Biblical exegesis at Wearmouth-Jarrow before Bede? The Hereford commentary on Matthew

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This article examines a previously neglected fragment of an early medieval commentary on Matthew's Gospel, the bifolium Hereford Cathedral Library, P. II. 10. I argue on palaeographical grounds that this fragment was produced in Bede's monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow in the first decades of the eighth century, at roughly the same time as the production of the Codex Amiatinus. This leads into a study of the text itself, which is in fact a compilation of two quite different texts. Its second part is mostly based on a known early medieval commentary, one of the supposedly 'Hiberno-Latin' texts identified by Bernard Bischoff in the 1950s. Its first part, however, is unique to this fragment, has few clear analogues, and has never previously been studied. I consider the implications of this fragment – both as a codicological artefact and as a piece of biblical exegesis – for our understanding of Bede's monastery at a crucial early point in its history. The article's appendix includes an edited text and translation of the fragment.

The immense contribution of the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow to the study of the Bible in Latin rests on twin pillars: the production of (at least) three pandects of the Vulgate, of which the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino

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1, CLA 3/299) remains intact; and the exegetical writings of the Venerable Bede.[1] These two great projects represent a monumental outlay not only of parchment and ink but of time and energy for both scholars and scribes at Wearmouth-Jarrow over the course of the first half of the eighth century. The Codex Amiatinus alone was the work of at least seven different scribes along with illuminators and editors, never mind herdsmen, slaughterers, tanners, merchants and sailors.[2] Bede, meanwhile, produced twenty-one works of biblical exegesis (in fifty-two individual *libri*) in thirty years,[3] which circulated widely during his lifetime and in the decades after his death in 735, putting a strain on the capacity of the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium to keep up with demand for manuscripts.[4] The outsized volume and importance of these two bodies of work have perhaps clouded our appreciation of everything else that must have been going on at Wearmouth-Jarrow in terms of scribal and scholarly production. To put it simply, neither

[1] It is generally assumed that three pandects were created, since this is what Bede tells us at *Historia abbatum*, c. 15 (ed. C. Grocock and I.N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 56–9). On the possibility that more than three pandects were produced, see C. Chazelle, *The Codex Amiatinus and its Sister Bibles: Scripture, Liturgy and Art in the Milieu of the Venerable Bede* (Leiden, 2019), pp. 225–7. References to CLA are to *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, ed. E.A. Lowe (Oxford, 1934–71), cited by volume and manuscript number. In general, I am referring to the updated and digitized database based on CLA at the Earlier Latin Manuscripts (ELMSS) project at NUI Galway, online at https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/. Where there is a significant difference between the information in ELMSS and CLA, I will make this clear in the footnotes with reference to the printed editions of CLA.

[2] The bibliography on Amiatinus is too extensive to cite in full: see esp. R. Gameson, 'Codex Amiatinus: Making and Meaning', Jarrow Lecture (2017); Chazelle, *Codex Amiatinus*. The unusual use of goatskin in the making of Amiatinus, perhaps imported from the Continent, was identified by J. Vnouček, 'The Parchment of the Codex Amiatinus in the Context of Manuscript Production in Northumbria Around the End of the Seventh Century: Identification of the Animal Species and Methods of Manufacture of the Parchment as Clues to the Old Narrative?', *Journal of Paper Conservation* 20 (2019), pp. 179–204.

[3] Bede's works – as he lists them himself at *Historia ecclesiastica* (hereafter *HE*) 5.24 – can be counted in several different ways (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969), p. 566). If we count each *liber* (in cases where Bede divides a work into multiple *libri*, as in the *HE*), we get to fifty-two exegetical *libri* (including the homilies, the partially exegetical *liber epistularum*, and counting the lost work of *capitula lectionum* on numerous OT books as a single *liber*). The non-exegetical *libri* in the list (histories, poetry and treatises) add up to nineteen. Bede does not mention the letters to Ecgberht or Albinus (both probably written after 731, though the latter short note would hardly have been worth mentioning), the early work *De locis sanctis*, or the *De octo quaestionibus* – this last one is exegetical in nature, though the authorship of at least some of this work has been questioned, e.g. by E. Knibbs, 'The Manuscript Evidence for the *De octo quaestionibus* Ascribed to Bede', *Traditio* 63 (2008), pp. 129–83.

[4] M. Parkes, 'The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow', Jarrow Lecture (1982); Parkes's conclusions have been nuanced by Gameson, who argues from the mixed scripts of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819 for a more managed and deliberate transition from uncial to insular, but the fact of the transition remains (R. Gameson, 'Writing at Wearmouth-Jarrow', in C. Breay and J. Story (eds), *Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Cultures and Connections* (Dublin, 2021), pp. 28–44).

Amiatinus nor Bede could have come out of nowhere. Bede must have had teachers in the methods of biblical exegesis, though whether these teachers were also independent producers of biblical commentaries is another question.[5] And in the case of Amiatinus, the fact that we can recognize at least seven different scribes within its pages, as well as two more in the surviving fragments of the Ceolfrith Bible, points to a very extensive tradition of uncial writing, of which the dozen or so surviving witnesses must represent the tip of an iceberg.[6]

One manuscript fragment, Hereford Cathedral Library, P. II. 10 fols i and 61 (see Figs 1–4) has not previously been recognized as one of these surviving witnesses of Wearmouth-Jarrow uncial, nor has it been discussed in the history of Northumbrian exegesis. This fragment has the potential to be something of a missing link in the intellectual history of Bede's monastery: it fills out our picture of both scribal and exegetical practice at the turn of the eighth century. In this paper, I want first to make the palaeographical case for treating this fragment as a product of the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium. I will then consider the text of the commentary, which in fact is from two entirely separate sources, one of which is unique to the fragment and has not previously been edited or translated (see Appendix for my text and translation).

Palaeography

Bound as the flyleaves of a twelfth-century manuscript housed at Hereford Cathedral are two pages written in uncial script 'from the innermost bifolium of a quire of a commentary on Matthew'.[7] These folia have long been recognized as eighth-century and most likely of Northumbrian origin.[8] It is unclear how or when the original manuscript made it to Hereford, though it is not uncommon for eighth-century Northumbrian books to appear in southern libraries in

[5] At *HE* 4.3 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 342), Bede refers to one Trumberht, a monk from St Chad's monastery (presumably Barrow in Lincolnshire), as *quidam de his qui me in scripturis erudiebant* ('one of those who used to educate me in the scriptures'). See D. Whitelock, 'Bede and his Teachers and Friends', in G. Bonner (ed), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 19–39, at p. 24.

[6] The surviving fragments of the Ceolfrith Bible are London, British Library, Add. 37777 ('the Greenwell Leaf'); London, British Library, Add. 45025 ('the Middletown Leaves'); and London, British Library, Loan MS 81 ('the Bankes Leaf'). The Greenwell and Middletown Leaves are both by the same hand, copying I/II Kings; the Bankes Leaf is by another hand, copying Ecclesiasticus (Chazelle, *Codex Amiatinus*, pp. 196–201).

[7] R.A.B. Mynors and R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 78.

[8] CLA 2/158; E.A. Lowe, *English Uncial* (Oxford, 1960), plate XV; H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), no. 268 (p. 209).

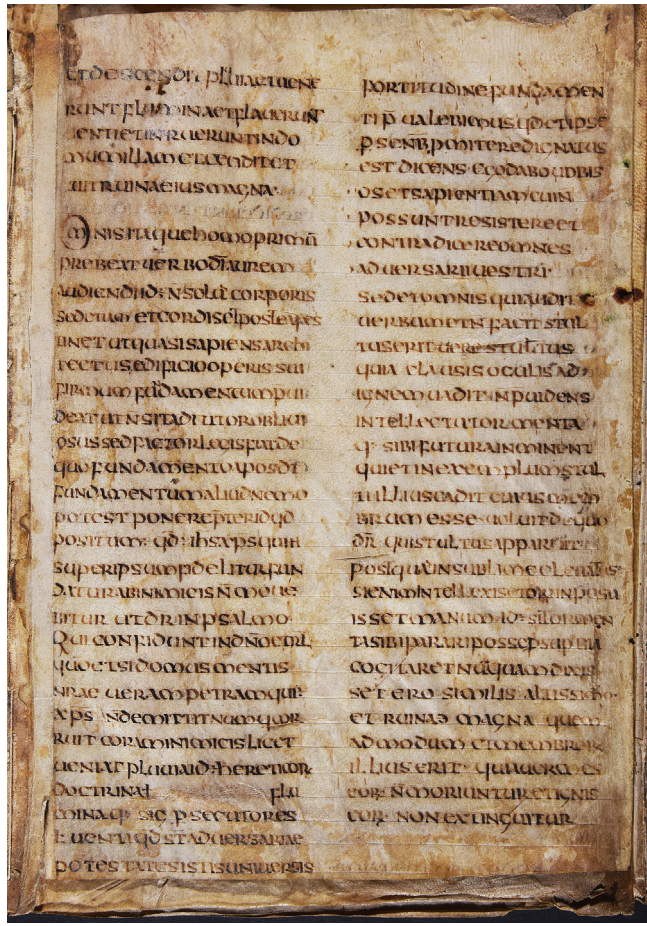


Fig. 1 Hereford Cathedral Library, P. II. 10, fol. i r. By permission of Hereford Cathedral [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

the high Middle Ages, and it is rarely possible to reconstruct their journeys.[9] E.A. Lowe believed the Hereford fragment to be a 'late and somewhat artificial uncial by a not very expert scribe'.[10] This is not very promising, except that he also described it as a 'somewhat diluted uncial of the Amiatine text type'. Elsewhere, he wrote that it was 'written doubtless in England . . . probably in Northumbria, to judge by a certain resemblance to the unmistakable Northumbrian [manuscript], London, [British Library], Add. 37777 [one of the sister fragments to

[9] D. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 103–8.
[10] Lowe, *English Uncial*, p. 19.

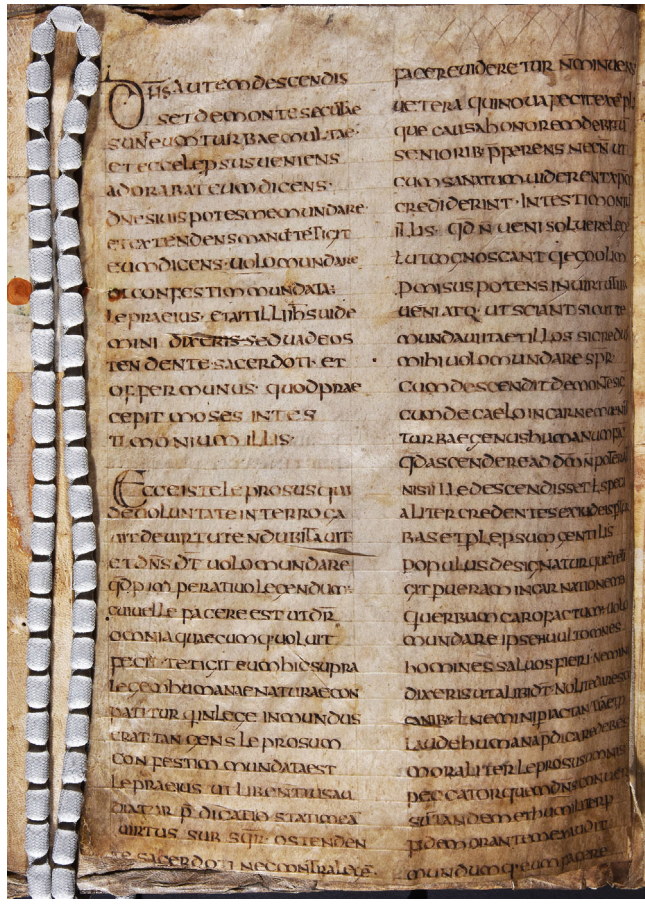


Fig. 2 Hereford Cathedral Library, P. II. 10, fol. i v. By permission of Hereford Cathedral [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Amiatinus]'.[11] Perhaps because of Lowe's dismissive and value-laden use of words like 'artificial' and 'diluted', the Hereford fragment (hereafter *Hf*) has not been discussed in any of the major studies of the scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow. Notably, it is not listed among the examples of Wearmouth-Jarrow uncial in Malcolm Parkes's 1982 Jarrow Lecture, nor in Richard Gameson's recent reassessments, nor is it mentioned in Celia Chazelle's 2019 study of Amiatinus.[12] So, is *Hf* an authentic product of Bede's monastery or a 'late, artificial' impostor? To answer this, I will briefly

[11] CLA 2/158, 2nd edn, p. 12.

[12] In addition to the sources cited in notes 2 and 3 above, see esp. the attempt to place the recognized Wearmouth-Jarrow survivals in a loose chronology at R. Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', in C. Breay and B. Meehan (eds), *The St Cuthbert Gospel: Studies on the Insular Manuscript of the Gospel of John* (London, 2015), pp. 1–39, at p. 33.

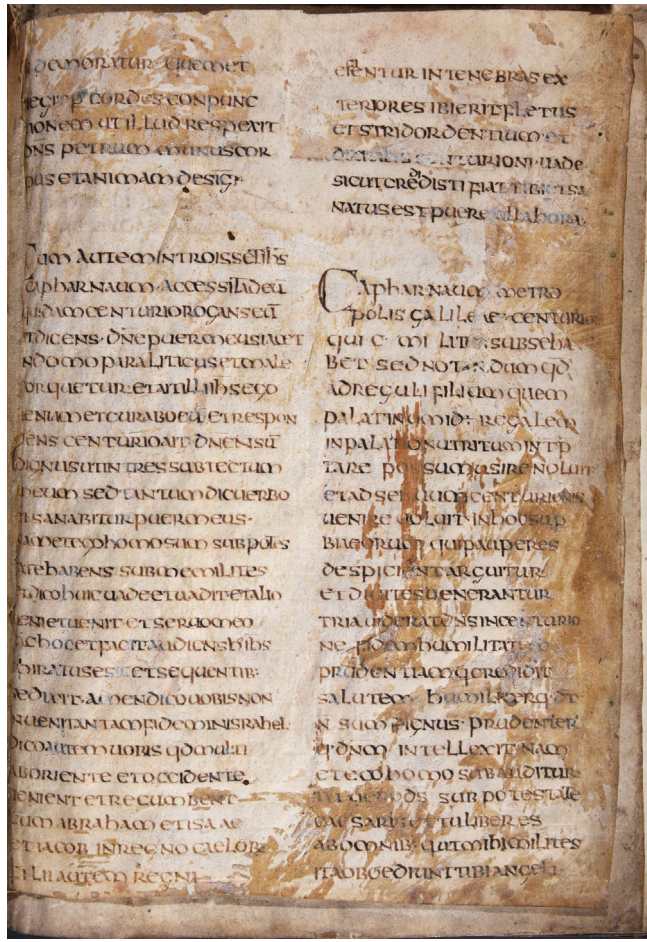


Fig. 3 Hereford Cathedral Library, P. II. 10, fol. 61r. By permission of Hereford Cathedral [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

review what we know about English uncials of the eighth century before closely comparing *Hf* to other established exemplars of the script, especially to the seven scribes of Amiatinus.

Uncial script was the dominant prestige book script of Late Antiquity, emerging in North Africa in the late fourth century and persisting (at least in northern Italy and southern Gaul) until the rise of Caroline minuscule in the ninth century.[13] Uncial script arrived in England with the

[13] For general introductions to Latin uncials, see B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. D. Ó Cróinin and D. Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 66–72; R.G. Babcock, 'Uncial Script', in F.T. Coulson and R.G. Babcock (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 98–108. On the English material, the major study remains Lowe, *English Uncial*.

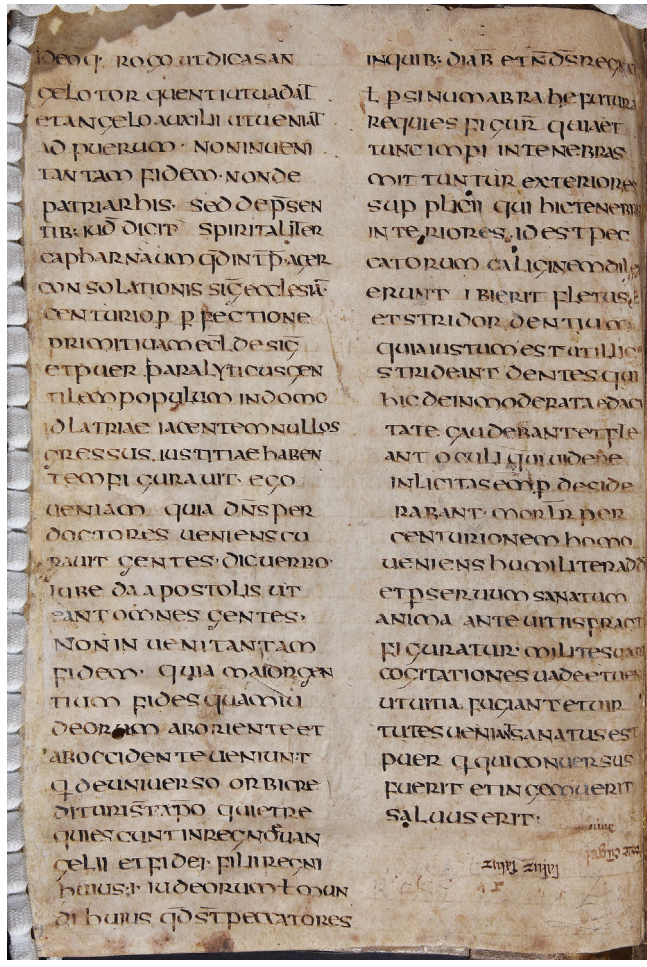


Fig. 4 Hereford Cathedral Library, P. II. 10, fol. 61v. By permission of Hereford Cathedral [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Italian evangelizers at the end of the sixth century, with the uncial St Augustine Gospels (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 286) having a good claim to being the earliest book associated with the 'English' church. However, we do not have evidence of the production of uncial books in English monastic houses until the late seventh century, when two distinct schools emerge: a Canterbury school and the Wearmouth-Jarrow school. Canterbury uncial is distinguished by a very wide aspect with thick strokes and a dagger-like left stroke on **A**; some examples such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 48 also have quite chunky wedged finials. Wearmouth-Jarrow uncial, especially of the earlier 'Amiatine' type, has a finer, narrower aspect, thinner strokes, a round left

lobe on **A**, and the finials on letters like **F** and **S** tend to be forked rather than wedged. In addition to the Amiatine type at Wearmouth-Jarrow, there is also the smaller 'capitular' style, most notably represented by the rubrics of Amiatinus as well as the St Cuthbert Gospel. I would also recognize a more ornamental later version of the Amiatine style represented by manuscripts such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819.

Although Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow were the predominant English centres using uncials in the early eighth century, other centres did exist. Leaving *Hf* aside, I can find three examples of uncial manuscripts described in CLA as 'presumably' or 'probably' Northumbrian which do not seem to conform to recognized Wearmouth-Jarrow exemplars and are not listed by Parkes or Gameson: CLA 2/148a (Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.16 and Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepysian 2981); CLA 11/1595 (Wroclaw, University Library, Rehdigeranus Akc. 1955/2 and 1969/430); and CLA 11/1664 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Wm. Glazier Collection G. 30).[14] CLA 11/1595 might possibly be Wearmouth-Jarrow capitular, or is at least closer to that than it is to the Amiatine text type. The other two seem to represent totally different styles of uncial. CLA 2/148a seems like a hybrid of Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow styles, but is more likely emulating contemporary Frankish examples.[15] Finally, 11/1664 has a rather squat, square aspect with an idiosyncratic **T**. There does seem to be a reasonably clear gulf between Wearmouth-Jarrow style and any alternatives that existed in early eighth-century England, including Northumbria. And here it is worth bearing in mind that Wearmouth-Jarrow, unlike many early medieval monasteries, is not known to have had any daughter houses which might have taken up its traditions.[16]

That leaves us with *Hf* as one of Lowe's 'probably Northumbrian' manuscripts. Can we place it more securely at Wearmouth-Jarrow? The text is neatly laid out in two columns of thirty-two lines. Although it may seem at first glance to have a certain untidy quality, this is at least partly caused by the rather clumsy way it has been set as

[14] CLA 9/1233 (Bückeburg, Staatsarchiv, Depot 3; Münster, Staatsarchiv, Msc. I. 243; and Braunschwig, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. 70) is suggested to be from Lindisfarne by CLA, but is classed as a Wearmouth-Jarrow manuscript by Gameson ('Materials, Text, Layout and Script', p. 38, n. 91).

[15] The uncial portion of Durham A.II.16 (the Gospel of John) may have been produced in the same scriptorium as the first three Gospels in the same manuscript, which were written in insular majuscule (CLA 2/148a). Lindisfarne is a possible place of origin, however there is no clear evidence for Durham provenance before the twelfth century (C.D. Verey, 'A Collation of the Gospel Texts in Durham Cathedral MSS A.II.10, A.II.16 and A.II.17, and Some Provisional Conclusions Therefrom Regarding the Type of Vulgate Text Employed in Northumbria in the Eighth Century, Together With a Full Description of Each MS', MA thesis, University of Durham (1969), pp. 119–37).

flyleaves, which has led to creasing and distortion; there is also significant damage to fol. 61r. Even so, there is certainly a cramped quality to the text, which has relatively limited word separation. Most strikingly, the text features insular abbreviations throughout, including the division symbol-like 'est' and the common abbreviations for *autem* and *enim*.[17] These are not present in Amiatinus or (as far as I know) in any other Wearmouth-Jarrow uncial. However, we do know that the full range of abbreviations were in use in Wearmouth-Jarrow, at least when scribes started to employ minuscule script from (at least) the 730s onwards. Here it is also worth noting that the Amiatine scribes' reputation for neatness can be overstated. If we look at the short stint of scribe B of the Codex Amiatinus (hereafter AmB), who was only responsible for copying the Book of Joshua (three quires compared to about twenty for each of the other scribes), we find a text with minimal word separation to the point of quite extreme cramping towards the end of his stint.[18] He also has a tendency to 'wobble' along the line, which the *Hf* scribe shares, and there is a degree of inconsistency in the size of the letters.

Although nothing in the *mise en page* of the fragment rules out Wearmouth-Jarrow provenance, in this case it is the letter forms that are the best evidence. In Table 1, I have compared the letter forms used in *Hf* with those of the seven Amiatinus scribes (listed as AmA–AmG) as well as the scribe of the Ceolfrith Bible fragment London, British Library, Add. 37777 (listed as Ceol.). To illustrate the difference between Amiatine and other English (specifically Northumbrian) uncials, I have

[16] While we do not know of any daughter houses per se, it is probable that Wearmouth-Jarrow did have close relations with other monasteries in the Tyne-Wear region, some of which (such as *Donemutha* and Tynemouth) may actually have been closer to Jarrow than was Wearmouth (Chazelle, *Codex Amiatinus*, pp. 44–6, following I. Wood, 'Bede's Jarrow', in C.A. Lees and G. R. Overing (eds), *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (University Park, 2006), pp. 67–84). On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that only one of Wearmouth or Jarrow operated as the centre of scribal activity for both houses.

[17] For summaries of these characteristically insular abbreviations, see W.M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1915); D.N. Dumville, *Abbreviations Used in Insular Script before AD 850: Tabulation Based on the Work of W.M. Lindsay* (Cambridge, 2004).

[18] The stints and corresponding biblical books of the seven scribes of the main text of Amiatinus (hereafter AmA, AmB, AmC, AmD, AmE, AmF, AmG) are as follows, according to the analysis in Gameson, 'Codex Amiatinus: Making and Meaning', p. 64: AmA: fols 9–173 (quires I–XXI), the Pentateuch; AmB: fols 174–93 (quires XXII–XXIV), Joshua; AmC: fols 194–378 (quires XXV–XLVII), Judges, Ruth, Kings, Chronicles; AmD: fols 379–418, 419–535 (quires XLVIII–LXVII), Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Sirach, IsaiahAmE: fols 536–708 (quires LXVIII–LXXXIX), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Minor Prophets, Job, Tobit; AmF: fols 709–96 (quires LXXXX–C), Judith, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, Maccabees; fols 935–1029 (quires CXVIII–CXXIX), Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, Revelation; AmG: fols 797–934 (quires CI–CXVII), Gospels, Acts. There may be two additional hands (AmB* and AmC*), but I have excluded these from my analysis for the sake of simplicity. A more granular analysis of the scribal stints is found in Chazelle, *Codex Amiatinus*, pp. 471–81, however this does not substantially differ from that of Gameson.

also included the letter forms from Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.16. If we look first at the letter forms by the recognized Amiatine scribes, we can see that there is a considerable degree of variation in the fine details, despite an overall conformity compared to the Durham example. Notice, for example, how the tail of **G** varies – sometimes it is tight to the body, sometimes nearly vertical, and only AmG gives it a decorative curl. The proportions of letters vary. **S**, for example, is sometimes top-heavy and sometimes bottom heavy, and the same can be said for the right stroke of **B**. The left lobe of **A** varies both in size and angle.

What this table clearly demonstrates is that every letter form in *Hf* finds a close match in at least one of the Amiatine scribes. *Hf*'s **B** is similar to that of AmB, and his curling **G** is similar to that of AmG. His top-heavy **S** looks like that of AmC, while his **T** matches AmD. The one possible outlier is his **A**, which is noticeably rounder-lobed than the others. However, certain of the Amiatine scribes got away with similar idiosyncrasies – notice the strangely stunted quality of AmA's letter **D**, for example. So, although *Hf* gives a superficial impression of sloppiness, the actual letter-work is every bit as neat as anything in Amiatinus. Indeed, it is closer to Amiatinus than other manuscripts that have been 'canonized' as Wearmouth-Jarrow Amiatine (for example New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 516, CLA S1/1849). I can only conclude that the *Hf* scribe was writing not some 'artificial' or 'not very expert' or 'diluted' version of the Amiatine script, but the very same script, likely using the same equipment.

Given the alignment of the letter forms in *Hf* with those of the Amiatine scribes, it seems clear that the *Hf* scribe was working at Wearmouth-Jarrow at roughly the same time as the creation of the Ceolfrith pandects, that is, most likely sometime between *c.*690 and *c.*720, though we cannot be sure when the production of pandects ceased. At the very least this means that, given that seven different scribes worked on Amiatinus, an eighth and ninth can be identified in surviving fragments of the Ceolfrith Bible, and a tenth can now be recognized in *Hf*, it is evident that there were a remarkable number of scribes trained in this script working at these two sites in the first decades of the eighth century. Can we narrow the date of *Hf*'s copying any further? I do not think it can be much later than the end of the pandect project, given that the Wearmouth-Jarrow uncial style develops into its slightly more baroque later form in the second quarter of the eighth century. Moreover, although 716 is the one firm date in the history of the pandects (since this is when Ceolfrith took Amiatinus and left for Italy), it is generally agreed that the codex at least must have been completed much earlier, with Chazelle recently arguing for

Table 1 Comparative alphabet of letter forms from early Northumbrian uncial manuscripts

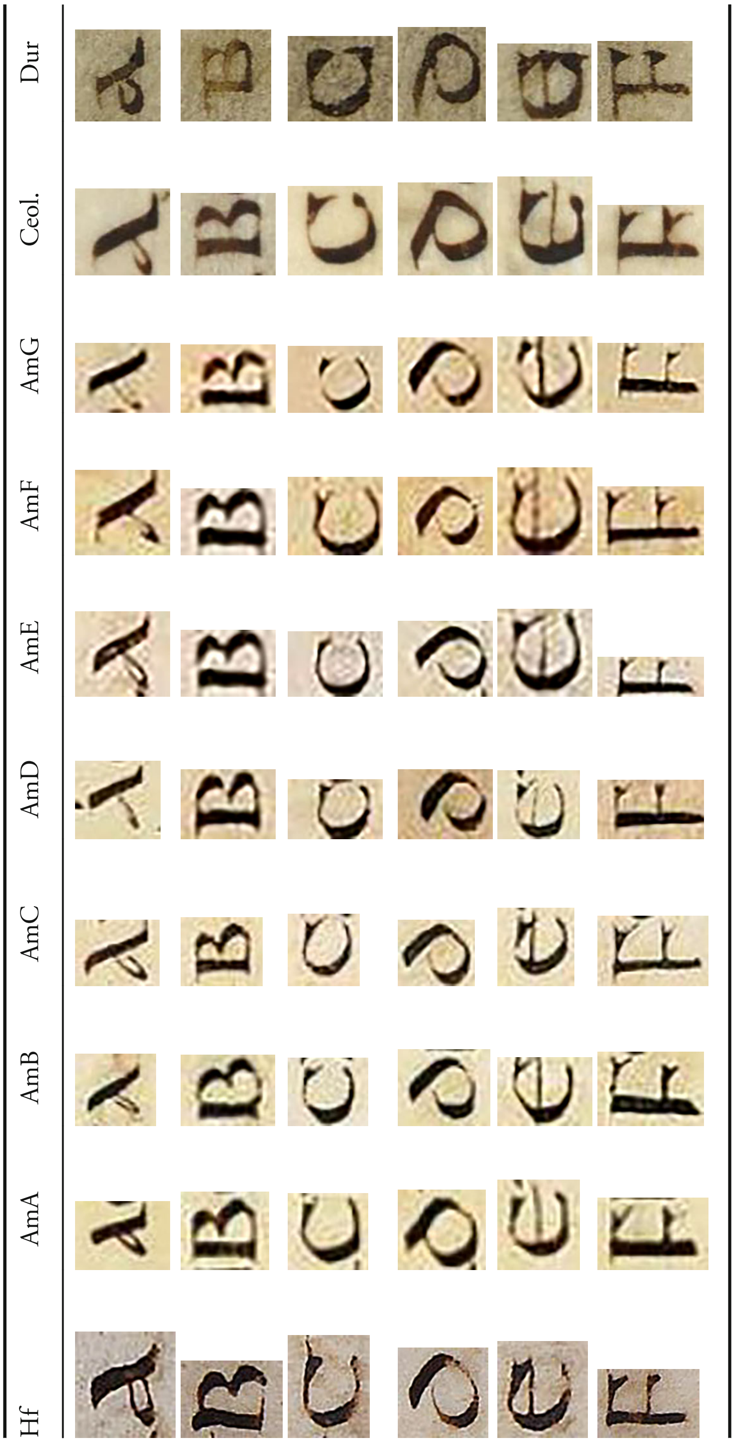


Table 1. (*Continued*)

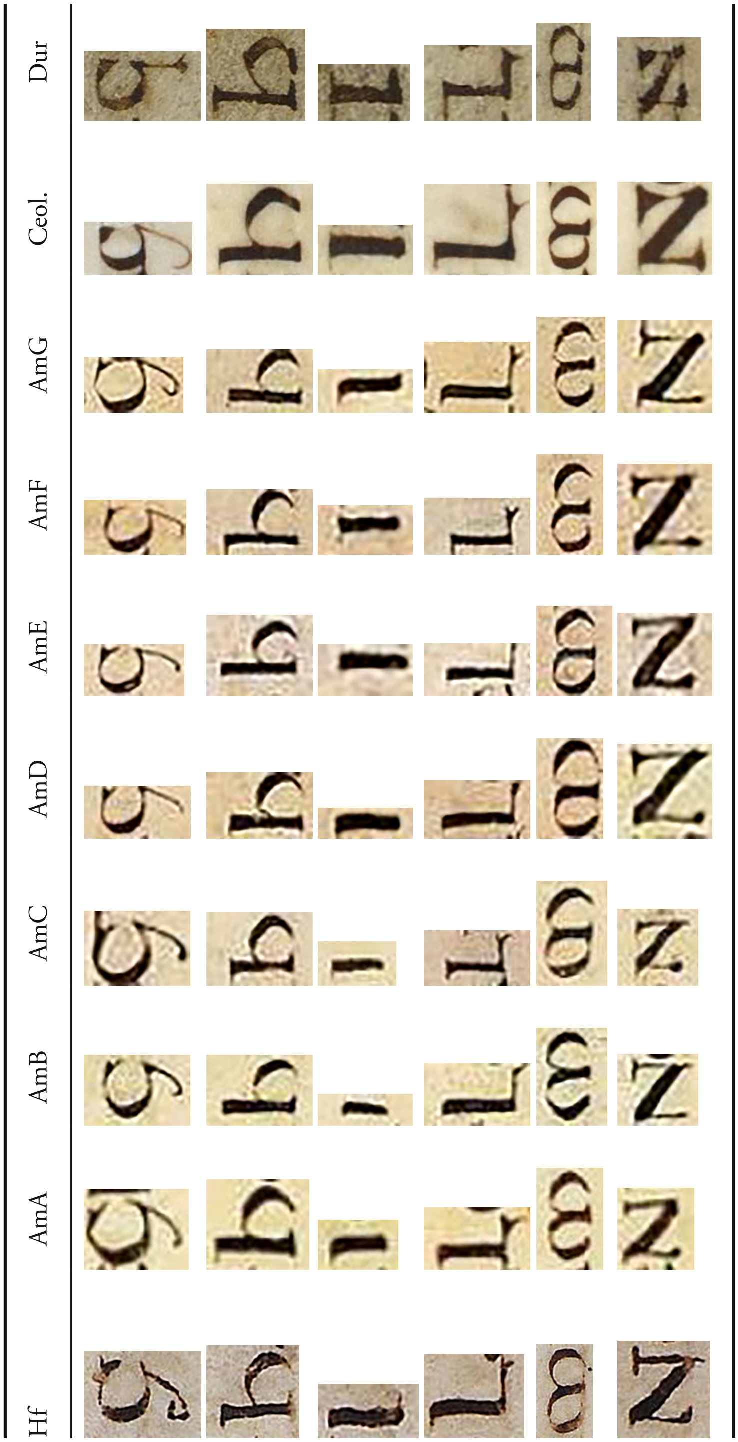


Table 1. (Continued)

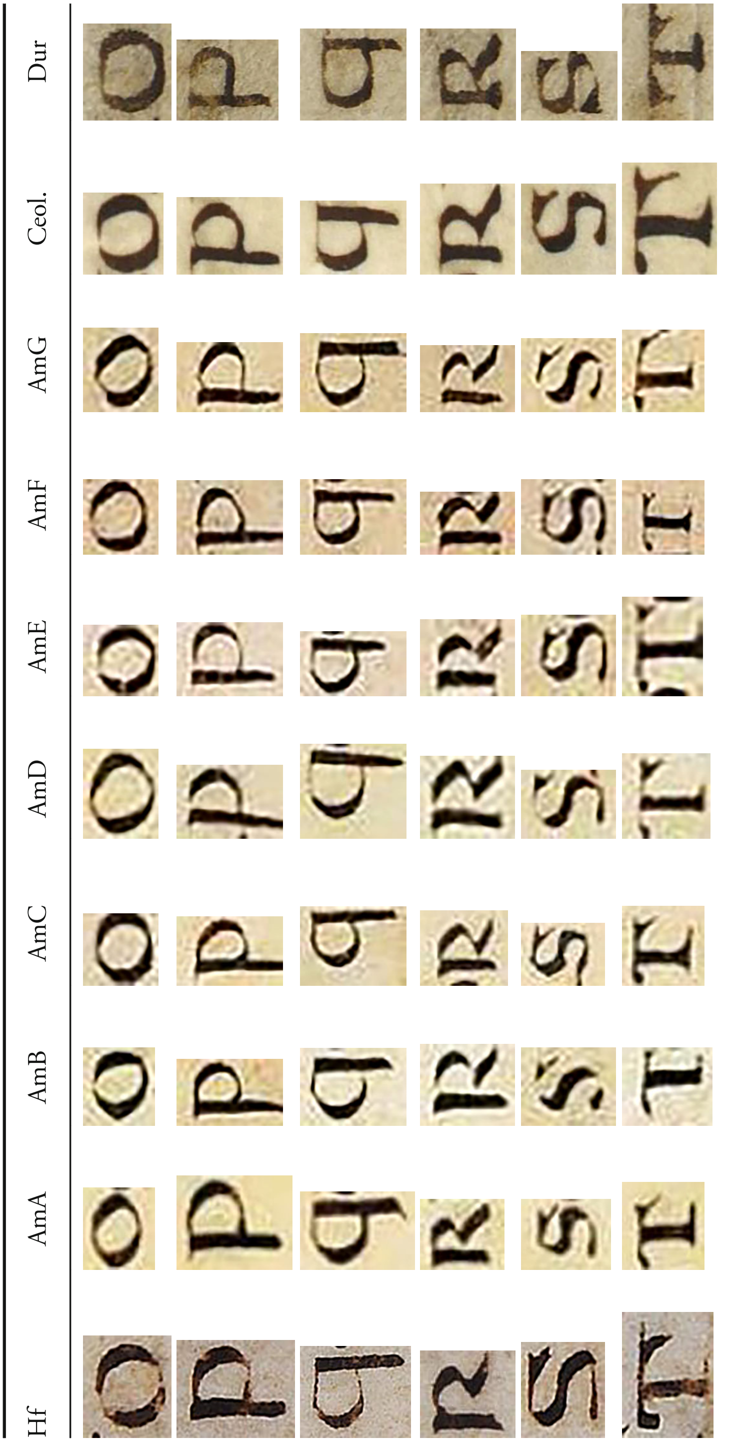
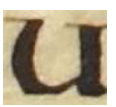
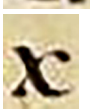
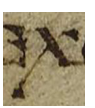


Table 1. (Continued)

Hf	AmA	AmB	AmC	AmD	AmE	AmF	AmG	Ceol.	Dur
									
									

Hf = Hereford Cathedral Library, P. II. 10 (by permission of Hereford Cathedral)
AmA–AmG = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiat. 1 (by permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture; any further reproduction by any means is prohibited)
Ceol = London, British Library, Add. 45025 (by permission of the British Library Collection)
Dur = Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.16 (by permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral)

a *terminus ante quem* of *c.*703.[19] The lack of word separation evident in *Hf* has sometimes been seen as a conservative trait, which may suggest that the *Hf* scribe, along with that of the Ceolfrith pandect fragments, may have been either older or working earlier than other scribes working in the same script.[20] However, Chazelle's argument that the two sister pandects may have been written after Amiatinus, perhaps in the early 710s, casts doubt on this suggestion.[21] There is, then, nothing in the palaeography or the comparative evidence from the pandects to narrow the date range of *Hf* beyond *c.*690–*c.*720, although this still places the fragment relatively early in the chronology of Wearmouth-Jarrow manuscript production.[22]

This uncertainty about dating has implications for how we connect *Hf* to the career of Bede. Bede's earliest completed commentary, on Revelation, was written in or a little before 703.[23] We also know that he participated in work on Amiatinus itself, notably in the writing of some of the pandect's *capitula* (chapter summaries).[24] By this time, he must surely already have been developing a considerable reputation as a scholar and teacher within the Wearmouth-Jarrow community. However, it is unlikely that Bede's reputation was completely established when he was working on these texts. He was, after all, only made a priest at roughly the same time (in 702/3, at the age of thirty).[25] By the next decade, with numerous commentaries and other works under his belt, many written at the behest of his bishop, Acca of Hexham, he must have been well known within the wider Northumbrian church as a kind of 'exegete-in-chief', a respected teacher in more than his own community.[26] This means that a difference of ten years or so in the copying of *Hf* may make the

[19] Chazelle, *Codex Amiatinus*, pp. 213–24.
[20] Gameson, 'Codex Amiatinus: Making and Meaning', p. 17.
[21] Chazelle, *Codex Amiatinus*, pp. 224–5, 304–7.
[22] It is uncertain when manuscript production would have begun at Wearmouth-Jarrow – Wearmouth was founded by Benedict Biscop in 674 and its library was, as it were, 'ready stocked' with the manuscripts Benedict brought back from his third voyage to Rome (Bede, *Historia abbatum*, c. 4), but Bede makes no explicit reference to manuscript production until the beginning of Ceolfrith's abbacy in 690 (*Historia abbatum*, c. 15, ed. Grocock and Wood, p. 56).
[23] F. Wallis, *Bede: Commentary on Revelation*, Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 39–51.
[24] P. Meyvaert, 'Bede's *Capitula lectionum* for the Old and New Testaments', *Revue Bénédictine* 105 (1995), pp. 348–80; C. Chazelle, 'Bede's Biblical *Capitula* and the Orientated Reading of Scripture at Wearmouth-Jarrow', in P. Darby and M. MacCarron (eds), *Bede the Scholar* (Manchester, 2023), pp. 53–96.
[25] Bede, *HE* 5.24 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 566).
[26] Following the admittedly uncertain chronology in C. O'Brien, *Bede's Temple: An Image and its Interpretation* (Oxford, 2015), pp. xix–xx, Bede would have completed his commentaries on Acts, I John and Luke by 716; the *Expositio* on Acts, from *c.*710, was the first addressed to Acta.

difference between whether we see it as part of a stock of exegetical material that Bede would have inherited as he was coming to prominence, or as something that may have been copied as part of Bede's own programme of biblical research. In other words, *Hf* might be by Bede's teacher, or it might be by his 'research assistant'.[27]

The Frigulus-*LQE* material

The text of the fragment forms a continuous commentary on Matthew VII.24–VIII.13, laid out in two columns.[28] The first page (fol. ir) begins in the middle of Matthew VII.27 as a pericope, but the first word of the subsequent exegesis (*omnis*) clearly suggests that the pericope began at VII.24 (*Omnis qui audit verba mea haec . . .*). Although the last surviving page ends neatly at the end of its commentary on Matthew VIII.5–13, with a break of four lines at the end of the second column, there is no reason to think that this represents the end of the text as a whole; it is more likely that the surviving folios came from a more substantial commentary on Matthew. The two-column layout is not unusual for Northumbrian exegetical manuscripts: it is seen in the Durham Cassiodorus, for instance, though the copy of Bede's commentary on Proverbs in Bodley 819 uses a single-column layout. What is unusual is that *Hf* is not a line-by-line commentary; the scribe copies out entire passages from the gospel, leaving a line break before commenting on the whole passage in one block. This practice seems almost like a halfway house between commentaries and homilies. It was common enough for early medieval homiletic manuscripts to transcribe the whole passage (e.g. the early ninth-century manuscript of Gregory's Gospel homilies, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 69), though it is more common to give only a portion of the pericope followed by *et reliqua* or *et cetera*. Commentaries, on the other hand, would generally work line-by-line, although some of Bede's commentaries from his middle to late period, such as *On First Samuel*, blend this with a more ambitious passage-by-passage structure. The passage-by-passage structure of the text may suggest that the manuscript was designed to help a preacher prepare homilies from brief exegetical notes, although

[27] I am grateful to Rosalind Love for this suggestion.

[28] The commentary is no. 16II in the catalogue of B. Bischoff ('Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', in B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 205–72) and no. 80 in that of J. Kelly ('A Catalogue of Early Medieval Hiberno-Latin Biblical Commentaries (II), *Traditio* 45 (1989–90), pp. 393–434).

we shall see that the first section of the text may represent part of a more 'worked out' homily.

The sense of being somewhere in between commentary and homily is reflected in the text, which is really two quite different texts united only by a common subject. If we look first at the second part of the text, the part that begins from Matthew VIII.1 (*Dominus autem descendisset*), we can see that these sections are explicitly structured around three senses of scripture: the literal, the spiritual and the moral. As the commentator moves from sense to sense, he signals this with the words *spiritaliter* and *moraliter*. However, in the first section (Matthew VII.24–7) this overt signalling does not happen – as we shall see below, the allegorical and moral senses are interwoven. Given that there are clearly two different sorts of texts within the one compilation, there are two basic ways to make sense of the *Hf* compilation as a whole. One is that this is a compilation of two different works by different authors, made either by a third person or by the author of one of the two texts. Alternatively, the first section of the text represents a fully developed homiletic exegetical text, followed by a less worked-up preparatory text by the same author. Since I do not think we can decide between these two possibilities, I will use the term 'author-compiler' to refer to the person who put together *Hf* as we have it (who, of course, may or may not be the same person as the scribe); I will reserve 'author' for the writers of the two sections when I am considering them separately.

The second section of *Hf* (from Matthew VIII.1 onwards) is ultimately derivative of a commentary assigned to a figure known (on not particularly solid grounds) as Frigulus, who is thought to have been writing in the seventh century. The name Frigulus is something of a phantom: the Carolingian commentator Smaragdus cited an authority known in different mansucripts as Frigulus or Figulus in his *Collectanea in epistolas et evangelia*.[29] For many years these citations in Smaragdus were the only knowledge we had of such an author, until Bernard Bischoff discovered an incomplete manuscript of the commentary in Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Quedlinburg 127 (*s.* ix, N. Italy).[30] A recent edition of Frigulus by Anthony Forte is really a transcription of this Halle manuscript, not taking into account readings from

[29] J. Kelly, 'Frigulus: An Hiberno-Latin Commentator on Matthew', *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981), pp. 363–73; M. Gorman, 'Frigulus: Hiberno-Latin Author or Pseudo-Irish Phantom? Comments on the Edition of *Liber Questionum in Evangeliis* (CCSL 108F)', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 100 (2005), pp. 425–56, at p. 426.

[30] F. Rädle, 'Die Kenntnis der antiken lateinischen Literatur bei den Iren in der Heimat und auf dem Kontinent', in H. Löwe (ed), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 484–500, at p. 490.

other texts (such as *Hf*), nor the copy of the beginning of the commentary in a Cologne manuscript recently discovered by Lukas Dorfbauer.[31] The Halle manuscript refers to the author as Fibolus. While Bischoff, Kelly and others have cited Frigulus/Figulus/Fibolus as a Hiberno-Latin author, there does not appear to be any way of construing any of these names as Irish in origin.[32] The Frigulus commentary has a close connection to a text known as the *Liber quaestionum in evangeliis* (*LQE*), one of the Irish or Pseudo-Irish exegetical texts identified by Bernard Bischoff in his 1954 article 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter' ('Turning Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages').[33] *LQE* is evidently dependent on Frigulus, rather than the other way round, though it contains some original material.[34]

In my edition of *Hf* (see Appendix), I have marked in bold type places where the author-compiler borrows exegesis from Frigulus/*LQE*. In one place, *Hf* reflects a passage of *LQE* which is not found in Frigulus.[35] This is evidence that *Hf* was dependent on *LQE* – perhaps in a prototypical form – rather than Frigulus directly. Other examples collected by Jean Rittmueller where *LQE* and *Hf* agree against Frigulus when quoting Jerome also suggest that *Hf* represents 'the earliest witness to the existence of *LQE*'.[36] We know that *LQE*, or an *LQE*-based source, was known in England later in the Anglo-Saxon period based on its use by several anonymous Old English homilies, as well as Wulfstan's *Incipit de baptismo*.[37] If, on the basis of the Hereford fragment, we can find *LQE* being read and used in Northumbria at the turn of the eighth century, this adds to our understanding of the

[31] A.J. Forte, *Friguli commentarius in evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Aschendorff, 2018); L.J. Dorfbauer, 'Fortunatian von Aquileia und der Matthäus-Kommentar des "Frigulus" (CPL 1121e)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 50 (2015), pp. 59–90; see esp. the critical review of Forte's edition by J. Contreni in *The Medieval Review*, 21 November 2019 (online at https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/28938/33702).

[32] Forte, *Friguli commentarius*, pp. 38–42. Forte suggests that the 'name' may have come from the author's use of the word *fribolas* (i.e. *frivolas*) at 11vb – it is as good a suggestion as any.

[33] Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', no. 16I; Kelly, 'Catalogue', no. 79; edited in J. Rittmueller, *Liber questionum in evangeliis*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (hereafter CCSL) 108F (Turnhout, 2003). Frigulus' commentary was also listed in 'Wendepunkte' (no. 20) and Kelly (no. 76). See also M. McNamara, *The Bible in the Early Irish Church, AD550 to 850* (Leiden, 2022), pp. 215–34 for an updated version of Bischoff's catalogue (with no new information on *Hf*).

[34] Gorman, 'Frigulus: Hiberno-Latin Author or Pseudo-Irish Phantom?', pp. 429–31.

[35] Lines 51–2 in my edition: 'populus designatur quem tetigit per ueram incarnationem eius', cf. *LQE* 8.3S.6–7 (Rittmueller, p. 155): 'Tetigit: per ueram incarnationem'.

[36] Rittmueller, *LQE*, p. 142*.

[37] J.E. Cross, 'Wulfstan's *Incipit de baptismo* (Bethurum VIII A): A Revision of Sources', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 90 (1989), pp. 240–2; F. Biggs, 'The Fourfold Division of Souls: The Old English *Christ III* and the Insular Homiletic Tradition', *Traditio* 45 (1989–90), pp. 35–51; C. Wright, 'Blickling Homily III on the Temptations in the Desert', *Anglia* 106 (1988), pp. 133–6; R. Getz, 'More on the Sources of Blickling Homily III', *Notes and Queries* 57 (2010), pp. 281–90.

exegetical literature (whether Irish or not) that formed the bedrock for the later Anglo-Saxon homiletic tradition.[38] Indeed, it is clear that *Hf* itself was engaging in reworking and reshaping the Frigulus/*LQE* tradition, rather than merely copying it. The overall structure of *Hf*'s exegesis of Matthew VIII.1–13 follows its source closely. However, only about half of the section quotes or paraphrases Frigulus/*LQE* directly. In one place the author independently quotes one of Gregory's homilies on the Gospel, while elsewhere his paraphrase of Frigulus/*LQE* is loose enough to constitute a complete reworking. Moreover, *Hf* is selective in its use of this source – large parts of what Frigulus wrote are not reflected in *Hf* at all, though I cannot discern any pattern in what has been elided.

It is difficult to say anything with confidence about the origins of Frigulus/*LQE*. One of Frigulus' own sources was Jerome – the commentaries on Matthew and Isaiah as well as *De nominibus hebraicis*. This leads to *Hf* quoting Jerome on three occasions, though it is unclear whether the author-compiler was conscious of this or not. Other parts of Frigulus' commentary made extensive use of a fourth-century author named Fortunatianus, an African bishop of Aquileia in northern Italy, whose own commentary on Matthew was only rediscovered by Lukas Dorfbauer in 2012.[39] Dorfbauer suggests with some confidence that Frigulus' use of Fortunatianus makes it likely that the former originated in northern Italy.[40] Frigulus also knew Isidore and (as stated above) was known by Smaragdus, which would give a very broad date range of *c*.650–*c*.775.[41] Clearly if my palaeographical dating of the Hereford fragment to *c*.690–*c*.720 is correct, this would narrow Frigulus' dates significantly, perhaps to *c*.650–*c*.680.

Excluding *Hf*, the earliest witness of *LQE* to have used Frigulus as its main source is a fragment (Paris, BnF Lat. 12292, CLA 5/642) in insular minuscule of perhaps the late eighth century, which Lowe and Bischoff regarded as Irish. This raises the most controversial question about the *Wendepunkte* corpus: the question of Irish origins. Bischoff asserted the existence of a rich canon of Hiberno-Latin exegesis – not necessarily that all of the texts he identified on the grounds of supposed 'Irish symptoms' (*irische Symptomen*) were composed in Ireland or by Irish

[38] On this topic more broadly, see esp. C.D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1993).

[39] L.J. Dorfbauer, 'Der Evangelienkommentar des Bischofs Fortunatian von Aquileia (Mitte 4. Jh.): Ein Neufund auf dem Gebiet der patristischen Literatur', *Wiener Studien* 126 (2013), pp. 177–98; L.J. Dorfbauer, *Fortunatianus Aquileiensis: Commentarii in evangelia*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 103 (Berlin, 2017).

[40] Dorfbauer, 'Fortunatian von Aquileia und der Matthäus-Kommentar', p. 85.

[41] Dorfbauer, 'Fortunatian von Aquileia und der Matthäus-Kommentar', p. 84.

people, but that they represent the outworkings of an Irish current in the history of exegesis which was prevalent between Isidore and the Carolingian Renaissance. This was challenged by Michael Gorman in a series of articles in the 1990s and 2000s, which did point out important flaws in Bischoff's assumptions, but were often over-zealous in their desire to minimize Irish intellectual production.[42] Responses to these critiques from Charles Wright and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín established that some, at least, of the *Wendepunkte* corpus can be given Irish origins on palaeographical or codicological grounds.[43] This is independent of any supposed 'Irish symptoms' in the exegesis itself, where (as Mark Stansbury notes) Bischoff was arguably guilty of the 'Texas Sharpshooter fallacy' – shooting wildly, drawing circles around the bullet holes and claiming to have bull's-eyed.[44] In any case, it is to be hoped that the vehement and often personal *logomachia* over these texts has worn itself out, allowing scholars to come to them with fresh eyes.[45]

In the case of *LQE*, there are reasonable palaeographical grounds for supposing a seventh- or eighth-century Irish stage in its transmission, given the Irish origins of its second-earliest witness and the presence of Irish glosses in some witnesses.[46] In terms of date, the fact that *LQE* (or a prototype thereof) served as the intermediary between Frigulus and *Hf* (as evidenced by the passage adapted by *Hf* which is found in *LQE* but not Frigulus) narrows the timeline significantly. We might suggest a date for the compilation of the earliest form of *LQE* of

[42] An extreme case is Gorman's insistence that 'the Bible was largely unknown in Ireland until the first complete copies began to arrive . . . in the twelfth century', an assertion which seems to ignore a truly vast quantity of secondary evidence and a significant amount of primary evidence for the use of the Bible in Ireland in the early Middle Ages (Gorman, 'Pseudo-Irish Phantom', p. 441). Other critical articles by Gorman include '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), pp. 178–233, and 'The Myth of Hiberno-Latin Exegesis', *Revue Bénédictine* 110 (2000), pp. 42–85. Gorman's critiques were presaged by E. Coccia, 'La cultura irlandese precarolingia: miracolo o mito?', *Studi medievali* 8 (1967), pp. 257–420.

[43] C.D. Wright, 'Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis and the Genesis Commentary in Munich clm 6302: A Critique of a Critique', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000), pp. 115–75; D. Ó Cróinín, 'Bischoff's *Wendepunkte* Fifty Years On', *Revue Bénédictine* 110 (2000), pp. 204–37; D. Ó Cróinín, 'A New Seventh-Century Irish Commentary on Genesis', *Sacris Erudiri* 40 (2001), pp. 231–65.

[44] M. Stansbury, 'Irish Biblical Exegesis', in R. Flechner and S. Meeder (eds), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London, 2016), pp. 116–30, at p. 123. But see also McNamara, *The Bible in the Early Irish Church*, pp. 6–17 for a more favourable reassessment of Bischoff.

[45] McNamara, *The Bible in the Early Irish Church*, p. 6. The debate has often played into the wider clash between *Iromanie* and *Irophobie* diagnosed in J. Duft, 'Iromanie – Irophobie: Fragen um die frühmittelalterliche Irenmission exempliziert an St. Gallien und Alemannien', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 50 (1956), pp. 241–62. Nowhere is this clearer than in the confrontational last words of Gorman (representing *Irophobie*) and Ó Cróinín (*Iromanie*) in their duelling 2000 *Revue Bénédictine* articles.

[46] Rittmueller, *LQE*, pp. 13*–19*; 50*–63*.

c.670–*c*.680. If Frigulus was writing not much earlier than 650, this leaves a very narrow window for a tradition to make it from northern Italy to Northumbria, especially if it had to come *via* Ireland. One solution that would retain an early Irish connection would be if Frigulus was writing at Bobbio or another strongly Irish-influenced monastery in northern Italy, a possibility that Dorfbauer does not rule out.[47] A work written at Bobbio could have come, for example, to Bangor within twenty years of its composition, where it was adapted into the prototypical *LQE*, which then was transmitted to Northumbria. However, we should not rule out the possibility that the Irish elements of the *LQE* in its late eighth- and ninth-century forms were only added after the compilation of *Hf*. If Frigulus was transmitted to Northumbria – say, as one of the manuscripts brought over by Benedict Biscop in the 670s, which formed the basis of the library at Wearmouth-Jarrow – then the earliest form of *LQE* could have been produced there. The second part of *Hf* would then have been produced as an outworking of this early Northumbrian *LQE*, which at some point before the late eighth century could have moved to Ireland, where it accrued Old Irish glosses.

Regardless of exactly when and by what route Frigulus/*LQE* made its way to Wearmouth-Jarrow, *Hf* is further evidence that the corpus of Latin biblical exegesis from the seventh and eighth centuries was geographically diverse, encompassing Ireland certainly but not necessarily representing a Hiberno-Latin 'school' of exegesis. Rather there was a culturally fluid practice in the wider Latin West of producing original exegetical commentaries in the seventh and eighth centuries.[48] These commentaries were not simply 'literal' rather than 'allegorical', as Frigulus/*LQE* shows with its balance of *literaliter/spiritaliter/moraliter* interpretations. This tradition was not in opposition to patristic exegesis – the frequency with which Frigulus/*LQE* cites Jerome is evidence of this. However, a text like Frigulus, *LQE* or the second section of *Hf* is 'non-patristic' in that it neither claims authorship by one of the Fathers, nor does it rely solely on patristic sources, nor does it closely model itself on patristic stylistic exemplars. It might be possible to see texts like Frigulus/*LQE* as a kind of 'exegesis for beginners' – elementary teaching which begins with literal-grammatical-historical fundamentals.[49] It introduced allegorical

[47] Dorfbauer, *Fortunatianus*, p. 85.

[48] The point was made by Stancliffe nearly fifty years ago but it bears repeating: the Irish participated in but did not monopolize 'an intellectual activity common to all Western Europe, which serves to link this period with the golden age of the Church Fathers' (C. Stancliffe, 'Early "Irish" Biblical Exegesis', *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975), pp. 361–70, at p. 370); see also J.J. Contreni, '*Wendepunkte*, Again, and Early Medieval Biblical Studies', *Peritia* 33 (2022), pp. 41–62.

[49] As suggested in J.J. Contreni, 'The Patristic Legacy to *c*.1000', in R. Marsden and E.A. Matter (eds), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*, (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 505–35, at pp. 523–4.

readings in a relatively simple and digestible form, 'milk' compared to the 'solid food' (I Cor. III.2) of the more meditative, discursive and multi-focal form of allegorical reading we see in Gregory and Bede. Even here, however, we should be cautious. Bede himself was perfectly capable of writing in a simpler (and more literal-grammatical) mode, as evidenced by his commentaries on Acts.[50] More work remains to be done on exactly how these non-patristic seventh- and eighth-century texts positioned themselves exegetically.[51] However, by turning to the first section of *Hf* we can begin to see how there were alternatives to the point-by-point exegesis of a text like Frigulus/*LQE*.

The original material

The first section of *Hf*, on the parable of the wise and foolish builders (Matthew VII.24–7), is completely different in character to the second section, and is, as far as I can tell, unique to this manuscript.[52] Moreover, I cannot find any directly quoted patristic or other non-biblical sources for this passage, though I can find interesting analogues in two passages from Bede. For the remainder of this paper, I will focus on this section and what it shows us about the variety of exegesis in early eighth-century Northumbria.

The beginning of the passage, *Omnis itaque*, makes it clear that the previous folio must have included the whole passage Matthew VII.24–7, which begins *Omnis qui audit verba mea haec* ('Every one that heareth these my words, and doth them not, shall be like a foolish man that built his house on the sand'). The *itaque* ('therefore') suggests that this section follows on from a previous section of commentary in the same style. If I had to guess, I would say that the extant section forms the end of a homily or homiletic-style commentary on all or part of the Sermon on the Mount, which ends at VII.27 – this would explain why this style breaks off here and the Frigulus-influenced commentary begins at VIII.1. Stylistically, the passage has a certain amount of rhetorical flourish which is quite unlike the terse, point-by-point style of the Frigulus section. That is not to say that the author has the same verve as John Chrysostom or Gregory the Great. But we do see a homiletic touch in a line like *omnis qui audit verbum et non facit stultus erit, vere stultus* ('Everyone who hears the Word and does

[50] Chazelle, *Codex Amiatinus*, pp. 70–8.
[51] This is one of the goals of my British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Nottingham, 'The Beginnings of Biblical Interpretation in Northumbria, *c*.650–*c*.800'.
[52] This is not recognized by Bischoff or Kelly in their catalogues cited above – both focus their brief discussions entirely on the section commenting on Matthew VIII.1 onwards.

not do it will be foolish, really foolish'). We also find intentional alliteration in phrases like *firmum fundamentum*, *fortitudine fundamenti*, and *fideliter fundatur*. Again, this suggests to me a more 'worked out' homiletic text lies behind this passage – not merely preparatory notes, but something that could be preached as is.

I do not believe that this passage was written by Bede himself, although I am not willing to rule out the possibility completely. Of course, he did not claim to write a commentary on Matthew in the list of his works in the *Historia ecclesiastica* (a point I shall return to in my conclusion), though this could potentially be part of a lost Bede homily.[53] Still, on stylistic grounds I think it unlikely. Bede's reputation for simplicity is sometimes overstated. Bede favours long (though not unwieldy) sentences with complex and masterful use of subordination. If this were by Bede, I would expect to see at least some use of the ablative absolute construction, and a more extensive use of subordinate clauses using the subjunctive, especially temporal and causal clauses. I am willing to allow scribal error in the case of *flumina quae significant persecutores, vel venti quod* [i.e. *qui*] *sunt adversariae potestates* in line 15–16, although again I think there is a bluntness to the author's way of introducing allegorical signification here which is quite un-Bedan. In fact, Bede very rarely uses the specific phrase *qui/quae/quod significa[n]t* to refer to allegorical types. He only uses it ten times in total and in most of these instances he is referring to translation rather than allegory.[54] In addition, the *Hf* author's use of Proverbs XXX.32 to expound *stultus* is quite unusual. When Bede saw the word *stultus* he often reached in what we might call his 'mental concordance' for Sirach XXVII.12, *stultus ut luna mutatur*; he never cited Proverbs XXX.32 outside his own commentary on that book.[55] In fact, the only patristic citation of this verse I can find is in Gregory's *Moralia* (30.3.36). More strikingly, I can find only one Bedan citation of Isaiah XIV.14 (*ero similis altissimo*) despite it being quoted dozens of times across the major Latin Fathers (Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory and Isidore).[56] Although none of these stylistic disjunctions between Bede and *Hf* is conclusive (especially given the short length of the *Hf* passage), taken together they are enough to make Bedan authorship unlikely.

[53] Bede, *HE* 5.24 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 568).
[54] Based on a search using the Brepols Cross Database Searchtool (https://clt.brepolis.net/cds/pages/Search.aspx).
[55] Four times, per the Cross Database Searchtool.
[56] Bede, *In Marcum* 3.11.1533 (ed. D. Hurst, *Bedae venerabilis opera* 2/3, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), p. 181).

Even so, this idea of a 'mental concordance' points to the similarities that do exist between this first section of *Hf* and the work of Bede. In terms of exegetical method, both authors clearly relish 'exegesis by concordance'.[57] The word *stultus* is an opportunity to leap to another use of *stultus* in the scriptures; *fundamentum* sends the author reaching for I Corinthians. Both Bede and this author believed that scripture was the best interpreter of scripture, and that no concordance of two words or ideas across the scriptural books was coincidental. Secondly, when it comes to exegesis, both authors prefer an integrated approach to the multiple senses of scripture. Most medieval commentators followed, in one form or another, an exegetical method which recognized variously two, three or four distinct senses: sometimes literal and allegorical, sometimes literal, allegorical/spiritual and moral, sometimes literal, typological, tropological/moral, and anagogical.[58] Whereas Frigulus/*LQE* neatly separates *literaliter*, *spiritaliter* and *moraliter* – and so, in fact, did Gregory in the *Moralia*, for example – this author moves between them fluidly. In particular, he weaves together the typological and tropological senses. The rock on which the wise man builds is interpreted as Christ, which is a typological reading, but then this is seamlessly woven into a more tropological reading about building 'the house of the mind', which will stand fast against rain (heretics), floods (persecutors) and winds (spiritual powers).[59] He then moves towards an anagogical reading – that is, a reading which looks to the end times and the life of the world to come – by interpreting the 'great ruin' of the foolish man's house as eternal punishment. Bede generally goes about his business in a similar way. He does sometimes signal when an interpretation is spiritual, moral or anagogical, but not in the mechanical manner of Frigulus/*LQE* (and he very rarely does so in the homilies). More importantly, Bede does not

[57] S. DeGregorio and R. Love, *Bede: On First Samuel*, Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool, 2019), p. 24, attributing the term to Jean Leclerq.

[58] For how different schemes of the senses can be found even in Bede's explicit statements on the subject, see DeGregorio and Love, *Bede: On First Samuel*, p. 28.

[59] *Domus mentis* is a striking phrase with an unpredictable distribution: Ambrose, *De Abraham* 2.1.2 (ed. C. Schenkl, *Sancti Ambrosii opera* 1, CSEL 32/1 (Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1897), p. 566); Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homiliae lxxvi* 60.88 (ed. J. Leroy and F. Glorie, *Eusebius 'Gallicanus' collection homiliarum*, CCSL 101/A (Turnhout, 1971), p. 689); Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia* 2.30.2 (ed. R. Étaix, *Gregorius magnus homiliae in evangelia*, CCSL 141 (Turnhout, 1999), p. 257); Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 1.30.11 (ed. M. Adriaen, *Moralia in Iob libri I–X*, CCSL 143 (Turnhout, 1979), p. 47); Apponius, *In canticum canticorum* 8.1.6, 12.22.318, 12.28.408 (ed. B. de Vregille and L. Neyrand, *Apponii in canticum canticorum expositionem*, CCSL 19 (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 181, 277, 280; Bede, *In primum partem Samuhelis* 2.1517–8 (ed. D. Hurst, *Bedae venerabilis opera* 2/2, CCSL 119 (Turnhout, 1962), p. 104).

insist on bringing every possible 'sense' to bear on every passage, as Frigulus does, and he can be fluid in his definition of the senses.

The second way in which this brief passage aligns with Bede is in the cluster of exegeses around *fundamentum*, 'foundation' – a word which, it should be said, is not present in the Vulgate text of Matthew VII.24–7. The *Hf* author writes (lines 5–11 in my edition):

> et postea festinet ut quasi sapiens architectus aedificio operis sui firmum fundamentum praeuideat, ut non *sit auditor obliuiosus* [James I.25] sed factor legis fiat. De quo fundamento apostolus dicit: *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, quod est Iesus Christus* [I Cor. III.11]. Qui enim super ipsum fideliter fundatur ab inimicis non mouebitur.
>
> Afterwards [everyone] should make haste that, 'like a wise architect', he should foresee a firm foundation for the building of his labour, so that he might not be a forgetful *hearer* but become a doer of the law, concerning which foundation the Apostle said 'No one may lay down any foundation other than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus'. Whoever is faithfully founded on him will not be moved by enemies.

The word *fundamentum* is a favourite of Bede's, appearing 118 times in his works.[60] A number of passages from Bede are especially relevant here. The most obvious place to go looking for parallels is Bede's commentary on Luke. Bede never wrote a commentary on Matthew, but of course many passages in Matthew have close parallels in Luke, including this parable. The Vulgate Luke (VI.48) does use the word *fundamentum*, on which Bede writes:

> Quando ero singulariter fundamentum ipse doctorum doctor et fundamentum fundamentorum exprimitur Christus, de quo dicitur: *Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Iesus* [I Cor. III.11]. Haec ergo fundamenta non supra terram sed supra petram *sapiens architectus* [I Cor. III.10] locauit, quia mentes sublimium uirorum non in terrenis desideriis Christus sed insuperabili sua fide spe et caritate constituit. *Petra autem*, inquit, *erat Christus* [I Cor. X.4] . . . Fluminis inundatio quam alibi portas inferi nuncupat, dicens, *Quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praeualebunt aduersus eam*.

[60] Per the Cross Database Searchtool.

> When 'foundation' is singular it expresses that very teacher of teachers and foundation of foundations, Christ, about whom it is said: *No one may lay down any foundation other than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus*. Therefore, the *wise architect* sited these foundations not on the earth but on the rock, because Christ builds the minds of higher men not on earthly desires but on his own insuperable faith, hope and love. *The rock*, he says, *was Christ* . . . The flooding of the river is that which elsewhere he calls the gates of hell, saying *For you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hell will not prevail against it*.[61]

The fact that both authors use I Corinthians III.10–11 is interesting, though not conclusive evidence that Bede read the *Hf* text – it is very possible that the two authors made this connection independently, since both may have been inspired by Jerome's commentary on Matthew VII.26: *Fundamentum quod apostolus architectus posuit unus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus . . . super hoc fundamentum stabile et firmum . . . aedificatur Christi ecclesia*.[62] The tropological reading of houses as minds (*mentes*) is another point of similarity, although in Bede it is Christ who is active in 'building' (*constituit*) our minds – it is characteristic of Bede (following Augustine and Gregory) to place this emphasis on Christ's initial action in the operation of divine grace.[63] Here it is worth noting that in the second part of *Hf*, the Frigulus/*LQE* commentary has been revised in places specifically to emphasize grace. Most strikingly, where *LQE* for Matthew VIII.4 reads *ut sciant quod sicut te mundaui, ita et illos possum mundare et uolo* ('so that [the Pharisees] should know that just as I have cleaned you [the leper], so too may I clean them, and I wish to do so'), *Hf* adds the words *si credunt mihi* ('if they believe in me').[64] This is not to say that Frigulus/*LQE* is especially 'Pelagian', particularly in an early insular context where Pelagius' commentary on the Pauline Epistles was regularly copied and openly cited.[65] Still, it is hard not to see a Bede-friendly hand at work in this Augustinian *correctio*.

[61] Bede, *In Lucam* 2.6.2038–61 (ed. D. Hurst, *Bedae venerabilis opera* 2/3, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), p. 152). All translations mine unless otherwise stated.

[62] Jerome, *In Matheum* 1.1033–7 (ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera* 1/7, CCSL 77 (Turnhout, 1969), p. 47): 'The foundation which the Apostle, the architect, laid is our Lord Jesus Christ. Upon this stable and firm foundation and founded by its own robust mass is the church of Christ built.'

[63] A.J. Kleist, *Striving with Grace: Views of Free Will in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, 2008), pp. 58–82; Chazelle, *Codex Amiatinus*, pp. 122–31.

[64] *LQE* 8.1S.5 (Rittmueller, p. 185).

[65] *LQE* does cite the Pelagian proof-text I Timothy II.4 ('God wishes all people to be saved') as part of the commentary on this same passage, though this quotation is preserved in *Hf*. Pelagius' commentary on Paul was cited frequently and approvingly in the Northumbrian Pauline glosses (Cambridge, Trinity College, B.10.5, edited in J.L. de Paor, *The Earliest Irish Glosses on the Pauline Epistles* (Freiburg, 2016)) as well as in the seventh-century Irish glosses on the Catholic Epistles discussed below.

Another striking Bedan parallel is Homily 1.20 on Matthew XVI.13–19, the passage where Christ renames Simon as Peter and tells him 'on this rock I will build my church'. Here Bede constructs a similar exegetical chain in reverse order: working from 'on this rock' to I Cor. X.4 ('and the rock was Christ'), and from there to I Cor. III.11. In the next section, he does two interesting things. At the end of the paragraph, he brings in the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Builders (in a paraphrased form, so it is unclear whether he is thinking of the Matthean or Lukan version) – the parable here offers Bede a route towards moral application, as he tells his listeners to build their houses on the rock 'through following Christ with simple and true intent'. But most significantly, he links the *portae inferi*, which cannot prevail against the Rock, with 'persecutors'. This offers two interesting links to *Hf*. Firstly, notice that the *Hf* author exhorts his readers (or listeners): *praevalebimus*, 'let us prevail'. Using *praevalere* in this sense of 'prevail' or 'overcome' is a distinctly Vulgate usage which may signal a reference to Matthew XVI.18.[66] Secondly, Bede's interpretation of the gates of hell, and his subsequent connection to the house built on sand, suggests a link to *Hf*'s unusual interpretation of the floods in Matthew VII as persecutors, which I have not yet been able to find in a patristic text.

Finally, the use of *fundamentum* is especially evocative of Bede's allegorical interpretation of Solomon's temple in his ambitious late treatise *De templo* (written *c.*729–31).[67] For Bede, the temple signified at once the church, its individual members, and Christ himself as head of the church. However, while all three are figured by the temple as a whole, Christ is 'the singularly chosen and precious cornerstone laid in the foundation (*in fundamento fundati*)', while we are to be living stones set '*upon the foundation of the apostles and the prophets* (Eph. II.20), that is on the Lord himself'.[68] Bede expands on this theme when he comments on I Kings V.17, where Solomon commands large stones to be brought for the temple's foundation. Again, Bede goes first to I Cor. III.11: 'The foundation of the temple is to be interpreted

[66] Cf. Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, def. 1b (https://logeion.uchicago.edu/praevalere).

[67] The most complete study of this is O'Brien, *Bede's Temple*, but see also A.G. Holder, 'Allegory and History in Bede's Interpretation of Sacred Architecture', *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989), pp. 115–31; *idem*, 'New Treasures and Old in Bede's *De tabernaculo* and *De templo*', *Revue Bénédictine* 99 (1989), pp. 237–49; J. O'Reilly, introduction to *Bede: On the Temple*, trans. S. Connolly (Liverpool, 1995), pp. xvii–lv.

[68] Bede, *De templo* 1.1.22–6 (ed. D. Hurst, *Bedae venerabilis opera* 2/2A, CCSL 219A (Turnhout, 1969), p. 147): 'sed ipsius tamquam lapidis angularis singulariter electi et pretiosi in fundamento fundati, nostri autem tamquam lapidum uiuorum superaedificatorum super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum, hoc est super ipsum dominum'.

mystically as nothing other than that which the Apostle shows, saying *No one may lay down any foundation other than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus*.'[69] He then explains (again citing Eph. II.20) that the stones (plural) of the apostles and prophets are the first to be placed on the foundation proper (Christ). So, we can see Bede at almost the very end of his exegetical career, in his most ambitious work, developing a theme which is also found in *Hf*. This is still not conclusive proof that Bede was influenced by this earlier text, or even that he read it – but it is certainly suggestive of a wider interest in the *fundamentum* in the exegetical culture of Wearmouth-Jarrow. Here we might remember Patrick Wormald's provocative comment that Bede was a 'fundamentalist' – in the most literal, etymological sense this is true.[70]

Implications

I do not think there is quite enough to say beyond a shadow of a doubt that Bede read the Hereford commentary on Matthew, though if I am correct about my dating and placing of the fragment it seems inconceivable that he did not. It is also difficult to say anything certain about the origins of this first section of *Hf* or indeed the wider commentary. This latter was evidently compilatory in nature, and the author-compiler was perfectly happy to juxtapose an essentially homiletic passage on Matthew VII.24–7 with a line-by-line commentary on VIII.1–13. However, the way in which the author-compiler adapts this later section – often paraphrasing Frigulus/*LQE* quite loosely and adding a quotation from a Gregory homily – does suggest that he was making some effort to create a new commentary out of these sources. Moreover, if Frigulus was writing in the mid-seventh century and *Hf* dates to the early eighth, there is not a lot of time for multiple stages of copying and compiling to have taken place. For these reasons, I am inclined to suggest that the Hereford commentary was not only copied at Wearmouth-Jarrow but compiled there as well. It is perfectly feasible that the Frigulus commentary would have been among the books brought to Wearmouth-Jarrow by Benedict Biscop, especially if it was a northern Italian product as Dorfbauer argues, although the question of whether *LQE* served as an intermediary may complicate this. The homiletic source for Matthew

[69] Bede, *De templo* 1.4.283–6 (Hurst, p. 154): 'Fundamentum templi nullum est aliud mystice intellegendum quam illud quod ostendit apostolus dicens: fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est quod est christus iesus.'

[70] P. Wormald, 'Bede, Beowulf and the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy', in R.T. Farrell (ed.), *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England: Papers in Honour of the 1300th Anniversary of the Birth of Bede* (London, 1978), pp. 32–95, at pp. 33–4.

V.24–7 may remain a mystery, but we should not rule out the possibility that it was composed from scratch by a Wearmouth-Jarrow author.

If Bede did read *Hf* and/or the Frigulus/*LQE* material that served as the main source for its second section, it is further evidence that he was fully aware of non-patristic currents in exegesis when he was composing his own commentaries. Other evidence for this can be found in his commentary on the Catholic Epistles, where in at least seven places he shows some degree of reliance on the (genuinely) Hiberno-Latin *Expositio in VII epistolas canonicas* of Pseudo-Hilary, which in turn was reliant on an earlier Irish gloss surviving in Karlsruhe, Bädische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. perg. 233, fols 1r–40v.[71] In one place, he derides Ps.-Hilary as having interpreted II Pet. I.21 'ridiculously' (*ridicule*) by suggesting that the Holy Spirit spoke through the prophets as a person plays music through a pipe, where the pipe is ignorant of what it is being asked to play.[72] However, it is perhaps more interesting that in other places he either agrees with Ps.-Hilary, or at least allows the latter's comments to pass unchallenged.[73] Bede never gives this text a name, regardless of whether he is agreeing or disagreeing with it, citing it simply as what 'some' say. Indeed, one suspects the anonymity of these texts was one of the things Bede found discomfiting – what authority can be invested in a nameless author? At the same time, it is clear that this Hiberno-Latin text (which Bede may or may not have recognized as Irish) *did* form part of Bede's grounding in these biblical books, and that he was perfectly happy to make use of it alongside named patristic authors when it suited him. Incidentally, the development from the Karlsruhe commentary through Ps.-Hilary to Bede offers a potential analogue to the process that may have created *Hf* – from terse notes in Karlsruhe (*cf.* Frigulus), through a more worked-up version of the same material (*cf. LQE*), to a Wearmouth-Jarrow production that makes free use of the early material as a source.

[71] Both Ps.-Hilary and the Karlsruhe commentary are edited in *Commentarius in epistolas catholicas Scotti anonymi*, ed. R.E. McNally, CCSL 108B (1973); see the introduction (pp. vii–xvii) for the Irish origins of both commentaries, as well as the links to Bede's commentary. See also C. O'Brien, 'Political Thought in Early Irish Exegesis', *Peritia* 32 (2021), pp. 197–212, at pp. 199–202.

[72] Bede, *In epistolas VII catholicas* 3.1.21 (ed. D. Hurst, in *Bedae venerabilis opera* 2/4, CCSL 121 (Turnhout, 1983), pp. 267–8): 'Ridicule quidam haec beati Petri uerba interpretatus est dicens quod sicut fistula flatum oris humani ut resonet accipit nec sonum tamen ipsa quem ministrat quia insensibilis naturae est intellegere ualet . . .' Cf. Ps.Hilary (McNally, p. 102): 'id est more fistulae'.

[73] E.g. Bede, *In epistolas VII catholicas* 1.1.19 (Hurst, p. 190); 4.1.1 (p. 284); 7.9 (p. 337).

The fact that hangs over all this is that Bede never wrote a commentary on Matthew.[74] Why would he write commentaries on Luke and Mark but never touch Matthew, especially given the way he reused material across his other commentaries on the Synoptic Gospels? Is it possible it was because there was already a 'house' commentary on Matthew at Wearmouth-Jarrow, perhaps one compiled by one of his teachers or students? Regardless of questions of authorship and purpose, the copying of this text at Wearmouth-Jarrow shows that Bede's monastery was not isolated from the currents in exegesis identified by Bischoff, just as the use of insular abbreviations in uncial script by its scribe shows that it was not isolated from the scribal practices of the wider insular world. If anything, this makes Bede's exegetical achievements all the more remarkable. It was not that he 'followed in the footsteps of the Fathers' because the Fathers were all he knew. He was well aware of the approach taken by the so-called Hiberno-Latin exegetes, but he largely chose to take a different path, one which looked to Augustine and Gregory as its models.

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Appendix

Hereford commentary on Matthew, text and translation

The text has been transcribed from Hereford Cathedral Library, P. II. 10, fols i and 61. I have left simple spelling irregularities (e.g. *intellexiset* for *intellexisset*) as they are in the manuscript, but where there is a true scribal error or damage to the manuscript I have emended the text, giving the MS reading in the footnote. Biblical quotations are marked in italics with the reference given in square brackets. Portions of the text which correspond to Frigulus/*LQE* are marked in bold type – only in especially significant cases do I, in the footnotes, draw attention to the relationship between the three texts. Quotations/paraphrases of other texts are footnoted.

[74] On Bede's lifelong interest in the first gospel, see E. Quigley, 'The Tax Collector and the Priest: Matthew the Evangelist in the Writings of Bede (*c.*673–735)', Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham (2023); part of this research has been published in E. Quigley, 'Bede's *perfecti* and the Gospel of Matthew', in P. Darby and M. MacCarron (eds), *Bede the Scholar* (Manchester, 2023), pp. 119–40.

Text

{fol. i r}. . . *et descendit pluuia et uenerunt flumina et flauerunt uenti et inruerunt in domum illam et cecidit et fuit ruina eius magna* [Matt. VII.27].

Omnis [Matt. VII.24] itaque homo primum prebeat uerbo Dei aurem audiendi, id est non solum corporis sed etiam et cordis, et postea festinet ut quasi sapiens architectus edificio operis sui firmum fundamentum praeuideat, ut non *sit auditor*[1] *obliuiosus* [James I.25] sed factor legis fiat. De quo fundamento apostolus dicit: *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, quod est Iesus Christus* [I Cor. III.11]. Qui enim super ipsum fideliter[2] fundatur ab inimicis non mouebitur, ut dicitur in Psalmo: *Qui confidunt in Domino* et reliqua [Ps. CXXIV (CXXV).1]. Quoniam etsi domus mentis nostrae ueram petram qui est Christus non demittit, numquam corruit coram inimicis,[3] licet ueniat pluuia, id est hereticorum doctrina, uel [. . .] flumina quae significant persecutores, uel uenti qui[4] sunt aduersariae potestates. Istis uniuersis fortitudine fundamenti praeualebimus, quod et ipse per se[5] nobis promitere dignatus est, dicens: *Ego dabo uobis os et sapientiam cui non possunt resistere et contradicere omnes aduersarii uestri* [Luke XXI.15]. Sed et *omnis qui audit uerbum et non facit* [Matt. VII.26] stultus erit, uere stultus, quia clausis oculis ad ignem uadit, non praeuidens intellectu tormenta quae sibi futura inminent. Qui et in exemplum stulti illius cadit, cuius membrum esse uoluit, de quo dicitur: *Qui stultus apparuit postquam in sublime eleuatus. Si enim intellexiset ori inposuisset manum* [Prov. XXX.32], id est si tormentas ibi parari posse pro superbia cogitaret, numquam dixisset *ero similis altissimo* [Is. XIV.14]. Et ruina eius magna quemadmodum et membrorum illius erit, quia *uermes eorum non moriuntur et ignis eorum non extinguitur* [Mark IX.43].

{fol. i v} *Dominus*[6] *autem descendisset de monte, secutae sunt eum turbae multae: et ecce leprosus ueniens adorabat eum, dicens 'Domine, si uis, potes me mundare.' Et extendens manum tetigit eum dicens, 'Volo, mundare.' Et confestim mundata est lepra eius. Et ait illi Iesus, 'Vide nemini*[7] *dixeris:*

1 MS *adiutor*
2 MS *fidelitur*
3 *Cf.* Num. XIV.42: 'nolite ascendere non enim est Dominus vobiscum ne corruatis coram inimicis vestris'.
4 MS *quod*
5 *Cf.* Heb. VI.13: 'promittens Deus … iuravit per semet ipsum'.
6 Vulgate *Cum autem descendisset*
7 MS *uidemini*

sed uade, ostende te[8] *sacerdoti, et offer munus quod praecepit Moses in testimonium illis'* [Matt. VIII.1–4].

Ecce iste leprosus, **qui de uoluntate interrogauit de uirtute non dubitauit**.[9] *Et dominus dicit 'Volo, mundare'*, **quod per imperatiuo legendum est, cui uelle facere est, ut dicitur *omnia quaecumque uoluit, fecit*** [Ps. CXXXIV (CXXXV).6]. *Tetigit eum:* **hic supra legem humanae naturae conpatitur, quia in lege inmundus erat tangens leprosum.** *Confestim mundata est lepra:* **Eius ut libentius audiatur praedicatio, statim eam uirtus subsequitur**. Ostendente sacerdoti nec contra legem facere uideretur, non minuens uetera qui noua fecit, exemplique causa honorem debitum senioribus praeferens; necnon ut, cum sanatum uiderent, Christum crediderint.[10] *In testimonium illis*: **quod *non ueni soluere legem*** [Matt. V.17]; **uel ut cognoscant quia ego olim promisus, potens** in uirtutibus ueni; **atque ut sciant sicut te mundaui ita et illos,** si credunt mihi, **uolo mundare.**

Spiritaliter: *Cum descendit de monte* **significat cum de caelo in carnem uenit.** *Turbae* **genus humanum figurat, quod ascendere ad deum non poterat nisi ille descendisset**; uel specialiter credentes ex iudeis per turbas, **et per leprosum gentilis populus designatur**,[11] **quem tetigit per ueram incarnationem eius**, quia *Verbum caro factum est* [John I.14]. *Volo, mundare*: **ipse enim *uult omnes homines saluos fieri*** [1 Tim. 2:4]. *Nemini dixeris*: ut alibi dicit, nolite dare sancta canibus;[12] uel nemini per iactantiam et pro laude humana praedicare debes.

Moraliter: **Leprosus omnis peccator**, quem dominus conuersum tandem et humiliter per fidem orantem exaudit mundumque eum facere {fol. 61r} non demoratur; quem et tegit **per cordes conpunctionem**, ut illud respexit dominus Petrum.[13] **Munus corpus et animam designat.**

Cum autem introisset Iesus Capharnaum, accessit ad eum quidam centurio, rogans eum et dicens: 'Domine, puer meus iacet in domo paraliticus, et male torquetur.' Et ait illi Iesus, 'Ego ueniam et curabo eum.'

[8] MS *ostendente*

[9] Jerome, *In Matheum* 1.1061–2 (ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera* 1/7, CCSL 77 (Turnhout, 1969), p. 48): 'Qui uoluntatem rogat de uirtute non dubitat.' *Hf* follows *LQE* and not Frigulus in writing *interrogavit* rather than *roga[vi]t*.

[10] Loose reworking of Jerome *In Matt*. 1.1074–82 (ed. Hurst and Adriaen, pp. 48–9) – the same passage is paraphrased more closely in Frigulus/*LQE*, but there is very little crossover in phrasing between these texts and *Hf* in this case.

[11] *Cf.* Isidore, *Allegoriae quaedam S. Scripturae* 138.150 (ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 83, col. 118B).

[12] *Cf.* Matt. XV.26: 'non est bonum sumere panem filorum et mittere canibus'.

[13] *Cf.* Luke XXII.61: 'Et conversus Dominus respexit Petrum et recordatus est Petrus verbi Domini sicut dixit quia priusquam gallus cantet ter me negabis'.

Et respondens centurio ait, 'Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum; sed tantum dic uerbo et sanabitur puer meus. Nam et ego homo sum sub potestate, habens sub me milites; et dico, "huic uade!" et uadit, et alio "ueni!" et uenit, et seruo meo "fac hoc!" et facit.' Audiens autem Iesus miratus est et sequentibus se dixit: 'Amen dico uobis, non inueni tantam fidem in Israhel. Dico autem uobis quod multi ab oriente et occidente uenient et recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum; filii autem regni eicientur in tenebras exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.' Et dixit Iesus centurioni: 'Vade. Sicut credidisti fiat tibi.' Et sanatus est puer ex illa hora [Matt. VIII.5–13].

Capharnaum metropolis Galileae est. Centurio est qui .C. milites sub se habet.[14] Sed notandum quod ad reguli filium, quem palatinum id est regale in palatio nutritum interpretare possumus, ire noluit, et ad seruum centurionis uenire uoluit.[15] In hoc superbia eorum qui pauperes despiciunt arguitur et diuites uenerantur.[16] **Tria uiderat dominus in centurione: fidem, humilitatem, prudentiam; [fidem]**[17] **quia credidit salutem; humiliterque dicit *non sum dignus*; prudenter quod dominum intellexit, nam** *et ego homo* **subauditur 'tu uero deus. Sub potestate Caesaris [sum]**[18], et tu liber es[19] ab omnibus, quia ut **mihi milites ita obedient, tibi angeli.'** {fol. 61v} **Ideoque rogo ut dicas angelo torquenti ut uadat, et angelo auxilii ut ueniat ad puerum.** *Non inueni tantam fidem*: **Non de patriarhis, sed de praesentibus Iudaeis dicit**.

Spiritaliter: **Capharnaum, quod interpretatur ager consolationis,**[20] **significat ecclesiam.** Centurio per perfectione primitiuam ecclesiam designat. **Et puer paralyticus gentilem populum in domo idolatriae iacentem, nullos gressus iustitiae habentem figurauit**. *Ego ueniam:* **quia Dominus per doctores ueniens** curauit gentes. *Dic uerbo*: **iube da apostolis ut eant omnes gentes.** *Non inueni tantam fidem*: **Quia maior gentium fides quam iudeorum**. *Ab oriente et ab occidente*

[14] *Cf.* Jerome, *In Esiam* 2.3.3 (ed. M. Adriaen, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera* 1/2, CCSL 73 (Turnhout, 1963), p. 44).

[15] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia* 2.28.36–9 (ed. R. Étaix, *Gregorius magnus homiliae in evangelia*, CCSL 141 (Turnhout, 1999), p. 241: 'Redemptor uero noster ut ostenderet quia quae alta sunt hominum despicienda non sunt, et quae despecta sunt hominum despicienda non sunt, ad filium reguli ire noluit, ad servum centurionis ire paratus fuit.' The reference is to John IV.43–54.

[16] *Cf.* Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia* 2.28.31–3 (ed. Étaix, p. 241): 'Quid est hoc, nisi quod superbia nostra retunditur, qui in hominibus non naturam qua ad imaginem Dei facti sunt, sed honores et diuitias ueneramur?'

[17] MS *om.*

[18] MS *om.*

[19] *LQE*: *tu sub nullius iure es*

[20] Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* (ed. P. de Lagarde, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera* 1/1, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, 1959), p. 64): 'Cafarnaum ager uel uilla consolationis'.

ueniunt: quia de uniuerso orbi crediturí sunt Christo, qui et requiescunt in regno euangelii et fidei. *Filii regni huius*, id est iudeorum uel mundi huius, **quod sunt peccatores in quibus diabolus et non deus regit**. Vel per sinum Abrahae futura requies figurat,[21] quia et tunc impii[22] in tenebras mittuntur exteriores supplicii, qui hic tenent interiores; id est peccatorum calignem diluerunt ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium. Quia iustum est **ut illic strideant dentes qui hic de inmoderata edacitate gaudebant**, et fleant oculi qui uidere inlicita semper desiderabant.

Moraliter: per centurionem homo ueniens humiliter ad deo, et per seruum sanatum **anima ante uitiis fracta figuratur, milites uarias cogitationes.** *Vade* et *ueni*: ut uitia fugiant et uirtutes ueniant. Sanatus est puer quia, qui conuersus fuerit et ingemuerit, saluus erit.

Translation

. . . And the rain fell and the floods came and the winds beat and rushed into that house, and it fell down, and its ruin was great.

Everyone, therefore, should first offer his ear to hear the Word of God, that is not only the ear of his body but also of his heart; and afterwards he should make haste that, *like a wise architect*, he should foresee a firm foundation for the building of his labour, so that he might not be a forgetful hearer but become a doer of the law, concerning which foundation the Apostle said *No one may lay down any foundation other than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus*. Whoever is faithfully founded on him will not be moved by enemies, as it is said in the Psalm, *Whoever trusts in the Lord* and so on. For even if the house of our mind does not leave the true rock, which is Christ, it will never crumble in the face of our enemies, even if the rain comes, that is, the doctrine of the heretics, or . . . the floods which signify persecutors, or the winds which are the opposing powers – against all these we will prevail with the strength of the foundation, because even he himself deigned to promise us by himself, saying, *I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which none of your adversaries will be able to resist or speak against*.

But everyone who hears the Word and does not do it will be foolish, really foolish, because having closed his eyes he goes to the fire without foreseeing with his intellect the torments which lie before him in the future. And he also falls under the example of that foolish man [in the parable], whose fellow he wished to be, about whom it is said *There is one who appeared foolish after he was lifted up on high; for if he had understood he would have put his hand on his mouth*; that is, if he knew

[21] Cf. Luke XVI.22
[22] MS *impi*

the torments that could be prepared on account of his pride, he would never have said, *I will be like the Most High*. And his ruin will be great just like the ruin of his fellows: *for their worms will not perish and their fire will not be put out*.

And when the Lord came down from the mountain, many crowds followed him; and behold, a leper came and worshipped him, saying, 'If you wish it, you can make me clean.' And stretching out his hand, he touched him, saying, 'I wish it; be made clean.' And immediately his leprosy was made clean. And Jesus said to them, 'See that you tell nobody, but go and show yourself to the priest and offer the gift which Moses commanded, as a witness to them.'

See, that leper **who asked about [Jesus's] will had no doubt about his power**. *And the Lord said, 'I wish it; be made clean'*, **which should be read as an imperative. For him, to will is to do, as it is said, 'All things whatsoever that he wished, he did.'** *He touched him*. **Here he had compassion above and beyond the law of human nature, for in the Law he was made unclean by touching the leper.** *Immediately his leprosy was made clean*. **That his preaching might be more freely heard, he immediately followed it with this miracle.** *Show yourself to the priest*, that he might not seem to be acting contrary to the Law, not lessening the old who made the new; and for the sake of a good example, showing the honour owed to his elders; and also that when they saw him to be clean they might believe the Christ. *As a witness to them*. **That he did not come to destroy the Law; or that they might know that I, as I promised long ago,** have come **powerful** in strength**; and that they might know that just as I have made you clean so to others,** if they believe in me, **'I wish it; be made clean.'**

Spiritually: *When he descended from the mountain* **signifies when he came down from heaven into flesh.** *The crowds* **figure the race of humankind, which was not able to ascend to God if he had not descended;** or specifically those who believed out of the Jews are signified by the crowds, **while by the leper is signified the Gentile people**, **whom he touched by his true incarnation**, for 'the Word was made flesh'. *I wish it; be made clean*. **He himself wishes all people to be saved**. *Tell nobody*. As it says elsewhere, 'Do not give holy things to the dogs'; or to *nobody* ought you to preach through boasting or for the sake of human praise.

Morally: **the leper is every sinner** whom, having been converted at last and humbly praying by faith, the Lord hears and does not delay in making clean; whom also he touches **through the compunction of the heart**, as in that [verse] 'the Lord looked at Peter'. ***Gift* signifies the body and the soul.**

When Jesus entered Capernaum, a certain centurion came up to him, asking him and saying, 'Lord, my boy is lying paralytic in the house and he is sorely tormented.' And Jesus said to him, 'I will come and cure him.' And answering him, the centurion said, 'Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof; but only say the word and my boy will be healed. For I too am a man under authority, having soldiers under me; and I say to this one, "Go!" and he goes, and to another, "Come!" and he comes, and to my servant, "Do this!" and he does it.' Hearing this, Jesus marvelled and said to his followers, 'Truly I say to you, I have not found such faith in Israel. But I say to you that many will come from the east and from the west and lie down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. But the children of the kingdom will lie down in the outer shadows, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' And Jesus said to the centurion, 'Go. Let it happen for you just as you have believed.' And the boy was healed from that hour.

Capernaum is a city in Galilee. A centurion is someone who has 100 soldiers under him. But it should be noted that to the son of the ruler (whom we might interpret as a member of the palace court, that is someone brought up as royal in the palace) he did not wish to go, and to the servant of the centurion he did wish to come. In this the pride of those who despise the poor and venerate the rich is shown up. **The Lord saw three things in the centurion: faith, humility and prudence. [Faith] because he believed in the healing, and humbly he said 'I am not worthy.' Prudently he understood the Lord, for by** *I too am a man* **is understood, 'You indeed are God. [I am] under the power of Caesar** and you are free from everyone, **because as soldiers obey me, so do angels obey you**. **Therefore I ask you to tell the tormenting angel to go, and to the angel of help that he come to the boy.'** *I have not found such faith*. **He did not say this about the patriarchs but about the present Jews.**

Spiritually: **Capernaum, which is translated 'Field of Consolation', signifies the Church.** The centurion, by the perfection [of the number 100] designates the primitive church, **and the paralytic boy figured the Gentile people lying in the house of idolatry, having no paths to righteousness**. *I will come*, **for the Lord coming through the *doctores*** healed the nations. *Say the word*. **Command the Apostles to go to all nations.** *I have not found such faith*. **Because the faith of the Gentiles was greater than that of the Jews.** *From the east and from the west* they come because from all the whole earth they would believe in Christ, who also rest in the kingdom of the Gospel and of faith. *The children of this kingdom*, that is of the Jews, or of this world, **which are sinners in whom the devil and not God rules**. Or else the future rest is figured by the bosom of Abraham; for also then the impious are sent

into the outer darkness of punishment, whom in this world the inner [darkness] holds; that is, the fog of sinners has been lifted where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For it is just that **in that place teeth gnash which here were rejoicing in immoderate gluttony,** and that eyes weep which were always desiring to see illicit things.

Morally: By the centurion is figured a man coming humbly to God, and by **the healed servant a soul previously broken by its sins**. **The soldiers are various thoughts.** *Go* and *come*, that sins flee away and virtues come. The boy was healed because whoever converts and laments will be saved.