largely on its narrative cycle of some sixty small scenes (many now dispersed) illustrating the life of Christ. This vast assembly of pictures was accommodated on both sides of two panels nailed together, including a predella, the extension at the lower edge which was coming into fashion at this time. The sequence started on the front predella with the Infancy cycle, each scene alternating with a standing prophet. It continued on the back predella with episodes from the ministry ending with the Raising of Lazarus, and then moved up to the main back panel starting with the Entry into Jerusalem in the lower left corner and concluding with the Journey to Emmaus on the upper right. Above, in the back pinnacles, are six scenes of Christ's post-resurrection appearances. The back, with this complex and extensive programme, faced the choir stalls of the clergy, for whose contemplation it was designed. The bolder and more immediately accessible image on the front faced the laity in the nave.

Duccio's *Maestà* was carried in procession through the streets of Siena to the sound of trumpets, pipes and castanets before it was installed in the cathedral, and, in dealing with public art, it is worth remembering that many paintings were commissioned for display in processions, For knowledge of these, we are dependent on documentary evidence. In 1237, for example, Henry III commissioned rectangular painted panels of Christ in Majesty, the Virgin and the transfiguration for the king's procession, presumably at Easter.[122]

In northern Europe, altarpieces survive more frequently from the mid-fourteenth century. It was at this period that a new type came into being, at first apparently in Germany, displaying sculptures when the shutters were open and paintings when they were closed. Such carved and painted altarpieces

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120 A. Martindale, 'Altarpieces in Italy during the Thirteenth Century', in M. Malmanger (ed.), *Norwegian Medieval Altar Frontals and Related Material*, Acta 11 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Norvegiae, 1995), pp. 37–45.

121 J. White, *Duccio* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), pp. 80–134.

122 Binski, *Becket's Crown*, p. 163.

Fig. 41.10 St Peter's Church, Hamburg, altarpiece by Master Bertram: six scenes from Genesis, 1379–83

became increasingly popular in France and Burgundy, as well as in Germany and Bohemia, from the 1360s. A particularly splendid example with large biblical pictures is Master Bertram's altarpiece for St Peter's Church, Hamburg, dated 1379, installed in 1383 (Figs. 41.10 and 41.11).[123] The interior, open only on feast days, is carved with rows of saints in niches round a central Crucifixion. On ordinary Sundays, when this was covered and the wings extended to a

123 H. Platte, *Meister Bertram in der Hamburger Kunsthalle* (Hamburg: Kunsthalle, [1960]), pp. 5–11. On the origin of the carved and painted altarpiece, see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 79.
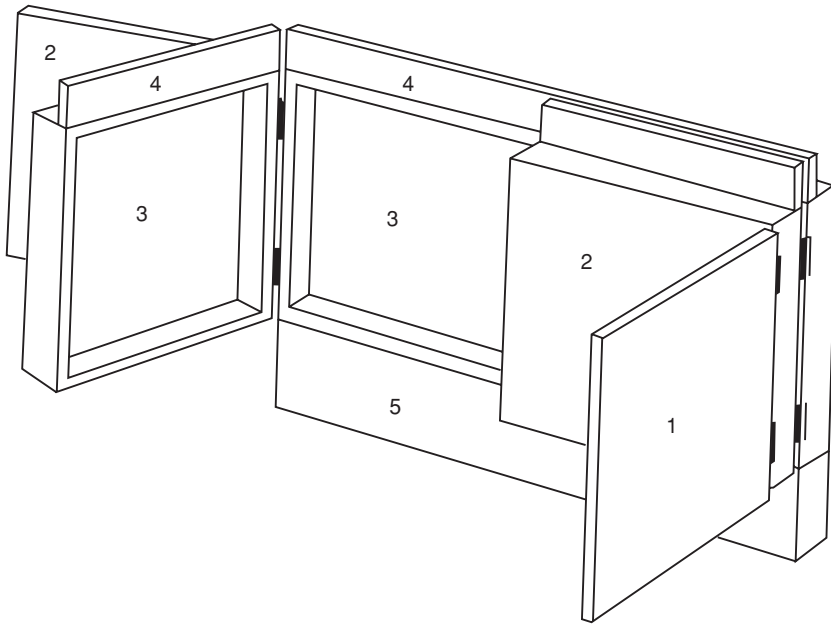
Fig. 41.11 Diagram of altarpiece by Master Bertram. Key: 1. Paintings (lost), visible when the altarpiece was closed. 2. Paintings, visible when the outer wings were open. 3. Sculpture, visible when the inner wings were open. 4. Top sculptural frieze. 5. Predella, sculpture.

width of over 7 metres, a large painted surface was visible, showing twenty-four scenes divided into four groups of six: the Creation, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noah, Isaac and the infancy of Christ. On weekdays the altarpiece was closed and only the exterior of the shutters was visible. These no longer exist, but they are presumed to have been painted with scenes of Peter and Paul, the patron saints of the church.

For England, there are only scant remains of painted altarpieces of this period. The fullest illustration of the passion is found on the retable of Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, 1370–1406 (St Luke's Chapel, Norwich Cathedral).[124] However, such rare survivors are far outnumbered by carved alabaster retables, for which there is documentary evidence from 1367.[125]

We have seen from the masterpieces of Duccio and Master Bertram that the biblical imagery on altarpieces could achieve the extent and complexity of the

124 Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery*, p. 266, pl. xvi.
125 F. Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters* (Oxford University Press, 1984).

fresco cycles and carved cathedral portals of earlier times. From about 1400, altarpieces, painted and carved, proliferated, and even though the majority depicted the Virgin and / or saints, they provide the principal source for biblical imagery in the public sphere in the fifteenth century.

Conclusion

It will be seen from the variety of material discussed, and from the numerous interpretations to which it has given rise, that no single explanation can account for the subject matter of the biblical imagery in western medieval churches. The liturgy, theological concerns, political ideology and the impact of church reform have all been cited as providing the inspiration in individual cases, but none of them can be seen as providing a global source for the depiction of biblical imagery. Equally, the strength of pictorial tradition should not be underestimated. It is worth remembering that the majority of the themes discussed were depicted in churches since early Christian times and there was as much continuity as innovation in their development.

Icons of the eastern church

ROBIN CORMACK

Knowledge of the Bible in the eastern church among the laity was predominantly gained through art rather than text, though the readings in the liturgy were of course an oral source of its contents. Despite some enthusiastic scholarly claims that literacy was higher in the East than in the West, there is no good reason to imagine that more that 10 per cent of the population could read the Bible text for themselves.[1] Even for the literate and the priesthood, the most desirable manuscripts with the sacred text were those enhanced by illuminations. Such illustrated books rarely contained the complete Bible; one of the very few known illustrated examples is the tenth-century Bible of Leo Sakellarios, which contains one frontispiece picture for each chapter (surrounded by verses written by the lay commissioner).[2] This book, now in the Vatican Library (BAV, Reg. gr. 1), consists today of only the first volume (Genesis–Psalms) out of two, and is the largest known Byzantine manuscript (410 × 270 mm). Normally illustrated manuscripts consisted of individual books or collected books (such as Octateuchs, psalters, Job, gospelbooks or lectionaries).

By the year 600 Byzantium had emerged as the leading Christian society in the Mediterranean, with Constantinople predominant as the capital city, New Rome, of the eastern Roman empire. With the rise of Islam in the seventh century, Byzantine territories in the eastern Mediterranean were suddenly much reduced, and confrontation with the Umayyad rulers based in Damascus and in control of the Holy Land was as much a cultural as a political challenge. Both faiths developed their own distinctive forms of art, and the identifying feature of the eastern church came to be seen as the icon, whereas

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1 M. Jeffreys, 'Literacy', in E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 796–802.
2 T. F. Mathews, 'Religious Organization and Church Architecture', in H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), pp. 20–35.

Islam cultivated the display of the holy word of the Qurʾān. The aim of this chapter is to trace the emergence of the icon, and to track its development. This will involve a brief flashback to the origins of Christian art in the East as a way of contextualising Byzantine Iconoclasm, which controlled the character of artistic production from around 730 up to 843. Thereafter the Triumph of Orthodoxy, which was declared in 843 and commemorated annually on the first Sunday in Lent, meant the acceleration of the use of art in the church, and the creation in due course of a sacred environment which was in great part constructed by the charismatic role of the icon in church decoration.

Origins and Iconoclasm

The first clearly identifiable Christian church art emerged in the Mediterranean Roman empire in the third century – at the same time in the West in the Roman catacombs and in the East at the house church of the frontier city of Dura Europos in Syria.[3] This perceived delay in the appearance of biblical imagery has led to a protracted debate: was the mainstream position in the early church hostility to the representation of the faith in the pictorial arts? Such an argument is easy enough to formulate on the basis of the Old Testament prohibition and commandment not to make graven images, which can be taken to imply that visual images were the instruments of the pagans and their cults. The broader implications of the concept of a severe early Christian hostility to the arts is that it might have continued as a simmering undercurrent that finally led to the explosion of Byzantine Iconoclasm in the eighth century (from around 730). The period of the banning of figural art in Byzantium was so protracted (it finally ended only in 843) that it might seem feasible to suggest that it was one of the great debates of the early Middle Ages – and one that resurfaced with all the same arguments and emotions in the later European Reformation.[4]

There is, therefore, a need to review the circumstances of the origins and nature of early Christian art and to ask why the anger of Iconoclasm broke out in the East and not in the West. This has been interpreted as a sign of a difference of temperament or logic between the church in the East and the West. Some, quoting the words attributed to Pope Gregory the Great

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3 P. C. Finney, *The Invisible God. The Earliest Christians on Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

4 E. Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images before Iconoclasm', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), 83–150; C. Murray, 'Art and the Early Church', *JTS* 28 (1977), 303–4; D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (University of Chicago Press, 1989).

(590–604), argue that the primary purpose of art in the West was to act as a way of teaching the Bible to the illiterate, who could learn the message of the Gospels by looking at picture cycles on the walls of western basilicas,[5] whereas in the East art was much more a devotional or 'iconic' medium, in line with what was later to be called apophatic theology. This is not a convincing dichotomy. It is clear that when a Byzantine iconophile theologian like John of Damascus set out reasons why art should be part of Christian practices, he would take on board any possible argument to suit his case, whether it was that art was didactic or that it assisted worship. John, working at the monastery of St Saba, was extraordinarily well read in church literature, and he knew the statements of the Cappadocian Fathers (such as Gregory of Nyssa), who spoke of art as 'silent writing' and a means of instruction for the illiterate.[6]

What does seem to be the situation in this and other periods of Christianity is that some of the faithful find images helpful to their understanding and belief, and others, more stimulated by words than pictures, find images distracting and open to what they see as abuse and idolatry. There is no evidence that a systematic 'theology of images' was considered an essential part of eastern church doctrine. The history of the establishment of Christian art in the East is far more pragmatic. The catacombs were tomb chambers and followed the practice of pagan tombs in decorating the environment of the deceased. The chosen images were symbols of the faith, particularly scenes from the Old and New Testaments which promised life in paradise after death, and in this respect the iconography may reflect the prayers for the dead at funeral services (these texts are generally known only from the sixth century and later and hence this remains an unconfirmed argument). The paintings at Dura Europos were in the baptistery, and similarly are images which promise salvation for the neophyte. In the period running up to 600 and after the acceptance of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman empire, churches became the sites of lavish patronage – particularly so the church of St Sophia at Constantinople after its rebuilding by Justinian between 532 and 537 – and developed an increasing variety of images.[7]

Great attention was given to the enhancement of the sanctuary and altar table of every church. Sacred relics were sought for the altar. For the services, the best set of chalice, paten, flabellum and other utensils, silver and gold, was

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5 B. Williamson, *Christian Art. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 66–8.
6 *On the Divine Liturgy. Germanus of Constantinople*, trans. P. Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1999).
7 R. Cormack, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

desired, perhaps piecemeal as *ex votos* from the richer members of the congregation. Even an apparently small Syrian church at Kapa Koraon amassed rich liturgical objects (its treasure was found buried in the early twentieth century and is now shared between various museums). Even richer was the Sion treasure from Asia Minor (now at Antalya Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC). Lamps and incense-holders were also needed, and vestments and covers for the altar table. The altar was covered by an architectural ciborion. The sanctuary was enclosed within low barriers, and outside the sanctuary was the ambo for the liturgical readings. The early Byzantine sermon was delivered from the synthronon in the apse. The main decoration was concentrated in the apse, and judging from survivals on Cyprus and at Sinai, mosaic was the preferred medium. The three known early apses on Cyprus held representations of the Virgin Mary, Sinai had the Transfiguration, while Justinian's St Sophia seems only to have had a cross. The seventh-century apse mosaic in the Church of the Koimesis at Nicaea was also a Virgin Mary, standing and accompanied by archangels.[8]

The world of Byzantium in 600 was therefore already one where icons had been part of the accepted environment of the church for centuries. The word *eikon* in Greek means 'a likeness, image or picture'. Thus an icon can be made in any medium, and early icons painted with encaustic (wax) or egg tempera are found in the collection of the monastery of St Catherine at Sinai. Many modern accounts of the eastern church, however, use 'icon' primarily to refer to painted panels. This chapter will concentrate on this medium as the one of great significance in the Orthodox church, but it is as well not to overlook that illuminated manuscripts, metalwork and ivory as well as other media formed the full Orthodox experience of the icon.[9]

St Germanos, the last patriarch of Constantinople before Iconoclasm (in office 715–30), wrote: 'The church is the temple of God, a holy place, a house of prayer, the assembly of the people, the body of Christ. It is called the bride of Christ. It is cleaned by the water of his baptism, sprinkled by his blood, clothed in bridal garments and sealed with the myrrh of the holy spirit . . . It represents the crucifixion, burial and resurrection of Christ.'[10] This and other passages come from his *Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation*, which as *mystagogy* was a form of writing that attempted to interpret the symbolism of the church and its liturgy, and was a popular book among successive

8 L. Safran (ed.), *Heaven on Earth. Art and the Church in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).
9 R. Cormack, *Icons* (London: British Museum, 2007).
10 *On the Divine Liturgy*, trans. Meyendorff, pp. 56–7.

generations of churchmen. This writing helps to contextualise the intellectual view of church art, but a feature of the century before Germanos had been the increase in devotional and portable icons. A different view of the function of images comes in the *Miracula* of SS Cosmas and Damian and those of St Artemios, both probably seventh-century texts, which record many cases of miraculous healing – for example, by ingesting the materials of icons, such as the wall paintings of the figures of SS Cosmas and Damian in a house which were scraped off by a woman with colic, mixed with water, and drunk; this was enough to cure her colic.[11] It is not feasible to interpret such 'magical' episodes involving icons as some kind of popular religion, for the texts attribute such attitudes to all levels of society, and the bishop who wrote the *Miracula* of St Demetrios in the seventh century narrated similarly inspirational stories in his sermons to the people of Thessaloniki.[12] The issue whether the concept of popular and intellectual religion is appropriate to Orthodoxy in this period is both controversial and understudied.

The large collection at Sinai is the best guide to the nature of the icon throughout this period.[13] There has been considerable debate on the precise datings of the earliest icons from Sinai, but the consensus is that they belong to the sixth or seventh century. One icon represents the Virgin and Child with archangels and two saints (probably St Theodore with St Demetrios or St George). Its visual function was to 'mediate' prayers from the viewer to these martyr saints and to offer the hope of an intercession to the Mother of God and her support in passing on these prayers to Christ. The icon conveys the special power of the Virgin through her relationship to Christ in heaven, and perceives prayer operating within a celestial court hierarchy, with petitions being received in the same ways as in the court in Constantinople, where the emperor was conceived by his subjects as the representative of Christ on earth. The early icons include other such devotional icons with saints (such as St Peter). But the most significant icon in this collection is that of the half-figure of Christ. This icon marks the solution of several centuries of concern

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11 L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Berlin and Leipzig: Teubner, 1907); V. S. Crisafulli, J. W. Nesbitt and J. F. Haldon, *The Miracles of St Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh Century Byzantium* [English and Greek] (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images', pp. 98, 107, n. 89, and p. 109; C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1972; repr. University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 139.

12 *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius et la pénétration des slaves dans le Balkans*, 2 vols., ed. P. Lemerle (Paris: CNRS, 1979–81).

13 R. S. Nelson and K. M. Collins, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground. Icons from Sinai* (Los Angeles, CA: Paul Getty Museum, 2006).

about the correct manner in which Christ might be represented. His personal appearance is not of course closely described anywhere in the Bible, and early representations showed him in various forms, both young and beardless, and older and bearded. This long debate was solved in the East in the course of the sixth century, and the solution coincided with the 'chance' discovery of a small number of images 'not made by human hands'. These miraculous images or *acheiropoietoi* with imprints of the face of Christ solved the question of his correct portraiture, not only for the eastern church but for the rest of Christendom. Almost certainly the Sinai Christ – bearded and with long hair – copies one of these miraculous images, perhaps the Camuliana image, which was carried in procession in Asia Minor between 554 and 560 and brought to Constantinople in 574.[14]

A significant Christian confrontation with Islam came when the gold coins of Emperor Justinian II during his first reign (685–95) made a momentous innovation – changing the traditional scheme where the obverse held the portrait of the emperor. Instead, the obverse showed a portrait of Christ, bearded and long-haired, much as in the Sinai icon. This decision was a provocation to the Umayyad caliphs, who could hardly continue to allow these coins as acceptable currency, and it led to a war of images between the two cultures. The caliph ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn Mardan (646–705), who had been happy to employ Byzantine mosaicists to decorate his new monument to Islam, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, found himself forced to retaliate. His strategy was to counter the Byzantine coins by minting his own special currency for the Muslim world, first using Islamic imagery, like the lance of Muḥammad, but soon reaching the final solution – coins with Arab writing only. Justinian II continued his series of coins with the introduction also of a type with a portrait of Christ with a scant beard and curly hair. It is noticeable that during Iconoclasm, coins with the face of Christ were discontinued, and instead the cross was used. With the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, Christ became a regular motif of Byzantine coins. The coins of Michael III (840–67) show a renunciation of the Iconoclast types by producing a direct copy of the first coins of Justinian II with the face of Christ on the obverse.[15]

Another event of the period leading up to Iconoclasm was the Quinisext Council of 692 at Constantinople, which among its 102 canons included some on art, notably canon 82, which stated that icons with John the Baptist pointing

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14 Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images'; H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (University of Chicago Press, 1997); Cormack, *Byzantine Art*.
15 R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London: George Philip, 1985).

to the Lamb of God should in future show not the symbol of Christ but 'that which is perfect', namely Christ himself.[16]

This period of high-level concern with imagery ended abruptly with the decree of Leo III in 730 banning all images of Christ, the Virgin and the saints. Iconoclasm was an active period of elimination of existing figurative art, like the mosaics of the Virgin in the church at Nicaea and other places, including Constantinople and Thessaloniki. The Iconoclast council in 754 (the Hiereia Council) focused on idolatry and its dangers. The second Council of Nicaea in 787 temporarily restored icon production, but was reversed in 815 with a new Iconoclast council. What happened in 843 was that the decisions of Nicaea were affirmed and Iconoclasm was again declared to be heresy.[17]

The reasons for the outbreak of Byzantine Iconoclasm are considerably debated, and the issue hinges on the question, 'why at this moment?' Was it a long-delayed explosion of early Christian hostility to images? Was it a reaction to the superstitious and idolatrous practices of the previous decades? Was it an assertion of imperial control over the growing power of the church and monasteries? Was it a reaction to the rise of Islam? These are just some of the explanations proposed. But there is a current consensus that the issue is internal to the eastern church, and not a reaction to any outside stimulus.[18] The understanding of Iconoclasm and the Orthodox response to it was incomplete in the West, in part because the Latin report of the second Council of Nicaea, the *libri carolini*, is a distortion of the discussions.[19]

Whatever the causes of Iconoclasm, it was a protracted debate with significant consequences. Icons after 843 were treated as one of the defining elements of Orthodoxy and this was reaffirmed annually in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, which was recited on the festival of the first Sunday in Lent.[20] A key feature of every church after 843 was its display of icons, painted in egg tempera on wooden panels of various sizes. This display was rotated daily, when the correct saint's icon was brought out for veneration, and overall the display of icons in any church is a mixture of the old and the new. Much-venerated icons, perhaps several centuries old, would be found beside fresh new panels, perhaps donated by the priest or bishop or a member of the congregation. The accumulation of centuries of icons is seen today in the church at Sinai,

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16 Mango, *The Art*, pp. 139–40.
17 J. Gouillard, 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie', *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), 45–107.
18 Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images'; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*.
19 *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* (*Libri Carolini*), ed. A. Freeman and P. Meyvaert, MGH Conc. 2, Suppl. 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1998).
20 Gouillard, 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie'.

underlining that the experience of icons in the church was never static and stereotyped, but dynamic and changing. The function of icons in the eastern church over the centuries up to the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 and the ending of the imperial framework within which the Byzantine church had operated can be outlined under three headings: miraculous icons, the evolution of the icon on the sanctuary screen, and icons in processions and the Easter liturgy.

Miraculous icons

One (specious) iconophile argument that surfaced during Iconoclasm was that the visual representation of Christ and the Virgin was sanctioned by the 'fact' that St Luke was a painter as well evangelist, and that he painted the Virgin and Child from life. This actual painting, the Hodegetria icon, was venerated when identified after Iconoclasm in the Hodegon monastery at Constantinople until its destruction by the Turks in 1453.[21] Among its powers were miraculous healings, including of blindness, and it was the subject of a special Tuesday procession in public outside the monastery, when crowds jostled to touch it. Copies of this icon, identified by the inscription 'Hodegetria' ('she who points the way') and the gesture of the Virgin, who points towards the infant Christ, were found in many Byzantine churches and were understood to be able to replicate the powers of the original. Although not the only miraculous icon of the Virgin, it was by far the most popular, and by 1453 many examples had been further enhanced by the addition of precious metal haloes and revetments over the surface. In this way, later generations could add their prayers for salvation to that of the original donor. *Ex votos* in the form of metal fixtures could be pinned to the icon or around it in thanks for the healing of disease or barrenness, as a prayer for the safety or salvation of relatives, or for fulfilling a vow of thanksgiving.

Another precious type of miraculous icon was a reliquary of the True Cross, usually with a representation of the Crucifixion and containing a fragment of the cross that was according to legend found on Golgotha by St Helena. These icons came in the form of pendants, or as special containers, like the grand tenth-century enamel reliquary now at Limburg, or that given to the city of Venice by Cardinal Bessarion, the famous Greek convert to Catholicism in the

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21 Belting, *Likeness and Presence*; B. V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

fifteenth century.[22] Such icons demonstrate the close connections between relics and icons as performative objects.

The interior of the church of St Sophia at Constantinople was designed as liturgical space, but it became equally important as a treasury of the most famous icons and relics of Christianity. It is clear from the accounts of Russian and western visitors to the churches of Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that one of the emotive features of the city was its enormous collection of icons and relics, making it effectively a new (and alternative) Jerusalem for the pilgrim.[23]

The evolution of the icon on the sanctuary screen

The majority of icons were intended for regular and frequent use in the church. The most conspicuous site for their display was the screen between the nave and the sanctuary – or, in the terms of Germanos, between the cosmic and the heavenly zones of the church. The precise history of the evolution of the high iconostasis with a fully coherent programme of icons is known only sketchily. The archaeological and textual evidence is very sparse.[24] Apparently the process took place in a gradual and piecemeal way without any systematic intervention by church authority. Descriptions of the silver screen of St Sophia in the sixth century adumbrate the developments that were to happen later in other churches – the gradual closing of the view into the sanctuary from the openness of the early Byzantine chancel barrier to a higher screen (described as a *templon* in texts) and finally to the opaque iconostasis. Archaeological evidence from ninth- and tenth-century churches indicates that after Iconoclasm it was normal to have a carved marble screen in front of the altar and the north and side chapels. These consisted of a horizontal lintel (or *epistyle*) supported by colonnettes, with a closure slab between the side openings and a doorway at the centre into the sanctuary. These structures were commonly decorated with animals and birds suggesting paradise in the broadest terms, but within a century of Iconoclasm some of the epistyles had begun to receive incised carvings of Christ and saints, essentially constructing

22 R. Cormack and M. Vassilaki (eds.), *Byzantium 330–1453* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008).
23 Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403–1406*, trans. G. Le Strange (London: Routledge, 1928); *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. and trans. G. P. Majeska (Washington, DC: Harvard University Press, 1984).
24 S. E. J. Gerstel (ed.), *Thresholds of the Sacred. Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical and Theological Perspectives on the Religious Screen, East and West* (Washington, DC: Harvard University Press, 2006).

a Deisis layer of icons. The classic form of the Deisis was Christ between the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, symbolising a prayer for salvation on the day of judgement. An extended Deisis might further include archangels, apostles and the patron saint of the church.

There is some difficulty in deducing the precise stages of the enhancement of the templon in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and how far this took place in the well-endowed environment of monasteries or in other churches, since in the main the empirical evidence happens to come from monasteries, like Sinai or those on Mt Athos in north Greece. By the twelfth century, several epistyles had become the support for painted beams, and most often these represented the twelve major festivals of the church year, but sometimes had a Deisis, and sometimes even episodes of the life and posthumous miracles of the saint commemorated in the chapel behind (such as the twelfth-century St Eustratios beam at Sinai). It is difficult to know when the first painted doors were affixed to the central opening, but from the thirteenth century there are a number of surviving examples, all with images of Archangel Gabriel on the left leaf and the Virgin Mary on the right to form the Annunciation. As for icons in the intercolumniations beneath the epistyle, this development is equally difficult to date, though some have proposed the late twelfth century. This space might alternatively have been closed with curtains. What is clear is that by the early thirteenth century, the liturgical spaces within the eastern church were different from those in the early church. The Eucharist now took place behind a screen, and the doors could be opened dramatically to reveal the chalice and the paten and to affirm the Real Presence in the sacred mysteries (the consecrated bread and wine).[25]

The templon screen continued to be enlarged in size and importance, and a set of large panels with parts of a Deisis register (Peter and Paul, and Archangels Michael and Gabriel) among the thirteenth-century icons of Sinai most likely belonged to a higher iconostasis.[26] Such towering screens are documented in Serbia in the late fourteenth century and in the Moscow Kremlin in the early fifteenth century, where the Byzantine émigré artist Theophanes the Greek worked with the younger artist Rublev and other Russian painters.[27] Instead of marble, the high iconostasis was constructed from wood, and consisted of several registers of icons, surmounted by a large crucifix. There was a general set of principles according to which each level was designed. Starting at floor

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25 R. Taft, *Through their Own Eyes. Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It* (Berkeley, CA: InterOrthodox Press, 2006).
26 Cormack and Vassilaki (eds.), *Byzantium 330–1453*.   27 Cormack, *Byzantine Art*.

level there were the central doors into the sanctuary (known as the Royal Doors, Holy Doors or Beautiful Gates), and usually two side doors. The first register would normally have Christ to the right of the doors or the patronal saint of the church in question. This level would also have the Mother of God and other major saints, as this is the kissing level for the adoration of saints (*proskynesis* was the word used after Iconoclasm for the veneration, and emphatically not the worship, of icons). The next layer was the Deisis register, and above it the liturgical feasts, either the twelve most important – the Annunciation, the Nativity, Epiphany, the Hypapante (presentation in the Temple), the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Raising of Lazarus, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis (resurrection), the Ascension, the Koimesis (falling asleep) of the Virgin and the Pentecost (known as the *dodekaorton*) – or a more extended cycle. The two uppermost layers were the prophets register and, finally, the patriarchs register. In all this was a microcosm of the heavenly order, and it made parts of the traditional wall decoration of the Orthodox redundant. It is therefore not fortuitous that in the period of the development of the high iconostasis, there were changes and innovations in the painted programmes of the church.[28] Whereas in the eleventh century monasteries of Greece with mosaics – Hosios Loukas near Delphi, Nea Moni on Chios and Daphni near Athens – the programmes were primarily devoted to gospel scenes and apocryphal episodes in the life of the Virgin, and in addition incorporated many icons of individual saints, late Byzantine churches have new cycles. These include cycles of the Akathistos, the hymn with twenty-four stanzas each beginning with a letter in the sequence of the Greek alphabet, composed in honour of the Virgin Mary in the sixth or seventh century and recited annually on the Saturday of the fifth week of Lent, with everyone in the church standing. Despite its importance, it appeared in monumental church decoration only from the thirteenth century. Other new and dense cycles were cycles of the saints taken from the church calendar books of the Menologia.[29]

By 1450, the use of the high iconostasis must have been widely established, though the familiar appearance of the iconostasis in Orthodox churches today owes much to Cretan, Balkan and Russian craftsmanship in wood carving and gilding as well as to the high technical standards of art produced in the Byzantine tradition after the fall of Constantinople.

28 Cormack, *Icons*.
29 S. E. J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries. Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1999).

Icons in processions and the Easter liturgy

As the liturgy and other services in the church were elaborated, so the use of icons in the church correspondingly expanded. In the charter (*typikon*) of the imperial monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople, the manner of the lighting of the icons at various services is specified, and by the fifteenth century the account of church ritual in the liturgical *typikon* of the cathedral church of St Sophia at Thessaloniki included the censing of icons.[30] The greatest stimulus for visual enhancement of the ritual came from the Easter passion ceremonial, which at least in the monasteries from the eleventh century onwards became the occasion of significant embellishments. The cathedral liturgy remained more static, although at St Sophia in Constantinople from the thirteenth century some of the monastic innovations were adopted. The evidence for the Good Friday commemorative practices comes from surviving icons, most importantly from a large double-sided procession icon of the Man of Sorrows and Virgin and Child icon of the late twelfth century and now at Kastoria in north Greece.[31] One side (the front) shows the incarnation of Christ with his mother revealing her sorrow at his future death, the other side (the back) shows the dead bust of Christ in front of the cross with the inscription, 'The King of Glory'. At the base of the wooden panel on which the icon is painted incision marks remain, showing it could be fixed to a pole and carried outside the church in a Good Friday procession. This highly emotional new subject of the Man of Sorrows not only became popular in Byzantium, but was very quickly taken up in the West, particularly among the Franciscans.

Other types of icon were adopted for use in public processions, particularly those of the Virgin. For example, the icon of Vladimir, now in the Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow, has a remarkable history of charismatic powers. It was painted in Constantinople in the early twelfth century and sent as a gift to Kiev. On the icon Christ is portrayed cheek to cheek with the Virgin, a type now generally labelled the *Eleousa* ('affectionate' or 'merciful'), though it is uncertain whether this name was always attached to this particular representation of the Virgin by the Byzantines. In 1155 it was transferred to

30 J. Darrouzès, 'Saint-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 34 (1976), 45–78; *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, ed. J. P. Thomas and A. C. Hero (Washington, DC: Harvard University Press, 2001).
31 H. Belting, 'An Image and its Function in the Liturgy. The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34 (1980–1), 1–16.

Vladimir, and while there it was damaged in the Mongol invasions. In 1395 it became the permanent possession of the rising city of Moscow, since its arrival there coincided with the retreat of the armies of Tamerlane. As the palladium of the city (substantially repainted probably by Rublev – only the faces are original), it was credited with saving Moscow from the Tatar hordes in 1451 and 1480. It was thereafter displayed in coronations of tsars and elections of patriarchs and the most important state ceremonies. To add to its prestige, the icon was also attributed in Moscow tradition to the hand of St Luke.[32]

Conclusion

The final collapse of Iconoclasm in 843 can be seen as the turning point in the establishment of the icon as integral to the worship and devotions of the communities of the eastern church. Both the functions and styles of icons changed over the succeeding period. The use of icons defined the Byzantine church of Constantinople and its dependent Orthodox institutions, and the other eastern Orthodox churches, like those of Georgia, the Balkans and Russia, aligned themselves with the practices of Byzantium. The non-Orthodox churches with different doctrinal beliefs, such as those of Armenia, Syria and Coptic Egypt, developed their own artistic preferences. Armenia was unusual in having a strong and distinctive tradition of manuscript production and illumination, but very few icons have been attributed to Armenia.[33]

The eastern church distanced itself progressively from the Catholic West after the trauma of 1204 and the recapture of Constantinople from the Franks in 1261, despite two imperial-led attempts to unify the churches at the Council of Lyon (1274) and the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–9). Yet the artists of the Greek East and the Latin West took note of the others' ideas, and incorporated them into their productions – not least the idea of recording their signature on the panels, which distances the late icon from the anonymous work up to the twelfth century. In the special environment of Venetian-governed Crete, icon painters worked for clients from both churches, developing a hybrid art out of both traditions (ultimately in the sixteenth century El Greco moved from one sphere to the other).[34]

Art was not just the Bible of the illiterate but something much more complicated. As Photios argued in the ninth century, seeing the sacred events

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32 A. J. Anisimov, *Our Lady of Vladimir* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1928).
33 V. Nersessian, *Treasures from the Ark. 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Art* (London: BL, 2001).
34 Cormack, *Byzantine Art*.

as icons reinforced faith in their historical reality.[35] While the words of the Bible taught Christian morality and values, icons offered models of saints who had lived according to these values and turned the abstract into Christian truth.

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35 *The Homilies of Photius*, trans. C. Mango (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958); and Mango, *The Art*.

Medieval verse paraphrases of the Bible

EVELYN BIRGE VITZ

Biblical paraphrases in verse survive in most medieval European vernaculars, though sometimes in fragmentary form. They are often short; most commonly they are of single books or extracts from those books, though they may make allusions to the larger themes of the Bible. The following pages focus on general trends and highlight a few important verse paraphrases dating from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries, composed in forms of English, French and German.[1] These three languages were particularly influential in the Middle Ages, exporting literary trends to other parts of Europe. But the languages and the texts described are in any case intended to be exemplary, to suggest something of the shape and nature of vernacular verse paraphrase of the Bible in the Middle Ages.

In the Old Testament, the books most often paraphrased by poets were Genesis, Judith, Psalms, Song of Songs, Daniel and Maccabees. In the New Testament, Christ's life, miracles and passion – especially the latter – were often retold in verse, and were typically derived from a gospel 'harmony', or even from the poet's memory, rather than being directly translated from a specific gospel. The Apocalypse received considerable attention too, often with commentary and in profusely illustrated manuscripts. In general, poets and translators were drawn to books or parts of books that told dramatic stories, but in the case of the psalms, which were central to liturgical and sacramental life, the imperative was devotional. Little attention was paid to the Old Testament prophets, with the exception of prophecies about Christ, which were often integrated into translations or paraphrases of the New Testament. The Pauline and Catholic Epistles attracted no direct verse translations, though they did inspire some versified homilies; scenes from Acts, such as the Martyrdom of Stephen and the Conversion of Paul, occur in hagiographical drama.

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1 The primary focus here is on canonical scriptures as handled in narrative verse. I set aside dramatic and homiletic works; lyric is treated very briefly.

The taste of patrons was often important in the choice of material for versification. Religious superiors sometimes asked clerics to make a particular book available in the vernacular. A surprising number of noblewomen are known, by name, to have commissioned biblical paraphrases, especially of such books as Psalms and Proverbs, to help their children know better the sapiential message of the Bible, and so that they themselves could participate more fully in ritual devotion. Male nobles – such as the crusaders of the thirteenth century – wanted Old Testament books depicting holy warfare and heroic warriors, told in a language they understood. Patrons of both sexes, but especially no doubt women, enjoyed hearing about the heroic women of the Old Testament, such as Judith and Susanna. Some poets considered the Virgin their patroness and translated in her honour; a few claimed to have worked at her request.

Vernacular treatments of the Bible, whether in verse or in prose, typically drew on many sources aside from the Vulgate. Some were oral, such as preached sermons. Others included commentaries by church fathers, notably Augustine and Jerome; patristic and medieval glosses on the Bible (especially, starting in the twelfth century, the *Glossa ordinaria*); medieval Latin paraphrases of the Bible, such as the *Aurora* by Peter Riga in the twelfth century; apocryphal material on the life of the Virgin, the infancy of Christ, and Christ's descent into hell (for example, the Gospel of Nicodemus); other apocryphal narratives, such as the Acts of St Andrew and St Matthew; liturgical texts and commentaries; works of medieval theology on the incarnation, the Trinity, the Virgin and other important topics; texts attempting to integrate biblical narrative into world history, such as the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor in the twelfth century; and, starting in the thirteenth century, Jacobus of Voragine's *Legenda aurea* about the saints, Christ and Mary, structured around the feasts of the Christian year. In general, poets were not so much paraphrasing the Bible (in rare cases they may not have consulted it directly at all) as recreating it in their own voices, making its narratives and its teaching, as they saw it, available to others.

Formally, versifications of the Bible naturally tended to reflect contemporary genres. Epic and romance were often the inspiration, as well as the hymns and canticles of the liturgy, providing thematic and formal templates which could be adapted for the poet's specific rhetorical purpose. An epic tells of the mighty deeds of godly heroes (and sometimes heroines), and aims to instil moral strength and courage in listeners. A song sings the praise of God for his mercy and goodness, inspiring listeners to join in, at least in their hearts.

In terms of their prosody, poems fall loosely into five groups.[2] In the first are works associated with venerable epic traditions of narrative song, usually sung with instrumental accompaniment. Major forms are the Germanic alliterative, stressed line and the Old French decasyllabic, assonanced (or sometimes mono-rhymed) line. Second are the works derived from oral storytelling (and preaching) traditions. These are most often in octosyllabic rhymed couplets or other 'chatty' forms representing spoken language. Their use in English and German works is often under French influence. Next come works composed in poetic forms associated with liturgical functions, or aspirations to such functions; they are sometimes referred to as para-liturgical. Psalms and prayers were often set in forms that invited response-style chanting, such as the sequence, which was variable but always constructed in pairs of units. The fourth group contains works composed in stanzas, in patterns associated with hymnody and other song. Finally there are works in which we see realised the poetic aspirations of individual authors who may create an original form, or reconfigure an old one. This is especially characteristic of the later medieval period, when poetry on the one hand and liturgy and song on the other had generally parted company. In many such works we see the desire to ornament and 'gild' the paraphrase of the Bible, endowing it with the verbal beauty it was felt to deserve.

Another important set of distinctions bears on performance. Well into the fourteenth century, virtually all works in any sort of verse were intended for oral performance of some kind: they were heard by audiences, not read privately. Works might be recited from memory, or in some settings (especially ecclesiastical) read aloud from manuscripts. Some were chanted, in more or less liturgical fashion; others were sung, in one of many possible styles. In the fourteenth century there was an increase in public reading but at the same time more works were also read individually, though fully silent reading remained rare in the medieval period.[3]

The following account moves more or less chronologically and geographically, from early English works to German, then to French and Anglo-Norman, and then back to later medieval English works.

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2 Of major use on prosody are the relevant articles in A. Preminger and T. V. F. Brogan (eds.), *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics. The Most Comprehensive Guide to World Poetry* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1993).

3 See P. Saenger, *Space between Words. The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford University Press, 1997), and J. Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Old English

Old English provides us with the oldest substantial body of versified biblical material.[4] A famous 'hymn' by the Anglo-Saxon Cædmon (fl. *c.* 658–80) is the earliest surviving vernacular verse paraphrase of the Bible. In his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (4. 24), Bede tells us that Cædmon, a cowherd in the monastery at Whitby in Northumbria, always crept away from social gatherings when the harp was passed round, because he could not sing. One night an angel appeared to him in a dream, telling him to sing. He obeyed, and an Old English version of the song he sang (given by Bede only in Latin paraphrase) has come down to us. A simple paean of praise for the act of creation, as told in Genesis 1, it is dense with epithets for God:

> Nū sculon herigean   heofonrīces weard,
> meotodes meahte   ond his mōdgeþanc,
> weorc wuldorfæder,   swā hē wundra gehwæs,
> ēce Drihten,   or onstealde.
> Hē ǣrest sceōp   eorðan bearnum
> heofon tō hrōfe,   hālig scyppend;
> þā middangeard   monncynnes weard,
> ēce Drihten,   æfter tēode
> firum foldan,   frēa ælmihtig.[5]

> Now we must praise the Guardian of heaven,
> The power and conception of the Lord,
> And all His works, as He, eternal Lord,
> Father of glory, started every wonder.
> First He created heaven as a roof,
> The holy Maker, for the sons of men.
> Then the eternal Keeper of mankind
> Furnished the earth below, the land for men,
> Almighty God and everlasting Lord.[6]

Once his new talent had been revealed and tested, Cædmon was received into the monastery as a monk. There, Bede tells us, he was instructed 'in the whole course of sacred history':

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4 See also Marsden in this volume, pp. 218–19.
5 Text from R. Marsden, *The Cambridge Old English Reader* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 80–1, ed. from Oxford, BodL, Tanner 10 (first half of the tenth century). For Bede's account, see *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), p. 419.
6 *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse*, trans. R. Hamer (London: Faber, 1970), p. 123.

He learned all he could by listening to [the biblical narrative] and then, memorizing it and ruminating over it, like some clean animal chewing the cud, he turned it into the most melodious verse: and it sounded so sweet as he recited it that his teachers became in turn his audience. He sang about the creation of the world, the origin of the human race, and the whole history of Genesis, of the departure of Israel from Egypt and the entry into the promised land and of many other of the stories taken from the sacred Scriptures: of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the Lord, of his ascension into heaven, of the coming of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of the apostles. He also made songs about the terrors of future judgement, the horrors of the pains of hell, and the joys of the heavenly kingdom. In addition he composed many other songs about the divine mercies and judgements, in all of which he sought to turn his hearers away from delight in sin and arouse in them the love and practice of good works.[7]

Thus Cædmon appears to have sung a full epitome of biblical history and the themes of Christianity. He did not translate directly from the Bible – nor indeed is it likely that he was ever able to read its text. Rather, he listened, and then he made his 'songs', his words flowing into the form of traditional, alliterated, Old English poetic lines. As with many paraphrasers after him, his concern was to highlight essential biblical themes and teachings. In his surviving song, he emphasised a central biblical idea: human beings must praise God for his manifest gifts.

None of the other poems supposedly composed by Cædmon survives (although the 'Junius 11' codex, described below, has been misleadingly called the 'Cædmon manuscript'), but he was followed by a remarkable series of Anglo-Saxon versifiers of the Bible. Indeed, biblical material forms a significant part of each of the four great Old English manuscript books of poetry which are extant and which date from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, though many of the poems will have been composed originally in the ninth century or even earlier.[8] Often the influence of liturgical themes and seasons, such as Advent and Easter, is evident.[9] The 'Junius 11' codex (Oxford, BodL, Junius 11, late tenth century), offers what has been called a 'synopsis of the divine plan'.[10]

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7 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 419.

8 Most of the poems from the four codices are translated into prose in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, trans. S. A. J. Bradley, 2nd edn (London: Everyman, 1995). For editions in Old English, see below. All titles of Anglo-Saxon poems have been given them by modern editors.

9 On our tendency to identify as 'biblical' quotations that are functionally liturgical, see E. B. Vitz, 'Biblical vs. Liturgical Citation in Medieval Literature and Culture', in G. Guest and S. L'Engle (eds.), *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander. The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture* (London: Harvey Miller, 2006), pp. 443–9.

10 *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, trans. Bradley, p. 87.

There are lengthy versions of parts of Genesis, Exodus and Daniel, as well as a poem known as *Christ and Satan*, which presents an historical review of Christ's triumph over Satan, ending with the Harrowing of Hell and anticipating the resurrection.[11] The poems are illustrated by numerous line drawings. The wide-ranging miscellany which is the 'Exeter Book' (Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501, late tenth century) has several poems on New Testament themes.[12] They include a 1,664-line work which editors divide into *Christ I* (also called *The Advent lyrics*), *Christ II* (*The Ascension*) and *Christ III* (*The Judgement*), as well as a *Judgement Day* (119 lines) and a *Descent into Hell* (137 lines). All are again thematically linked to feasts of the liturgical year. The 'Vercelli Book' (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII) contains, along with much homiletic material in prose, three poems inspired largely by apocryphal material.[13] These are *Andreas* (1722 lines), concerning the missionary activity of the apostle Andrew, derived in part from a copy of the apocryphal Acts of St Andrew, *The Fates of the Apostles* (122 lines), based probably on a martyrology, *The Dream of the Rood* (156 lines), an exhortatory poem with at its centre an account of the crucifixion based on the gospel narratives but given, most unusually, in the eloquent words of the cross itself, and *Elene* (1321 lines), which tells of the finding of the True Cross by Helena, the emperor Constantine's mother. Lastly, the 'Beowulf Manuscript' (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius A. xv) has the poem *Judith* (349 lines), as well as *Beowulf* itself and several prose texts, including a life of St Christopher.[14]

The 'Genesis' in Junius 11 is a combination of two poems: that known as *Genesis B*, apparently translated from a poem originally in Old Saxon, is embedded as lines 235–851 in *Genesis A*, which runs to 2,936 lines. The poem recounts the events of Genesis up to the episode of Abraham and Isaac, fleshing out and giving dramatic voice to such key characters as God, Satan, Adam and Eve, and expanding the story at many points. The poem foregrounds large devotional themes, beginning, 'A great duty is ours: that we should praise with our words and love with our hearts the Guardian of the heavens,

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11 *The Junius Manuscript*, ed. G.P. Krapp, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931); for a CD-ROM, *Caedmon Manuscript. A Digital Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11*, ed. B. J. Muir (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2005).
12 *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry. An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter Ms 3501*, ed. B. J. Muir, 2 vols. (University of Exeter Press, 1994).
13 *The Vercelli Book*, ed. G. P. Krapp, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). For *The Dream of the Rood*, see esp. the introduction to *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. M. J. Swanton (Manchester University Press, 1970).
14 For an edition, see *Judith*, ed. M. Griffith (University of Exeter Press, 1997).

the glorious King of hosts'.[15] It focuses on topics emphasised in Lent, when large parts of Genesis are traditionally assigned to be read: God's power and goodness, human sin and the need for repentance.

Judith, in the 'Beowulf Manuscript', dramatises in strongly Christian terms the struggle between good and evil, and eternal reward and punishment. Holofernes is a 'licentious fiend', 'lecherous,' 'arrogant', 'abhorrent to the Saviour'; Judith is 'beautiful', 'astute' and moreover a 'blessed virgin' (a departure, this, from the biblical account), and a 'glorious handmaid of the Saviour'.[16] When Holofernes has collapsed in a stupor, Judith grasps a sword and intones a prayer that is strictly speaking anachronistic in an Old Testament context: 'God of beginnings, Spirit of comfort, Son of the universal Ruler, I desire to entreat you for your grace upon me in my need, Majesty of the Trinity . . .' It is God who answers her prayer and gives her the strength to decapitate Holofernes. At the end of the poem, the Israelite army presents her with the hoards of treasure won from the defeated Assyrians, and the poet makes a direct analogy between these earthly rewards and the other 'prize of victory', which Judith has won in heaven through her faith.

Although we know next to nothing directly about the performance of these various Old English poems, their full use of the resources of the Germanic alliterative tradition and their vivid recreation of biblical persons in the heroic (and often specifically Anglo-Saxon) mould suggest dramatic oral presentation, perhaps to monastic audiences but probably more widely also. They are exemplary and exhortatory, reinforcing faith with good storytelling.

Old Saxon, Old High German and Middle High German

The Old Saxon[17] *Genesis* (noted earlier as the source of the Old English *Genesis B*), in alliterative verse and composed perhaps *c.* 830, survives only fragmentarily in a manuscript probably made at Mainz in the second half of the ninth century (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 1447; 32 leaves survive).[18] Old Saxon (a Low German dialect) was the language of the Continental Saxons; Anglo-Saxon missionaries had been active among them in the eighth century, and in

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15 *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, trans. Bradley, p. 12.   16 All translations from ibid., pp. 495–504.
17 For more extensive treatment and bibliography of Old Saxon, Old High German and Middle High German, see Gow in this volume, ch. 11.
18 See *The Saxon Genesis. An Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis*, ed. A. N. Doane (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).

the later ninth at least one Old Saxon cleric was prominent at the court of King Alfred. Only 26 of the 337 lines of the Old Saxon *Genesis* overlap with the Old English version. The rest deal with other episodes from Genesis, including the story of Cain and Abel from chapter 4. Here there is an extended dialogue between Cain and God, with the former petulantly answering God's question about where his younger brother is with the comment, 'I don't trouble myself with that, I take no notice where he goes.' As in the story of the fall (reproduced at length in *Genesis B*), psychological realism is the hallmark of the poet's approach as he explains the causes, as well as the consequences, of humankind's sin. Contemporary with *Genesis* is the Old Saxon *Heliand* ('Saviour'), a 6,000-line life of Christ apparently based on the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (a harmony of the four Gospels in continuous narrative, composed in the second half of the second century). The work's warmth of devotion, yet lofty diction, and its distinct Marianism – the latter remarkable at such an early period – are clear in the following lines on the birth of Jesus, given here first in the Old Saxon and then in a literal rendering, made to retain as near as possible the verse-structure of the original:

> . . . Thar gifragn ic, that sie thiu berhtun giscapu,
> Mariun gimanodun   endi maht godes,
> that iru an them sîða   sunu ôdan uuarð,
> giboran an Bethleem   barno strangost,
> allaro cuningo craftigost . . .
>   . . . Thô uuas it all giuuârod sô,
> sô it êr spâha man   gisprocan habdun,
> thurh huilic ôdmôdi   he thit erðrîki herod
> thurh is selƀes craft   sôkean uuelda,
> managaro mundboro.   Thô ina thiu môdar nam,
> biuuand ina mid uuâdiu   uuîƀo scôniost,
> fagaron fratahun,   endi ina mid iro folmon tuuêm
> legda lioƀlîco   luttilna man,
> that kind an êna cribbiun,   thoh he habdi craft godes,
> manno drohtin.[19]

> . . . Then I learned that the bright fates,
> and the might of God,   decreed to Mary
> that on that journey   a son should be given her,
> born in Bethlehem   the mightiest of children,
> the strongest of all kings . . .

19 Lines 367–71 and 374–83. From *Heliand und Genesis*, ed. O. Behaghel 10th edn, rev. B. Taeger, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 4 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), p. 20.

> Thus all had turned out
> just as wise men before   had spoken it –
> that through his humility   he would seek out hither
> through his own strength   this earth-realm,
> the protector of many.   Then the mother took him,
> wrapped him in swaddling-clothes,   the loveliest of women,
> and fine jewels,   and with her two hands
> laid him lovingly,   the little man,
> the child in a crib,   though he had God's strength,
> the lord of men.[20]

In this typical Germanic verse, the half-lines, linked in the original by the alliteration of stressed syllables, are units of sense. Some of these are further linked, by means of parallel syntax, to highlight contrast and paradox, or to produce a cumulative thematic effect by incremental repetition. Thus 'humility' and 'strength' are united; the 'mightiest' child is also the 'strongest' king; and the 'little man', the 'child in the crib' and the 'lord of men' combine to be the 'protector of many'.

Between 863 and 871, an Alsatian Benedictine monk, Otfrid of Weissenberg – the first poet in German whose name is known to us – wrote his *Liber evangeliorum*, in the Rhenish-Franconian dialect of Old High German.[21] Otfrid took a consciously novel and ambitious approach to translation. Rather than adopting the traditional Germanic alliterative style, he found his models in Latin hymnody, and his compositions in metrical couplets with end-rhyme are innovative in this period. In a versified preface, Otfrid discussed the problems of writing poetry in German, which he said was inferior to Latin because of its lack of rules, but had its own beauty. 'It is fitting,' he said, 'that the human race should praise the creator of all things, since he gave them speech in order that they might sing his praises. And they should indeed do this in any way possible, however imperfect their language, for what matters to God is not the smooth flattery of a polished style . . . but the piety of individual thoughts

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20 Trans. R. Marsden; some half-lines have been reordered. A complete translation with commentary is in *The Heliand. The Saxon Gospel*, ed. G. R. Murphy (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); see also *Perspectives on the Old Saxon Heliand. Introductory and Critical Essays, with an Edition of the Leipzig Fragment*, ed. V. A. Pakis, Medieval European Studies 12 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2010).
21 *Otfrids Evangelienbuch*, ed. O. Erdmann, 3rd edn, rev. L. Wolff, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 49 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957).

and the effort each has made.'[22] Otfrid received encouragement from monks at St Gall and also from a matron named Judith.

From the eleventh and twelfth centuries date several Middle High German poetic paraphrases. Each is composed in stanzas, varying in their number of lines and in their length.[23] They are set in rhymed couplets, for end-rhyme had now become the norm; like Otfrid, poets were adapting a learned ecclesiastical tradition to Germanic verse. We will briefly examine several of these texts which, while sharing a stanzaic form, demonstrate a wide range of themes and emphases.

The engaging *Ezzolied* ('Ezzo's song') dates from 1057–65. Ezzo stated that his composition 'about the miracles [of Christ]' was commissioned by the bishop of Bamberg, who asked his clerics to compose a 'good song'; he (Ezzo) provided the words, and someone called Wille the melody, which has not survived. The song has a strongly personal character and often speaks directly to God: 'God, you created everything that there is / Without you there is nothing' (36–7). It is less a narrative of Christ's life and death than a meditation on his significance for humanity. The anonymous poet of the *Annolied* ('Anno's song'), dating probably from between 1077 and 1101, adopted an elevated, heroic tone. The Anno in question was not the poet but a holy archbishop of Cologne (d. 1075) and the poem has at least as much about Anno as it does about the Bible. It represents a trend that, originating primarily in Germany, became increasingly important from the twelfth century on: the blending of sacred and secular history. The forty-nine stanzas speak of creation and the fall, the incarnation and crucifixion, then move to the mission of the apostles, then to the saints and martyrs of Cologne, then to world history – with the history of Christendom blended with that of the Roman empire and the foundation of Germany. All this is with special reference to, and leading up to, the struggles of holy Anno, and the poem may have been composed in part to promote his canonisation.

In the same group of paraphrases, *Das Lob Salomons* ('Praise of Solomon') presents yet another way of handling biblical material. Its twenty-four stanzas, set in a complex, latinate scheme of rhythm and rhyme, expand on the wisdom of Solomon and bring allegorical interpretation to a lay audience:

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22 W. Haug, *Vernacular Literary Theory in the Middle Ages. The German Tradition, 800–1300, in its European Context*, trans. J. M. Catling (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 199, 33. See also Gow in this volume, pp. 203–4.

23 All may be found in *Sovereignty and Salvation in the Vernacular, 1050–1150. Das Ezzolied, Das Annolied, Die Kaiserchronik, vv. 247–667, Das Lob Salomons, Historia Judith*, ed. and trans. J. A. Schultz, Medieval German Texts in Bilingual Editions 1 (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 2000).

King Solomon is Christ, and the Queen of Sheba is his bride, the church. The *Historia Judith*, again in stanzas, also shows how Old Testament sacred history could be infused with Christian meaning to engage its audience. In the lengthy preface, scenes drawn from Daniel show Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in the fiery furnace professing their faith, not in the God of the Old Testament, but in Christ; so too do the 'burgraves' (counts) and the 'bishop' in Judith's company.

An unusual poetic voice is that of Ava, a female anchorite of Melk, on the Danube. Probably a widow, she produced (before 1127) a thirty-stanza work on John the Baptist, a life of Jesus in 221 stanzas, and poems on the Antichrist and the Last Judgement, of twelve and thirty-five stanzas respectively.[24] She knew the Bible well, along with patristic commentaries, though how she acquired her learning is unclear. Only rarely did she draw on apocryphal legends. Ava's work invites public declamation – it may even have been chanted or sung – to small audiences that gathered around the window of her recluse's cell. Her voice is personal and appealing, and she often adds details to the bare biblical narrative to make it more relevant for her audience or to make it more conducive to piety. For example, when she tells of the death of John the Baptist, about which the Gospels (Mark 6:17–29) provide only an outline (Salome asks for John's head on a platter; men go and kill him in prison and bring her back his head), Ava adds this consoling detail: when John knew that he was about to die, 'He raised up his hands to God. / He was heartily joyous –/ To God he commended his soul then and there' (48–9). This tendency to remedy aporia – perceived gaps – in the biblical narrative is common in such poems. Poets wanted their stories to engage their listeners fully and to move their hearts to God.

A final Middle High German poetic voice that we must hear is that of the poet-minstrel Heinrich von Meissen (1260–1318), who was given the name 'Frauenlob' ('praise of women' or 'praise of [Our] Lady'). He provides a wonderful medieval example of inventive, personal – and strongly Marianised – use of the Bible. His poem, sometimes called *Marienleich* ('Mary's song'), is a free and ornate paraphrase of the Song of Songs, into which are also woven references to the Apocalypse and the sapiential books (Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon). For Heinrich, as for many others in the Middle Ages and since, the Song of Songs, though part of the Old Testament, refers allegorically throughout to the Virgin. His poem consists of twenty

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24 *Ava's New Testament Narratives. 'When the Old Law Passed Away'*, ed. and trans. J. A. Rushing, Medieval German Texts in Bilingual Editions 2 (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 2003).

pairs of stanzas, with the two stanzas of each pair being metrically identical, but differing from other pairs: this poetic form, derived from the liturgy, is termed a 'sequence'. Heinrich's style is richly alliterative and his metaphorical vocabulary ornate, to honour the Virgin and the Bible. Here is the close of the poem, in the original and with a free modern rendering:

> vröut iuch alle, vröut iuch immer miner balsamiten!
> ich volles wunsches wurzesmac,
> min mitsam granatin bejac
> den brasem des trostes heilsam an iuch strichen muz,
> sust werdet ir des himels margariten.

> Rejoice then always, one and all!
> I am the fragrance of deep desire.
> When the merits of my garnet pure
> heal you with comfort of chrysoprase,
> you shall be pearls of paradise.[25]

For his poem, Heinrich composed ambitious music, which happily survives, combining all eight of the medieval musical modes.[26]

Old French and Anglo-Norman

Much of the Old Testament was put into Old French or Anglo-Norman verse.[27] Versified books include Genesis as a whole, as well as extracted parts such as the story of Joseph, Exodus, Kings, Judith, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, the Song of Songs and Maccabees. From the New Testament came stories of the life of Jesus (and his mother), accounts of the passion (and of the three Marys) and treatments of the Apocalypse. Poets also paraphrased the Bible as a whole, often expanding it with allegories and moralisations. Most versified texts are in octosyllabic rhymed couplets (as noted earlier, this was a standard

25 *Frauenlob's Song of Songs. A Medieval German Poet and his Masterpiece*, ed. and trans. B. Newman (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006) [including CD recording], pp. 40–1.
26 Medieval music – in particular, plainchant – was conceived of in terms of scales called modes; the mode of a piece was determined by its final note, its melodic range and its patterns of interval.
27 'Anglo-Norman' is the term commonly used to describe the dialect, derived largely from Norman French (not the Old French spoken in most of France), used by the Norman aristocracy in England after the conquest of 1066. On the verse, see also J. Bonnard, *Les traductions de la Bible en vers français au moyen âge* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1967), dated but still useful; P.-M. Bogaert, *Les Bibles en français. Histoire illustrée du moyen âge à nos jours* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp.16–21, with extensive bibliography. See also specific items in G. Hasenohr and M. Zink (eds.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le moyen âge* (Paris: Fayard, 1992); P. Zumthor, *Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale, Ve–XIVe siècles* (Paris: PUF, 1954).

form for non-lyric discourse intended for oral declamation), or in decasyllabic lines, typical of the medieval French sung epic. The discussion below treats the material in the following order, despite some violence to chronology: individual books and passages from the Old Testament; the Old Testament in general; books and extracts from the New Testament; the Bible as a whole.

The Old Testament: single books

Around 1150, Sanson de Nanteuil paraphrased Proverbs and its commentary in 11,854 octosyllabic lines for an Anglo-Norman lady, Aeliz (Adelaire), wife of Osborn de Condet; she requested the work for the education of her son Roger.[28] Another high-born female patron, Marie, countess of Champagne (daughter of King Louis VII of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine) around 1192 commissioned a poetic paraphrase of Genesis from a clerk named Evrat. It was perhaps for her son, Thibaut, a crusader and soon afterward king of Jerusalem. Over 20,000 lines in octosyllabic rhymed couplets survive.[29] The work allegorises and moralises Genesis, and was clearly meant to bring a taste of patristic commentary to this noble laywoman or her son. It would presumably have been read aloud to an aristocratic audience.

The Song of Songs was paraphrased several times in verse.[30] One work, in octosyllabic rhymed couplets, dates from the mid-twelfth century, when commentaries on the Song of Songs by Bernard of Clairvaux and others were strongly influential; it is apparently by a clerk named Landri de Waben, who may have written it for yet another female patron, the countess of Guines in north-eastern France.[31] The poet was worried that this erotic text, now available to the laity, might fall into the wrong hands, 'Kar la letre defors afole' ('because the literal meaning makes fools [of people]'). He said that the letter of the text was like 'a knife in a child's hands' (lines 1868–71). He followed the biblical narrative closely, but used it as a peg on which to hang moral and allegorical commentaries. Another twelfth-century treatment of the Song of Songs seems less concerned with fears about lay misunderstanding of the text. Described by its first editor as 'un petit poème dévot', it is sometimes close to

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28 See Bonnard, *Traductions de la Bible*, p. 150; Bogaert, *Bibles en français*, p. 16.
29 *Schöpfung und Sündenfall in der altfranzösischen Genesisdictung des Evrat*, ed. R. R. Grimm, (Berne: Lang, 1976).
30 Bonnard, *Traductions de la Bible*, pp. 151–66.
31 See *The Song of Songs: A Twelfth-Century French Version, ed. from Ms. 173 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Le Mans*, ed. C. Pickford (London and New York: Oxford University Press for the University of Hull, 1974), pp. xix–xxv.

a love lyric.[32] The speaker asks the beautiful virgins, daughters of Jerusalem, to give to her lover this message: 'D'amor languis' ('I languish for love'). With thirty-one stanzas, each with two rhyming decasyllabic lines and a third line of four syllables that rhymes across the stanzas (a scheme called 'rime couée' or 'tail rhyme'), it invites singing.

Many verse paraphrases of Psalms survive.[33] Some poets chose a single psalm or a small group, such as the seven penitential psalms (Pss. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142), which are used especially in Lent. Such prayers (for so they functioned) are often found in books of hours. Many of the versions are free, as in the brief paraphrase (only 56 lines of octosyllabic couplets) of the 'Miserere' (Ps. 50) that begins, 'Jhesu Crist, par ta duçur, / Oyez mon cri, oyez mun plur / Ke jeo faz por mes pechez' ('Jesus Christ, by your gentleness, / Hear my cry, hear my tears / That I make for my sins'), and closes with a twenty-line prayer to the Virgin.[34] Other individual psalms were also translated: Countess Marie de Champagne (who also arranged for the translation of the Pentateuch, discussed earlier), shortly after 1180 commissioned a translation of Psalm 44, *Eructavit*, perhaps by a clerk named Adam of Perseigne.[35] The resulting paraphrase, with lengthy amplifications influenced by Jerome, is liturgical in purpose – christological and Marian as well: it invited use on Christmas Day, when it might have been chanted or sung. Some paraphrases of Psalms added versified canticles, such as the Magnificat (Luke 1:47–56) and the Benedictus (Luke 1:68–79), and the Creed. Men and women of the laity wanted to participate more fully in the liturgy and understand it better.

We turn now to the heroic material of Maccabees. An anonymous poet translated Maccabees, perhaps in the early thirteenth century, into ten-syllable lines set in mono-rhymed stanzas of variable length called *laisses*, these formal features being typical of the Old French epic.[36] Judas' enemies are moreover identified as Saracens and Turks who worship Muḥammad, further 'epic' details. Another poet put part of Maccabees into octosyllabic rhymed

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32 'Fragment d'un petit poème dévot du commencement du XIIème siècle', ed. G. Paris, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur* 6 (1865), 362–9. It is discussed by Bonnard, *Traductions de la Bible*, pp. 151–2.
33 Bonnard, *Traductions de la Bible*, pp. 130–49.
34 *The Anglo-Norman Lyric. An Anthology*, ed. D. L. Jeffrey and B. J. Levy (Toronto: PIMS, 1990), pp. 110–1. Trans. by the present writer.
35 *Eructavit. An Old French Metrical Paraphrase of Psalm XLIV*, ed. T. A. Jenkins (Dresden: Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur, 1909). Discussed by Bonnard, *Traductions de la Bible*, pp. 167–8.
36 Parts of this work, found in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 113, were edited by E. Stengel, 'Frammenti di una traduzione libera dei libri dei Maccabei in decasillabi antico francesi', *Rivista di Filologia Romanza* 2 (Rome, 1874), 82–90.

couplets, which were commonly used for adventure romances and other storytelling, especially in works focusing on a single hero: this is Gautier de Belleperche's *La chevalerie de Judas Macchabée*.[37] A massive work with 23,516 lines of rhymed couplets, it was composed in northern France in the mid-thirteenth century (after the final loss of Jerusalem and the Holy Land with the fall of Acre in 1244).[38] Seven surviving manuscripts bear witness to its popularity. The work is full of battles and accounts of heroic action. Gautier is an interesting exception to the typical pattern of clerical authorship. A crossbowman, he undertook to compose the story at the request of a high, unnamed personage whom he 'admired and feared', probably a great feudal lord. Just how well Gautier knew the Old Testament remains unclear. He generally followed the biblical narrative, but his monumental work, presumably intended to be declaimed aloud in dramatic fashion, is based just on the first seven chapters of the first book of Maccabees. The Bible is 'less his text than his pretext'.[39] The influence of the New Testament that one often sees in paraphrases of the Old Testament is not evident here. This Judas Maccabaeus, who serves 'Dieu', seems truly an Old Testament hero – and, interestingly, Gautier appears to have had access to some Jewish sources.[40]

As for Job, around 1300 a Picard monk wrote *L'Hystore Job*, a free paraphrase of the book and a commentary on it, in 3,336 octosyllabic lines; fragments survive.[41] This work speaks of Job as a 'saint' (he was revered as such in the Middle Ages).[42] Another interesting poetic paraphrase of the book is Pierre de Nesson's fifteenth-century *Vigiles des Morts*;[43] the readings of the Office and Mass for the Dead – hence the title – were from Job. In six-line octosyllabic stanzas, the work is a grimly satirical and forceful meditation on human sin and suffering. Pierre took Job as his ostensible focus, but his poem is primarily pervaded with a horror at the repulsiveness of death and the dead body, and

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37 *La chevalerie de Judas Macchabee de Gautier de Belleperche (et de Pieros du Riés)*, ed. J. R. Smeets, 2 vols. (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1991). Smeets believed that two writers with markedly different styles worked on this text, the other being a certain Pieros du Riés.

38 *La chevalerie*, ed. Smeets, vol. 1, p. 45.

39 Bonnard, *Traductions de la Bible*, p. 170.   40 *La chevalerie*, ed. Smeets, vol. 1, pp. 51–2.

41 *L'hystore Job. Adaptation en vers français du Compendium in Job de Pierre de Blois*, ed. R. C. Bates, Yale Romanic Studies 14 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937); and *L''Hystore Job'. An Old French Verse Adaptation of 'Compendium in Job' of Pierre de Blois*, 2 vols., ed. J. Gildea (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne / Villanova, PA: St Thomas, 1974–9).

42 B. N. Sargent-Baur, *Brothers of Dragons. Job Dolens and François Villon* (New York and London: Garland, 1990).

43 *Pierre de Nesson et ses œuvres*, ed. A. Piaget and E. Droz (Paris: Jeanbin, 1925), pp. 71–106. This work is also known as 'Paraphrase des IX leçons de Job'.

even with a repugnance toward human life itself, which is seen as filthy and corrupt from its very conception.

The Old Testament in general

In the mid-thirteenth century, Jean Malkaraume, a clerk apparently from Lorraine, wrote a 10,590-line Old Testament paraphrase, mostly in rather plain octosyllabic couplets, though he also briefly experimented with other, more elaborate forms. He combined sacred and secular history, including the story of Troy and even tales from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; details also come from the *Glossa ordinaria*, the *Aurora* of Peter Riga and Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. Jean was a good storyteller and intervened in the narrative with personal comments. Memorable scenes are devoted to Rahab the prostitute, Samson and Delilah, Susannah and Daniel, and Piramus and Thisbe. In the story of Ruth and Boaz, Jean tells how Boaz takes and spits on Ruth's shoe (Ruth 4) in what Jean clearly viewed as an ancient but disturbing Hebrew custom: 'He took the shoe as witness, / Following the law as he saw it. / He spit on it, that was the usage / –It seems shocking and an outrage!' Jean then turns to Jesse:

> From whom afterwards arose
> David the King and the lineage
> Of the mother of God, the Virgin Mary.
> Now listen to what I will say,
> For I want to change my rhyme
> As is appropriate to sing about a king:
> Lords, now be silent, and listen to my discourse,
> May the God of glory give you blessing,
> You will hear that I will say [sing] a new song,
> Never was such a sound heard by anyone,
> It is about the King of the Jews, just as we found it.
> I have changed my rhyme, it is right and good that
> I should change it, for this is a royal song.[44]

After singing his brief 'royal song' about Christ's lineage, Jean returns to his standard octosyllabic couplets and picks up the thread of his story.

The New Testament: books and extracts

From the late twelfth century onwards, verse treatments of the New Testament in French had a strong tendency to bring in Marian legends and theology,

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44 *La Bible de Jehan Malkaraume (Ms. Paris Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 903) (XIIIe–XIVe siècle)*, ed. J. R. Smeets, 2 vols. (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1978), lines 8100–25. Present author's translation.

a trend evident in prose as well. A major example is *Li Romanz de Dieu et de sa mère* or *Histoire de la Bible*, composed *c.* 1190 by Herman of Valenciennes, a priest from northern France. The work survives in different forms in thirty-five manuscripts.[45] According to Herman, the Virgin told him to write it as thanks for her having healed him from a burn; she was thus his patroness as well as a central figure in the story. It consists of almost 7,000 twelve-syllable lines (alexandrines) divided into mono-rhymed *laisses*, a stately and unusual narrative form that brings the work close to the epic. Herman began with the Virgin's birth and early life, drawing on apocryphal sources, and then moved rapidly through the Gospels, focusing on their symbolic meaning. For Christ's ministry and passion he followed scripture quite closely. After telling of the resurrection, ascension and Pentecost, he closed, in some versions, with a recommendation to his listeners to cultivate penitence and the virtues of faith, hope and charity. Other versions emphasise the Virgin's sorrow after Christ's death, and her own death, which she foretells. *Le Roman* was probably intended to be read aloud – perhaps even sung? – at feasts where the Virgin, as well as Christ, was honoured.

At least six French and Anglo-Norman poems about Christ's passion survive;[46] indeed, with regard to the life of Christ, the passion was the episode most often paraphrased in verse. The tenth-century *Passion de Clermont* is the oldest.[47] Its stanzaic form (four lines, in octosyllabic couplets) associates it with the lyric tradition. As well as being moved to compassion for Christ, audiences are roused to indignation against the 'felons' who put him to death so cruelly. Highly influential was *La Passion des Jongleurs*, also known as *La Passion Dieu*. It was apparently known to 'jongleurs' (professional entertainers) by the early thirteenth century, and its 4,000 octosyllabic rhymed couplets provided the schema for early plays on the crucifixion of Christ, such as *La Passion du Palatinus*.[48] The poet offered a dramatic and moving retelling of Christ's suffering and death, his descent into hell (from apocryphal sources) and his resurrection and appearance to the three Marys.

45 *Li romanz de Dieu et de sa mère d'Herman de Valenciennes, chanoine et prêtre (XIIe siècle)*, ed. I. Spiele, Publications Romanes de l'Université de Leyde 21 (Leiden University Press, 1975).
46 Bonnard, *Traductions de la Bible*, pp. 207–16.
47 'Passion de Clermont-Ferrand', in *Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française (IXe et Xe siècles). Album*, ed. G. Paris, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1875; New York: Johnson Reprint, 1965), pp. 3–6.
48 *La Passion des jongleurs, texte établi d'après la Bible des sept estaz du monde de Geufroi de Paris*, ed. A. Joubert and A. Perry (Paris: Beauchesne, 1981). Joubert suggests a slightly later date.

The anonymous poet of a fourteenth-century poem in octosyllables, *Le livre de la Passion*,[49] prefaced his story with a request for silence, common in works intended for declamation: 'Bonnes gens, plaise vous a taire' ('Good people, please be quiet'). He began his narrative with the Raising of Lazarus and ended with the Last Judgement. He added many legends and other details, expanding, for example, Christ's words of consecration at the last supper to thirty-nine lines, in which Christ commands that the bread of the host be cut into three pieces, in honour of the Trinity. The Virgin laments at the foot of the cross through 146 lines.

French and Anglo-Norman verse paraphrases of the Apocalypse present striking features (which are to a large extent shared by versions in other vernaculars).[50] A commentary on the biblical text is apt to be added, as in the poem in octosyllabic rhymed couplets composed about 1300 by Macé de la Charité, a priest from the Loire region, into which a commentary in French verse, based on the *Glossa ordinaria*, has been interpolated. The paraphrase in 4,539 octosyllabic lines attributed to William Giffard, chaplain of a Benedictine nunnery at Shaftesbury (first half of the thirteenth century) also has an inserted commentary.[51] The Apocalypse was unquestionably seen as a difficult text, demanding glosses and explanations. It also invited visualisation, and the texts are often accompanied by substantial sets of illustrations.[52]

The Bible as a whole

Around 1300, Macé de la Charité wrote his *Bible*, a massive octosyllabic paraphrase of the entire Bible, largely based on Peter Riga's *Aurora*.[53] Punning on his name, Macé said that he wrote out of charity, apparently both for laymen and for priests whose Latin was poor. As he paraphrased, he also talked a good deal about the Bible itself, enumerating the books that it contains.

Another broad poetic sweep is given in Geufroi de Paris's *Bible des sept estaz du monde* ('Bible of the seven estates of the world', c. 1243), in octosyllables. The sections on the Old and New Testaments draw on Herman of Valenciennes (or have the same sources); others deal with hell and purgatory, the human condition, the time of the Antichrist and the Last Judgement. Geufroi was a

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49 *Le livre de la Passion, poème narratif du XIVe siècle*, ed. G. Frank (Paris: Champion, 1930).
50 See B. A. Pitts, 'Versions of the Apocalypse in Medieval French Verse', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 31–59; also Bonnard, *Traductions de la Bible*, pp. 217–20.
51 *An Anglo-Norman Rhymed Apocalypse with Commentary*, ed. O. Rhys, Anglo-Norman Text Society 6 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1946).
52 See Morgan in this volume, ch. 23.
53 *La Bible de Macé de la Charité*, ed. J. R. Smeets et al. 7 vols. (Leiden: Brill and Leiden University Press, 1967–82).

keen storyteller who moved rapidly through his narrative material. He focused in the Old Testament on key typological figures – Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon. Shifting to the New Testament with the genealogy of Christ, he told of the birth and childhood of the Virgin, her marriage to Joseph, the birth of Christ, the magi, the flight into Egypt and various miracles done by Christ as a child; much of this is of course apocryphal. On Christ's ministry, Geufroi was detailed: he recounted Christ's miracles and also explained his teaching and discussed his parables, saying from which evangelist he had taken which details and adding only a few apocryphal legends. He appears to have simply lifted his account of the passion from *La Passion des Jongleurs* and inserted it into his own work.

Middle English

Middle English verse paraphrases of biblical texts are abundant.[54] Single books are most commonly versified, but among the earliest important works is a paraphrase of the Bible as a whole, combined with world history: the *Cursor mundi* ('runner of the world').[55] This 30,000-line work dates from around 1300, and is preserved in many manuscripts. The *Cursor* is mostly in octosyllabic rhymed couplets, but for the scenes of the passion of Christ the poet moved to a new form, no doubt felt to be more dignified and poetically expressive: alternating lines of eight and six syllables, with cross-rhymes (a-b-a-b). He used Latin, French and Anglo-Norman as well as English sources for his work, organised under the concept of the seven ages of man. He was clearly a man of deep humanity as well as of wide reading, and the work has been characterised as a storehouse of legends. The poet's name is unknown but he was certainly a cleric, and he stated that he had written the *Cursor* in Mary's honour. In all likelihood, he expected his immense, informative work to be read aloud in sections.

The Old Testament

Genesis attracted frequent attention. The *Canticum de creatione*, for instance, by an anonymous late fourteenth-century poet, consists of 1,200 lines in stanzas,

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54 For a comprehensive survey, see J. H. Morey, *Book and Verse. A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), a work to which this section is indebted throughout. See also Marsden in this volume, pp. 227–8.
55 For a recent edition, see *The Southern Version of Cursor mundi*, ed. S. M. Horrall, 5 vols. (University of Ottawa Press, 1978–2000).

rhyming a-a-b-c-c-b;[56] it transmits many apocryphal and midrashic traditions concerning the history of the world, and may well have been sung or recited from memory. Old Testament women were of interest to poets and patrons, as shown by *The Pistel of Swete Susan*, an anonymous late fourteenth-century paraphrase in alliterative thirteen-line stanzas, drawn from Daniel 13, the story of Susannah and the two elders. Though not Lollard in spirit this work may draw on a Wycliffite prose translation. The patron was probably a woman (as was perhaps the poet also?), since the work is less interested in Daniel's contribution than in Susannah: her goodness and beauty, her chastity, her sensitivity to her husband's difficult situation, and her serene trust in God:

Then Susan the serwfol seide uppon hight,	sorrowful; out loud
Heef hir hondes on high, biheld heo to hevene:	Raised; hands; she
'Thou Maker of Middelert that most art of miht,	Middle Earth
Bothe the sonne and the see Thou sette uppon sevene	created in seven days
Alle my werkes Thou wost, the wrong and the riht;	knowest
Hit is nedful nou Thi names to nempne.	declare
Seththe I am deolfolich dampned and to deth diht,	Since; dolefully; sentenced
Lord hertelich tak hede and herkne my stevene	earnestly; heed; listen to; voice
So fre.	open
Seththe thou maight not be sene	
With no fleschliche eyene,	eyes
Thou wost wel that I am clene.	pure
Have merci nou on me.'[57]	

As we would expect, the psalms were frequently put into verse (as well as into prose); they invite memorising and being recited or sung aloud. The seven penitential psalms and the fifteen gradual psalms (Pss. 119–33) were often translated as sets, the former, for example, in six-line stanzas by Richard Maidstone (d. *c.* 1396), confessor to John of Gaunt. Individual psalms, especially Psalm 50 ('Miserere') and Psalm 129 ('De profundis'), were also paraphrased in rhymed stanzas.[58]

Other single books of the Old Testament, such as Proverbs and Job, continued to have strong appeal to poets into the late Middle Ages. In the mid-fifteenth century John Lydgate paraphrased Prov. 31:10–31 in twenty rhyme-royal stanzas in his *An Epistle to Sibille*. The addressee was presumably a

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56 *Sammlung altenglischer Legenden*, ed. C. Horstmann (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1878; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1969). Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 124–5.

57 *Heroic Women from the Old Testament in Middle English Verse*, ed. R. Peck (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 1991), p. 90, lines 261–73.

58 See Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 191–4, for details. For Richard Rolle's psalter, see Marsden in this volume, p. 229.

married woman or one about to marry; the lines from Proverbs speak of the perfect wife whose worth is beyond rubies, and both Mary and Martha are evoked in the opening lines. The *Epistle* might have been a wedding present. Lydgate also rendered into verse several psalms and the *Pater noster*, and a penitential meditation on the passion, noted below. As for Job, an anonymous *Metrical Life of Job* survives, in 182 stanzas, as does a *Pety [Pity] Job*, a moving penitential monologue in rhymed couplets, based on Job's speeches to God which formed the basis of the Office of the Dead.[59]

The massive *Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament* – 18,372 lines, in twelve-line alliterative stanzas – may date from the late fourteenth century. It is the work of an anonymous poet, probably from Yorkshire, and is based largely on Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. The influence of the York mystery plays has been suggested, too, though Morey has concluded that the influence was the other way around.[60] The poet moved from Genesis through the historical books of the Old Testament, ending with Judith and Maccabees. He closed with the death of the young Jewish martyrs, baptised in their own blood, and thus proto-Innocents providing a link to the New Testament and the New Law:

All myrthes on this mold thei myst	earth they forsook
the Laws of Moyses to maynteyn.	
For luf of God yt was ther lyst	their desire
to leve all erthly comfort clene;	comforts completely
And in ther blud thei were baptyst	[own] blood; baptised
als Innocentes were sythyn seyn;	as was later seen with the [Holy] Innocents
And Holy Chyrch hath them cananyst	canonized
als marters evermore for to be meyn.	as martyrs; remembered
God graunt us grace to trow	believe truly
in Hym and in all Hys,	
And to His bydynges bow	bidding submit
that we may byd in Blyse![61]	dwell

The New Testament

In Middle English verse (as in French) there are numerous verse paraphrases of scenes from Christ's childhood and his descent into hell, drawn from

59 'A Middle English Metrical Life of Job', ed. G. N. Garmonsway and R. R. Raymo, in A. Brown and P. Foote (eds.), *Early English and Norse Studies Presented to Hugh Smith in Honour of his Sixtieth Birthday* (London: Methuen, 1963), pp. 77–98; and *Pety Job*, ed. S. G. Fein in *Moral Love Songs and Laments* (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 1998), pp. 289–359. See also Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 168–71.
60 Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 146–53, at p. 147.
61 *The Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament*, ed. M. Livingston (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 2011), lines 18, 241–52.

apocryphal sources; such works are strongly rooted in oral storytelling traditions. Canonical accounts of Christ's life in verse tend to belong to the 'temporale' tradition, appearing in manuscripts whose contents are organised according to the liturgical year. Such works might well have been recited from memory or read aloud. Two of them, both anonymous, are known as *The Stanzaic Life of Christ* and *The Metrical Life of Christ*. The former was compiled very likely at Chester in the fourteenth century.[62] The author, probably a clerk, did not wear his learning lightly, making frequent mention of his numerous 'authorities', which included two Latin works heavy with biblical paraphrase, Voragine's *Legenda aurea* and Thomas Higden's *Polychronicon*, both of which in turn rely often on the *Historia scholastica*. The text, in four-line stanzas with cross-rhymes (a-b-a-b), arranges the story of Christ's life around major feasts and was probably intended to be read aloud or sung. *The Metrical Life of Christ*, composed in 5,519 lines of rhymed couplets (parts of which are now missing), begins with the Visit of the Magi and ends at the Assumption of the Virgin.[63] It, too, was influenced in part by the *Legenda aurea*. The story contains unusual scenes, such as Herod's killing of his own son in the slaughter of the innocents. It focuses heavily on miracles, skips rapidly over Christ's parables and teaching and was probably intended as popular entertainment, albeit of a religious nature.

A few poems focus on particular moments of Christ's life and their meaning for Christians. One such work, *A Newe Lessoun off Crystes Resurrecton* dating from the early fifteenth century, consists of 501 lines in octosyllabic couplets.[64] It focuses first on the Marys at the tomb and Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene and to the apostles, then moves to the Ascension and Pentecost. The final sections are catechetical rather than strictly biblical, being devoted to the Creed, the seven works of bodily mercy and the seven deadly sins, and the poem closes more meditatively with a description of the joys of heaven.

The single event of Christ's life that received the most attention, in verse as in prose, was the passion – though verse paraphrases are often more lyrical

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62 *A Stanzaic Life of Christ, Compiled from Higden's Polychronicon and the Legenda aurea, Edited from MS. Harley 3909*, ed. F. A. Foster, EETS 166 (London: Oxford University Press, 1926); Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 256–8.

63 *The Metrical Life of Christ, Edited from MS BM Add. 39996*, ed. W. Sauer, Middle English Texts 5 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1977); Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 252–4.

64 *Three Middle English Religious Poems*, ed. R. H. Bowers, University of Florida Monographs in the Humanities 12 (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1963), pp. 19–32; Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 208–9.

and devotional than purely biblical, as is clear in the anonymous fifteenth-century *Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ* (2,254 octosyllabic lines).[65] Mary features prominently and the poem ends with her assumption. John Lydgate wrote three devotional poems on the passion, *Cristes Passioun*, *The Dolerous Pyte of Crystes Passioun* and *Prayer upon the Cross*. In *Cristes Passioun*, he anatomised the physical experience of the event, with meditations on the crown of thorns, the spear of Longinus, the good thief, Pilate's inscriptions over the cross, and so on.[66]

Closing reflections

As we have seen, poets most often put into vernacular verse either great stories from the Bible – especially dramatic episodes from the Old Testament and the passion of Christ – or books with strong links to the liturgy, such as Psalms. Many of the texts translated appear to have been requested from the poets by clerical superiors or friends, or by aristocratic patrons, both male and female. Thus an eleventh-century German bishop wanted the history of the church in Germany, especially Cologne, along with the miracles of Christ. Noble French patrons wanted kings and warriors – which led them to the Old Testament rather than the New. But while powerful aristocratic patrons' interests were often important, most poetic works (certainly those with the greatest number of surviving manuscript witnesses) seem to speak to a broad Christian audience, as in the case of Herman's twelfth-century *Li Romanz de Dieu et de sa mère*. Many poets apparently wanted to speak to anyone who would listen, noble or not, male or female, clerical or lay. They spoke inside and, for the most part, outside church – in courts, in private homes, even from a recluse's window onto the world.

Most poets were churchmen of some kind; they were most likely to know Latin well enough to paraphrase the Bible. But educated laymen such as Gautier de Belleperche, the French crossbowman, and women such as the widowed German anchorite, Ava, also tried their hand with success. Poets rarely translated or paraphrased directly and solely from the text of scripture: they might depend on their own memory of the text from reading it or from hearing it in the liturgy; they might also draw on apocryphal works and learned biblical commentaries or summaries.

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65 *Meditations on the Life and Passion*, ed. C. D'Evelyn, EETS 158 (London: Oxford University Press, 1921). Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 268–70.
66 *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken, vol. 1, EETS 107 (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), pp. 216–21; Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 282–3.

The genres and the metrical forms that poets chose gave shape to, and created meaning in, the messages they wanted to draw from scripture. Particular forms associated works with poets' and patrons' cultural traditions or their ambitions. Some poets wished to establish connection to the learned Latin tradition, as is the case of Otfrid, who in the ninth century imitated Latin metrical verse as he tried to make German a worthy instrument of God's praise. Some poets modelled their paraphrases on the epic, using heroic diction, and working in Germanic and Old English alliterative lines or in French decasyllabic lines; such works focused on the high courage of holy figures and their trust in God. Epic themes and emphases in French, English and German were strongest during the thirteenth century. Starting in the twelfth century, poets in France and England began also to be influenced by the traditions of romance, adopting the octosyllabic rhymed couplet and focusing on telling a great story, full of marvels. Some poets wanted to associate their work with the liturgy and adopted liturgical poetic forms such as the sequence, used by Heinrich von Meissen ('Frauenlob'). Heinrich and other poets showed in addition not only a spirit of poetic innovation but also a desire to ornament their work through rich rhymes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures, to the glory of God and to honour the Blessed Virgin. Jean Malkaraume introduced what he called a poetic 'chant royal' into his Old Testament paraphrase when he reached the theme of Christ's kingship. Other poets used poetic form to other effects, such as Pierre de Nesson, who wrote short, rather grisly stanzas about life, sin and death, with Job as his pretext.

Along with historical shifts in genre and poetic form went clear developments in thematic emphasis and biblical interpretation over time. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a dramatic rise in devotion to Mary (though Marianism was already evident in the *Heliand* in the ninth century), as well as in recourse to allegorical interpretation, clear (for example) in *Das Lob Salomons* and in the paraphrases of Genesis and of the *Eructavit* psalm done for Marie de Champagne. From the mid-thirteenth century there is new emphasis on the Eucharist, as in the *Livre de la Passion*. Recourse to certain learned works can also be dated – the *Legenda aurea*, for example, from the late thirteenth century onwards, which influenced both *The Stanzaic Life of Christ* and *The Metrical Life of Christ*. By contrast, some themes, as varied as the creation narrative in Genesis, liturgical prayer and interest in female biblical characters, were present from an early period and extended through to the close of the Middle Ages.

Virtually all the works we have examined were meant to be heard, being recited from memory or at least read aloud; some were to be sung. Unlike

prose translations, none of these paraphrases seem to have been intended for private, silent readers. Many of the poems were designed to have a powerful emotional effect on audiences and to remain anchored in their memories. We can safely assume that tone of voice and gestures were often important parts of their delivery. Poets might want to move hearts to compassion for Jesus, or to indignation against those who put him to death, or to love and pity for his sorrowing mother, or to love of wisdom; or they might aim to arouse manly courage for the service of God or to stimulate confidence in God's protection.

It is generally useful to think of verse paraphrases as free and idiosyncratic personal speech acts about the Bible that have been preserved in writing. These texts record voices telling, explaining and summarising the biblical narratives. They preach the good news in its basic outlines, often adding warmth and pious thoughts to passages from the Bible that seemed remote or coolly historical. They elucidate the meaning of biblical passages whose message is felt to be unclear. Poets and singers sing 'new songs' to the Lord. It is, then, the voices of storytellers, singers, poets and preachers – male and female, young and old, clerical and lay – that come through to us loud and clear. The Bible is mediated not merely through individual human voices but also through personal memory and understanding. Shaping their discourse through familiar forms, poets told audiences what they knew, and what they thought others should know – and feel and remember – about the Bible.

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Staging the Bible

LYNETTE R. MUIR

'In the beginning was the Word . . . and the Word was God.' Medieval biblical drama is essentially theocentric. For not only does it put God on the stage as a *deus ex machina* or as part of a ritual, but it portrays in most intimate and revealing detail every aspect of the history of God's relationship with man, from the creation to the incarnation and beyond to the day of judgement and the end of the world. In order to do this, the dramatists go far beyond the limits of the biblical text. With a sublime *naiveté* that robs their work of blasphemy, they lift the veil and show us the innermost councils of the divine Trinity.

From the earliest centuries, the church re-enacted the events of Christ's life. When the Spanish pilgrim Egeria visited Jerusalem in the third century CE, she shared in the Easter celebrations, which included the processional entry into the city on Palm Sunday.[1] The language of these celebrations was Greek, with Syriac translations provided, but the Latin-speakers had to rely on helpful neighbours. It was not until the church, like the Roman empire – divided into the eastern Greek half centred on Constantinople and the western Roman half – became centred on Rome that a Latin liturgy developed, much influenced by the Rule of St Benedict with its pattern of the daily Office and lectionary. The eastern church never developed a liturgical drama, finding instead its 'incarnation' in the icons, defended in the eighth century Iconoclastic controversy by St John Damascene: 'When God is seen clothed in flesh and conversing with men I make an image of the God of matter who became matter for my sake.'[2]

1 *Egeria's Travels. Newly Translated with Supporting Documents and Notes*, ed. J. Wilkinson, 3rd edn (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1999), and L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship. Its Origin and Evolution. A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne*, trans. M. L. McClure (London: SPCK, 1904).

2 St John Damascene, *On Holy Images Followed by Three Sermons on the Assumption*, trans. M. H. Allies (London: T. Baker, 1898), p. 15. It is worth noting, however, the existence of the *Paschon Christos*, a non-liturgical Greek passion play largely devoted to the Virgin's lamentations, which

From liturgy to Latin music drama

In the ninth century an influential and crucial development for the history of biblical drama was the introduction of a trope or addition to the liturgy in the form of a dialogue sung at the beginning of Easter Day Mass, and known from its opening words as the 'Quem queritis?' trope. Part of the choir, representing the angels at the tomb, sings the phrase, 'Quem queritis in sepulchro, O Christicole?' ('Whom do you seek in the tomb, O Christians?'). The other half of the choir, representing the Marys and all Christians, responds: 'Jesum Nazarenum, O celicole' ('Jesus of Nazareth, O heavenly ones'). Then the whole choir sings the joyful tidings of the resurrection. The peculiar interest of the early part of this dialogue lies in its source. It does derive from the Bible but not from one of the gospel accounts of the resurrection; rather, it comes from St John's narrative of the arrest of Jesus, sung as part of the Passion on Good Friday. Jesus twice asks the soldiers, 'Quem queritis?', to which they reply, 'Jesum Nazarenum' (John 18:4–7). Transferred to the resurrection, this brief dialogue was moved from the rigidly ordered liturgy of the Mass to the more flexible office of matins, and a play was born: the *Visitatio sepulchri*.

The fullest early description of this dramatic addition to the Mass derives from the *Regularis concordia* (Agreement of the Rule), the customary compiled in England *c.* 973, probably by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester. Referring to Easter Day, it instructs: 'While the third lesson is being read, four of the brethren shall dress themselves, one of whom, wearing an alb . . . shall enter and go stealthily to the place of the sepulchre . . . [T]he other three brethren, dressed in copes and holding censers with incense in their hands, shall enter in their turn and go to the place of the sepulchre, step by step, as though searching for something. Now these things are done in imitation of the angel seated on the tomb and of the women coming with perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus. When, therefore, he that is seated shall see these three draw nigh . . . he shall begin to sing softly and sweetly, *Quem queritis* . . . [Then] the prior, rejoicing in the triumph of our king in that he had conquered death and was risen, shall give out the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, and thereupon all the bells shall peal.'[3] The *Quem queritis*, like the *Te Deum* and the bells, is part of the joyous celebration of Easter Day.

survives in a twelfth-century manuscript but is ascribed to the sixth century. If this ascription is accepted, it would make it the oldest surviving passion play.

3 Based on *Regularis concordia. The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. T. Symons (London: Nelson, 1953), pp. 49–50. See also P. Meredith, 'The Ceremonies of Easter Week', in W. Tydeman (ed.), *The Medieval European Stage 500–1500* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 81–98.

The *Visitatio* continued to be performed all over Europe until the sixteenth century, when it was banned by the Council of Trent, as were almost all tropes and sequences. Moreover, the trope spawned other sequences. In the eleventh century there was a Nativity version, in which the shepherds approach the midwives, who ask, 'Whom do you seek?', and on receiving the answer 'The saviour, Christ the Lord', open a curtain and reveal the figures of the crib. Other Christmas scenes include the Office of the Star at Epiphany with the magi and Herod. Like the liturgy itself, the liturgical plays blended biblical with newly composed text, and as they developed in scope, their dependence on the biblical text inevitably decreased. A final Christmas development was the Procession of Prophets, or *Ordo prophetarum*, based on a pseudo-Augustinian sermon, in which different prophets of redemption – and the Erythraean Sybil – are called in turn to bear witness to the coming of Christ. At first the sermon was simply read, usually as the sixth lesson of Christmas matins, but by the twelfth century the prophets were being summoned to give their prophecies in person. This ceremony, especially with the inclusion of the Sibyl, was particularly popular in Spain.[4]

The debate on whether these sung Latin interpolations in the liturgy can be considered drama has been raging for many years, the opposition to the idea being based mainly on the grounds that there is no 'impersonation', and a congregation at Mass is not an 'audience'.[5] However, there are definitely Latin plays by the eleventh century. Elaborate versions of the Christmas magi and the prophets, as well as the events of Holy Week, are found in the liturgical books of many religious houses. In the convent of Origny-Sainte-Benoîte in the thirteenth century, one nun reached the pinnacle of dramatic casting when she took part in a semi-dramatic ceremony as 'celle qui fist Dieu' ('she who did God').[6]

Jesus made his debut in the twelfth century, in the 'Noli me tangere' ('Do not touch me') scene with Mary Magdalene at the tomb and the meeting with the disciples on the way to Emmaus, in the plays frequently called *Peregrinus*.[7] The earliest passion play survives in a manuscript from the Benedictine house at Monte Cassino, and that it was performed regularly is attested by the survival of the text of the fourth soldier's part in a fourteenth-century actor's

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4 R. B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain*, Studies and Texts 4 (Toronto: PIMS, 1958), pp. 39–50.
5 See C. Flanigan, 'Medieval Latin Music-Drama', in E. Simon (ed.), *The Theatre of Medieval Europe. New Research in Early Drama* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 21–41. Karl Young's great study, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), includes numerous examples of these scenes.
6 Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. I, p. 689.   7 Ibid., vol. II, pp. 515–17.

roll from Sulmona.[8] A late thirteenth-century passion play, mostly in Latin and sung, but with a few vernacular speeches, is included in the famous *Carmina Burana* manuscript.[9] The play opens with the Entry into Jerusalem, followed by Mary Magdalene Anointing Jesus' Feet and the Healing of the Blind Man. Then follow the Last Supper, Agony in the Garden, Arrest and Trials. All the dialogue is strictly based on the four Gospels and stage directions indicate a multiple-location set. The crucifixion is mentioned, only briefly, immediately after Pilate has washed his hands: 'Tunc Jesus suspendatur in cruce' ('then Jesus was hung on the cross'). Then the Virgin begins her lamentations in German. A scene in Latin between her and John is followed (also in Latin) by the words: 'Behold your son, behold your Mother', 'I thirst', and 'It is finished.' Longinus thrusts the lance into Jesus' side, saying in German, 'I will pierce him to the heart to end his suffering.' Jesus cries, 'Ely, Ely, lama sabactany?' ('my God, my God, why have you forsaken me?'), and dies. Then Mary sings a long *planctus*, such as is found in numerous manuscripts from all parts of Europe.[10]

The emergence of vernacular plays

A collection of fully developed twelfth-century Latin music-dramas is preserved in a unique manuscript known as the 'Fleury Play-Book'.[11] The contents include the visit to the sepulchre, Herod and the slaughter of the innocents, the conversion of St Paul and three miracles of St Nicholas.[12] More or less contemporary with these texts are the first religious plays in the vernacular.[13] From then on, the two types of drama developed side by side for the next four centuries. The Latin drama continued its close links with the Bible and the liturgy and was mainly performed in churches, while the vernacular drama moved away from the biblical text and introduced personal details, violence

8 For early passion plays see S. Sticca, 'Italy. Liturgy and Christocentric spirituality', in Simon (ed.), *The Theatre of Medieval Europe*, pp. 169–88, at pp. 173–5.
9 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4660, a thirteenth-century collection of religious and secular songs in Latin and German, with six religious dramas also.
10 Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. I, pp. 518–33.
11 Orléans, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 201, pp. 176–243. Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, lists the contents at vol. I, pp. 665–6, and see C. Flanigan, 'The Fleury *Playbook*, the Traditions of Medieval Latin Drama, and Modern Scholarship', in T. P. Campbell and C. Davidson (eds.), *The Fleury Playbook. Essays and Studies* (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 1985), pp. 1–25.
12 Texts in Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. I, pp. 393–7 and vol. II, pp. 84–9, 110–13 and 219–22, respectively. *Medieval Drama*, ed. D. Bevington (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975) translates all the plays (pp. 39–44, 57–66, 67–77 and 164–9, respectively).
13 Bibliographical details for the vernacular plays discussed can be found in L. R. Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 270–91.

and a good deal of comedy, and was performed on wagons, on specially pre-pared fixed-location stages with audience seating, or in other kinds of playing places.

The first appearance of God in a vernacular play also came in the twelfth century, in the Anglo-Norman masterpiece, the *Ordo representationis Adae*, often referred to as the *Jeu d'Adam*.[14] The play (about 1,000 lines long) consists of three sections, the first and longest being probably the finest play of the fall in the whole of medieval drama. It is staged outside a church with heaven at the top of the steps together with a raised area for paradise, which is fenced round so that the actors can hide to change clothes after the Fall. The 'heavenly choir' is just inside the church doorway. Hell, probably in the form of the traditional hell's mouth, is on ground level and the little devils run around among the audience there, who may be standing or seated. The play begins with a reading of the biblical story of the Creation, followed by a choral responsory 'And the Lord God formed man', and the stage direction, 'Then comes the Saviour, wearing a dalmatic'.[15] He summons Adam and establishes with him a feudal relationship of lord and vassal: 'You must never make war against me.' Adam swears loyalty. He is then formally married to Eve, as his wife and equal, whom he must govern by reason. She is told she must obey her husband. They are then sent into paradise and, after they have explored it a little, the Devil comes and tries unsuccessfully to tempt Adam to disobey his lord. This scene is unique in medieval drama.[16] The Devil then tempts Eve, but not as in the Bible. He flatters her beauty and tells her Adam is not worthy of her, rather than suggesting the apple would give her knowledge and power. The episode with the serpent is only in mime. Eve then tempts Adam to eat the fruit, which she describes as delicious. Adam does so, then laments and rebukes Eve. The Figure comes, wearing a stole because he is urging the pair to the sacrament of penance. He finally expels them and they move to ground level where there is a heap of soil. They dig and plant there, but the Devil comes and sows thistles, as in Matt. 13:24. The episode ends with the lamentations of Adam and Eve and a hint of a possible future reconciliation with God. The scene of Cain and Abel and the Prophet play which follows it are brief and lack the originality and power of the Adam sequence.

14 There are several modern editions of this notable text, including one in *Medieval Drama*, ed. Bevington. For a detailed analysis of the play see L. R. Muir, *Liturgy and Drama in the Anglo-Norman Adam,* Medium Aevum Monographs NS 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973).
15 The title *Salvator* (he is also referred to as *Figura*) makes it clear that this is God the Son; the Father will not appear on stage for some time yet.
16 It does, however, form part of the Old English poem on the fall known as *Genesis B*; see Marsden in this volume, p. 219.

Three other vernacular plays are extant from the twelfth century. The Spanish *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, the oldest vernacular Christmas play, breaks off abruptly after 100 lines, during the scene of the Magi and Herod. The Anglo-Norman *Resurrection* play is also incomplete (about 70 lines). Details of the staging in the manuscript suggest a series of platforms arranged in two facing lines with the cross at the meeting point. The extant scene is mostly between Joseph of Arimathea and Pilate but there is also the first appearance of Longinus, the blind man who is given a spear to stab the dead Jesus. The last of the plays is short but original. The earliest dramatisation of a parable, the *Sponsus* is based on the story of the Wise and Foolish Virgins but includes a scene with a merchant from whom the foolish virgins try to buy more oil. The sung text is mostly in Latin but partly in Anglo-Norman, as in the famous refrain from the lament of the foolish virgins: 'Dolentas, chaitivas, trop y avet dormit' ('Woeful wretches, we have slept too long').[17] Two later plays on this parable are recorded, one in German and one in Dutch. The German play is known only because the chronicles relate that in Eisenach in 1321, when it was performed before Landgrave Frederick, he was so distressed when the foolish virgins pleaded in vain for mercy from the Virgin Mary that he had an apoplexy and died soon afterwards.[18] The Dutch play is a very substantial text from about 1500.

A more liturgical kind of vernacular drama appeared in the thirteenth century, when the flagellant movement brought together bands of young men, especially in Italy, inspired by the teaching of Joachim of Fiore to do penance for the sins of Christendom. These *disciplinati* sang *laude* (praises based on the gospel of the day) in between bouts of flagellation. At first the *laude* were simple lyrics but they developed into genuine plays, which maintained a close link with the church calendar. In the fifteenth century several groups of *disciplinati* in Rome formed the company of the Gonfalonieri di Santa Lucia, which staged a passion play in the Coliseum on Good Friday morning from 1460 to 1540.[19]

In Florence, most plays were performed in churches and on major feast days. At first the performers were members of religious orders, as in the Carmelite play of the Ascension, but later, during the reign of the Medici, they were groups of young laymen. These plays were noted for their magnificence and the use of machinery. In 1439, it is recorded that, at the Ascension,

17 Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. II, pp. 363–4.
18 Muir, *Biblical Drama*, p. 149.
19 See V. de Bartholomaeis, *Laude drammatiche e rappresentazioni sacre*, 3 vols. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1943).

Christ appears on top of the mountain, the Heavens open, and God the Father can be seen miraculously suspended in the air, enveloped in a great light which pours forth from the innumerable lamps; the small children representing the angels move around him while harmonious music and sweet singing are heard. The taller angels which are painted on the disc also revolve around so that they seem to be alive.[20]

The use of lights was often a feature of Italian plays; in Modena on one occasion they did a Pentecost play and burnt the church down. Later in the century, when dialogue played a greater role, the play of the Ascension opened with Christ eating in the company of the apostles and the Virgin in the cenacle, 'to show that I am indeed perfect man (*perfetto homo*)', and it is this human person who will be with the Father in Heaven.[21]

A notable feature of the vernacular plays, both movable and fixed-stage, is their emphasis from the very beginning on the presence of God on the stage and a more flexible treatment of the biblical stories than was possible in the liturgical plays. One important result of this was the introduction of scenes depicting the Fall of the Angels, the Trial in Heaven, and the Last Judgement, which all have biblical sources but depend on original developments by the dramatists.

The beginning of the fourteenth century saw the introduction of the civic festival plays. Processional plays performed for Corpus Christi and other feast days were especially common in England and Germany, in England mainly organised by the craft guilds of the towns. France had no guild and processional plays but in 1333 in Toulon, a group of about 100 townsfolk presented an elaborate fixed-location play of the early life of Mary and the birth of Jesus. All the participants are named, and all belong to the leading families of the city. In 1401, in Paris, Charles VI granted letters patent to a *Confrèrie de la Passion*, formed from a group of townsfolk, who had been performing an annual passion play before the king. By this unique charter, the *Confrèrie* had the monopoly of all public dramatic performances in the capital, a right they were to retain for nearly three centuries. Little is known about their plays but there are many references to Paris performances of the *Passion*, and by 1430 towns might purchase a manuscript copy of the earliest of the great French Passion cycles, composed by Arnoul Gréban, a priest from Le Mans. Fifty performances are recorded in French towns between

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20 N. Newbigin, *Feste d'Oltrarno. Plays in Churches in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (Florence: Olschki, 1996), pp. 63–5.
21 Ibid., p. 99.

1398 and 1500, when printed play texts also became available. The distinctive character of the French Passions is their length and division into 'days' for performance. Gréban's four-day play (about 35,000 lines) includes a creation sequence followed by the life of Jesus from Nativity to Resurrection. Later texts may include scenes of the prophets, the nativity of Mary and the post-Pentecost lives of the apostles. In 1540, the Valenciennes Passion (about 45,000 lines) was performed over twenty-five days.[22]

From Creation to Annunciation

The account of the creation and the fall of the angels, first dramatised in a Latin cycle from Regensburg in 1194 and found in many cyclic plays, is referred to in 2 Peter 2:4: 'God spared not the angels that sinned but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell unto torments to be reserved unto judgement'. In Luke 10:18, Jesus says: 'I saw Satan fall as lightning from heaven.' Old Testament references include Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28. The story was put together by the church fathers and dealt with at length by Augustine in the *City of God* (book II). As the world began with a struggle between good and evil, so does it end in Revelation 12, when Michael and his angels fight with the dragon.[23] Despite references to the Devil as 'Tempter', a considerable number of medieval plays preferred to follow the Bible and not only make the serpent responsible but give it the head (and often the bust) of a woman. A few plays dramatise the death of Adam and the story of Seth's visit to paradise to fetch the oil of mercy, and the Cornish *Ordinalia* continues the story with the history of the wood of the cross from the Gospel of Nicodemus.[24]

The choice of Old Testament subjects which were included between the Fall and the Prophets shows considerable variety. Most cycles include Cain and Abel, but only a few include the story of Lamech before going on to Noah and the Flood. A French Valenciennes twenty-day play uniquely includes the episode of the intermarriage between the sons of God and the daughters of men (Gen. 6:2–3). Many plays present the episodes of Abraham

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22 L. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du théâtre en France. Les mystères*, 2 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1880; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1968) includes detailed summaries of biblical plays and lists of dozens of performances in different towns throughout France.

23 The English cycles begin with God in Trinity speaking as Alpha et Omega and in a long speech describing the creation. R. Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (London: Roultedge & Kegan Paul, 1972), analyses these opening scenes in great detail with references to all the English Old Testament plays.

24 *The Cornish Ordinalia. A Medieval Dramatic Trilogy*, trans. M. Harris (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1969).

and Isaac, Moses and the Burning Bush, David and Goliath and the Judgement of Solomon; few of them include Joseph. Other stories dramatised include Balaam and the Ass, and the Healing of Naaman.

Prophet plays come in a great variety of form and choice of text. A popular presentation is a discussion in limbo, sometimes interspersed with a visit to heaven to plead for mercy for mankind. Arnold Immessen's Low German *Sündenfall* has the most elaborate version.[25] Solomon summons all the prophets and all the sibyls to a feast, during which he sorts out the problem of the two mothers and the baby and entertains the Queen of Sheba. When the feast is over the prophets start a long debate in which they quote themselves and each other. At intervals, one of them goes up to heaven, trying to appeal direct to God. Finally David, helped by the Archangel Michael, goes for a second time and is told by God the result of the Trial in Heaven held by the Four Daughters of God. These allegorical ladies, who feature in a very large number of medieval texts both narrative and dramatic, first appear in a sermon on the annunciation by St Bernard based on the words in Ps. 84:11: 'Mercy and Truth have met each other: Justice and Peace have kissed.' The theme is presented in several different forms in the plays. The French Arras and Gréban Passions stage a formal trial with the principal antagonists, Justice and Mercy, supported respectively by Truth and Peace. Aided by Wisdom they agree that the only way to reconcile Justice and Mercy and save man is for God the Son to be made man and suffer death. In Italy, the debate forms the greater part of Feo Belcari's play of the Annunciation (*c*. 1440), which emphasises that the moment of the angelic salutation, not the crucifixion, is the moment of the salvation of man.

A markedly different treatment of the Four Daughters, used in a large number of plays, is found at the beginning of the thirteenth-century *Meditationes vitae Christi*, one of several devotional works ascribed spuriously to St Bonaventure.[26] The angels ask God to have pity on man; then follows the debate based on the sermon. After listening to the Four Virtues, the king (i.e., God) writes his judgement: 'Let death become good and each will have what she desires. Let someone be found who is not guilty but willing to die for man and he can be redeemed.' Truth searches on earth and Mercy in heaven but nowhere can they find one who is innocent and willing to die.

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25 *Arnold Immessen. Der Sündenfall*, ed. F. Krage (Heidelberg: Winter, 1913).
26 A popular source for the plays, it was translated by Nicholas Love as *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (*c*. 1410). See *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ. A Critical Edition Based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686*, ed. M. G. Sargent (New York and London: Garland, 1992). See also in this volume Matter, pp. 697–8.

God then announces he will save the man he has created. The 'N.town' *Mary Play* follows the action of the *Meditationes* quite closely in the Trial in Heaven section which precedes the Annunciation, and another Mary-centred play, the long and elaborate *Eerste Bliscap*, first of the seven Dutch *Bliscapen von Maria* ('Joys of Mary'), also includes a Trial in Heaven but without the daughters.[27] The *Eerste Bliscap* is a long and elaborate play but N.town limits the debate to three quatrains before the Son agrees to die for man.

Most versions of the Trial in Heaven are followed by the Annunciation, in which God appears, if at all, only as the Holy Ghost in the traditional likeness of a dove. In the N.town version, however, all three persons of the Trinity are actively present in this episode. After the dialogue between Gabriel and Mary and her acceptance of God's will, the moment of conception is described in a stage direction: 'Here þe Holy Gost discendit with thre bemys to Our Lady, the Sone of þe Godhed nest with thre bemys to þe Holy Gost, the Fadyr godly with thre bemys to þe Sone, and so entre all thre to here bosom.'[28] Whatever the exact form taken by these 'bemys', usually thought of as 'beams' of light, the theologically significant part of the direction is the order of processing them: from God the Father to the Son to the Holy Ghost. The teaching of the church as expressed in the Nicene Creed was that all communication between the persons of the Trinity was by 'procession'. At the end of the council of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost had declared: 'I, the Holy Ghost of yow tweyn do procede.' This relationship between the three persons of the Trinity was one of the principal points in dispute between the Catholic and the Orthodox churches. The '*filioque* [and son] clause' had been a major subject for debate at the ecumenical councils of the fifteenth century but only the author of the N.town play went so far as to present on stage not merely God in Trinity but the interrelations of the three persons and the double procession of the Holy Ghost.

From Nativity to Judgement Day

Several fixed-location plays insert a number of scenes of the birth and marriage of the Virgin Mary before proceeding to the Annunciation, but the majority

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27 See P. Meredith and L. R. Muir, 'The Trial in Heaven in the *Eerste Bliscap* and Other European Plays', *Dutch Crossing* 22 (1984), 84–92. 'N.town' (or N-town) is now the preferred title of the plays formerly known collectively as the *Ludus Coventriae* ('the play of Coventry'). In the manuscript, 'in N.town' (with N standing for *nomen*) is written to indicate that the name of any town could be inserted as the place for performance.
28 *The Mary Play from the N.town Manuscript*, 2nd edn, ed. P. Meredith (University of Exeter Press, 1997), p. 75.

move straight into what may be called the Christmas cycle, including the episodes of the Nativity (sometimes with the legend of the disbelieving midwife added), the Shepherds and the Three Kings (who in the sixteenth-century Revello *Passion* are attacked on their way home by boat). Elaborated scenes of the Purification in *Candlemes* in the 'Digby manuscript' (i.e., Oxford, BodL, Digby 133, dated 1512) and the Passion performed at Arras are followed by an episode of the Flight into Egypt.[29] The Slaughter of the Innocents may include the scene of the death of Herod's own son. A scene of Jesus in the Temple is often included before the plays, like the Gospels, move into his adult life and ministry.

A frequently dramatised episode from the Gospels is the Baptism of Christ by John and, later, John's arrest and death. Several plays have Salome and her mother taken off by devils after the beheading of John. Many plays dramatise one or more miracles, including the Healing of the Blind Man, Casting out Devils – good theatre! – and the Marriage at Cana. Characters often introduced here are Mary, Martha and Lazarus. The French Passions especially devote much space to the story of Mary (usually called Mary Magdalene, who is conflated with several other Marys from the Gospels: the sister of Martha and Lazarus, the woman out of whom Christ cast seven devils and the penitent who anointed Christ's feet). There are plays in French and English devoted exclusively to her, from conversion to canonisation, including her voyage to southern France, where she ended her life and is commemorated as one of the 'Maries' in the name of the village of Saintes Maries de la Mer. Parables are occasionally included in the ministry sequences but are more common separately, particularly in Dutch and German. Some French plays introduce details of the early life of Judas Iscariot, in an Oedipus myth of him killing his father and marrying his mother. There are also frequent parallels between Judas and the Jews and the devils of the Fall.[30]

The most important scenes, however, are naturally the sequence of Holy Week from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Resurrection. Here the main difference is between the short separate plays on wagons and the prolonged scenes in the fixed-location plays. In the former there was a close link between the actors and the audience, who become the crowd. In the Passions, the mainly seated and sometimes paying audiences were more remote and their

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29 On these plays, see Muir, *Biblical Drama*, pp. 107–12.
30 See J.-P. Bordier, *Le Jeu de la Passion. Le message chrétien et le théâtre français (XIIIe–XVIe s.)* (Paris: Champion, 1998), which is an extensive study of the theology of the French plays.

place was taken by a crowd of actors. Both types have scenes involving the soldiers and devils which include violence and crude humour.

The episodes of the Harrowing of Hell are sometimes very elaborate, with detailed instructions given for special effects.[31] In the Resurrection scenes, the Marys go to buy spices to anoint Jesus from an *unguentarius*, who in many German plays is involved in crude comedy with his assistant, even in the presence of the Marys. There is considerable variety in the choice of the post-resurrection appearances, with fewer scenes in the cycle plays than in the lengthy Passions. Most plays include Doubting Thomas and the Road to Emmaus, which in German is often made an opportunity for comedy in the person of the innkeeper. Christ's appearance to his mother was widely accepted in medieval devotional writings and is included in several German plays, the Cornish *Ordinalia* and the N.town play, but in French, only in Gréban's *Passion*.

The numerous plays of the Ascension and Pentecost vary greatly in length and the treatment of the technical complexities of the scene, which are most elaborate in the Florentine performances described above. Some texts precede the Ascension with the Commissioning of the Apostles (Luke 16:15–18). The play from Bozen, in the Tirol, has a particularly long scene with Matthew and John asking for help in writing their gospels and the Virgin Mary being granted power to intercede for sinners. However, this power does not extend to the Day of Judgement, when Mary intercedes in vain, especially in the German plays. In the Rheinau version, Christ tells her to sit down and not talk. In that of Perugia, he is more polite and says 'please' (*per piacere*).

Eschatalogical plays are not included among the Passions but feature regularly as the conclusion of a cycle or as an independent play, sometimes preceded by the story of Antichrist (1 John 2:18), which is the subject of an important twelfth-century Latin play from Tegernsee and several later texts. Other episodes staged include the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin, especially in Spain. Plays based on the first seven chapters of Revelation were played in turn annually in Antwerp, and a single French play, *L'Apocalypse*, was written in 1541.

In staging the Judgement, authors often took the opportunity to criticise the faults of their contemporaries: a lawyer in the Besançon version asks leave

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31 Many details are cited in P. Meredith and J. Tailby (eds.), *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages. Texts and Documents in English Translation*, Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series 4 (Kalamazoo, MI: MIP, 1983).

to appeal, which is disallowed; there is a violent attack on the clergy, who are guilty of sodomy, in the Perugia version. In the Towneley (?Wakefield) plays, the Judgement play opens with a long speech by a couple of devils attacking the sinners for their numerous faults, with examples of all seven deadly sins, including vanity: 'And Nell with her nyfyls [handfuls] / Of crisp [fabric] and of sylke' (lines 469–70).[32] In the Florence version, the sinners beg their patron saints to speak for them (in vain): Mary Magdalene is invoked by the prostitutes, St Nicholas by the merchants and St Peter by the clergy. But in most cases the judgement is made according to the 'inasmuch' clause (Matt. 25:40), and the plays usually end with the devils taking all the sinners off to their torments.

Aftermath

The great age of the '*jeu de Dieu*', the term that Gréban gave to the biblical drama, was the fifteenth century, and from 1500 onwards it gradually declined. In Paris the passion plays were banned in 1548 but performances continued in the provinces, including a notable forty-day play of the 62,000-line *Actes des Apôtres*, written in about 1480 and performed over a period of several months in the city of Bourges in 1530.

In England, the cycles survived till the reign of Elizabeth, but in most Protestant countries they were banned as being popish, though plays on Old Testament subjects, or showing God in glory rather than emphasising the sufferings of Christ, were not forbidden by either Luther or Calvin. In the Netherlands and Protestant parts of Germany, there were many plays based on parables. In 1634, the Oberammergau Passion was staged for the first time, with what was basically a fifteenth-century text. The performance has continued ever since, though with revised and renewed texts.

In Catholic countries there was a certain reaction against the biblical plays following the Council of Trent, which forbade plays in churches. In 1632, however, a special papal bull allowed the continuation of the Assumption play in the Catalan town of Elx (or Elche), first performed in 1370 and still running over 600 years later. Plays on the lives of saints became increasingly popular, especially in the Jesuit college drama of the late sixteenth century.

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32 *The Towneley Plays*, ed. M. Stevens and A. C. Cawley, 2 vols., EETS ss 13–14 (Oxford University Press, 1994), vol. 1, p. 414.

For the general populace however, the principal challenge to the religious drama would come from the rapidly developing professional theatre, with its use of classical and historic subjects.[33]

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33 *Editors' note*: On her death in 2007, Lynette Muir left a draft of this chapter. It was revised by Richard Marsden, who is greatly indebted to Professor Peter Meredith for guidance.

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