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ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

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BIBLICAL
COMMENTARIES FROM
THE CANTERBURY
SCHOOL OF THEODORE
AND HADRIAN

edited by

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and

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University of Cambridge*



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UNIVERSITY PRESS**

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Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1994

First published 1994

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Biblical commentaries from the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian /
Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge.

p. cm. (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England: 10)

Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

ISBN 0-521-33089-0

1. Bible – Commentaries – Early works to 1800.
 2. Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Manuscript. M. 79 sup.
 3. Monasticism and religious orders – England – Canterbury – Education.
 4. St Augustine's Abbey (Canterbury, England) – Bibliography.
- I. Bischoff, Bernhard. II. Lapidge, Michael. III. Series.

BS485.B52 1994

220.6–dc20 93-42766 CIP

ISBN 0 521 33089 0 hardback

Transferred to digital printing 2004

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Preface

In 1936 the late Bernhard Bischoff visited the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan in search of manuscript materials pertaining to Virgilius Maro Grammaticus. This research led him to an eleventh-century compendium of biblical materials in that library bearing the shelfmark M.79 sup. Among the contents of this manuscript, lying adjacent to the excerpts of Virgilius which had first attracted his attention, were several series of unprinted Latin biblical commentaries, and he noted that they contained references to Theodore and Hadrian, and included glosses in Greek and Old English, as well as quotations from a wide range of unusual Greek patristic authors. Bischoff immediately recognized the extraordinary importance of these biblical commentaries, seeing in them – quite rightly, as our subsequent research has established – a product of the seventh-century Canterbury school of Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian described so memorably by Bede. The advent of war prevented him from publishing his discovery, and it was not until 1953, in his pioneering article ‘Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibelexegese’ (*MS I*, 205-73), that the existence of these Canterbury commentaries was first brought to public notice. At that time Bischoff announced an edition of the commentaries, but his many scholarly commitments and responsibilities prevented him from doing more than making a preliminary transcription of the text and initiating the difficult process of identifying the sources quoted in the commentaries. In this process he sought the assistance of several of his colleagues, and I am sure that he would have wished to record his warmest thanks for their assistance: Michel Aubineau, Edmund Beck, Sigrid Müller-Christensen and Franz Tinnefeld.

In the early 1980s I had begun working on the Leiden-Family glossaries, which in my view were, like the Milan commentaries, a product of

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the teaching activities of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury. During conversations at international conferences, Bischoff and I found various opportunities to discuss our mutual interest in the Canterbury school, and it was during one of these conversations that we took the decision to collaborate on an edition of the Milan biblical commentaries. As we envisaged the collaboration at that stage, he would be responsible for transcription of the Latin texts, and I for producing a typescript and for whatever scholarly apparatus was deemed necessary. Accordingly, in September 1984 he sent me his transcripts of the Milan texts (some typewritten, some in manuscript) and I set about preparing a version which could serve as printer's copy.

Bischoff's intention at that stage was simply to publish the Latin texts themselves, with minimal apparatus criticus and minimal apparatus fontium, the whole resulting (as we then envisaged it) in either a long article or a very short monograph. However, as soon as I began working closely with the texts, I realized that such laconic presentation would mask their exceptional importance from many readers, especially those who, without guidance, would be unable to grasp the significance (say) of quotations from little-known Greek patristic authors. I therefore proposed to Bischoff a more expansive treatment: the Latin texts to be accompanied by English translations as well as detailed commentary, and the whole to be prefaced by a monograph-length study explaining the intellectual background which the texts represented. He readily agreed to my proposal, but on the condition that I, rather than he, should undertake the additional research involved. The present volume has been prepared according to that condition, such that the Latin texts and accompanying apparatus criticus were prepared jointly by Bernhard Bischoff and myself, but the remainder – Introduction (chs. 1–7), English translation, Commentary to the texts, appendices and indexes – are wholly my work (with the necessary corollary, that the inevitable errors which they contain should be charged to me, not to Bernhard Bischoff).

My work on the Canterbury biblical commentaries has taken me into fields of specialized learning which previously I was scarcely aware of, and I have been obliged to seek guidance from many colleagues. It is my first duty to thank these colleagues for their help and guidance. Carlotta Dionisotti read meticulously through texts, translations and commentary as well as the chapter on Archbishop Theodore, eliminating many errors and enriching the whole with her own learning. Sebastian Brock gave expert guidance on the Syriac background and helped to clarify perspec-

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tives on many aspects of Greek patristic thought. Michael McCormick kindly advised me on matters Byzantine, and helped to put me in touch with recent work in this vast field. Patrizia Lendinara provided unfailing help in tracking down copies of articles published in Italian periodicals not accessible in this country, and also gave expert advice on the topography of the Bay of Naples. Neil Wright made many constructive suggestions about the Latin texts and translations. Luigi Lehnus helped with Greek philology, as did Alfred Bammesberger and Patrizia Lendinara with Old English philology. Mirella Ferrari generously put at my disposal her unpublished notes on the Milan manuscript. Richard Marsden and Patrick McGurk advised me on the biblical texts underlying the commentaries, and Martin Brett and Thomas Charles-Edwards helped with orientation in the difficult fields of canon law and penitential literature. Various scholars helped with bibliographical advice at critical points: Laurence Cameron, Silvia Cantelli, Guglielmo Cavallo, Carmela Viricillo Franklin, Carmela Giordano, Michael Gorman, Joan Hart, Gabriele Knappe, Andy Orchard, Pauline Thompson, Michael Reeve and Jane Stevenson. I also owe special thanks for continuous support over many years to Henry Chadwick and Helmut Gneuss.

My greatest debt, however, is to Bernhard Bischoff himself. Although he was understandably anxious to see the commentaries in print as soon as possible, he always bore patiently the inevitable delays caused by my ambitious conception of the volume and by other scholarly commitments which kept me from full-time work on the texts. His philosophical forbearance – ‘man tut, was man kann’ – was always a source of strength in moments of despair. We frequently corresponded as many as three or four times a week, and my queries had the effect of sending him back to his seemingly infinite files on early medieval manuscripts, with the result that most of the texts printed in the appendices only came to light as a result of my queries and his renewed researches in his files. During the latter years of our collaboration, I often experienced a dizzying sensation of having, as a sort of personal research assistant, the services of one of the greatest medievalists who has ever lived. It is a matter of profound sadness to me, as to the international scholarly community at large, that Bernhard Bischoff was to die, aged 86 and *plenus dierum*, on 17 September 1991, without having seen in print the final result of his brilliant discovery – a discovery which may come to be seen as the most important in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies made this century. I can only hope that its ultimate printed form is one that would have pleased him.

M.L. June 1993

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Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>Acta SS.</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. J. Bolland <i>et al.</i> (Brussels, 1643–)
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin and New York)
AntGl	the ‘Antwerp Glossary’ (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum M 16.2 + London, British Library, Add. 32246), ptd WW I, 106–91 and Förster, ‘Die altenglische Glossenhandschrift’, pp. 104–46
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>BCS</i>	<i>Cartularium Anglo-Saxonicum</i> , ed. W. de G. Birch, 3 vols. and index (London, 1885–99)
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957)
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> , 2 vols. (Brussels, 1899–1901), with <i>Supplementum</i> by H. Fros (Brussels, 1986)
Bischoff, <i>MS</i>	B. Bischoff, <i>Mittelalterliche Studien</i> , 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966–81)
Br	excerpts from the Canterbury biblical commentaries in Berlin, Staatsbibl. der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Grimm 132,2, ptd below, pp. 541–5
BrsIGl	the ‘Brussels Glossary’ (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1828–30, fols. 50 and 94–5), ptd WW I, 286–303
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CCSG</i>	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca (Turnhout)
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout)
<i>CGL</i>	<i>Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum</i> , ed. G. Goetz, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1888–1923)

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CLA	E.A. Lowe, <i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i> , 11 vols. and suppl. (Oxford, 1934–71; 2nd ed. of vol. II, 1972)
CleoGII	the ‘First Cleopatra Glossary’ (London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii, fols. 5–75), ptd WW I, 338–473
CleoGIII	the ‘Second Cleopatra Glossary’ (London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii, fols. 76–91), ptd WW I, 258–83 and 474–85, line 19
CLitLA	K. Gamber, <i>Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores</i> , 2nd ed. (Fribourg, 1968)
CPG	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , ed. M. Geerard <i>et al.</i> , 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974–87)
CpGI	the ‘Corpus Glossary’ (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144), ed. W.M. Lindsay, <i>The Corpus Glossary</i> (Cambridge, 1921)
CPL	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , ed. E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, 2nd ed. (Steenbrugge, 1961)
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–53)
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> , ed. A. Baudrillart <i>et al.</i> (Paris, 1912–)
Dict. Bibl.	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i> , ed. F. Vigouroux, 5 vols. (Paris, 1895–1912), with <i>Supplément</i> , ed. L. Pirot <i>et al.</i> (Paris, 1928–)
DSp	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité</i> , ed. M. Viller <i>et al.</i> (Paris, 1937–)
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot and E. Amann, 15 vols. (Paris, 1903–50)
EE	the agreement of EpnGI and ErfIGI, hence referred to as Epinal–Erfurt; partially ed. Pfeifer, <i>Old English Glosses</i> and wholly ed. CGL V, 337–401
EEC	<i>Encyclopedia of the Early Church</i> , ed. A. Di Berardino, trans. A. Walford, rev. W.H.C. Frend, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1992)

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EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EpnGl	the 'Epinal Glossary' (Epinal, Bibliothèque municipale, 72), ed. (facs.) Bischoff <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Epinal, Erfurt, Werden and Corpus Glossaries</i>
ErfIGl	the 'First Erfurt Glossary' (Cologne, Dombibliothek, 74, fols. 1–14), ptd <i>CGL</i> V, 259–401
EvII	the second series of gospel commentaries preserved in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup., ptd below, pp. 396–423
GCS	Die griechischen-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig, 1897–1941; Berlin, 1954–)
Gn-Ex-EvIa	supplementary biblical commentaries on Genesis, Exodus and the gospels, contained in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup., ptd below, pp. 386–95
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society Publications (London)
HE	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
ICL	D. Schaller and E. Könsgen, <i>Initia Carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo Antiquiorum</i> (Göttingen, 1977)
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Ld	the Canterbury biblical glosses preserved in Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. Q. 69, 39r–v, ptd below, pp. 545–8
LdGl	the 'Leiden Glossary' (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. Q. 69, 20r–36r), ed. Hessels, <i>A Late Eighth-Century Latin–Anglo-Saxon Glossary</i>
LTbK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> , 2nd ed. by J. Höfer and K. Rahner, 10 vols. and Index (Freiburg, 1957–67)
LXX	the Septuagint translation of the OT, ed. A. Rahlfs, <i>Septuaginta</i> , 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1935)
Mansi, Concilia	<i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> , ed. J.D. Mansi, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759–98)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Auct. Antiq.	Auctores Antiquissimi
SRM	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum

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Mn	the Canterbury biblical glosses preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14470, ptd below, pp. 559–60
NT	the New Testament
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A.P. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991)
OT	the Old Testament
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studien</i>
PentI	the first series of Pentateuch commentaries contained in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup., ptd below, pp. 298–385
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. F. Dölger, H. Lietzmann <i>et al.</i> (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
RBK	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i> , ed. K. Wessel and M. Restle (Stuttgart, 1966–)
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa <i>et al.</i> (Stuttgart, 1893–)
RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
Rz	the OT glosses in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 99, fols. 37–52, partially ptd SS V, 135–225
S	P.H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London, 1968)
SChr	Sources Chrétiennes (Paris, 1940–)
Settimane	<i>Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo</i> (Spoleto)
Sg	excerpts from the Canterbury biblical commentaries in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 913, ptd below, pp. 534–41
SS	<i>Die althochdeutschen Glossen</i> , ed. E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1879–1922)
Stegmüller	F. Stegmüller, <i>Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi</i> , 11 vols. (Madrid, 1940–61)

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StT	Studi e testi (Vatican City, 1900–)
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig, 1900–)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, ed. O. von Gebhardt, A. Harnack <i>et al.</i> (Leipzig, 1882–)
Wb1	excerpts from the Canterbury biblical commentaries in Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 38, ptd below, pp. 549–52
Wb2	excerpts from the Canterbury biblical commentaries in Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 47, ptd below, pp. 552–9
WW	T. Wright, <i>Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies</i> , 2nd ed., rev. R.P. Wülcker (London, 1884)
ZNTW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>