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978-0-521-17075-8 — History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon

H. H. Glunz

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## THE VULGATE IN ENGLAND

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*

BY

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## PREFACE

THE opinion still prevails, even among modern scholars, that the text of our numerous Vulgate manuscripts, which are later in date than the ninth or tenth century, is 'of no use'. The utilitarian manner of viewing the development of the Vulgate has been practised in this branch of literary history ever since textual critics recognised the considerable value which attaches to the history of the Vulgate text in regard to the task of sifting the manuscripts, and of reconstructing the original of St Jerome. Again, as the tale of 'the hopeless perversion and absurd triviality' of scholastic exegesis (Farrar) was commonly credited, the close connection between the Latin Bible and the religious and philosophical activity of the classical Middle Ages was ignored owing to a vague fear felt by certain scholars in the presence of medieval thought.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to explain in what way the later medieval Vulgate text (as distinct from the pre-Carolingian types of the Vulgate) was determined by the theoretical or, in a broad sense, scientific principles underlying the method of scholastic philosophy. Not only will the investigation thus throw light on the nature of the later medieval Vulgate text, but it will also help to elucidate the structure of scholastic thought itself, and lay a foundation upon which further study and a just estimate of scholastic philosophy may safely be built.

Furthermore, inasmuch as the study of the Vulgate has to take account of the learning of the time, it will help to emphasise the true significance of certain events and periods in ecclesiastical history. It will show that the reform of the English monasteries under Dunstan and Æthelwold was more than a mere revival of the monastic ideal, and that this movement towards reform first made known in England the new learning which was then the highest achievement of theological thought. A century later, the 'orthodox' Vulgate text, introduced into the

English Church, forms an exact parallel to the other branches of ecclesiastical culture which, by the influence of Lanfranc, were made to conform to the continental standards. One has only to think of Dr Z. N. Brooke's researches on Lanfranc's introduction of the continental Canon Law into England<sup>1</sup> to appreciate the importance of the fact that Lanfranc also imported a Vulgate text which had been evolved in French schools, and according to the exegetical rules of the General Church. Indeed, the more we learn about the ecclesiastical aspects of the Conquest, the more it appears that with the Conquest England surrendered the very last peculiarities of her ancient Church to the standards of the Greater Church. Lastly, the second half of the twelfth century saw the triumph of the Lombard's scholastic system in Paris and, owing to Becket's connection with France, almost simultaneously in England. Henceforth the interpenetration of continental and English thought remained uninterrupted throughout the later Middle Ages.

\* \* \* \* \*

The author has pleasure in acknowledging the manifold obligations which he incurred while his work was in progress. Above all his thanks are due to the Council of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose generosity enabled him to pursue his studies in a two years' research course at Cambridge; and to Professor F. C. Burkitt, who acted as a wise supervisor during that period. For permission to examine manuscripts, and for their ever-ready assistance, he feels grateful to the librarians and staffs of the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Cambridge University Libraries; and to the following librarians and assistants respectively: Canon W. H. Kynaston, of Lincoln Cathedral Library; the Rev. F. Harrison, the Rev. C. Jackson, and Mrs Hanks, of the Library of York Minster; Mr K. C.

<sup>1</sup> *The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John*, Cambridge 1931.



## PREFACE

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Bayley, Mr J. M. Falkner, and Mr E. H. Knight, of Durham Cathedral; Canon A. L. Lilley, of Hereford Cathedral; Canon C. Wordsworth, of Salisbury Cathedral; Canon A. W. Goodman, of Winchester Cathedral. At Oxford: Mr R. F. Bretherton, of Wadham College; Mr R. Jeffery, of Brasenose; Mr T. W. Allen, of Queen's; Mr A. L. Poole, of St John's; the Rev. J. P. Thornton-Duesbery, of Corpus Christi. At Cambridge: Dr C. W. Previt -Orton, and Mr C. C. Scott, of St John's College; Mr A. L. Attwater, of Pembroke; Mr H. Butterfield, of Peterhouse; the Rev. Sir E. C. Hoskyns, of Corpus Christi; and particularly to Mr H. M. Adams, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and his staff, the author's thanks are due. Owing to the never-failing kindness of the last-named the author's work in Trinity College Library, though often onerous to them, became a pleasure to him.

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H. H. G.

TRINITY COLLEGE  
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## CLASSIFIED LIST OF GOSPEL MSS DISCUSSED OR QUOTED

### i. *The Roman, and Early Anglo-Saxon, Type.*

- (1) X, C.C.C.C. MS 286, the four gospels, about 600, written in half-uncials by an Italian scribe. The book belonged to St Augustine's, Canterbury. The text both of this MS (X\*) and of all others in this group approximately represents that quoted by St Gregory.
- (2) O, Bodl. MS Auct. D.2. 14, the four gospels, once belonging to St Augustine's, Canterbury. Written in England, in Roman half-uncials of the seventh century.
- (3) Hereford Cathedral MS P.2.ix (Gloss on Proverbs, twelfth century), containing two leaves with Mt vii 25–viii 13, and a commentary on this text. The hand is a Roman half-uncial of the eighth century and was probably active in a Southern English monastery.
- (4) Worcester Cathedral, fragments of a late eighth-century gospel book written (at Worcester?) in insular half-uncials. Only the end of Matthew, the capitula of Mark, and Mc x 26–42 remain. A facsimile edition was made by C. H. Turner, *Early Worcester MSS*, Oxford 1916, pp. 1–6.
- (5) Durham Cathedral MS A.ii. 17, foll. 1–102, the gospels of John, Mark, and Luke, written by an insular (Northumbrian?) hand of the middle of the eighth century.

### ii. *Sources of Alcuin's Revision.*

- (6) Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1. E. vi, the gospels, written at St Augustine's, Canterbury, in insular half-uncials of the eighth century. The script is modelled on the Northumbrian style, whilst the illuminations no less than the three purple leaves inserted in the book show continental influence. The text is Northumbrian of the Z\*-X\*-O type.
- (7) Brit. Mus. MS Harley 2788, a gold codex of the gospels written in Alcuin's time (or shortly afterwards?) in Central France. The script is a beautiful uncial, only the accessory matter (capitula, prologues, etc.) being given in Carolingian minuscules. The text is predominantly insular; only in one place is the influence of early ninth-century exegesis noticeable.
- (8) Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1. B. vii, the gospels, in an insular (or, more exactly, Irish) hand of the eighth century working in Northumbria. The text of the original hand is closely akin to Y.
- (5a) Durham Cathedral MS A.ii. 17, foll. 103–111, fragments of Luke (xxi 33–xxiii 44), in insular half-uncials of the eighth century; allied to A.

## xiv CLASSIFIED LIST OF GOSPEL MSS

- (9) York Minster MS xvi.N.6, a small thirteenth-century Bible written at York. The gospels in the book were copied from an early MS (of the eighth or ninth century?) preserved at York in the thirteenth century.

iii. *Continental Conservative Tradition.*

- (10) Brit. Mus. MS Harley 2823, the gospels, written in France in the late ninth or early tenth century, in Carolingian minuscules. The text is akin to K; but it contains certain scholastic readings owing to the influence of the schools in the second half of the ninth century.
- (11) Brit. Mus. Add. MS 11849, a small gospel book in Carolingian minuscules of about 900 or shortly after. Written at Tours; Alcuinian text.
- (12) Brit. Mus. MS Harley 2830, the gospels, written at St Martin's, Louvain, in the first half of the eleventh century. The illuminations are in the Flemish style of the period. Just as no. (10), this book has some early scholastic readings.
- (13) Brit. Mus. MS Harley 2797, the gospels, of the late ninth century, from St Geneviève, Paris. A gold MS written in Carolingian minuscules. The text is a mixture of the various types to be found in the ninth century, but the Alcuinian element prevails.
- (14) Brit. Mus. Add. MS 40000 ('the Thorney Gospels'), of the ninth (or tenth?) century; Carolingian minuscules of Central France. The text of the first hand is that dominant at Tours in the time of Alcuin. Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester and first Abbot of Thorney, presented the book to the house of his foundation. The insular corrections in the text date from the late tenth or the eleventh century and are of a group with the Winchester text.
- (15) Brit. Mus. MS Egerton 608, the gospels, of the late tenth century, in Carolingian minuscules. The illuminations and the ornamental pages of this beautiful MS mark it as a late specimen of post-Carolingian art flourishing in the preceding century. Accordingly, the text also is Carolingian, but not without having undergone alterations under scholastic influence.
- (16) Bodl. MS Douce 292, the gospels of Matthew and Mark only, about 1000, in Carolingian minuscules. The remarks made on the execution of no. (15) apply also to this MS. From Laon?
- (17) Bodl. MS Auct. D.2.16 ('the Leofric Gospels'), late tenth century, written at Landévennec, Brittany, and given by Bishop Leofric to St Peter's, Exeter. Traditional text.
- (18) Brit. Mus. MS Cotton Tiberius A.ii, the gospels, about 900, in Carolingian minuscules of German origin. The book was given by Emperor Otto the Great to King Æthelstan. Traditional text; but the influence of the schools is noticeable.

## CLASSIFIED LIST OF GOSPEL MSS xv

iv. *Insular Conservative Tradition.*

- (19) Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1.A.xviii, the gospels, given by King Æthelstan to St Augustine's, Canterbury. Written, just as E, about 870, in Carolingian minuscules by an Irish scribe working in one of the schools of Auxerre, Paris, Laon, or Rheims, where the influence of Irish scholars made itself strongly felt in the early second half of the ninth century. The text is almost purely Irish.
- (20) Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1.D.iii, the gospels, first half of the eleventh century, copied at Canterbury from no. (19) for Countess Goda of Boulogne and given by her to Rochester Cathedral.
- (21) C.C.C. Oxford MS 122 (F.2.14), the gospels, written at Dublin in the late Irish type of script, eleventh (or twelfth?) century. The text is Irish.
- (22) Brit. Mus. MS Harley 1023, the gospels, written about 1140 in Ireland.
- (23) Brit. Mus. MS Harley 1803, the gospels, written at Armagh about 1139–1140. The space in the margins and between the lines of the Irish text is in part covered by glosses which were read in the Cathedral school at Paris in the fourth decade of the twelfth century.
- (24) Hereford Cathedral MS P.1.ii, the gospels, in an insular hand of the late ninth century. Irish illuminations.
- (25) Pembroke College Cambridge MS 302, the gospel lessons, copied about the middle of the eleventh century at Hereford from a continental exemplar. The text is mainly Irish, but interspersed with scholastic elements.
- (26) St John's College Oxford MS 194, the gospels, about 1000, in small Carolingian minuscules. The MS belonged to, and was probably also written at, Christ Church, Canterbury. Alcuinian text.
- (27) Bodl. MS Bodley 155, the gospels, written for Barking Abbey in the late tenth (or early eleventh) century. Its original must have come from the North of France (Landévennec, Montreuil); the text is closely related to no. (17).
- (28) Brit. Mus. Add. MS 9381, the gospels, written for St Petroc's, Bodmin, about 940 in an insular hand using Carolingian minuscules. Both this fact and the text of the book necessitate the assumption that the MS was copied by an insular scribe trained on the Continent, from an original which came from a monastic school such as Laon, Rheims, or Paris.
- (29) Salisbury Cathedral MS 77, the gospels (Lc xii 18–xvii 10, Lc xix 39–Jo ii 22 are missing), of the late eleventh century. Considering the date of the book, its text is archaic and was probably written in a provincial town (Salisbury?).

## xvi CLASSIFIED LIST OF GOSPEL MSS

- (30) Brit. Mus. Add. MS 11850, the gospels, about the middle of the eleventh century, probably written in one of the larger scriptoria in South England. The Northern French influence is very marked in the illuminations and the script of the book.

v. *Early Texts Containing Scholastic Variants.*

- (31) E, Brit. Mus. MS Egerton 609, the gospels, about 860–870, written at St Martin's, Tours (or Marmoutier), by an insular scribe practising the Carolingian minuscule. The Irish text of the book reached the Continent through the Irish scholars settling in continental schools under Charles the Bald; there it was influenced by the new variants resulting from post-Carolingian exegesis. Cf. nos. (19 a), (28 a).
- (15 a) Brit. Mus. MS Egerton 608. See no. (15). The text shows the influence of Remigius's schools.
- (19 a) Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1.A.xviii. See no. (19). As to the text of this book, the same remarks apply as to no. (31).
- (28 a) Brit. Mus. Add. MS 9381. See no. (28), and remarks on the text of no. (31).
- (32) York Minster, 'The Anglo-Saxon Gospels', about 960–970, written partly in France (Fleury?), partly in England (Winchester?), and taken to York by Archbishop Oswald (972–992). The earliest example of the Winchester text.
- (33) Copenhagen Royal Library MS Gl. kgl. S. 10. fol., the gospels dating from about 1000, from a Southern English monastery. Illuminations in the Winchester style.
- (34) Trinity College Cambridge MS B.10.4, the gospels, probably dating from 1008, written at Winchester. Both the text and the exterior (script, illuminations, etc.) of this and the following five books bear the definite characteristics of one school, viz. Winchester.
- (35) Brit. Mus. Add. MS 34890 ('the Grimbald Gospels'), probably of the early eleventh century, from New Minster, Winchester. Among the usual prologues, this MS contains a singular preface not to be found in any of the other gospel books; f. 5<sup>v</sup>: '*Incipit praefatio sancti Victoris episcopi Capuae civitatis. Cum fortuito in manus meas unum ex quattuor evangelium incideret...*' (etc.). The book is a valuable witness to the character of the Winchester text.
- (36) St John's College Cambridge MS 73, the gospels, eleventh century, perhaps from St Augustine's, Canterbury.
- (37) Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1.D.ix, the gospels, early eleventh century, from Canterbury.
- (38) Brit. Mus. MS Harley 76, the gospels, eleventh century, from Bury St Edmunds.

## CLASSIFIED LIST OF GOSPEL MSS xvii

- (39) Pembroke College Cambridge MS 301, the gospels, eleventh century, perhaps from Ely (or Bury?). The last page (f. 134<sup>v</sup>) contains, by the same hand, a peculiar preface to Luke: 'Lucas generatione syrus cuius laus in evangelio canitur apud antiochiam medicine artis...' (etc.; ends:) 'sed etiam animarum eius proficeret medicina'. Just as no. (35), this book seems to be an independent witness of the Winchester text.
- (40) Brit. Mus. Add. MS 17739, the gospels, about the middle of the eleventh century, from the North of France. The beautiful illuminations and initials are in the Flemish style of the period.
- (25 a) Pembroke College Cambridge MS 302, see no. (25). The scholastic readings mark one source of the text of this MS as continental.

vi. *Lanfranc's Scholastic Text.*

- (41) Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1.B.xi, the gospels, first half of the twelfth century, from St Augustine's, Canterbury. The illuminations, in the Northern French (Norman?) style of the period, are unfinished, perhaps because even at the time when it was written the book was recognised as antiquated. Numerous interlinear notes.
- (42) Wadham College Oxford MS ii (A.10.22), the gospels, about 1070 (or shortly after), written in Southern England. Taking only the character of the writing and of the illuminations into account, the MS is a late and decadent specimen of the Winchester style.
- (43) C.C.C.C. MS 72, the gospels, about 1180, from Canterbury.
- (44) Trinity College Cambridge MS B.5.1, Bible of large size, about 1175–1180, from Christ Church, Canterbury.
- (45) C.C.C.C. MS 48, second volume of a large Bible, end of the twelfth century, written at St Albans. The gospels are arranged in four parallel columns.
- (46) St John's College Cambridge MS 183, a small Bible, early thirteenth century, from St Albans.
- (47) C.C.C.C. MS 4, second volume of the 'Dover Bible', about 1170, from Dover Priory. Perhaps written at Canterbury.
- (48) Phillipps Collection, Cheltenham, 'the Gundulf Bible', in two vols., written at Rochester under Bishop Gundulf in the last quarter of the eleventh century. The exterior of this book is very similar to no. (54).
- (49) Winchester Cathedral, the Great Bible, in three vols., about 1160–1170, written at St Swithin's, Winchester.
- (50) Salisbury Cathedral MS 148, extensive fragments of the second volume of a large Bible, written at Salisbury in the first half of the twelfth century. The gospels cover foll. 81<sup>v</sup>–113<sup>v</sup>.
- (51) W, Brit. Mus. Royal MS 1.B.xii, a Bible written at Salisbury in 1254. A mere copy of no. (50), when the latter was still complete.

## xviii CLASSIFIED LIST OF GOSPEL MSS

- (52) Pembroke College Cambridge MS 120, New Testament, early twelfth century, from Bury St Edmunds; six leaves of beautiful illuminations.
- (53) Hereford Cathedral MS O. 1.viii, the gospels, first half of the twelfth century; from Hereford.
- (54) Durham Cathedral MS A. ii. 4, second volume of 'Carilef's Bible', about 1080–1090, written at Durham for Bishop William of St Carilef. Illuminations; the writing is reminiscent of the style practised in the scriptoria of Normandy in the eleventh century.
- (55) Durham Cathedral MS A.ii.2, a Bible in two vols., second half of the twelfth century, written at Durham. The text is copied from no. (54).
- (56) Durham Cathedral MS A.ii.1, 'Pudsey's Bible', in four vols., the fourth volume containing the New Testament. Written at Durham, late in the twelfth century, for Bishop Hugh Pudsey. Illuminations.

vii. *Peter the Lombard's Scholastic Text*  
(*'Textus Parisiensis'*).

- (57) Bodl. MS Rawlinson G. 169, gospel of St Matthew, about 1160, English (in 1279 the book was in the possession of Master Michael, Rector of Cropthorne, Worcestershire). A contemporary cursive hand added the Glossa, in dry-point.
- (58) Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 5. 5, the gospels with the Gloss, about 1160, from Christ Church, Canterbury. Written for Archbishop Thomas Becket, probably by a French scribe. The style of this and similar books determined all later copies of the Glossa, first of all in the Canterbury scriptorium.
- (59) Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 5. 3, the gospels with the Gloss, early thirteenth century, from St Albans.
- (60) St John's College Oxford MS 111, the glossed gospel of Matthew, about 1150–1160, English. Arrangement of the Gloss earlier than that in no. (58).
- (61) Queen's College Oxford MS 317, the glossed gospels of Matthew and Mark, thirteenth century; from Reading?
- (62) St John's College Oxford MS 129, the glossed gospel of John, about 1150–1160, English. Cf. no. (60).
- (63) Salisbury Cathedral MS 41, the glossed gospel of John, about 1160; from Salisbury? First leaf is missing (begins at Jo ii 12).

viii. *The Paris Text Established.*

- (64) Brit. Mus. MS Cotton Domitianus A.vii (the Durham *Liber Vitae*, from ninth to fourteenth century), containing at the beginning several leaves with short extracts from the gospels, about 1160–1170, from Durham.

## CLASSIFIED LIST OF GOSPEL MSS xix

- (65) Brit. Mus. MS Harley 4747, the gospels, first half of the thirteenth century. Probably written at Durham.
- (66) Brasenose College Oxford MS v, a Bible, early thirteenth century, probably produced by a professional scribe in Oxford University. Careless text, often corrected.
- (67) Queen's College Oxford MS 52, a Bible, first half of the thirteenth century. The modern division into chapters (by Stephen Langton) has been introduced, as in all following numbers.
- (68) York Minster MS xvi.D.3, a Bible, late thirteenth century, probably produced at York. According to an inscription (on the last leaf but one) the book was in 1510 given to St Martin's Church in Coney Street, York.
- (69) Wadham College Oxford MS ix (A.10.24), a very small Bible, thirteenth century, English.
- (70) C.C.C.C. MS 463, a Bible, late thirteenth century, perhaps from St Albans. The writing is very good. A cursive hand added numerous glosses in the margins.
- (71) Wadham College Oxford MS i (A.5.2), a Bible, thirteenth century, probably written for the Oxford house of Black Friars. Inscription on fol. 431<sup>v</sup>: 'Anno domini . m<sup>o</sup>. cc<sup>o</sup>. xl<sup>o</sup>. quarto perfecta est Biblia ista. Guillelmus dictus miles Parisiensis consummavit eam. Sit ipse particeps omnium honorum qui in ea comprehenduntur'.
- (72) Trinity College Cambridge MS B.10.21, a Bible, thirteenth century, from an English Dominican house.

ix. *Corrections.*

- (73) Bodl. MS Auct. D.3.1, a Bible, late fourteenth century, from Syon Monastery; Paris text. Foll. 387–407 contain the 'Corrections Bibliae', by the same hand as the text.
- (74) Brit. Mus. Add. MS 37487, a Bible, middle of the thirteenth century, from an Italian Dominican monastery; Paris text. The margins contain numerous notes from a Correction.
- (75) St John's College Cambridge MS 74, a large Bible, about 1300, from Gisburne Priory (Yorks); detailed notes from a Correction in the margins.

\* \* \* \* \*

The variant readings from these codices are quoted so as to show first the Vulgate reading (also given under the symbol *vulg*), then the variant of the MS in question, both readings being separated by a colon. The Vulgate text is given according to the edition of I. Wordsworth and H. I. White, *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine*, Oxford 1889–1898. Wherever possible, the previous history of a variant



## xx CLASSIFIED LIST OF GOSPEL MSS

has been indicated by adding the symbols of those codices (from the Apparatus Criticus of the Oxford Vulgate) that contain the variant. For lists of these symbols, and the MSS they denote, see Wordsworth and White's edition, pp. xi, xxviii, xxxi; H. Glunz, *Britannien und Bibeltext*, Leipzig 1930, p. 13. The MSS thus cited are arranged according to the types to which they belong, viz.

- (a) AYX<sup>e</sup>H\* ΔS(F), the Southern Italian, or Northumbrian, type representing what is comparatively the best MS tradition of St Jerome's text;
- (b) Z\*MJIPΣ<sup>1</sup> (BF\*FG), the early Italian mixed type, which is more or less marked by Old Latin elements and well known from St Gregory's quotations. An English offshoot of this is
- (c) X\*O\*, the Anglo-Saxon type, prevailing in Bede's quotations;
- (d) CT, the Spanish type;
- (e) D<sup>mp</sup>L QRE, or ir, the Irish type;
- (f) H<sup>e</sup>Θ, Theodulf of Orleans's revision;
- (g) KMVZ<sup>e</sup>(O<sup>e</sup>), or alc, Alcuin's revision;
- (h) W, a specimen of the early scholastic text (as revised by Lanfranc); cor. vat., a Correction of the thirteenth century; ς Ϸ ϸ Ϲ, or vg, the text of some sixteenth-century editions. Where W and vg agree, mod (i.e. 'moderni') has often been put.

Old Latin texts are indicated by the usual small letters (or, more frequently, by vett), Greek MSS by the usual symbols (or, gr). Dots after a symbol mean that not all manuscript witnesses are quoted. Where it was thought necessary to make the finding of the word under discussion easier in a particular verse, the preceding or the following word has been given in brackets.

*	m. pr.	first, or original, hand of the MS.
<sup>e</sup>	corr., m.sec.	second, or the corrector's, hand.
1, 2, 3		hand of the first, second, etc., corrector.
<sup>ms</sup>	in mg	reading in margin of MS.
sup. lin.		reading above the line.
eras.		reading, or word, erased.
in ras.		word written on an erasure.
om		word omitted.
+		word added.
>		order of words inverted.

<sup>1</sup> The symbol Σ is used for the Codex Sangallensis no. 1395, of the early sixth century, edited by C. H. Turner, *The Oldest MS of the Vulgate Gospels*, Oxford 1931.