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**The *Expositio IV Evangeliorum* (Recension II)**

**A Critical Edition and Analysis of Text**

**2 volumes**

**Volume I**

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

by

Anne K. Kavanagh

Trinity College Dublin

Department of Medieval History

November 1996

The Expositio IV Evangelistarum (Exposition)

A Critical Edition and Analysis of Text

Volume 2

Volume 1



THESIS  
5060.1

This is submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

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November 1997

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## Acknowledgements

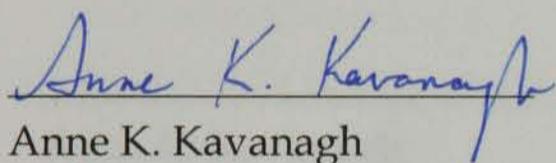
I would like to express my gratitude to the many people and institutions who have provided both assistance and encouragement to me in my doctoral research. Firstly, to my supervisor, Dr. Katharine Simms, whose thoughtful criticisms helped me to keep a broad perspective on a very narrow topic, and to Prof. Ian Robinson, who continuously offered invaluable advice on the methodology and the text of the dissertation. My thanks also go to Father Martin McNamara, who first brought the *Expositio IV Evangeliorum* to my attention, and who offered helpful suggestions on the "Biblical Text" portion of the thesis. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Michael Gorman, who not only brought two additional manuscripts of the *Expositio* to my attention, but also provided me with many references which greatly influenced the course of my research. I would also like to thank the many people at various libraries who made my work much easier: Dr. Consuelo Dutschke at Columbia University who provided me with her detailed manuscript description of Plimpton 58, and who helped to expedite matters when I was seeking to consult the manuscript's microfilm; Dr. Monika Köstlin of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, who provided me with photocopies of Bernhard Bischoff's personal notes on certain recension II manuscripts; and most particularly, Frau Nagel of the Domstiftbibliothek in Merseburg, who was both helpful and extremely accommodating during my stay there. Dr. Pádraig O'Neill very kindly gave me access to an advance-copy of a forthcoming article on the Usserianus Primus biblical codex which also proved to be very important to my work. I would also like to thank Carol Scheppard at the University of Pennsylvania, who, apart from offering sound advice and support in the most important stages of the dissertation, checked innumerable references in the University of Pennsylvania library which would otherwise have been unavailable to me. In addition, I would like to thank the staff at the library of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, who made the library's facilities and resources available to me during my time there.

I would like to especially thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, without whose generous financial support this work would not have been possible. Similarly, I would also like to thank the committees for both the Postgraduate Travel Fund and the Grace Lawless Lee Fund for their support, which allowed me to both purchase microfilms of manuscripts, and to travel to Germany to examine two of the manuscripts *in situ*. Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues in the Dept. of Medieval History, whose support and good-humour over the past four years have made my research a much more enjoyable experience.

## Declaration

I, Anne Kavanagh, declare that none of the material contained in this thesis has been submitted for another degree at any other institution, and that the research contained herein is entirely my own.

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Anne K. Kavanagh

## Summary

This thesis presents a critical edition of the second recension of the *Expositio IV Evangeliorum*, an early biblical commentary which provides an elementary overview of medieval exegesis of the gospels. The manuscript evidence shows that the text had widespread currency during the Carolingian Renaissance, and was doubtless a useful tool for both homilists and students studying the meaning of Scripture.

A collation of fourteen of the text's extant manuscripts revealed the existence of a second textual stream within recension II, and that this version of the text was included among a static corpus of texts circulated during the ninth century. Furthermore, examination of two manuscripts in particular showed the very close relationship between recensions I and II of the text. A collation of the biblical text in the *Expositio* (recensions II and III) against editions of both the Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* texts showed a preponderance of Old Latin readings, and a conspicuous consonance with the so-called Celtic group of Vulgate witnesses. A source analysis showed the text to be highly derivative, with most of the material having been borrowed from Latin patristic writings.

An examination of the text in light of Bernhard Bischoff's criteria for Hiberno-Latin texts showed many of the features identified by Bischoff to be present; nonetheless, as most of the content was taken from recension I of the *Expositio*, the presence of these characteristics in recension II is inconclusive. A close comparison of recensions I and II established the latter's derivation from the former, and an examination of the relationships between the extant manuscripts placed the date of origin of the second recension in or around the middle of the eighth century. Despite its ultimate origins (possibly insular), it is more than likely that recension II of the *Expositio* had its origins on the Continent.

A third recension of the text survives complete in only one twelfth century manuscript, although an earlier fragment survived until the Second World War, and its text shows it to be much older. It is almost certainly derived from recension II, but apart from its own unique material it also shows the influence of recension I. Preliminary examination of a select few recension I manuscripts shows that there is a degree of variation even among these, and a complete analysis of the *Expositio IV Evangeliorum* will not be possible until a critical edition of recension I of the *Expositio* is available to scholars.

## Abbreviations

- Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*: Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, 2 vols., (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1974).
- Bischoff, "Turning Points": Bernhard Bischoff, "Turning Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Irish Church : A.D. 650-800" (updated and translated by Colm O'Grady) in *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976). (Originally published as "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter" in *Sacris Erudi* 6, 1954).
- CC: *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, Turnhout.
- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna.
- Griesser, "Beiträge": Bruno Griesser, "Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der *Expositio IV evangeliorum* des Ps.-Hieronymus" in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 54 (1930), pp. 40-87.
- Griesser, "Überlieferung": Bruno Griesser, "Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der *Expositio IV Evangeliorum* des Ps.-Hieronymus", *Revue Bénédictine* 49, (1937), pp. 279-321.
- Griesser, "Ansegis-Kodex": Bruno Griesser, "Die Handschriften-Fragmente aus dem Berliner Ansegis-Kodex als Textzeugen der *Expositio IV Evangeliorum* des Ps.-Gregorius" in *Natalicum Carolo Jax oblatum*, ed. R. Muth (Innsbruck 1955), pp. 137-142.
- Lambert, *BMH*: *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta. La tradition manuscrite des œuvres de saint Jérôme*. (Instrumenta patristica 4), 3 vols. (Steenbrugge: 1969-1970).
- PL: *Patrologiae Latinae Series*, ed. Migne.
- PG: *Patrologiae Graecae Series*, ed. Migne.
- Stegmüller: Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 11 vols, (Madrid: 1950-1980).

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Bible was the fundamental text at the centre of communal and individual life for Christians in the middle ages, and interpretation of it was an integral part of the evolution of Christianity. The early monastic schools provided the principal medium for the exposition of the Scriptures, and their biblical commentaries are of great value in establishing the history of the character of Christian tradition. One such early biblical commentary is the *Expositio quattuor evangeliorum*. This text explicates the four gospels, and survives in three recensions: the first of these, falsely attributed to St. Jerome, bears the title *Expositio IV evangeliorum*; the second, attributed (again falsely) to Gregory the Great, is often found under the title *Expositio sancti evangelii*; and the third recension, entitled *Traditio evangeliorum*, is anonymous. Although Lapidge & Sharpe, in their *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature*, list the first two recensions of this text as printed in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (vols. 30 and 114 respectively), both texts in the *PL* series are in fact that of recension I only; neither recension II nor III have been edited, nor do they appear anywhere in print.

Little study has been done on the *Expositio* -- the only printed edition of the text (i.e., recension I) is that found in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* among the works of both Jerome and Walafrid Strabo<sup>1</sup>. G. Morin drew attention to this work in 1905, citing it as a text worthy of further investigation, but also alluding to its deplorable state:

Je ne connais pas d'écrit, dans toute la Patrologie Latine, qui se présente à nous dans un état plus lamentable: presque tout y est affreusement défiguré, étrange, incompréhensible.<sup>2</sup>

He also mentioned that an eighteenth century editor, J.R. Morel, had been of the opinion that the text was a lost gospel commentary of Fortunatianus, bishop of Aquileia in the late fourth century († 371). This view was shared by other scholars at the beginning of this century, notably G. Wohlenberg<sup>3</sup> and P. Paschini<sup>4</sup>. Jerome

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<sup>1</sup> *PL* 30, pp. 531-590 and *PL* 114, pp. 861-916 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> G. Morin, "De la besogne pour les jeunes" in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 6 (1905), pp. 329-330.

<sup>3</sup> G. Wohlenberg, "Ein alter lateinischer Kommentar über die vier Evangelien" in *Theologische Studien Th. Zahn* (Leipzig: 1908), pp. 391-426.

<sup>4</sup> P. Paschini, "Chromatius D'Aquilée et le commentaire pseudo-hiéronymien sur les quatre évangiles", *Revue Bénédictine* 26 (1909), pp. 469-475.

is the only contemporary of Fortunatianus to mention his gospel commentary, praising it in a letter to Paul of Concordia in 374<sup>5</sup>; in his *De uiris illustribus*<sup>6</sup> (392), however, he refers to it with some disdain, saying that it was written in an abrupt and unpolished style. His *volte-face* was doubtless due to his disapproval of Fortunatianus' advice to Pope Liberius on accepting the formula of the Council of Sirmium with respect to Arianism. Hence (so Wohlenberg postulated) when Fortunatianus was discredited, his work suffered the same fate; soon it was no longer known under Fortunatianus' own name but Jerome's, presumably so that it might continue to be circulated. In a brief article in 1909, Paschini supported Wohlenberg's theory, using the work of Chromatius of Aquileia (successor to Fortunatianus) and its points of contact with Ps. Jerome's *Expositio* to show that Chromatius must have used the work as a source for his own. Paschini set many passages from both the *Expositio* and Chromatius' own work side by side to prove his point; however, the connections between the two texts, based on his selections, are tenuous, and do not prove any dependence of one on the other. Nonetheless, he concluded that it would have been only natural for Chromatius to have used the "famous" commentary of his predecessor, and indeed, maintained that he could not have not known of its existence and had it before him. Anton Möderl (in a Munich dissertation) came to similar conclusions in 1925<sup>7</sup>, saying that although the basis of this Ps. Jerome text (i.e., recension I) was undoubtedly identical to Fortunatianus' commentary, it had undergone considerable revision and expansion, and that the editor had used the writings of the Church Fathers for his work. He even went so far as to claim that not only Jerome, but also Augustine had used the Ps. Jerome text for their own writings, and not vice versa. It should be noted that there is no evidence whatsoever to link the *Expositio* with Fortunatianus' lost commentary: none of the latter has survived (at least, not under Fortunatianus' name), and the persistent view that it and the *Expositio* were one and the same seems to have been the result of an unquestioning acceptance of Morel's original conjecture, itself with no clear basis in fact.

The next (and most authoritative) writer on the *Expositio* was Bruno Griesser, who published the results of his research shortly before the second world war<sup>8</sup>. He disproved the text's hitherto-accepted fourth-century date, and showed

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<sup>5</sup> Jerome, *Ep.* x, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Jerome, *De uiris illustribus*, ch. 97.

<sup>7</sup> Anton Möderl, *Der Pseudo-Hieronymianische Evangelien-Kommentar*, Munich: University of Munich, 1925.

<sup>8</sup> Bruno Griesser, "Beiträge", pp. 40-87; and "Überlieferung", pp. 279-321.

that it was a much later compilation -- he gave the eighth century as a likely period of composition -- and most likely of insular north-Italian origin. He discussed the unity (or rather, disunity) of the text and identified the three different recensions (though he did remark that these had been noted elsewhere), concentrating more on the textual form of recension II and its relation to recension I. He said little about the third recension, other than to comment on its corrupt state, its apparently early date of origin (based on linguistic evidence) and to speculate that its basis was some textual form of recension II. Finally, in 1955, he wrote an article on a Berlin fragment (Fragment 47, found stuffed in the book covers of Lat. qu 931) containing an early witness to the third recension of the *Expositio*, and printed the text of the fragment in same<sup>9</sup>. This last article is of particular value, as the manuscript fragment in question disappeared during the second world war; the age of this fragment (i.e., the first half of the ninth century) also strengthens the argument for an earlier period of origin for the third recension, rather than a later one.

Bernhard Bischoff identified the *Expositio* as a Hiberno-Latin text in 1954, and himself listed yet another Viennese fragment which he claimed contained recension III; upon inspection, however, this last proved to contain elements of both recensions I and II, but nothing of recension III. A list of manuscripts for all three recensions of this text was published in 1969 in B. Lambert's *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*<sup>10</sup>, though subsequent research has shown that some manuscripts were omitted, and several of those listed as containing the *Expositio* do not contain the text at all: Cesena D.VII.2 is listed as a recension II manuscript, but its text is not that of the *Expositio*; Munich, Clm 14388, said to carry recension III, actually contains recension I instead; similarly, recension III is not found in Stuttgart, Württembergische Staatsbibil. P.p 1 (only the incipits are the same), nor in Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVIII (110)<sup>11</sup>. The only recent attention given to the *Expositio* was Joseph Kelly's brief treatment of it in his catalogue of Hiberno-Latin biblical commentaries published in 1990.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Bruno Griesser, "Die Handschriften-Fragmente aus dem Berliner Ansegis-Kodex als Textzeugen der *Expositio IV evangeliorum* des Ps. Gregorius", in *Natalicum Carolo Jax oblatum*, ed. R. Muth, (Innsbruck: 1955), pp. 137-142.

<sup>10</sup> B. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*, 3 vols. (Steenbrugge: 1969-1970), III, pp. 360-369.

<sup>11</sup> This was confirmed for me by Dr. Michael Gorman, who examined the codex in question *in situ* and found that it did not contain recension III of the *Expositio*.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Kelly, "A Catalogue of Early Medieval Hiberno-Latin Biblical Commentaries II", *Traditio* 45 (1989-1990), pp.397-400.

The text consists of a prologue and commentaries on each of the gospels, with the exception of the third recension, which omits a commentary on Luke. Almost half of the entire work is devoted to a commentary on the gospel of Matthew, remarking on virtually every section; for the other gospels, however, the author generally restricts himself to expounding on those pericopes not found in Matthew, and hence not previously commented upon. The prevailing method of the author is to cite a biblical passage followed by a brief comment. The mode of interpretation is, by and large, allegorical, though one often finds a literal explanation alongside its allegorical or tropological counterpart. The order of the gospels in the majority of the recension I manuscripts is Matthew, John, Mark and Luke (though in his edition of the first recension, Migne prints them in canonical order); the order of gospels as found in most of the recension II manuscripts is Matthew, Mark, John and Luke. It may be then, that the Lucan commentary of recension III (if indeed there ever was one) was simply lost early on in the transmission, given its place at the end of the work. At any rate, it would appear from the one complete extant manuscript (Clm 14514) that this Lucan commentary was absent from its immediate archetype, and did not go missing through lost folios or physical defects in the codices themselves. It is still unclear as to whether the prologue and commentaries on the individual gospels were circulated independently of one another or whether they were known as one work; the format of at least one recension II manuscript (Rheims, Bibl. mun. 110) suggests that each commentary was viewed as a separate unit.

This text is important for the general study of gospel exegesis, not least for its early composition date, probably some time in the late seventh century. The oldest textual witnesses date from the late eighth and early ninth centuries, and their immediate archetype presumably dates from the mid-eighth century or very soon thereafter; however, just how far back the preceding period of development extends is as yet uncertain. The first recension is represented in thirty-three manuscripts, over half of which date to the ninth century or earlier; the second recension is found in fifteen manuscripts, of which at least thirteen date to the beginning or middle of the ninth century; and the third recension, shorter than the other two, is preserved in only four manuscripts, none earlier than the ninth, and most in only fragmentary form. The surviving manuscripts of the *Expositio* are most concentrated in the Carolingian period, and originated in such influential monastic houses as St. Gall, Reichenau, Regensburg, Fulda, Lorsch, and Tegernsee, to name only a few. Furthermore, Griesser found that several catalogues from

medieval libraries list manuscripts containing this work which are no longer extant<sup>13</sup>. He also showed that the relationships between the extant copies of recension I, at least, necessitate the existence of many lost manuscripts to account for their connections, and a manuscript collation of the recension II witnesses reveals that the same can be said for the second recension of the text. It is clear from the manuscript evidence that the *Expositio* had a very wide area of dissemination, and may well have been a source for later works.

The text's biblical quotations do not always reflect the Vulgate; many readings, taken from both the Old and New Testaments clearly point to some form of the *Vetus Latina* biblical text. The "mixed" biblical text common in the centuries immediately following the introduction of Jerome's Vulgate version was often characterized by minor textual variations -- insertions, omissions, and changes in word order -- which, though conspicuous, did not effectively change the sense of the passage. This is precisely the kind of abridged approach and free handling of the wording one finds in the biblical quotations of the *Expositio*. In any case, whatever biblical text the author used, many quotations were very probably cited from memory: the many paraphrases and frequent harmonization of the gospels imply a long familiarity with the biblical text, such as one might expect from a monastic scholar. Moreover, as the text became more widely diffused, subsequent scribes often amended the biblical lemmata to reflect a Vulgate reading, leaving the biblical text in the three recensions somewhat fluid.

Medieval Latin exegesis inherited not only a method of interpreting the Scriptures according to various senses, but also a corpus of actual interpretations. Thus, like most medieval exegetes, the *Expositio's* author relied heavily upon patristic writings for his own biblical commentary, and culled much of his material from established (or at least widely accepted) teachings from the Church Fathers. In the spirit of the time, he draws extensively from the Church Fathers without giving any references to them; his sources include Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Caesarius of Arles, and Isidore of Seville among others. Though the text does have some original elements, the bulk of its content is highly derivative. This type of work would have been ideally suited as a reference tool for a homilist: indeed, Thomas Amos has shown that the author of the late eighth-century homily collection known as the *Catechesis Cracoviensis* used the first two recensions of the

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<sup>13</sup> Griesser, "Überlieferung", pp. 291-293.

*Expositio* as sources for his work<sup>14</sup>, a fact which serves to reinforce the evidence for an early date of origin for both of these recensions. It might also have served well as a learning tool for a student seeking a rudimentary grounding in gospel exegesis. Given that its period of widest diffusion took place during the Carolingian Renaissance, it would not be surprising to find it among the texts used by schoolmasters for their instruction of pupils in the elements of Scripture.

The text as it survives today is not a uniform work, and has obviously been changed and adapted over a period of time. The prologue alone seems to be made up of layer upon layer of additions by successive scribes with their own representative interpretations of the four evangelists. Similarly, phrases have been added elsewhere in the text which, though pertaining to the subject at hand in broad outline, are clearly interpolations. In other instances, a section of the text has been lost, leaving a *non sequitur* from one passage to the next. Recension II was clearly derived from recension I of the text, and still bears witness to many of the features Bischoff identified as denoting an Irish provenance<sup>15</sup>. These include enumerations, and the constant emphasis of numbers; discussion of the etymologies of various words; multiple interpretations of a single passage; the recurrent contemplative vs. active life motif; the interest in the Old Testament and frequent referral back to it; the rendering of certain words from the biblical text into the three sacred languages, namely Latin, Greek and Hebrew; and the familiar question and answer narrative structure, reminiscent of Irish vernacular works.

Finally, recension III survives complete in only one twelfth century manuscript, and its text is often more corrupt than the other two recensions. Conversely, it also shows readings which clearly favour an older period of composition, and which are therefore probably closer to the original than the other two versions. It was almost certainly derived from recension II, but does bear some affinity to recension I where the former is lacking. Despite the paucity of manuscript evidence, it seems clear that its date of origin is earlier rather than later; it does, however, contain material which was interpolated at a time closer to the period of its twelfth century manuscript. Nonetheless, it can be used in certain instances to elucidate corrupt passages in both recensions I and II, and for this reason alone it is important for the study of the *Expositio's* history as a whole. In

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<sup>14</sup>These findings were presented in a paper at the Medievalists' Conference in Kalamazoo, May 1994.

<sup>15</sup>Bernhard Bischoff, "Turning Points".

any case, it is clear from a comparison of the three recensions that none of them fully represent the commentary in its original form, and that the history of any given recension of the *Expositio* can only be studied within the context of all three recensions of the text.

Given that there is already a printed text of recension I of the *Expositio IV Evangeliorum* (albeit a poor one) available to scholars, an edition of recension II of the *Expositio* is warranted: it will be a valuable tool for scholars researching the early medieval period, particularly those concerned with scriptural exegesis during the Carolingian renaissance. As there is only one reliable manuscript containing the third recension of the *Expositio*, a transcription of this text (see Appendix I) may also enable scholars to see the derivation and development of the text more clearly through its various recensions. The *Expositio* preserved the essential teachings of the Church Fathers, and was obviously considered a malleable text, and was certainly a source for later works. It may thus lend some insight into the method of medieval exegetes in the way they chose their material, and in the way they used their sources.

## 2. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *EXPOSITIO IV EVANGELIORUM* (RII)

There are fifteen manuscripts known to contain recension II of the *Expositio*, thirteen of which date to the ninth century or earlier:

1. Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, 39 (A)
2. Cologne, Dombibliothek, 85 (K)
3. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Perg. CCLIV (L)
4. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Perg. CCLIX
5. Merseburg, Dombibliothek, Cod. 103 (N)
6. Merseburg, Dombibliothek, Cod. 109 (F)
7. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14514 (M)
8. New York, Columbia University, Plimpton 58 (P)
9. Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 313 (O)
10. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 614A (C)
11. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2175 (W)
12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2796 (B)
13. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10612 (D)
14. Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, 110 (R)
15. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rhenaug. 99 (Z)

Fourteen of the manuscripts noted above (and identified by individual sigla) were consulted for the present edition, and details on each of these are given below. Only Merseburg manuscripts 103 and 109 (N and F respectively) were seen *in situ*: the rest were examined from microfilm copies. Karlsruhe Aug. Perg. CCLIX was not consulted, as Griesser showed conclusively that it is an immediate copy of Aug. Perg. CCLIV<sup>16</sup>. Unless otherwise specified, the order of the individual gospel commentaries in each manuscript is Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke, and the text itself is attributed to Gregory.

1. (A) Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, 39, f. 12<sup>v</sup>-82<sup>r</sup><sup>17</sup>  
[saec viii<sup>ex</sup>-ix<sup>in</sup>; 137ff; parch.; 245 mm x 180 mm; prov.: cathedral of Albi]

Contents include: *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* (Gennadius)  
*Expositio IV Evangeliorum* (Ps.-Gregory)  
*Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae* (Isidore)

This manuscript, dating to the late eighth-early ninth century, is one of seven which contain the same core group of texts (ACDKOPW -- see discussion below), and whose text of the *Expositio* represents a fixed textual stream in its transmission. It is one of the earliest extant witnesses of the *Expositio* (recension II),

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<sup>17</sup> E.A.Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* VI.706

and is the earliest of the ACDKOPW stream. There are 20 lines to each folio. According to Lowe, the ruling was done before the folding, and the manuscript was bound four bifolia at a time in gatherings of eight; the uncials are crude and uncoloured, and some of the smaller initials have dots around them suggesting insular influence. The script of the text is a rather awkward minuscule, with open "a" (i.e., two contiguous "c"s), and uncial "d", "g" and "r"; ascenders and descenders are noticeably elongated. Rubrics interspersed throughout the text to denote various pericopes are written in uncials: these are characteristic of the ACDKOPW group and suggest some older form of chapter division in the text. There is clear word division, but very little punctuation, and virtually no marginalia. The codex was most likely copied in southern France. Unfortunately, this representative of the text is a not a good one, with a great many omissions through homoeoteleuton. Abbreviations are relatively few, and despite the bad grammar of the text, errors are very seldom corrected. It seems to have some affinity with C (Paris, BN lat. 614A) and to a lesser extent, with P (New York Columbia University, Plimpton 58).

2. (K) Cologne, Dombibliothek 85, f. 11<sup>r</sup>-68<sup>v</sup><sup>18</sup>  
[saec ix; parch.; 121 folios; 310 mm x 210 mm; 2 columns]

Contents:	f. 2-11 <sup>r</sup>	<i>De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus</i> (Gennadius Massiliensis)
	f. 11 <sup>r</sup> -68 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Expositio IV evangeliorum</i> (Ps.-Gregory)
	f. 68 <sup>v</sup> -86 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae</i> (Isidorus Hisp.)
	f. 86 <sup>r</sup> -91 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De gladio secundum Lucam</i> (Isidorus Hisp.)
	f. 91 <sup>v</sup> -95 <sup>r</sup>	<i>De septem formis spiritus sancti</i>
	f. 95 <sup>r</sup> -96 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Amicus ad quem media nocte</i>
	f. 96 <sup>v</sup> -103 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Interrogationes et responsiones de rebus sacris</i>
	f. 103 <sup>r</sup> -105 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Quaestiones de litteris uel singulis causis</i>
	f. 105 <sup>r</sup> -109 <sup>r</sup>	<i>De libris noui et ueteris testamenti</i>
	f. 109 <sup>r</sup> -118 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Quaestiones in libro Genesim</i>
	f. 118 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Ordines christi</i>
	f. 118 <sup>r</sup> -119 <sup>r</sup>	Glossary
	f. 119 <sup>r</sup> -120 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De decimis offerendis in Genesis</i>
	f. 120 <sup>v</sup> -121 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Symbolum</i>

<sup>18</sup> Günter Gattermann, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, (Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden: 1993), no. 1048; A. Wilmart, "Les ordres", p. 312.

This manuscript, dated to the ninth century, is another member of the ACDKOPW group. Written in a 2-column format (approximately 25 lines per folio), the script is a Caroline minuscule, with rubrics in uncial script. Large initials within the text mark new sections which are then indented from the initial. On the whole, the text is grammatically sound, and the orthography unexceptional, with some confusion, however, between "c" and "g", "b" and "u", and the words "qui" and "quia"; there is also a tendency to add an "h" to words indiscriminately (e.g., chados).

Pricking is visible in the outside margin of each folio; the folios are sometimes faded, rendering the text somewhat faint in places. The commentary on Matthew goes to f. 41<sup>r</sup>, and f. 41<sup>v</sup> is blank (though no portion of the text is missing); the commentary on Mark begins on 42<sup>r</sup>, seemingly in a different hand. There are a very few small omissions in this manuscript, but nothing substantial. In addition, there are duplicated passages (through dittography) at two places: the first occurs on f. 34<sup>v</sup> (Mt. 21:19, combined with Lk. 13:6), where the repeated passage breaks off in mid-word with "nisi super" instead of "nisi superstitiones"; and the second is found on f. 40<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup> (Mt. 27:7). Neither of these are repeated in any of the other manuscripts. K's readings show some affinities with manuscripts D (Paris, BN, lat. 10612) and O (Orléans, Bibl. mun. 313).

3. (L) Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Augiensis CCLIV, f. 1<sup>v</sup>-71<sup>v</sup><sup>19</sup>  
[saec viii<sup>ex</sup>- ix<sup>in</sup>; 213 folios; 190 mm X 117 mm; prov.: Reichenau]

Contents:	I f.1-71	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum</i> (Ps.-Gregory)
	II f. 72-152	<i>De ecclesiasticis officiis libri II</i> (Isidore)
	III f. 153-213	<i>Homiliae</i> ( <i>Incipit collectario de diuersis sententiis</i> )

This codex is made up of three originally independent manuscripts according to Holder, but Lowe and Bischoff refer to the last two sections (i.e., f. 72-213) as one; all were united some time in the ninth century. The second section is the older of the two, dating to the late eight-early ninth century, while the first section (containing the *Expositio*) is dated to the first half of the ninth century. On f. 1<sup>r</sup> there are chronological items all pertaining to the year 832, written in a different

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<sup>19</sup> B. Griesser, "Beiträge", p. 46-49; A. Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften I* (Leipzig 1906), p. 573; E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* VIII.1110.

hand but from the same period (according to Griesser). According to Lowe, it was "possibly written in a north-Italian centre, probably Swiss, to judge from the script"; Lowe also suggested that it came to Reichenau by way of France, in light of the preference for French saints in a litany in the manuscript.

The script of the *Expositio* is a Caroline minuscule, and the number of lines per folio varies from 20 to 27. Although there is no formal chapter division within the text, a form of chapter division exists in the form of the paragraphs within the text, marked by large capital letters. A second (ninth century) hand has added rubrics in the margin, referring to the various pericopes commented upon (e.g., *De muliere adultera*, *De centurione*, *De herode*, *De v panibus*, etc.), though many of these have been truncated as many of the folios' margins have been cut off. There are 39 in the commentary on Matthew, nine in Mark, fourteen in John, and five in Luke, totalling 66 in all. In addition, the word "Dominica" has been added in the margin at 20 different places by another hand, possibly for liturgical purposes. The orthography of the text shows frequent confusion between "b" and "p", "b" and "u", "i" and "e", "o" and "u", "d" and "t", and "c" and "g"; the main pause is usually marked by a semi-colon, and lesser pauses by a medial point; abbreviations are restricted to commonly-used words (*nomina sacra*, personal pronouns and adjectives).

The text shows evidence of heavy correction by at least three separate hands; these include changes in verb tense, cases of nouns, prepositions, and omitted words and passages written both above the line and in the margin. The plethora of corrections to the text makes it difficult to place this manuscript firmly within a particular stream of the manuscript transmission, though several readings place it close to M (Clm 14514), R (Rheims 110), and Z (Zurich, Rh. 99). The order of the gospels is Matthew (f. 1-40<sup>r</sup>), Mark (f. 40<sup>r</sup> -50<sup>r</sup>), Luke (f. 50<sup>r</sup> -52<sup>v</sup>), and John (f. 52<sup>v</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>), in contrast to the usual sequence of Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke in the other *Expositio* manuscripts.

One other notable feature in this manuscript is a passage which is written twice in the text, first in its proper place at Jn. 14:17 (f. 65<sup>v</sup>), and then again at Jn. 20:4 (f. 68<sup>v</sup>), in a completely unrelated context. The passage in question ("ostendit qui mundum diligit ... .. et precepta euangelica") occupies a little less than one folio of the manuscript, and is particularly noteworthy as the second copy contains the same textual errors as the first (e.g., "dilectio patior morte", instead of "dilectio

fortior est morte", "sic et" instead of "sicut"). Furthermore, in the first passage, there are two separate gaps (due to homoeoteleuton), only one of which is redressed in its copy; hence the first omission, at least, was presumably not a feature of L's immediate model, but occurred during the copying of L. The dittography most likely resulted from a folio-shift in the manuscript's model: a folio (or folios) may have come loose and been inadvertently re-inserted a few folios on, only to be re-copied again. Griesser showed that the same error occurs in exactly the same place in Karlsruhe, Aug. Perg. 259; this, taken with many other errors and omissions from Aug. 254 repeated in Aug. Perg. 259, confirm that it is a daughter manuscript of Aug. Perg. 254.<sup>20</sup>

4. (N) Merseburg, Dombibliothek, 103, f. 47-160<sup>21</sup>  
[saec ix<sup>in</sup>; 160 ff; 125 mm x 180 mm; prov.: northern Italy]

Contents:	f. 1 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Primus cursus noctur[a]us</i>
	f. 18 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Haec est fides catholica ...</i>
	f. 18 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Dominus uobiscum salutatur sacerdos populum</i>
	f. 40 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Symbolum greca lingua dicitur ...</i>
	f. 43 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Ecce probabimus christum filium dei</i>
	f. 44 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Quamdiu uiuit septem crimina ipsa conetur effugire</i>
	f. 47 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum (Ps.-Gregory)</i>
	f. 67 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Sermo de penitentia iohannis</i>
	f. 69 <sup>r</sup>	<i>De capitalibus primum criminibus qui et in legis anima ...</i>
	f. 71 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Incipit ad dandam penitentiam</i>
	f. 89 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Hienomini fatentur xii triduanas ...</i>
	f. 95 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Dicta Bede presbiteri de remediis peccatorum</i>
	f. 99 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Penitentia de fornicationibus, + various penitential texts</i>
	f. 124 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum (Ps.-Gregory)</i>
	f. 157 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Lucas ipse consurgens sirus natione antiosenses(sic!) ....</i>

This manuscript is relatively small, with only 19 lines per folio. There are no noteworthy interlinear or marginal notations, though in the top margin of 59<sup>r</sup>, another hand has written "Domine qui me fecisti miserere me". The manuscript's text of the *Expositio* is fragmented, with other texts inserted within it. The text

<sup>20</sup> B. Griesser, "Beiträge", p. 50-52.

<sup>21</sup> B. Griesser, "Überlieferung", p. 279-280.

begins on f. 47<sup>r</sup>, but is missing a sizeable portion of the commentary on Matthew (approximately 7 pages, from the last part of the prologue to Mt. 5:8), without, however, any intervening text or missing folios. Similarly, this manuscript omits another section of the text at f. 54<sup>v</sup>: 54<sup>v</sup> ends with Mt.7:10 and 55<sup>r</sup> begins with Mt. 10:29, with the intervening portion of the text (approximately 4 pages) missing. The *Expositio* is interrupted at f. 67<sup>r</sup> by a new text beginning "Sermo de penitentia iohannis", followed by various penitential texts; the commentary resumes at f. 124<sup>r</sup> with the Explicit to the commentary on Matthew, having once again omitted a substantial portion of the commentary on Matthew (from Mt. 21:18 to the end of Mt. 28:7). The rest of the commentary follows, ending with Luke on f. 157<sup>r</sup>.

The last three folios of the manuscript (f. 157<sup>r</sup>-160<sup>v</sup>) contain part of another commentary on Luke 1:1-2:34: "Incipit secundum Lucam. Lucas ipse consurgens sirus natione ... .. beatus uenter qui te portauit et ubera et reliqua id est ut multi bonas cogitationes contingit ...". (It should be noted that there is no explicit for the preceding Lucan commentary, though there is a second incipit to introduce the second commentary on Luke.) This text ends abruptly, and other prayers and blessings follow, in a different hand. This last Lucan commentary is in fact the beginning of the Lucan commentary from recension I of the *Expositio*, and for this reason, Merseburg 103 is an important witness to the textual history of recension II. It shows that the Lucan commentary to recension I *was* known and, presumably, available to the editor of recension II, and suggests that the substitution of the recension I commentary for the Ps.-Theophilus commentary found in recension II was deliberate. The Merseburg Codex is very closely related to Paris, BN lat. 2796 (B): it shares virtually all of its orthographic peculiarities with Paris lat. 2796, and many obviously original readings are found only in these two manuscript witnesses.

5. (F) Merseburg, Dombibliothek, 109, f. 16<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>v</sup>  
[saec ix<sup>med</sup>; 46 ff; 100 mm x 165 mm; prov.: Fulda?]

This manuscript contains 46 unfoliated pages, with 25 lines per folio. The script is a Caroline minuscule which points to Fulda.<sup>22</sup> The bottom part of the last

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<sup>22</sup> This information comes from photocopies of Bischoff's personal notes on this manuscript, kindly provided to me by Dr. Monika Köstlin of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

page is missing and the text on the verso side of it is corrupt and illegible; folios 42-45 are also badly damaged. The text of the *Expositio* in this manuscript is incomplete, covering approximately one half of the whole: the commentary begins on f. 16<sup>r</sup>, with Mt. 26:6 ("Sed alabastrum significat corpus hominum ..."), and contains Mark and John, to Jn. 21:3 ("discipuli piscantes totam noctem"); the Lucan commentary is absent. Although this manuscript shows many affinities with Munich, Bay. Staatsbibl., Clm 14514 (M), Rheims, Bibl. mun., 110 (R), and Zurich, Zentralbibl., Rh.99 (Z), it contains many interpolations and independent readings unattested elsewhere, and thus occupies a unique place in the transmission of the *Expositio*.

6. (M) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14514, f. 71<sup>r</sup>-104<sup>r</sup><sup>23</sup>  
 [saec xii; parch.; 139 ff; 140 mm x 240 mm; prov.: Regensburg (St. Emmeram)]

Contents:	f. 1	Commentary on <i>Cantica Canticorum</i> (Abbot Willbram)
	f. 69	<i>Confessio generalis "Ego miserrimus reus multorum"</i>
	f. 71	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum (recensio II)</i>
	f. 104	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum (recensio I)</i>
	f. 128	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum (recensio III)</i>

The most significant feature of this manuscript is that it contains all three recensions of the *Expositio* between f. 71 and f. 139; furthermore, the script from f. 71-139 is written in one hand. The number of lines per folio is not consistent: first there are 30, then 31-33, and then 36-37 lines; however, from f. 119 on, where the script is smaller and narrower, there are f. 44-46 lines per folio. The names of the evangelists have been written by a fifteenth-century hand in the middle of the upper margin, where modern-day chapter numbers have also been added in Arabic numerals. Chapter divisions are indicated by Roman numerals (referring to the Eusebian canon) in the margin; however, the numbers in the margin do not always correspond to the biblical chapter to which they refer, and may well have simply been copied into the wrong place. In addition, the first word of the chapter's biblical quotation is written in an uncial script and outlined in red. The outer margins of the folios have been trimmed, thereby partially obscuring the chapter

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<sup>23</sup> *Catalogus Codicum Latiorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* (Tom, II, pars II), p. 185; B. Griesser, "Beiträge", p. 55-61.

numbers in the margin (particularly from f. 119 on) and often only a bit remains of them.

The text of the *Expositio* (rec. II) in this manuscript is attributed to Jerome. There are few abbreviations, and only a few negligible corrections by a second hand. Nonetheless, there are many textual errors in the manuscript, particularly those based on erroneous word division (Griesser suggested that this pointed to a much earlier model, in which *scriptura continua* was the rule): on f. 82<sup>r</sup>, this manuscript reads "clade reuero" instead of the correct "claudere uero"; on f. 97<sup>v</sup>, M has "haereticos expugnare noua lex" instead of "haereticos expugnare non ualet"; on f. 109<sup>v</sup>, it reads "alia mandata diligere pudiabant" instead of "alia mandata de lege repudiabant"; and on f. 123<sup>r</sup>, this codex reads "libera uita demonis" instead of "liberauit a demonio". Despite its many faulty readings (perhaps a result of a lengthy textual transmission), this manuscript is closely related to Rheims, Bibl. mun. 110 (R) and Zurich, Zentralbibl. Rh. 99 (Z), the only other manuscripts to attribute the text to Jerome and not to Gregory, and the only other manuscripts with an added section on the Beatitudes (this comes after the Lucan commentary in Clm 14514 and Zurich Rh. 99, but before the Matthean commentary in Rheims 110). It also appears to be related to Merseburg, Dombibl. 109 (F), though to a lesser degree.

7. (P) New York, Columbia University, Plimpton 58, f. 10<sup>v</sup>-67<sup>r</sup><sup>24</sup>  
[saec ix<sup>2/3</sup>; parch.; 113 folios + 2 modern parchment; 217 mm x 150 mm; prov.: Southern France]

Contents:	f. 1 <sup>v</sup> -10 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus</i> (Gennadius)
	f. 10 <sup>v</sup> -67 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum</i> (Ps.-Gregory)
	f. 67 <sup>r</sup> -85 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae</i> (Isidore)
	f. 85 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De gladio secundum Lucam</i> (Alcuin)
	f. 90 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Gloriosa et aeterna caeli terraeque ...</i>
	f. 90 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De septiformis spiritus sancti</i>
	f. 92 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Primo enim sciendum est ...</i>
	f. 94 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Amicus ad quem media nocte</i>

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<sup>24</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Consuelo Dutschke for all particulars concerning Plimpton 58; the information provided here on this manuscript is taken from her very detailed manuscript description. Bibliographical references provided by her: J. Rosenthal, "Illuminated Manuscripts at Columbia University" in *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Columbia University*, ed. by B. Terrien-Somerville (New York 1991) pl. 23.

f. 95 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Summum bonum deus est</i>
f. 101 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Quaestiones de litteris uel singulis causis</i>
f. 103 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Incipiamus de sanctam scripturam</i>
f. 107 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Interrogationes de rebus ueteris et noui testamenti (frag.?)</i>
f. 107 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Ordines Christi</i>
f. 107 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Dicamus de sacerdote</i>
f. 108 <sup>r</sup>	<i>De decimis offerendis in Genesis</i>
f. 109 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Dicta Leonis episcopi</i>
f. 110 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Erat autem ibi Maria Magdalene (Comm. in Math., Jerome)</i>

The script is a Caroline minuscule, with all texts written by the same scribe (though the hand of a second scribe occurs on f. 32<sup>v</sup>). The manuscript's marginalia include frequent identification of days in the liturgical year for certain readings, and pen trials. There is some variation in letter forms and control, and Bischoff noted the presence of Spanish-style abbreviations in the "-ibus" endings. The manuscript also contains the rubrics characteristic of the ACDKOPW group, often in a display script. According to Bischoff, it was written in southern France, probably some time during the second third of the ninth century. The manuscript was re-foliated in June 1995, correcting an early modern foliation in ink (off by one digit from f. 39 on), and a modern foliation in pencil which skipped numbers whenever leaves were deemed to be missing. Of particular interest in this regard is f. 43<sup>r</sup>, whose foliation goes abruptly from 42<sup>v</sup> to 53: in the *Expositio*, a substantial portion of the text is missing at this juncture, from Mk. 9:17 to the middle of the excerpted passage after Mark (taken from Gregory), a section of the text which would indeed occupy, at a rough estimate, ten folios in the manuscript.

The text of the *Expositio* in Plimpton 58 follows the general model of the ACDKOPW manuscripts in that group's characteristic readings, interpolations and omissions, with a few notable exceptions (see discussion below). However, its readings are often grammatically unsound, and its orthography poor; there are a great many corrections to the text, usually from faulty readings to correct ones, but sometimes vice versa. It appears to be related to Albi, Bibl. mun., 39 (A) and Paris, BN, lat. 614A (C), but because of its own unique readings, it occupies a singular place of its own in the manuscript transmission of the *Expositio*.

8. (O) Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 313(266), p, 93-180<sup>25</sup>  
[saec ix; 255 ff; parch.; 284 mm X 190 mm; prov.: Fleury]

Contents:

p. 1	<i>Liber proemiorum de libris noui et ueteris testamenti ...</i>
p. 24	<i>Incipit uita uel obitus sanctorum qui in Domino praecesserunt</i>
p. 25	<i>Incipit uita ... Adam protoplastus ... finit ortus, uita uel obitus sanctorum patrum qui habentur in ueteri Testamento</i>
p. 48	<i>Incipit uita eorum qui sunt in nouo Testamento</i>
p. 59	<i>Domno (sic) sancto ac reuerentissimo fratri Orosio Edisorus</i>
p. 93	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum (Ps.-Gregory)</i>
p. 180	<i>De gladio secundum Lucam</i>
p. 199	<i>Summum bonum Deus est</i>
p. 204	<i>Incipiunt quaestiones de litteris uel singulis causis</i>
p. 206	<i>Incipiamus de sacram Scripturam (sic)</i>
p. 212	<i>Incipit questio de libro Genesis (sic)</i>
p. 222	<i>Ordines Christi</i>
p. 224	<i>De uestimenta (sic) sacerdotale</i>
p. 228	<i>Faciat in omni opere bono, dilecti fratres ...</i>
p. 229	<i>De canonibus conciliorum ex libro ethymologiarum Esidori (sic)</i>
p. 230	<i>De decimis offerendis in Genesi</i>
p. 232	<i>Dicta Leonis episcopi. Credo in Deum ...</i>
p. 233	<i>Dicta sancti Gregorii de mammona iniquitatis</i>
p. 234	<i>De canonibus conciliorum. Canon autem graece ...</i>
p. 237	<i>Item de septuagesimo die ...</i>
p. 238	<i>Regula S. Benedicti (c. xlix, c. xxi, c. xx)</i>
p. 239	<i>Dogmatum caelesticorum (sic). Ante exordium creaturarum ...</i>
p. 242	<i>Oratio Dominica proprie dicitur</i>
p. 243	<i>De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus (Gennadius)</i>

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<sup>25</sup> Much of the information on this manuscript was very kindly provided to me by Mme Anne Monginoux of the Bibliothèque municipale in Orléans, who forwarded copies of bibliographical references and details concerning the codex. The main sources for the description of this manuscript were : *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques*, tome XII: Orléans (Paris, 1889), p. 159-161; Elisabeth Pellegrin, *Bibliothèques retrouvées: Membra disiecta floriacensia II* (Paris: CNRS, 1988); and Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1989), p. 174. Additional bibliographical references for this manuscript: Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ*, (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), p. 70 n.9; C.H. Turner, "The Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum attributed to Gennadius", *Journal of Theological Studies* 7 (1905), p. 82.

Written in several different hands, this manuscript originally consisted of 18 quires: it presently comprises quaternians I-XIII (p. 1-223) and XVII-XVIII (p. 224-255), which are labelled in red, and is complemented by a fragment now held in Bern (Berne Burgenbibliothek 225, ff. 88-103), which consists of two of the original quires, indicated as XV and XVI (also in red). The first part of the manuscript (p. 1-223) is a replacement of the original Orléans 266, stolen by Libri and now held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, as nouv. acq. lat. 1615. According to the catalogue of manuscripts for Orléans, the original 266 was entitled "Beda de ratione temporum seu Computo: in fine habetur Isidori Hispalensis epistola ad Massonem episcopum de Lepra sacerdotis" and consisted of 386 pages. E. Pellegrin notes that though the initials of the two parts are written in the same style, the texts themselves do not coincide: the *De uiris illustribus* of Jerome contained in f. 97-103 of the Bern manuscript is damaged near the end of ch. 7, and p. 224ff. of the Orléans manuscript (which presumably followed the text of the Bern manuscript in the original) contains different texts.

Orléans Bibl. mun. 313 belongs to the ACDKOPW group, and as such contains all of the interpolations, omissions, and rubrics associated with those manuscripts. It also contains many large initials, presumably to indicate some sort of sectional division. Large ornate decorated initials are found at the beginning of the prologue ("M" in "Matheus sicut in ordine primus"), in the commentary on Matthew ("U" in "Ubi figuratum est"), in the opening verse of Mark ("P" in "per paraliticum"), and John ("I" in "In principio"). The pricking is visible in the outside margin of each folio, and the number of lines per folio oscillates between 28 and 29. There are virtually no marginalia, and phrases to be added to the text to correct an omission are almost always written at the bottom of the page. There is clear word division, and relatively few abbreviations (apart from the usual suspension marks). The text of the *Expositio* itself is generally sound, though there are many omissions, frequently due to homoeoteleuton: though sigla appear at these junctures to indicate that a word or words should be added, very often there is no corresponding phrase in the margin to be interpolated. This manuscript's text is closely related to that found in Paris, BN, lat. 10612 (D), and to a lesser degree, that found in Cologne, Dombibl., 85 (K).

9. (C) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 614A, f. 91<sup>v</sup>-140<sup>v</sup><sup>26</sup>  
[saec ix<sup>ex</sup>-x<sup>in</sup>; 188 folios; 215 mm x 135 mm; Colbertinus]

Contents:	f. 1-40 <sup>v</sup> , 69-75 <sup>v</sup> , 166-187 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Quaest. in Uetus et Nouum Testamentum</i> (Is.)
	f. 42 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Homiliae</i> (Haymo Halberstatensis)
	f. 61	<i>Homilia</i> (Rabanus Maurus)
	f. 65	<i>Regula, c. iv</i> (S. Benedictus)
	f. 66 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Primo omnium querendum ... his qui diligunt eum</i>
	f. 67 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De significatione septem gentium quarum Israhel accepit terras</i>
	f. 75	<i>Explanatio de Oratione dominica</i>
	f. 78 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Sermo</i> (S. Fulgentius)
	f. 83 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Sermo I-II, cum addit. Homilia III</i> (S. Maximus Taurinensis)
	f. 87	<i>Sermo de S. Stephano</i> (Augustinus)
	f. 89	<i>De uitiis et uirtutibus, I, 1</i> (Haltigarius Cameracensis)
	f. 90 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De conflictu uitiorum et uirtutum, in compl.</i> (Isidore)
	f. 92	<i>Expositio IV euangeliorum</i> (Ps.-Gregory)
	f. 141	<i>Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae</i> (Isidore)
	f. 156 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De gladio secundum Lucam</i>
	f. 161 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Sermo, "Egredietur uirga ... Flos de uirga ascendens..."</i>
	f. 186 <sup>r-v</sup>	<i>Ordines Christi</i>
	f. 187 <sup>v</sup>	Canon CXXV Council of Aachen (816)

This manuscript is the youngest member of the ACDKOPW group. There are 26 lines per folio, and pricking is visible in the outside margin. It has the rubrics denoting the various pericopes characteristic of the ACDKOPW manuscripts, and also has many of its biblical lemmata in display script. Large initials mark off new pericopes, while highly ornate initials are found in the opening verses of the prologue, and the commentaries on Mark, and John. There are virtually no marginalia; any corrections to the text are usually interlinear. Word division is not always clear, particularly when prepositions are involved; the script seems to get smaller at f. 122r, in the section excerpted from Gregory after the commentary on Mark.

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<sup>26</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, tome IV (Paris 1940), p. 498; R. E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ*, p. 70 n. 9; for a detailed description of the contents of this manuscript, see Michael Gorman's article (forthcoming), "The Carolingian Exegetical Compendium in Albi 39 and Paris lat. 2175", in *Scriptorium* (1997).

The text of the *Expositio* in this manuscript is not as good a model as that found in some of the other manuscripts: there are some omissions (usually a phrase due to homoeoteleuton), but there are far more textual errors, obviously of an orthographic nature rather than corrupted readings (e.g., "itta" for "ita", "intellegt" for "intellegit" on f. 92<sup>r</sup>, "sanguus" for "sanguis" and "doctina" for "doctrina" on f. 107<sup>v</sup>). Such errors are sometimes corrected (e.g., "c" is erased from "scandalis", to give the correct reading of "Calciatis sandalis" on f. 118<sup>r</sup>; the faulty reading of "calciatis scandalis" is found in many of the other manuscripts). The general orthography of the text shows elements of a later period, often replacing "ti" with "ci", and "ae" with "e". There is one instance of dittography at f. 120<sup>v</sup>-121<sup>v</sup> (Mk. 15:43), where the preceding portion of the text from Mk. 14:14 (f. 120<sup>rff</sup>) is repeated. This manuscript is closely related to Albi, Bibl. mun. 39 (A), and to a lesser extent, Plimpton 58 (P).

10. (W) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2175, f. 11<sup>v</sup>-68<sup>r</sup><sup>27</sup>  
 [saec ix<sup>in</sup>; parch.; I +129 folios; 265 mm x 170 mm; prov.: St. Peter, Weissenburg]

Contents:	f.1-1 <sup>v</sup> , 129-129 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De actibus Iohannis</i> , apocr., fragm. (Ps.-Melito)
	f. 1 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum</i> (Gennadius)
	f.11 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum</i> (Ps.-Gregory)
	f. 68 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae</i> (Isidore)
	f. 89	<i>De gladio secundum Lucam</i>
	f. 99	<i>De septiformi spiritu sancto</i>
	f. 103 <sup>r</sup> -105 <sup>r</sup>	<i>Summum bonum Deum est</i>
	f. 108	<i>Questiones de litteris uel singulis causis</i>
	f. 124 <sup>r-v</sup>	<i>Ordines Christi</i>
	f. 127	<i>Dicta Leonis episcopi Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem</i>

This manuscript is another member of the ACDKOPW group, with all of its concomitant readings, omissions and interpolations. The incipit is in coloured capitals, and there is an ex-libris on f. 1 and f. 128<sup>v</sup>. There are 27 lines per folio, and virtually no marginalia. This manuscript has the rubrics for various pericopes contained in this group, though they are not as obvious as in the other manuscripts

<sup>27</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, tome III (Paris 1940), p. 353; R. E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ*, p. 70, n.9; Turner, p. 82; CLA VIII.1051 and XII, p. 10.

(i.e. their script is not very much larger than that of the rest of the text, though they are usually in uncial capitals); in addition, many of the text's biblical lemmata are also in a display script (sometimes larger than the rubrics themselves). The text has decorated initials (some coloured) at certain junctures (e.g., f. 42<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>), though these are the exception rather than the rule.

The text of the *Expositio* in this manuscript is incomplete: it contains Matthew and Mark, but stops halfway through John (at Jn. 13:1), and the commentary on Luke is omitted. The text is not as carefully written as in other manuscripts: there are many errors which have been corrected, some through simple deletion of words or letters, some through interlinear emendations. Many folios appear to be damaged, and the script is often smudged, with the script of the verso side of the folio bleeding through to the recto side. In addition, there is an interruption in the flow of the text at the end of Matthew (f. 42<sup>v</sup>, l. 6ff), doubtless a result of misplaced folios in the manuscript's model. This manuscript seems to stand alone within the ACDKOPW group, and despite its close textual affiliation with those manuscripts, it also shows some affinities in many individual readings with Rheims, Bibl. mun. 110 (R), a manuscript from a different textual stream.

11. (B) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2796, f. 1<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>v</sup><sup>28</sup>  
 [I<sup>o</sup>: saec ix<sup>in</sup>, II<sup>o</sup>: saec ix<sup>2</sup>; parch.; 153 ff, + 9ff paper, 190 mm x 115 mm]

Contents: f. 1-42<sup>v</sup> *Expositio IV Evangeliorum* (Ps.-Gregory)  
 f. 44<sup>r</sup> *Computatio Grecorum atque Latinorum de concordia mensuum*  
 f. 55<sup>v</sup> *Quid est littera* (fragment of tract on grammar)  
 f. 56<sup>r</sup> various fragments (*Uidi filium inter quattuor fontes ...*)  
 f. 56<sup>v</sup> *Epistola ad Carolum Magnum*  
 f. 58<sup>r</sup> *Expositio missae* (Ps Isidore)  
 f. 66<sup>r</sup> various fragments: Greek and Hebrew alphabets  
 f. 68<sup>r</sup> computistical fragments (Isidore, Augustine)  
 f. 102<sup>r</sup> *Incipit expositio de credulitate*  
 f. 103<sup>v</sup> excerpts from *Etymologiae* (Isidore)

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<sup>28</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, tome III (Paris 1940), p. 90-95; R. Marichal & Ch. Samaran, *Manuscrits datés*, II, p. 129 + pl. I; B. Bischoff, "Libraries and Schools in the Carolingian Revival of Learning" in *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. Michael Gorman, (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 108 n.75.

- f. 105<sup>v</sup> medical tract
- f. 106<sup>r</sup> computistical fragments (Bede)
- f. 108<sup>r</sup> canons of various Councils
- f. 145<sup>r</sup> *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* (Gennadius)
- f. 152<sup>r</sup> *Benedictio aquae feruentis*

This codex consists of two originally independent manuscripts, apparently joined together at an early stage: the first section (ff. 1-107) dates to the first half of the ninth century, while the second section (ff. 108-153) dates to the second half of the ninth century. The first section, containing the *Expositio*, includes a varied mélange of texts dealing with grammatical, liturgical, computistical and even medical material. Marichal and Samaran (*Manuscrits datés*) judged this codex to be the notebook of a student in a Carolingian school (a scribe is identified at the end of the manuscript: "Finit: Salahardus scripsit et uos qui legitis orate pro scriptore ..."). Bischoff, however, thought it more likely that it was used for instruction by a teacher. Among the texts included in the first section are lessons on the computus referring to the years 813 and 815, which help to place the manuscript in the early ninth century. The first four folios are damaged, and have been rendered partially illegible; f. 43 is missing (and with it, the end of the *Expositio* text) and a new text begins on f. 44<sup>r</sup>.

The text of the *Expositio* in this manuscript is a particularly good one, and often is the only witness to carry the correct reading for a given passage. Notwithstanding its sound textual *content*, its orthography is somewhat less reliable. There are many orthographic peculiarities (e.g., "seceret" instead of "sincerat" on f. 10<sup>r</sup>), and textual errors (e.g., "talenta menta" instead of "testamenta" on f. 22<sup>v</sup>); many errors have been corrected but others remain unamended. There are some marginal notations, possibly to indicate a liturgical reading (e.g., "Aperiens" on f. 9<sup>v</sup>, near the section on the Beatitudes, perhaps referring to the beginning of that pericope, "Aperiens os suum, docebat eos dicens"). Paris lat. 2796 is very closely related to one other textual witness to the *Expositio*, Merseburg, Dombibl. 103: as Paris lat. 2796 is missing the last folio of the *Expositio* text (f. 43), Merseburg 103 can be used to obtain a fairly accurate idea of what the missing folio contained. Together, these two manuscripts provide a reasonably reliable key to the archetype of recension II of the *Expositio*.

12. (D) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10612, f. 15<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>r</sup><sup>29</sup>  
[saec viii<sup>ex</sup>-ix; 156 ff; 250 mm X 165 mm; prov.: unknown]

Contents: *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* (Gennadius)  
*Expositio IV Evangeliorum* (Ps.-Gregory)  
*Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae* (Isidore)  
*De septiformi Spiritu Sancto*  
*De deo quatenus summo bono*  
*Caput de monachis*  
*Quaestiones de litteris et de sacra scriptura* (Gregory)  
*Ordines Christi*  
*Homiliae aliquot ss. Patrum*  
*Fragmentum de orthographia*

This manuscript is one of the best and earliest representatives of the ACDKOPW stream. There are 25 lines per folio, and the script is a Caroline minuscule, with thick ascenders and descenders; the style at times verges on *scriptura continua*. There are few abbreviations, apart from the *nomina sacra* (e.g., *spiritus, deus, iesus*, etc.). The rubrics expected of this stream are present, and the biblical text is also often in uncial script. There are virtually no marginalia, and any corrections to the text (which are few) are usually found above the word in question. This manuscript is most closely related to Orléans, Bibl. mun. 313 (O), and also to Cologne, Dombibl. 85 (K).

13. (R) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, 110, f. 51<sup>r</sup>-151<sup>v</sup><sup>30</sup>  
[saec ix<sup>1</sup>; parch.; 153 ff; 183 mm X 113 mm; prov.: St. Thierry]

Contents: f. 12<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>r</sup> *Homiliae duae super Canticum canticorum* (Gregory)  
f. 45<sup>r</sup> *Nomina clericorum*  
f. 45<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>r</sup> *Excerpta et tractatio de evangelio sancto*  
f. 51<sup>r</sup>-151<sup>v</sup> *Expositio IV Evangeliorum* (Ps.-Gregory)

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<sup>29</sup> Emmanuel Poulle, *La bibliothèque scientifique d'un imprimeur humaniste au XVe siècle: Catalogue des manuscrits d'Arnaud de Bruxelles à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (Genève; 1963), p. 20, no. 9; Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8823-18613* (Paris, 1863), p. 84; Turner, p. 82

<sup>30</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, tome XXXVIII, p. 101

This manuscript has a much smaller format than most of the other extant witnesses, with only 17 lines per folio; pricking occurs in the outside margins, and ruling is visible in the text. The script is a rather thick Caroline minuscule, often "smudged" (particularly the text's many initials). There are extremely ornate incipits for the prologue, and for the commentaries on Matthew, Mark and John; initials are also in colour and exhibit various motifs (often with interlace); titles and explicits are outlined in yellow, red, and blue. Because of the removal of the original first folio, the initial letter, title and the first words of the first text are missing; in addition, f. 47 was erroneously foliated twice. The last folio (f. 153<sup>v</sup>) is damaged and partially illegible. There is obvious sectional division within the text: each new segment begins with an initial written slightly larger than the general script, and the subsequent text is indented after it. The text's abbreviations take the form of many suspensions, as well as the normal abbreviations for the *nomina sacra*. There are few marginalia, though at the top of f. 58<sup>r</sup> (the beginning of the commentary on Matthew), a seventeenth-century hand wrote "Ista interpretatio imperiti hominis est"; in addition, many phrases omitted from the main body of the text are often found at the bottom of a folio, with sigla to add them to the text at the appropriate place.

The text of the *Expositio* in this manuscript is attributed to Jerome instead of to Gregory (as in most of the other manuscripts) and furthermore, is incomplete, going only to Jn. 10:1. Of even greater interest is the division of the manuscript according to each commentary: the commentary on Matthew ends on f. 120<sup>r</sup>, and f. 120<sup>v</sup> is blank except for one phrase which does not belong to the *Expositio* at all ("in xy remedium sempiternum manentem uidemus"); f. 121<sup>r</sup> sees the beginning of the commentary on Mark. That commentary (including the excerpted section from Gregory and Augustine which follows the Markan commentary proper) ends on f. 140<sup>r</sup>, and f. 140<sup>v</sup> is blank; on f. 141<sup>r</sup>, the commentary on John begins and ends prematurely at f. 153<sup>v</sup> (obviously not meant to end there, as there is no Explicit). As there is no evidence that the manuscript itself was physically made up of originally independent codices, it seems that the scribe treated each commentary as a separate work (though there was no new or repeated attribution to Jerome for Mark and John). The other significant feature of Rheims 110 is its section on the Beatitudes inserted between the incipit of the *Expositio* as a whole, and the prologue to the text: this excerpt is found in only two other manuscripts (Munich, Clm 14514 and Zurich, Rh. 99), but in these, it is found after the Lucan commentary; its place in Rheims 110 shows that it was not part of, or an addendum to the *Expositio* (as the evidence from

M and Z might suggest). Indeed, its style and content sets it apart from the text as a whole, and it may have been circulating independently in its own right. The attribution of R's text to Jerome, as well as the inclusion of the above-mentioned excerpt on the Beatitudes are not the only features which link R to Munich Clm14514 (M), and Zurich Rh. 99 (Z): rather, these three share an entire corpus of readings unique to them which establishes a close relationship between them. R also shows some affinities with Paris lat. 2175 (W), but not nearly to the same degree as it does with M and Z.

14. (Z) Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rhenaugiensis 99, p. 1-98<sup>31</sup>  
[saec ix<sup>2/4</sup>; parch.; 120 pages; 195 mm x 120 mm; prov.: Rheinau]

Contents:	p. 1-98	<i>Expositio IV Evangeliorum</i> (Ps.-Gregory)
	p. 98-99	<i>Interpretatio de septem donis spiritus sancti</i>
	p. 99-103	<i>Uidens autem iesus turbas</i>
	p. 103-106	German-Latin glosses
	p. 106	allegorical commentary on Lk 12:52
	p. 107-120	<i>Ad missam uotiuam</i> (various texts on the mass)

This manuscript was written by several different hands, and at least one scribe betrays insular tendencies. Titles and initials are in red. There was also an error in the original pagination (f. 19 was paginated twice), but the manuscript was re-paginated when it was catalogued. There seems to be a change of script at f. 40: the text becomes much more compressed, and there are a greater number of lines per folio from this point on. There are few marginal notes, though occasionally one finds phrases added at the bottom of a folio for insertion into the text at the appropriate place. There are also large initials at the beginning of the various excerpts from Gregory and Augustine in the section after the commentary on Mark.

The text of the *Expositio* in this manuscript is attributed to Jerome: although there is no incipit before the prologue (as in all of the other manuscript witnesses), the incipit to the commentary on Matthew attributes the text to Jerome. The text itself is a fairly good representative of the *Expositio*, particularly in terms of its grammar: its variants often appear to be attempts at correcting faulty grammatical

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<sup>31</sup> Leo C. Mohlberg, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften: Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*; 1 (Zürich, 1951), no. 467, p. 206-207

phrases (e.g., as regards proper cases for certain prepositions, verb tenses, etc.). The other significant feature of its text is the fact that it too contains the section on the Beatitudes found in both Munich Clm 14514 and in Rheims 110, added after an Explicit on the Lucan commentary. This provides the strongest evidence that this tract was not considered to be part of the *Expositio* itself, but rather as a short text in its own right. From a comparison of this tract as found in Zurich Rh. 99 with Clm 14514 and Rheims 110, it is clear that approximately ten lines of text are missing from the end of this particular witness to it. The textual evidence overwhelmingly shows that it is closely linked to Clm 14514 (M), and to Rheims 110 (R).

### The Manuscript Transmission of the *Expositio*

Of the fourteen manuscripts consulted for the present edition, only one (Clm 14514) is later than the tenth century, while almost all of the others date to the ninth century. In the collation of these manuscripts, two textual forms of the *Expositio* (R11) emerged: one is represented by manuscripts ACDKOPW, and the second by manuscripts BFLMNRZ.

### The ACDKOPW Group<sup>32</sup>

Seven of the sixteen manuscript witnesses of the *Expositio* constitute a "closed" group:

- (A) Albi, Bibl. mun. 39
- (C) Paris, BN, lat. 614A
- (D) Paris, BN, lat. 10612
- (K) Cologne, Dombibl. 85
- (O) Orléans, Bibl. mun. 313 (266)
- (P) New York, Columbia University Plimpton 58
- (W) Paris, BN, lat. 2175

This group of manuscripts is firstly distinguished by the set of texts common to each member. Not only are the contents of each manuscript virtually identical (with the exception of Paris, BN lat. 614A, which contains an assortment of mostly anonymous tracts and homilies, in addition to the core group of texts), but they also appear in the same order. The collection, in its most complete form, is as follows:

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<sup>32</sup> For a fuller discussion of the compendium of texts in this group of manuscripts, see Michael Gorman's article (forthcoming), "The Carolingian Exegetical Compendium in Albi 39 and Paris lat. 2175", in *Scriptorium* 1997.

*Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum* (Gennadius)

*Expositio IV Evangeliorum* (Ps.--Gregory)

*Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae* (Isidore)

*De gladio secundum Lucam* (Alcuin, *Epist.* 136)

*De septem formis spiritus sancti*

*Primo enim sciendum est ...*

*Amicus ad quem media nocte*

*Summum bonum deus est*

*Quaestiones de litteris uel singulis causis*

(Stegmüller 5263 lists this text as *Interrogationes de rebus ueteris et noui testamenti*)

*Ordines Christi*

*De decimis offerendis in genesi*

*Dicta Leonis episcopi*

The remarkable conformity among these manuscripts in both the contents and their sequence clearly indicates a close relationship between them. As regards the text of the *Expositio*, these manuscripts have significant variants from the other manuscript witnesses of the text, and are virtually unanimous in these particular readings. The presence in these manuscripts of headings for various pericopes (e.g., *De beatitudinibus*, *De lata et angusta uia*, *De herode*, etc.) is distinctive: they do not appear to have been added at a later date, but are embedded in the text itself; this suggests that they were part of the group's archetype. There are 49 such rubrics in total, generally written in uncial capitals, larger than the script of the text: 41 are found in the commentary on Matthew, one in Mark, six in John, and one in Luke. With only a very few exceptions (notably Cologne 85, which omits three of the headings), the captions are common to all seven manuscripts, and are not found outside the ACDKOPW group. (Although Karlsruhe Aug. Perg. 254 does have rubrics denoting various biblical pericopes, they are of a different character from those found in the ACDKOPW group: numbering 66 in total, they are all marginal additions to the text, presumably added at a later date, and in many cases, Aug. Perg. 254's rubric is different from that in ACDKOPW group for the same pericope.)

Although the substance of the text found in the ACDKOPW group is essentially that of the other manuscripts, there are nonetheless conspicuous variants in the former. Subtle changes in wording, and in word order are quite common, as the following examples show:

Mt. 1:16 (l. 127)	populi israhelitici .... ad terram repromissionis uenerunt	populi israhelitici ..... uenerunt ad terram repromissionis
Mt. 5:5 (l. 322)	ad monumentum Lazari lacrimatus est dominus Iesus	ad monumentum Lazari legitur lacrimasse dominum Iesum
Mt. 5:29 (l. 361)	quid est aliud nisi per oculum sacerdotem, quia oculi ut lumen esse debent	quid est aliud per oculum nisi sacerdotes, quia oculi ad ( <i>et DKO</i> ) lumen esse debent
Mt. 5:35 (l. 370)	scabellum pedum eius est terra	terra scabellum pedum domini dicitur esse
Mt. 13:8 (l. 580)	centimus fructus ostendit ordinem martyrum monachorum uel uirginum	centimus fructus ostendit ordinem uirginitatem custodientium et martyrum et monachorum
Mt. 14:13 (l. 633)	crede quia apertum est	crede quia manifestum est
Jn. 2:15 (l. 1557)	quia si hoc fieri liceret poterat dominus noster recipere munera	quia si licuisset hoc fieri poterat dominus noster recipere munera

Examples of this kind of unified deviation of the ACDKOPW group from the other manuscript witnesses abound throughout the text, not necessarily constituting corrupted readings of the original, but merely a different arrangement in word order. Other variations also distinguish these manuscripts as a sub-group in the manuscript transmission of the *Expositio*. Interpolations, to a greater or lesser extent, are characteristic of the ACDKOPW group. In some instances, the ACDKOPW group adds a phrase to a biblical lemma:

	BFLMNRZ	ACDKOPW
Mt. 7:22 (l. 427)	Domine, domine, in tuo nomine uirtutes multas fecimus	Domine, domine, <b>aperi nobis</b> , quia in nomine tuo multas uirtutes fecimus
Jn. 8:59 (l. 1740)	Abscondit se Iesus ab eis	Abscondit se <b>in saxis</b>
Jn. 11:4 (l. 1819)	haec infirmitas non est ad mortem	Haec infirmitas non est ad mortem, <b>sed pro gloria dei</b>

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<sup>33</sup> For the sake of greater clarity, I refer to BFLMNRZ as representing the other textual stream: variants in orthography among these manuscripts are not noted here as this would be cumbersome to the reader and is not relevant to the discussion at hand; all such variants are, of course, recorded in the apparatus criticus of the edition at the appropriate junctures.

Other interpolated passages in the ACDKOPW actually expand on a gloss given for a particular biblical lemma, and these vary in length:

	BFLMNRZ	ACDKOPW
<i>Mt. 7:16</i> (l. 423)	Ipsae sunt spinae quae ferri non possunt, id est fructum boni operis	Ipsi sunt spinae quas suffere non possumus, id est quia fructum boni operis <b>non portant, nec adquiescunt lenitate caritatis</b>
<i>Mt. 8:22</i> (l. 490)	Mortuus mortuum sepelit, Ille est qui laudat quem non decet	Mortuus mortuum sepelit, Ille est qui laudat quem non decet, uel <b>peccator peccatorem laudat in maliciis suis</b>
<i>Mt. 10:16</i> (l. 519)	Ita et unusquisque christianus dorsum suum debet parare et caput suum abscondere, quod Christus est	Ita et unusquisque christianus debet parare dorsum et caput abscondere, id est Christum per fidem seruare, <b>ut dicit apostolus, Neque mors neque uita poterit nos separare a caritate Christi (Rom. 8:38-39)</b>

At Mt. 26:7 where a woman anoints Jesus in Bethany, after commenting that the head of Jesus represents God the father ("Caput Christi Deus pater est"), the ACDKOPW group adds that his feet represent his incarnation ("pedes Christi aduentus eius in carnem"): while the "caput Christi" of the preceding phrase is taken from the scriptural text being glossed, the subsequent "pedes Christi" is not, and would seem to be there merely for literary balance -- a common feature of the *Expositio*, and presumably the product of editorial licence.

Some interpolations are more substantial, expanding both the biblical lemma and the accompanying gloss, as at Mt. 24:19, the pericope of the feeding of the multitudes:

	BFLMNRZ	ACDKOPW
	Benedixit et multiplicauit xii apostolos; cophinos plenos ostendit corda xii apostolos	<b>Benedixit id est multiplicauit et dedit apostolis, et apostoli turbis; id est apostoli predicantes turbis; aliter, benedixit, multiplicauit xii apostolos; cophinos plenos ostendit corda xii apostolos</b>

Two lengthier interpolations are even more conspicuous, and being unique to the ACDKOPW manuscripts, call further attention to that group's distinct character. The first occurs at Mt. 3:4 ff, where the ministry of John is described:

BLMRZ (\*NF incomplete)

Ipse Iohannes dixit, cum inquisitus esset si ipse esset Christus, quia Iohannem homines Christum esse putabant, et Iohannes dicens, Non sum dignus calciamenta portare, sed intellegitur haec sponsa Christi, id est ecclesia et aliter misterium incarnationis eius;

et apud ueteres consuetudo erat, ut si quis eam, quae sibi conpeteret, acciperet uxorem nollet, ille ei calciamentum soluere qui ad hanc sponsus iure propinquitatis ueniret. Quid igitur inter homines Christus nisi sanctae ecclesiae sponsus apparuit, de quo isdem Iohannes dixit; qui habet sponsam sponsus est. Corrigiam ergo calciamenti est ligatura mysterii, quae Iohannes solui non potuit

ACDKOPW

Inquisitus Iohannes si ipse esset Christus, quia eum homines Christum esse putabant, et ipse respondens dixit, Non sum ego Christus, etiam non sum dignus calciamenti eius corrigiam soluere. Per calciamentum incarnationis misterium uel mortalitatem significat. Qui habet sponsam sponsus est: sponsa ecclesia, sponsus uere Christus est. Et apud ueteres consuetudo erat, ut si quis eam, quae sibi conpeteret, accipere uxorem nollet, ille ei calciamentum solueret qui ad hanc spiritus iure propinquitatis ueniret. Quid igitur inter homines Christus nisi sanctae ecclesiae sponsus apparuit.

Corrigia uero calciamenti est ligatura mysterii incarnationis quam Iohannis solui non potuit, quia redemptoris uestigia denudare non ualuit, et quia ipse sponsus non erat sed praeco sponsi, et humanitas diuinitatem minime inuestigari ualet.

The second notable interpolation is found at Mt. 17:1ff, dealing with the transfiguration of Christ. After commenting that Peter, James and John represent the Church ("per Petrum et Iacobum et Iohannem intellegitur tota ecclesia"), the ACDKOPW group adds a larger section expanding on the meanings of the names of Peter, James and John:

Per Petrum intelleguntur hii qui agnita ueritate, id est Christum, relictis uanitatibus oboediunt deo uiuenti, quia Petrus agnoscens, Symon oboediens interpretatur. Per Iacobum intelleguntur qui uitia subplantant et eis mira uirtute dominant, quia Iacobus subplantator interpretatur. Per Iohannem hii significantur qui gratia dei pleni sunt, quia Iohannes gratia dei interpretatur.

Further on, another passage is inserted in the ACDKOPW group, after an analogy between Christ and his disciples, and the Old and New Testaments ("Christum cum discipulis figurat uetus testamentum cum nouo"):

Item consono intellectu lex et prophetae de Christo praedixerunt, et quod praedixerunt Christo iam glorificato praesentis testificati sunt.

As well as having interpolated passages in the text of the *Expositio*, there are also omissions which are common to all seven manuscripts. Some omissions are minor, consisting only of a phrase:

	BFLMNRZ	ACDKOPW
Mt. 14:24 (l. 648)	Nauicula in medio mari, hoc est ecclesia in mundo; iactabatur fluctibus, id est persecutionem patiebatur	Nauicula in medio mari, hoc est ecclesia in mundo; id est persecutionem patiebatur
Jn. 11:4 (l. 1819)	Haec infirmitas non est ad mortem quia qui mortui sunt, deo uiuent	Haec infirmitas non est ad mortem, sed pro gloria dei

The most conspicuous omission is a passage in John, where the ACDKOPW group skips from Jn. 4:35 to Jn. 5:2, omitting a substantial portion of the text:

Uidete regiones quia albæ sunt iam ad messem. Messe populum dixit alba corda habentes ad fidem. Qui seminauerunt, prophetæ; qui metunt sunt apostoli. Mansit apud eos duos dies, id est duo testamenta tradita Iudæis. Abiit in Galileam, hoc est ad gentes. Propheta sine honore in patria sua ostendit Christum refutatum a Iudæis, receptum in gentibus. Regulus tenet figuram patriarcharum uel prophetarum; rogabat pro filio, hoc est pro sinagoga; incipiebat enim mori, id est populus Iudæorum incredulitate sua. Aliter in regulum est figura apostolorum rogabat prosequacem ecclesiam ex gentibus. Nisi signa et prodigia uideritis non creditis; de passione et resurrectione sua dicebat, quam nisi uidissent non credissent. Dixit illis Iesus, Uade, filius tuus uiuit, ostendit reuersam fidem patrum in filios per Helyam et Enoch. Per seruos nuntiantes intellegit fideles, quia infideles infidelibus conuersionem adnunciant. Hora septima reliquit eum febris: hora septima finem mundi intellegit, in qua recedunt gentes a cultura simulacrorum. Tota domus eius credidit, significat quod totus mundus in finem conuertit per predicationem Helyæ et Enoch. Erat in Hyerosolimis probatica piscina

The phrase at the end of this passage is the *beginning* of Jn. 5:2, and its inclusion is necessary to make sense of the subsequent gloss: since the ACDKOPW group only picks up Jn. 5:2 with the interpretative portion of the text, it seems that the omission of the biblical text (and undoubtedly all that precedes it) was not deliberate, but rather due to some default in the group's archetype (as at Mt. 14:24 above, where the omission of "iactabatur fluctibus" removes the reference for the subsequent gloss and obscures its meaning).

Another omission occurs after Mt. 19:24. The passage, dealing with Mt. 19:28-30, appears in manuscripts BFLMNRZ as follows:

In regeneratione, hoc est post resurrectionem, centuplum accipiet, id est quia uni uiro iusto totus mundus subiectus est et omnes locus diuiciarum est. Post resurrectionem erunt nouissimi primi et primi nouissimi: primi fuerunt Iudaei, facti sunt nouissimi; populus gentius facti sunt primi, sic de Petro et latrone, sic de infante et de senece.

It should be noted that this passage is found in one of the seven manuscripts under discussion, namely Plimpton 58 (P), giving that manuscript a unique place within the closed group. Similarly, at the passage following Mt. 26:75, where an analogy is developed between Christ being led to the crucifixion and Abraham bringing Isaac to be sacrificed, the two textual streams have different readings:

#### BFLMRZ

Illi uox datur ne filium occidat. Christus ut de inferno mortuos reducat. Abraham fidem seruandam filium offeret, Deus pro mundi labe filium ponit. Abraham post fidem accepit gratiam, Christus post mortem de inferno accepit predam.

#### ACDKOW

Illi uox datur ne filium occidat; Iudaei uocem dant ut occidatur filius dei. Abraham aries datur ut filium a morte retrahat. Christus post mortem de inferno accepit praedam

Both glosses are written within the context of a larger passage: the phrase referring to the fact that the Jews called for the murder of the son of God supplements the preceding phrase that Abraham heard a voice telling him not to kill his son Isaac; though the ACDKOW group does not have it, the phrase (in BFLMRZ) referring to Christ leading the dead out of hell complements the end of that group's preceding "interpolation" concerning Abraham's son being drawn back from death. However, in Plimpton 58 (P) we find the two passages combined:

Illi uox datur ne filium occidat. Iudaei uocem dant ut occidatur filius dei. Abraham aries datur ut filium ad mortem retraahat (*sic*); Christus post mortem de inferno mortuos reducat. Habraam fide seruanda filium obtullit, Deus pro mundi labe filium ponit. Abraham per fidem accepit gratiam, Christus post mortem de inferno accepit predam.

In this reading, the characteristic two-fold balance of the text is restored, and the Old Testament/New Testament analogy is complete; thus it is undoubtedly closer to the original than either of the other two.

Finally, the most telling feature of the ACDKOPW manuscripts, and probably the strongest evidence for their relationships, are the textual errors they share in common. In the commentary on the nativity at Mt. 2:1, the author quotes an abridged version of the prophecy of Balaam (Num. 24:17-18) which allegedly

foretold the birth of Christ: "Orietur stella ex Iacob et consurget uirga ex Israhel; uastabitque Seth et erit idumea possessio eius". Although there is some slight variation among the BFLMNRZ manuscripts (e.g., uastata que M, uastabitque Z), in each of the ACDKOPW manuscripts, "uastauitque" reads "uisitabitque", the latter clearly being a corruption of the former. At Mt. 13:33, the parable of the woman mixing yeast in flour, the BFLMNRZ group reads "Per sata tria ostendit tres filios noae, unde creatae sunt gentes", whereas the ACDKOPW manuscripts read "Per satis tribus ostendit tres filios noe, unde **incrementate** sunt gentes". At Mk. 9:41, where the BFLMNRZ manuscripts correctly read "quia melius est per saeculum solam paenam sustinere quam ut alios a regno dei turbet", the ACDKOPW group reads "quia melius est in saeculo se solum poenam sustinere quam ut alios a regno **deturbet**": clearly, in the latter group the last two words of this phrase were incorrectly combined into one in the group's archetype (perhaps as a result of *scriptura continua*), and the reading repeated throughout; "a regno deturbet" still makes grammatical sense, but it is far more likely (from a survey of the entire text), that the phrase "a regno dei turbet" originally stood in its place. Similarly, at Jn. 18:1, an analogy is drawn between the Garden of Gethsemane and the Church: "Ortus domini ecclesia est ubi sunt rosae martyres, lilia uirgines, uiolae confessores"; the ACDKOPW group, however, reads "Ortus domini ecclesia est, ubi sunt rosae martyres, lilia uirgines **uel** confessores". This passage is taken directly from Ps.-Theophilus' *Commentarius in IV Evangeliiis*: the text there reads "violae confessores", a reading in keeping with the style of the rest of the passage, as it relates different flowers to various members of Church. The error in the ACDKOPW group (or rather, in its archetype) doubtless arose from some abbreviation incorrectly expanded: the abbreviation for "uel" is "t", and if that were used as part of an abbreviation for "uiolae", the faulty variant may well have had its origins there. The chances of such faulty readings occurring independently of one another are remote, and their presence establishes even more conclusively the very close relationships between these manuscripts.

Though there are numerous features and readings which distinguish the ACDKOPW manuscripts as a group, within the group itself manuscripts fall into distinct sub-groups; while this need not imply immediate dependence of one manuscript on another, it does suggest that certain manuscripts share a common intermediate model. This appears to be the case for manuscripts A (Albi 39, saec. viii-ix), C (Paris, BN, lat. 614A, saec. ix-x) and P (Columbia University, Plimpton 58, saec. ix<sup>2/3</sup>): these three share a number of peculiar readings, unique unto

themselves, which suggest a common textual inheritance. Apart from the many orthographic variants the three have in common, they show other, more conspicuous departures from the readings found in the rest of the group. One such variant is found in the prologue (Prol.5., l. 81), where the text deals with Peter's vision in Joppa ("nondum adpositum fuerat illi cibum", Acts 10:6 ff.): all other manuscripts read "adpositum" (or orthographic variants thereof), while C and P read "oppositum", and A has "opositum". Similarly, when naming the four rivers of paradise in the prologue (Prol.7., l. 104), both A and C read "Primum flumen dicitur Philoson"; P has the "Phison" of all the other manuscripts, but this reading has been corrected from "Philoson". In the section taken from Gregory's *Hom. 30 in Evang.* c. 5 (after the commentary on Mark), where the text should read "quia omnes quos repleuerat ardentes pariter et loquentes facit" (II.13., l. 1345), A and C read "quia omnes os repleuerat"; Plimpton 58 is missing a substantial portion of the text at this juncture, and could not be tested. An even more striking variant is seen in the same section, in a passage taken from Gregory's *Hom. 29 in Evang.*, c. 6 (II.19., l. 1418): instead of "ordo in eorum quoque utrorumque subleuatione", both A and C have "putrorum que", a reading unattested elsewhere. At Mt. 5:25 (I.5., l. 354), the *Expositio* uses the phrase "ut supra diximus", but only manuscripts ACP read "ut superius diximus". The similarities are not confined to singular readings found in these manuscripts: at Mt. 13:1 (I.13., l. 574), the phrase "et sedebat ad mare. De domo" is omitted from ACP, but is present in all other *Expositio* manuscripts which contain this section.

Despite their obvious connection, the precise relationship between A, C and P is not clear. The earliest of these, Albi 39, dates to the late eighth century, and yet contains a somewhat corrupted form of the *Expositio* text. Many passages are omitted from this manuscript which are found in the other two, as at Mt. 25:29 (I.25., l. 1028), where A omits the phrase "ostendit qui habet fidem et caritatem, dabitur ei intellectum et operatio et uirtus; qui non habet, ipsum quod habet auferetur ab eo", but which CP both witness. Most of the omissions from A appear to be a result of homoeoteleuton: if a word occurs twice in a given passage, the scribe inadvertently skips to the second appearance of the word and continues copying, thereby omitting the intervening text. At Mk. 6:35 (II.5., l. 1166), as a gloss on 2Cor. 5:17 ("Transierunt uetera et ecce facta sunt noua"), A omits the passage "id est transiuit quod storialiter aedit et renouando facta sunt noua". Similarly, at Mk. 7:33 (II.6., l. 1183), a second interpretation of the biblical lemma ("Educit eum extra turbam") is omitted, after the first appearance of the phrase "peccatorum suorum":

"peccatorum suorum; et aliter, eduxit eum de turba peccatorum suorum"; and at Mk. 15:43ff. (II.10, l. 1276), A omits a substantial passage after the first appearance of the word "ecclesiae". Many such errors occur in A: at Mt. 1:1, at Jn. 4:10, at Jn. 12:28, and again at Jn. 18:1. Clearly, A could not have been the model for either P or C, with all of its omitted passages. In certain instances, A and C carry one reading, while P carries another, as at Lk. 15:20 (IV.3., l. 2142), where A and C read "precepit eum" instead of the correct "recepit eum", and P reads "accepit eum". As has been mentioned, P has a somewhat better text of the *Expositio* than the other two, even though it dates to the ninth century, and is therefore later than A. It shows many corrections to its text, and has clearly been influenced by a text from outside the ACDKOPW group. It contains a phrase introducing a gloss on the three virtues personified in the centurion at Mt. 8:8 ("Humilitas, fides, prudentia") which is attested only in manuscripts MRZ. A variant of even greater significance is P's reading (discussed above) of the analogy between Abraham and Isaac, and Christ's crucifixion: P is the only manuscript to bridge the gap between the two textual streams at this point, and undoubtedly has the original reading for this passage. Furthermore, it contains one of the omitted sections (i.e., "In regeneratione ... .. de senece", after Mt. 19:24) mentioned above as characteristic of the ACDKOWP group: if C were copied from it, it is far more likely that C would also have included this passage. It would seem, then, that one must reckon with lost manuscripts to account for the relationships between these three manuscripts (ACP), though there are indications that ultimately they derive from some common model.

Manuscripts D (Paris, BN, lat. 10612) and O (Orléans, Bibl. mun. 313) form a separate, smaller "sub-group". The two agree in most of their readings, often against other members of the ACDKOPW group. Both manuscripts have a relatively good text of the *Expositio* (as the closed group goes), and therefore conspicuous errors common only to them are few and far between. Nonetheless, the sheer volume of orthographic variants, as against the other *Expositio* manuscripts, suggests that they stem from the same orthographic tradition. Many are merely variations in spelling rather than corrupted readings: only D and O have "Gallilea" instead of "Galilea" at the end of the commentary on Matthew (I.28., l. 1106), and "hereum" for "aereum" in the section after Mark (II.19., l. 1397); DO are also alone in reading "gressos" at Jn. 8:12 (III.8., l. 1720) for "gressus" (though the "gressus" in P has been corrected from "gressos"), and "colligata" for "conligata" at Jn. 11:44 (III.11., l. 1846). In a passage found in the section after Mark

from Gregory's *Hom. 30 in Evang. c. 5* (II.13., l. 3143), only D and O change the order of "quia sancti spiritus linguam habet" to "quia **spiritus sancti** linguam habet". There are also other minor corruptions of the text which are not attested in the other manuscripts: at Lk. 18:2 (IV.5., l. 2198), only DO read "reuerans" instead of "reuerens"; at Jn. 3:14 (III.3., l. 1584), a reference is made to Moses and the brazen serpent (Num. 21:9) with the phrase "per uisum serpentis liberabantur", but D and O both read "per uiso"; at the beginning of the commentary on Matthew (I.1., l. 138) a reference is made to the piercing of Leviathan's cheek (Job 40:20), and while most of the other *Expositio* manuscripts have "transforauit" for the biblical "perforabis", only D and O read "transuorauit". Further distortions of the text found only in DO include Mk. 16:4 (II.10, l. 1287) where these two manuscripts read "Christo **reuoluto** in nouo testamento" instead of "Christum reuelatum in nouo testamento", and Mk. 9:13 (II.7., l. 1192), where DO read "scribas conquirentes eum discipulis" instead of "conquirentes cum discipulis". Other variants are more distinctive, as at Lk. 19:8 (IV.6., l. 2211) where DO have "dimidium **seruauit**" against the "dimidium reseruauit" of the other manuscripts. D and O also have certain omissions in common, even if these are usually only confined to a word or two: at Mt. 13:44 (I.13., l. 607), both D and O omit "in agro" from their rubric; at Mt. 17:4 (I.17., l. 728), DO omit "est" where other manuscripts have "et uox audita **est**", and in the same passage, DO omit "quod" from "quia **quod** obscurum erat". However, the additions which are unique to D and O are far more telling: the addition of "auertendos" in "quis **auertendos** credit uobis" at Lk. 16:11 (IV.4., l. 2191), a reading not found in any other manuscripts, is conspicuous. Still more striking is the addition of the phrase "terra terram accusat" at Jn. 8:6 (III.8., l. 1715), as an additional gloss on "Digito scribebat in terra"; no other manuscripts outside D and O have this phrase. Such variants provide further evidence for a close relationship between the two, in addition to their consistent agreement in orthography.

Because of the relative ages of D and O (i.e. D is probably the older of the two), it would seem more likely for D to be a model for O than vice versa. O has more passages omitted from it, and the numerous sigla in O to indicate their insertion (though often without the corresponding phrase!) suggest that O is an inferior exemplar of the text; in that light, O's omissions would not be incompatible with such a hypothesis. However, there are also passages omitted from D which *are* present in O as part of the integrated text and not as later additions (e.g., Mk. 6:40 [II.5., l. 1168] "perfectus numerus; per quinquagenos"), which preclude the possibility of D being its immediate model. Furthermore, the interpolated phrases

found in the individual manuscripts imply that they are somewhat removed from each other: at Lk. 16:8 (IV.4., l. 2184), D adds the phrase "de gratiis" to its gloss, and at Jn. 8:8 (III.8., l. 1717) O adds "quid superbit iste cinis", a phrase unattested elsewhere. Rather, it is far more likely that the two are sister manuscripts in the same sub-group, perhaps sharing the same intermediate model for the ACDKOPW stream.

Cologne, Dombibl. 85 (K) is closest to the sub-group of D and O, though it is not as closely linked to these two as they are to each other. By and large, it follows the same orthographic conventions as D and O, with only a few variations of its own (notably the addition of "h" in certain words, such as "chados olei" at Lk. 16:6 [IV.4., l. 2168], and "granum sinaphis" at Mt. 17:19 [I.17., l. 756]). DOK share particular orthographic forms not found in the other manuscripts, such as "styrpe" for "stirpe" at Mt. 9:27 (I.9., l. 506), and other minor variants, such as the addition of "Rachel" in the phrase "interpretatur **Rachel** ecclesia" at Mt. 2:18 (I.2., l. 204). Still other variants reflect corrupted readings, such as "isdem" for "item" in the section after Mark (II.13., l. 1340), and "dixit quid" instead of "dixitque" at Lk. 16:3 (IV.4., l. 2158). Readings which are unique to K tend to be minor textual variants (e.g., "austoritatem" instead of "austeritatem" at Lk. 16:8 [IV.4., l. 2181] and "in nomine Christo" instead of "in nomine Christi" in the text's incipit); some, however, are more distinctive and set K apart, such as "dispensare" instead of the *Expositio's* "dissipare" at Lk. 16:1 (IV.4., l. 2156), and more importantly, the afore-mentioned "uae concupiscentibus" instead of "uel concupiscentibus" at Mt. 24:19 (I.24, l. 962), where K is the only manuscript with the correct reading. Though clearly related to D and O, K is more likely another sister manuscript in this sub-group, sharing some ultimate archetype with them, but not an immediate model.

The last manuscript in the ACDKOPW group is Paris, BN, lat. 2175 (W); this manuscript represents a poorer copy of the text than do the other manuscripts, and stops abruptly at Jn. 13:1. Although it has all of the textual hallmarks of the closed group as described above, it seems to have been influenced by some manuscript outside that group. W shows countless corrections and does not readily fit into any of the sub-groups discussed thus far. It does, however, show certain affinities with individual manuscripts of the ACDKOPW group: in the section after Mark, taken from Gregory's *Hom. 29 in Evang.*, c. 5 (II.19., l. 1423), W shares its reading of "nec uxorem" with A, C and P, as against "neque uxorem" of the other manuscripts; at Mt. 8:2 (I.8., l. 444), W's "potis me mundare" is attested only in O, against most of

the other manuscripts which read "potes me mundare"; in the excerpt from Augustine's *De Sermone domini* (p. II.20., l. 1454), where the *Expositio* reads "edomitas fiunt", W and C share virtually the same variant (where W has "ebdomatas" and C has "ebdomadas"); and at Jn. 8:44 (III.8., l. 1728), W's "princeps daemoniorum" has been corrected from "principes daemoniorum", a reading found only in A.

W also shares many readings with manuscripts outside the closed group. At Jn. 10:34 (III.10, l. 1814), W (along with MR and Z) reads "essencialiter" instead of "scientialiter", as found in the other manuscripts. In the excerpt from Gregory's *Hom. 30 in Evang. c. 5* (II.13., l. 1320), W carries the FMR wording of "in igne siue in linguis"<sup>34</sup> instead of the closed group reading of "in igne siue et linguis". In the same section (II.13., l. 1342), instead of "quia sancto spiritu", W has "quia spiritu sancto", a reading attested in only one other manuscript, R. Similarly, in the text's prologue (Prol.4., l. 61), where most manuscripts read "nemo sit nisi deus", only R has the phrase "nemo sit nisi solus deus": while W's corrected reading is that of the closed group, the first reading was "nisi solus deus", the "solus" having been subsequently deleted. Likewise, at Mt. 11:30 (I.11., l. 548), R and W are the only manuscripts to read "refectio tribus modis dicitur" instead of "refectio tribus modis intellegitur" as found elsewhere. The influence of some manuscript outside the ACDKOPW group is even more in evidence in W's corrected readings: in the excerpt from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob XXXIII 10 c. 19* (II.17., l. 1384), the initial "dissolat" (the ADKO reading) has been changed to "dissoluit", as found in manuscripts BLMN; in the same passage (II.17., l. 1385), "ostendendum" (the reading found in ACDFKLMOZ) has been amended to "ostendendo" (as found in BNR); and at Jn. 11:17 (III.17., l. 1836), W's initial reading of "quia triduanum" (found only in M and Z) has been corrected to "quadriduanum" (as found in the other *Expositio* manuscripts containing this section). In other instances, the line between the closed group and the remaining *Expositio* manuscripts is somewhat blurred. At Jn. 4:6 (III.4., l. 1599), the first reading in W, "fons dicitur ad fluendum, puteus ad potandum" is that of most of the other manuscripts, but it has been corrected to read "fons dicitur ad fluenda, puteus ad potanda": the only other closed-group manuscript with this second reading is P, and it too has been corrected (i.e., from "ad fluendum ... ad potandum" to "a fluenda ... a potanda"); a similar correction is found in L at this juncture.

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<sup>34</sup> W actually reads "in liguis" at this juncture, but the "liguis" is obviously the result of scribal error.

In addition to its shared variants, W has many readings unique to itself. In the section excerpted from Gregory's *Moral. XXXIII 10 c.19* after Mark (II.17., l. 1383), W has been corrected from "obscuritate fuscabitur" (the reading found in all of the other *Expositio* manuscripts) to "obscuritate fuscabatur". More distinctive (and showing no signs of correction) is W's reading at II.13., l. 1340: instead of "quia una est spiritus", W reads "qui est spiritus"; at II.20., l. 1436, W is the only manuscript to read "de qua psalmista ait" against "de qua psalmista dicitur" of the other manuscripts. At II.13., l. 1343, all other *Expositio* manuscripts read "dei uerbum non ualet", while W reads "uerbum dei ualet"; W *did* initially have "non ualet" at this juncture, but the "non" was subsequently deleted.

Rather than establishing W's association with a specific manuscript subgroup of the *Expositio*, the foregoing examples demonstrate the complexity of the text's manuscript transmission as a whole. While W undoubtedly has the characteristic features of the ACDKOPW group, its numerous corrections indicate a textual influence from outside that stream: in some cases, W's readings are amended to reflect ACDKOPW variants, while in others, W is corrected from the closed group readings to something else. It seems to have some affinity with R (Rheims, Bibl. mun. 110), but its many readings which are independent of all extant manuscript witnesses defy any exclusive relationship.

Despite the sharply defined relationships between certain manuscripts of the ACDKOPW group, there is some overlap. D and O, for instance, often have readings in common with A, and many manuscripts have common readings with other manuscripts outside this group. AC and W are the poorest representatives of the text, with their numerous omissions (in the case of A) and characteristic scribal errors. P has many corrections to its text, and the "first" text (i.e. by the first hand) is not as reliable as DK and O for the ACDKOPW stream. There also appears to be some influence between the two streams as, for instance, ABCN often share readings unattested in the other manuscripts (e.g., "unde" for "ut de" at Lk. 16:7 [IV.4., l. 2177]). Thus, the ACDKOPW manuscripts, while clearly exhibiting a number of characteristic departures from the other *Expositio* manuscripts, are not completely isolated in the manuscript transmission, and show signs of "contamination" from outside their closed membership. Textual variants are to be expected in the manuscript evidence, but consistent agreement in a particular set of readings among the same manuscripts is hardly a random occurrence. The "closed

group" manuscripts are virtually unanimous in the readings which distinguish them from the other textual stream of the *Expositio*, and in that respect they must be regarded as one witness. The fact that the same core group of texts appear in each manuscript merely reinforces the textual evidence for their close relationships with one another, and indeed, suggests that they were all used in similar milieus: their common ninth century date places them squarely in the Carolingian period, and the revival of letters associated with it. In all of the foregoing examples, and indeed in most of the interpolated passages in the ACDKOPW group, it is generally the case that a biblical quotation and/or gloss is extended or paraphrased, rather than replaced; the substantial content of the text is unchanged, but has, in one branch of its transmission, been the object of editorial revision. Though not all of the ACDKOPW manuscripts were necessarily copied from the same model, all ultimately stem from the same archetype, a "modified" version of the text in its original form.

### The BFLMNRZ Manuscripts

With respect to the manuscripts outside the closed group (i.e., BFLMNRZ), these too fall into distinct sub-groups of their own. B (Paris, BN lat. 2796) and N (Merseburg, Dombibl. 103), for instance, contain a great many variants unattested in the other manuscripts, and often are the only *Expositio* manuscripts to carry the correct reading for a given passage; the manuscript collation shows that there is clearly a close relationship between them, though N would seem to be slightly inferior as a textual witness to the *Expositio*.

B and N share many orthographic variants common only to them, such as the spelling of "ereum" for "aereum" at various junctures; "toth" for "tot" in the section from Gregory's *Hom. 30 in Evang. c. 7*(II.14., l. 1356); and "anolum" for "anulum" at Lk. 15:22 (IV.3., l. 2144). In addition, changes in word order are characteristic of these two manuscripts, as in the section from Gregory's *Hom. 9 Ez. II. c. 10* (II.16., l. 1379), where BN read "aliquatenus flammis est", and the other manuscripts have "flammis est aliquatenus". They also share many textual omissions and additions which are unattested elsewhere. In the prologue (Prol.4., l. 67), BN are the only manuscripts to omit "scintillae micantes: uirtutes apostolorum radiantes in mundo". Further on in the prologue (Prol.2., l. 45), in a discussion of the four parts of man and the four elements of the earth, BN omit "propter

collectionem humorum. Pedes terrae adsimilantur": the resulting passage is disjointed, and the omission was doubtless due to an error in the model; the subsequent clause refers to "subteriores partes membrorum", a gloss which only makes sense in the context of the preceding phrase, referring to the feet. At Mt. 12:44 (I.12., l. 568), both B and N omit the biblical lemma and its gloss ("Uadit per arida loca, hoc est gentes. Reuertit ad domum, id est ad Iudaeos"). Other omissions apparently resulted through homoeoteleuton, as at Mk. 14:52 (II.9., l. 1256), where B and N omit "relictam malitiam Iudaeorum. Nudus fugit significat" (both this and the preceding phrase ending with "significat"), and at Jn. 7:37 (III.7., l. 1700), where only these two omit the gloss "id est qui desiderat deum ueniat bibat" (the preceding phrase also ending in "bibat"). Additions specific to these two manuscripts include Mt. 19:28 (I.19., l. 813), a passage omitted by the ACDKOPW group, where only BN have a gloss on the biblical lemma ("In regeneratione"), and add "hoc est post resurrectionem"; at Jn. 2:9 (III.2., l. 1545), only BN add an alternate gloss on the meaning of the water turning into wine, "aliter per uinum sanguinem Christi"; similarly at Mt. 5:25 (I.5., l. 354), B and N add "Iudex id est Christus" as an extra gloss on the biblical verse quoted ("Ne forte aduersarius tradet te iudici").

The faulty readings for certain passages present in both B and N (and not found in the other manuscripts) also point to a close relationship between them: at Lk. 16:3 (IV.4., l. 2161), BN read "acsi diceret conspocere" instead of "conspicio"; at Mt. 5:14 (I.5., l. 337), BN both have "ecclesia **supra** Christo fundata" instead of "ecclesia super Christum fundata"; at Lk. 16:7 (IV.4., l. 2175), BN read "quia graue est uetera lex quam noua", when the grammar of the phrase clearly calls for the comparative of "grauiora" (as found in the other manuscripts). However, the distinctive scribal errors common only to B and N establish their intimate association even more conclusively. In the excerpt from Augustine's *De sermone domini* (II.20., l. 1462), BN have "adiubet infirmioent" instead of "adiuuet infirmioem"; at Jn. 18:1 (III.18., l. 2022), BN read "uilici" and "uiligi" respectively, instead of the correct "uiolae"; the excerpt from Gregory's *Hom. 29 in Evang. c. 6* (II.19, l. 1419) sees BN with "subleuati sunt" instead of "subleuatione"; at *Hom. 30 in Evang. c. 7* (II.14., l. 1349), B reads "ordinauit" and N has "ordauit", instead of the correct "ornauit"; at Mk. 15:1 (II.10., l. 1265), both read "semanent" instead of "remanent"; and Mk. 9:13 (II.7., l. 1192) sees "seruias conquirentes" instead of "scribas conquirentes". In addition to the faulty variants and scribal errors found only in B and N, they have, in certain instances, simply recorded different words in a given phrase, as at Lk. 16:6 (p. IV.4., l. 2169), where BN read "qui dei imaginem

indigebant" instead of the "qui dei misericordia indigebant" attested in the other *Expositio* manuscripts.

The most significant aspect of the affinity between the BN manuscript witnesses is that very often they alone carry the correct textual reading against all of the other manuscripts. There are many instances where BN have the correct reading (as compared with the printed text of the *Expositio's* source), even if the difference between these two and the other manuscripts is merely a matter of tense change or verb form. At Mk. 2:4, the pericope in which a paralytic is lowered through the roof of a house to be cured by Jesus (II.1), all other *Expositio* manuscripts (with the exception of Z) read "Mutauerunt tectum": only BN have the correct reading (according to the Vulgate) of "nudauerunt tectum"; though Z does carry the BN reading, it has been corrected from "mutauerunt" to "nudauerunt". At Lk. 16:6 (IV.4, l. 2168), where all other manuscripts read "cados olei", only BN have "batos olei"; the Vulgate reads "cados" but the reading found in Ps.--Theophilus' *Comm. in Evangelia* (the source for this particular passage) is "batos". (This particular example implies that the archetype of the other manuscripts was changed at some stage to reflect the Vulgate reading.) In the section from Gregory's *Hom. 30 in Evang. c. 5* (II.13., l. 1331), after the phrase "Terrae enim uocatae sunt", B and N add "corda terrena qui de terra creata sunt": Migne's edition of Gregory's *Hom. 30 in Evang.*<sup>35</sup> reads "corda terrena quae dum semper" at this juncture, but as the *PL* text is not a critical edition, the BN variant could not be checked against alternate manuscript readings for Gregory's text. Further on in the same passage (l. 1342), B and N follow "quia sancto spiritu tangitur dei uerbum" with "id est unigenitum filium confitetur et negare dei uerbum": once again, this phrase is found in the printed edition of Gregory's *Hom. 30 in Evang., c. 5*, and is only attested in B and N; as the "added" phrase ends with the same words as the phrase which preceded it (i.e., "dei uerbum"), one must assume that it was dropped from an earlier branch of the manuscript transmission through homoeoteleuton, to account for its absence from all of the other manuscripts of the *Expositio*.

Though the agreement between B and N is remarkably consistent, they also diverge at certain points. At Jn. 16:16 (III.16., l. 1998), N omits the gloss on the biblical verse, which appears in B as "id est in sepulchrum iacuit non uiderunt eum. Modicum iterum et uidebitis me". N contains more inversions in word order than B, as at Lk. 15:22 (IV.3., l. 2149), where N reads "diaboli lapsum" instead of "lapsum

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<sup>35</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 76, p. 1222

diaboli", and at Lk. 16:17 (IV.4., l. 2177), where N reads "credi noua esse" instead of the "noua credi esse" of B (BN are the only manuscripts to read "noua" instead of "nouam" at this point). Errors present in one are not always found in the other: at Mt. 5:10 (though the text is actually quoting Mt. 8:20, l.317) where B reads "Uulpes foueas habent", N reads "Uult per foueas habent" (the final "s" could have been mistaken for an "r" by the scribe, and as "uulper" is senseless, he may have added a "t" to make it into two words); at Mt. 6:17 (I.6., l. 392), B reads "cecita mentem tuam" while N reads "hilara mentem tuam", neither carrying the correct reading of "sincera mentem tuam caritate".

The relationship between B and N has an important ramification for B, which is missing the last folio of the *Expositio* text (f. 43). As it would appear that a folio *did* originally exist in the manuscript at this place (the foliation goes from 42 to 44), and given the very close textual relationship between B and N, N provides a fairly good idea of what the missing portion of B most likely resembled. Bischoff dated N to the first half of the ninth century, but B can be dated to the early decades of the ninth century; in light of this, B is probably the most reliable of the *Expositio* manuscript witnesses, and probably closest to the original archetype (often carrying the correct reading against the other witnesses). N has its own important place in the history of the *Expositio* as a whole, as the text which comes after the *Expositio* in this manuscript is the first part of the Lucan commentary of recension I ("Incipit secundum Lucam. Lucas ipse consurgens sirus natione antiosenses (*sic*), arte medicus, discipulus apostolorum ... .. ut multi bonas cogitationes contingit"): clearly, the commentary on Luke of recension I *was* still known, and presumably was deliberately replaced by the Ps.-Theophilus text in the second recension.

Manuscripts M (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 14514), R (Rheims, Bibl. mun. 110), Z (Zurich, Zentralbibl. Rh. 99) and F (Merseburg, Dombibl. 109) form another broad sub-group: F, however, is incomplete and cannot be tested for many crucial variants; R is also missing the last portion of the text. MR, and Z appear to be more closely connected, with F being in the same sub-group, but perhaps not having the same immediate model. First and foremost, MR and Z all attribute the *Expositio* text to Jerome in their incipits, and not to Gregory; this is repeated in the "second" incipit before the commentary on Matthew (Z has no incipit before the prologue, but does cite Jerome before the Matthean section). Furthermore, MR and Z are connected not only by a corpus of common readings, but also by a section added to the *Expositio* on the Beatitudes. The evidence of R is particularly

significant in this regard, as it places the section in question *before* the text of the *Expositio* proper (though it does follow the text's incipit), whereas M and Z place it after Luke (though without acknowledging it as separate from the commentary): this indicates that this portion was not part of the original *Expositio* text, but was appended later, and indeed, may have been circulating independently.

Minor changes in word order are commonplace in the FMRZ manuscripts: in the prologue (Prol.1., l. 30), MRZ read "Lucas **adsimilatur igne**" instead of "Lucas igne adsimilatur"; at Mk. 16:17 (II.11., l. 1300), MRZF read "linguis **loquentur nouis**" for the biblical lemma (as in the Vulgate) instead of "linguis nouis loquentur" (as in all of the other manuscripts). At Mt. 5:25 (I.5., l. 348), only MRZ read "in uia **cum eo**" in their biblical of this verse, and not "cum eo in uia" as in all the other manuscript witnesses. Changes in verb forms are frequent, such as "Helias raptus esset" instead of "Helias sit raptus" (II.19., l. 1397), "**monstrauit**" instead of "demonstrauit" (III.5., l. 1648), and "atque **coniungitur**" instead of the more common "atque iungitur" (II.14., l. 1360). The group also carries minor textual substitutions such as "genus **humanum**" instead of "genus hominum" in the prologue (Prol.2., l. 49), "de Israhel" for "ex Israhel" in the citation of Num. 24:17 at Mt. 2:1 (I.2., l. 164), and "flatu **spiritus sancti**" for "afflatu sancti spiritus" (II.13., l. 1333). Still more distinctive variants are substitutions like "**carnaliter**" for "corporaliter" at Mk. 16:17 (II.11., l. 1300). Other unique readings in MRZ, include the addition of "Humilitas, fides, prudentia" (I.8., l. 463) as a prelude to explaining how these three virtues were fulfilled in the centurion of Mt. 8:8 (though Plimpton 58 also has this reading).

Minor errors of omission are a more distinctive feature of this group. In an excerpt from Augustine's *De sermone domini* (II.20., l. 1440), FMRZ are the only manuscripts to omit the word "cara" from "hoc mundo **cara** amplectabantur admittunt". Some omissions, however, are more noteworthy, as at Jn. 2:3 (III.2., l. 1535), where FMRZ read "erat Iesus ibi" instead of the Vulgate "erat **mater Iesu ibi**", as in all other manuscript witnesses. Similarly, in the excerpt from Gregory's *Hom. 29 in Evang. c. 6* after the commentary on Mark (II.19., l. 1426), FMRZ omit the phrase "per coitum **genitus**", thereby upsetting the literary balance of the comparison between Enoch and Elijah, which should read, "Translatus namque est Enoch, **per coitum genitus** et per coitum generans; raptus est Helias, per coitum genitus sed non per coitum generans". Even more exceptional are the corrupted readings found only in this group of manuscripts, one of the most conspicuous

being a phrase at Mt. 17:1 (I.17., l. 709): instead of the correct reading of "Hic enim miram figurationem fecit Iesus", R and Z have "Hic enim **mirificam rationem** fecit Iesus", while M has "Hic est **mimirificam rationem** fecit Iesus" (F is missing this portion of the text); similarly at Mk. 15:36 (II.10., l. 1274), MRZ read "Iuda et Iudei pleni erant superstitionibus", where "Ita et iudei pleni erant superstitionibus" should be (F also reads "Ita" at this point). At Mt. 10:27 (I.10., l. 528), MRZ all read "Quod **autem** in aure" instead of "Quod auditis in aure" as in the other manuscripts (F is missing this portion of the text as well). In certain instances, FRZ go against M in their readings: as M is a much later manuscript (dating to the twelfth century), there was much more opportunity for scribal differences to creep in, even if its model was an earlier manuscript, perhaps contemporaneous with its counterparts.

Though these four manuscripts are undoubtedly from the same branch of the manuscript transmission, they nonetheless fall into smaller groups. R and F appear to be bound more closely to each other than to the other manuscripts; unfortunately, both are incomplete, with F faring worse than R in this respect. Besides the readings they share as part of the larger FMRZ group, they also carry variants unique to themselves. At II.19., l. 1420, only FR read "subleuatus" for "subuectus"; they read "edomas" for "edomitas" at II.20., l. 1454; at II.20., l. 1473, only FR have "extollere" where "extolli" should be, and at II.18., 1393, only these two have "manet in diuinitate" instead of the "manet diuinitate" of the other manuscripts. Likewise, M and Z appear to be more closely connected with each other than with the other members of their sub-group. They share many minor omissions of words (e.g. "Adae" in "quia **Adae** figuram habent" at Lk. 15:18 [IV.3., l. 2141], and "deus" in "Diues **deus** omnipotens est" at Lk. 16:1 [IV.4., l. 2153]), which misrepresent the meaning of the text; they also omit phrases, as at Lk. 16:6 (IV.4., l. 2169), where "qui dei misericordia indigebant" is omitted by these two manuscripts alone. These relationships are not exclusive, however, and there is frequent crossing-over between them. MR often exhibit an affinity with each other, as in their shared variant for a citation from Num. 24:17-18 (I.2., l. 164), where they alone read "**uastata que sit**" instead of "uastabitque Seth". Similarly at Mt. 13:8 (I.13., l. 578), only MR omit the word *ordinem* from "ordinem martyrum et monachorum uel uirginum". At Jn. 3:8 (III.3., l. 1571), where a citation of Ps. 84:9 is introduced, only F and Z read "**ad prophetam**" instead of "ait propheta". In the text's prologue (Prol.1., l. 18), only RZ read "magnitudinem **predicaui**" instead of "magnitudinem praedicaui", and only they read "discipulis eius **duobus**" instead of "duo discipulis eius" in relation to the disciples on the road to Emmaus (Prol.1.,

24). The associations of these manuscripts with others are not confined to their membership: Z is the only other manuscript to witness a passage found in B concerning an analogy between Leviathan and the devil after commenting on the genealogy of Christ at Mt. 1:18 (I.1., l. 135), but which is nonetheless necessary for the passage as a whole to make sense<sup>36</sup>:

Sicut piscator qui mittit amum in mare, et uenit piscis magnus<sup>37</sup> quasi Leuiathan *quaesiu*t capere escam, captus est ab amo. Piscis ille *magnus* Leuiathan est diabolus: *Uenit ad crucem diabolus* quaesiut capere christum et captus est ab eo.

Though only witnessed in full by one manuscript (B), and in part by another (Z), this passage was undoubtedly part of the original text. Z is the later manuscript, so it is not surprising that it has the more corrupted reading of the two; nevertheless, it must have had some part of the older tradition before the passage became corrupted, and is unique among the MRZ group in that regard.

F (Merseburg, Dombibl. 109) is another witness of singular interest for the *Expositio*. As noted above, it is connected with manuscripts MRZ, but it also carries a great many variants unattested in any of the other extant manuscripts; unfortunately, its text of the *Expositio* is incomplete, and only amounts to approximately half of the full text. It shows many changes in word order not seen elsewhere (as after Mt. 26:34 [I.26., l. 1065], where it reads "ut **solueret** uincula peccatorum **nostrorum**" instead of "ut nostrorum uincula peccatorum solueret"), and contains many independent interpolations, ranging from a single word to a full phrase. At Mt. 28:7 (I.28., l. 1106), after the biblical lemma of "In Galilea in monte eum uidebitis", F adds "Galilea interpretatur uolubilis". A longer passage is added after Mk. 8:14 (II.7., l. 1191): where the text reads "unum panem secum in naue detulerunt, id est Christum", F adds, "qui cum eo habuerunt omnia bona et ille erat eis panis uiuus". Another striking interpolation occurs at Mk. 14:52 (II.9., l. 1255) after the biblical reference to "adulescens relicto sindone fugit nudus ab eis", F adds "quod erat Iohannes", apparently identifying the anonymous youth with one of Christ's disciples. At Jn. 19:18 (III.19., l. 2034), F is the only manuscript to name the two thieves crucified with Christ. Though this portion of the manuscript is damaged, the interpolation is still discernible: "No---um latronum: unius Matha, a--- Ioca. Matha credidit, Ioca negauit u---m et elegit sibi mortem". There are also

<sup>36</sup> text marked in bold is unique to BZ; italicized portion is found only in B

<sup>37</sup> the other manuscripts read "inuenit pisces magnos" for "uenit piscis magnus"

many passages omitted from the text (apart from those portions lost through damaged or missing folios), usually (but not always) due to homoeoteleuton: at Jn. 10:34 (III.10., l. 1814), F omits "Ego dixi dii estis. Tribus modis deus dicitur: essentialiter, qui semper idem est deus; nuncupatiue, sicut supra" (F picks up with the second citation of "Ego dixi dii estis"); other passages are omitted in the same way at Mk. 16:15, Jn. 10:3, Jn. 15:4, and Jn. 19:31. Apart from the textual similarities it has with the MRZ group, F also shares unique variants with B and N. At Jn. 7:28 (III.7., l. 1696), only BFN (incorrectly) read "nescitis et unde sim scitis" instead of "me scitis". More striking is a citation of Gen. 3:18 found at Mk. 15:17 (II.10., l. 1267): where the other manuscripts read "unde dictum est spinas et tribulos germinentur tibi", BN read "unde dictum est **Adae** spinas et tribulos ..."; F reads "unde dictum est **ad**" a corruption of the text whose origin is only made clear in light of the evidence from B and N. Clearly, F was the subject of further editorial influence in the transmission of the second recension of the *Expositio*, but unfortunately, the extent of this remains undetermined, as the manuscript's text is incomplete.

The last of the *Expositio* manuscripts under discussion, L (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. Perg. 254), occupies a place apart in the manuscript transmission. The fact of its text having been corrected by at least three different hands makes it difficult to place the manuscript in any one textual stream, aside from its being outside the closed group of ACDKOPW manuscripts. In a great many instances, it agrees with the FMRZ group, but this is often the result of a corrected reading. As mentioned earlier, it is the only manuscript outside the ACDKOPW group to have rubrics denoting the various pericopes in the commentary. These were added subsequently in the margins, and many have been cut off as a result of the margins of the folios themselves having been trimmed. L has several omissions, mostly through homoeoteleuton (e.g., at Jn.1:39, Jn. 7:16, Jn. 12:38, and Jn. 13:18, among others), but by and large, it's text is a full representative of the *Expositio*, with relatively few corruptions.

Of all of the sub-groups in the *Expositio's* textual transmission, L most readily falls into the MRZ group. At Mt.14:20 (I.14., l. 643), MRZ alone read "pro qua causa non **reputatur** mulieres et paruuli sicut uiri", instead of "computantur"; L has "reputantur", grammatically incorrect but closer to MRZ than to the other manuscripts. L's variant of "violetes confessores" at Jn. 18:1 (III.3., l. 2022), as against "uel" for ACDKOPW and "uiligi/uilici" for BN, is much closer to FMZ who have

the correct reading of "uiolae confessores". Similarly, at Jn. 19:34 (III.19., l. 2061), L shares the FMZ variant for the piercing of Christ's side "latus eius perforauit" and not the "lata eius puncxit Longinus" found in all of the other manuscript witnesses (R is missing this portion of the text). In some cases, it favours one member of this group over another. For instance, only L and Z read "relictis innumeris militibus" instead of "relictis numerosis militibus" at Lk. 15:4 (IV.3., l. 2132); likewise at Lk. 16:7 (IV.4., l. 2177), only L and Z read "mutando uetero (L = ueteram)" instead of "mutando ueterem" (though L has been corrected from "mutandum", as found elsewhere). L also bears a strong resemblance to the text of M. A phrase repeated in M at Jn. 10:9 (III.10., l. 1789) is not found in any other manuscript except L, where it is introduced by "iterum": "Per me si quis intrauerit saluabitur, id est qui per doctrinam Christi intrauerit saluabitur; iterum id est qui per doctrinam Christi intrauerit ille saluabit populum". The phrase could have been dropped from an early archetype of the other manuscripts through homoeoteuton, as its inclusion does not appear to be a result of dittography. Another noteworthy variant shared only by M and L is found at Jn. 2:14 (III.2., l. 1551), where Jesus drives the money-lenders out of the temple: while all other manuscripts read "et coepit flagellum de funiculis", M has "fecit flagellum de funiculis"; L also has M's reading of "fecit", but it has been corrected from an initial reading of "coepit".

In other instances, L falls outside the FMRZ group reading. At Jn. 3:23 (III.3., l. 1587), manuscripts ABCDKNOP read "iuxta Salim ... quia antea uocauerunt Gebus unde nomen acciperunt Gebusei, et nunc uocatur Gehenna, ubi immolauerunt filios suos et filias suas demonis", whereas FMRZ correctly read "quia antea uocauerunt Iebus unde nomen acciperunt Iebusei". L shares the first reading, which confuses the etymology of Hierusalem ("iuxta salim") with that of Enon, and thus goes against the FMRZ group it is wont to follow. Similarly, at Jn. 11:17 (III.11., l. 1836), referring to the fact that Lazarus remained in his tomb for four days, L's first reading is that of the FMRZ group, namely "quia triduanum", but has been corrected to read "quadriduanum" as in all other manuscripts (with the exception of W, as noted above) outside that group. Nonetheless, despite its fairly consistent agreement with the FMRZ family of manuscripts and others, L also has unique variants of its own. At Jn. 14:16 (III.14., l. 1944) L reads "rogaui patrem meum" instead of "rogabo patrem meum"; Jn. 14:1 (III.14., l. 1931) sees "Non conturbetur cor uestrum" instead of "Non turbetur cor uestrum"; at Jn. 4:5 (III.4., l. 1597), as a gloss on "Uenit in predium", only L reads "quod est agrum Ioseph" and

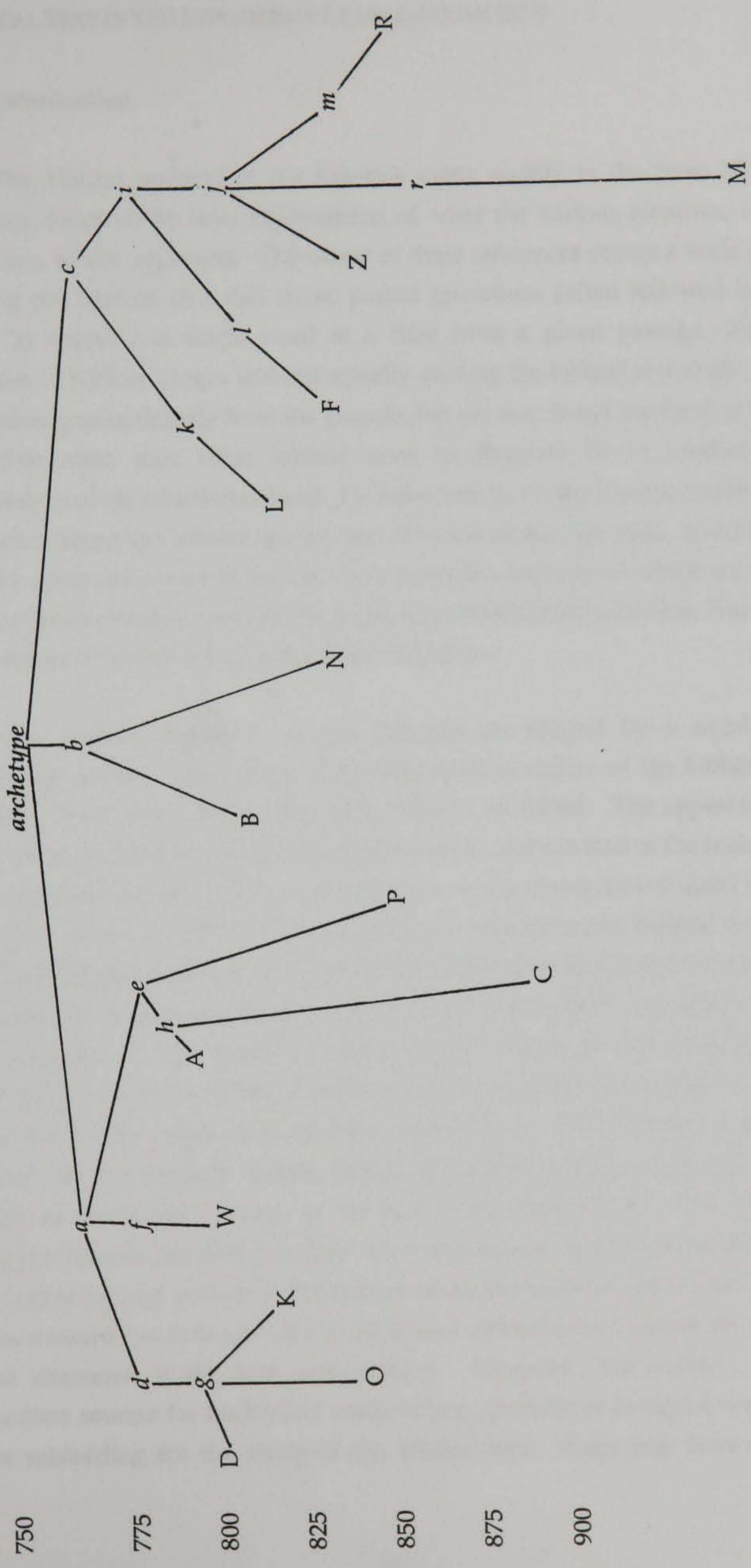
not "quod est agrum Iacob"; and at Jn. 8:5 (III.8., l. 1710), L is the only manuscript to read "Moyses mandavit nobis lapidare". L is often corrected from a reading attested in the other manuscripts to one not witnessed anywhere else, as at Jn. 4:18 (III.4., l. 1616), where L has "in dominicis uerbis" (*corr. ex "dominica uerba"*), and the other manuscripts have "in dominica uerba". L's value as a textual witness to the *Expositio* lies not so much in its ninth-century date, but rather in its role as an independent witness, by virtue of its not clearly belonging to a particular textual stream. Its innumerable corrections also imply that there was some sort of exchange taking place with other *Expositio* manuscripts, as the corrections involve not only orthographic and grammatical readings, but textual readings as well. Thus, L can often provide an arbitrating balance between the main manuscript groups when there is significant disagreement in a particular reading; as such, it also attests to the clearly diverse manuscript transmission of the text.

## Conclusion

As the foregoing shows, the manuscripts of the *Expositio* fall into three major groups: BN, FMRZ (with L sharing many elements with that group, but not exclusively), and ACDKOPW. B (Paris, lat. 2796), with its corroborating witness of N (Merseburg, Dombibl. 103), seems to have the most reliable text (i.e. closest to the original), even if its orthography leaves something to be desired. Z is also a sound witness, but shows signs of editorial influence: though its readings *per se* have not necessarily been corrected, they often differ from those in other manuscripts in that they alone attempt to set right what is otherwise grammatically wrong. M and R are somewhat less valuable: R is generally a poorer representative of the text with many orthographic errors and corrupted readings, and M is much later than all of the manuscripts, and has incorporated many more faulty readings into its text than the others. F is incomplete, but also shows signs of independent editorial influence, with its unique interpolations; it generally follows MRZ in its readings, and offers little insight into the archetype which is not attested elsewhere. L does not appear to be dependent on any one particular manuscript stream, but the fact of its having undergone extensive correction makes it somewhat less reliable; notwithstanding its many emendations, as a corroborating witness to what seem to be original readings, it is useful, and indeed, in certain instances, it alone carries the correct reading against the other manuscripts.

The ACDKOPW manuscripts represent the third and final sub-group in the manuscript transmission. Within this group, D, K and O have what is probably the purest form of this textual stream, but P may be the closest thing to a bridge between this group and the manuscripts outside it. A, while being the oldest of these, has many gaps; C was much less carefully written, and has many scribal errors; W, while belonging firmly inside the ACDKOPW group, betrays influence from outside that stream in certain readings. Despite its typically sound grammar and orthography, the group's departures from the other manuscripts (particularly its interpolations and omissions) must be regarded with some suspicion, and are doubtless the result of further editorial work in the text's transmission. Thus, while having a reasonably reliable text of the *Expositio*, these manuscripts nonetheless represent a second stage in its evolution: the errors shared by all seven manuscripts for certain readings show this textual stream to be a *derivative* of some older archetype, and not a model of the original, subsequently edited into the form found in other manuscript witnesses. This process must have taken place relatively early on, as both A and D are among the earliest of the extant *Expositio* manuscripts. In spite of its characteristic departures from the other witnesses, it can still be used to determine the correct reading for certain passages; however, in weighing up the proportion of textual witnesses for a given reading, the ACDKOPW manuscripts must often be counted as one witness, particularly when they are unanimous in a specific reading. Be that as it may, they do undoubtedly contain many elements reflecting the content of the archetype which lies behind all of the manuscripts of the *Expositio's* second recension, and though caution must be exercised in placing too much emphasis on their evidence, ultimately, these manuscripts cannot be dismissed as valuable witnesses to the original text.

Putative Ms Stemma -- Expositio IV Evangeliorum (Rec. II)



### 3. BIBLICAL TEXT IN THE *EXPOSITIO IV EVANGELIORUM* (RII)

#### I. Introduction

The biblical material of the *Expositio* exists mainly in the form of short quotations, followed by brief explanations of what the various elements, or the excerpt as a whole, represent. The extent of these references covers a wide range including the citation of a full verse, partial quotations (often followed by the phrase "*et reliqua*"), a single word at a time from a given passage, and the invocation of biblical images without actually quoting the biblical text at all. They are all taken predominantly from the gospels, but are not always confined to these: the author often uses other biblical texts to illustrate or to reinforce his interpretation of the selection at hand. He relies heavily on the Pauline epistles, but also quotes from the Catholic epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. In addition, there are many references to the Old Testament, the majority of which are taken from the Book of Psalms; one also finds passages from Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Proverbs Job, and Isaiah among others.

The biblical quotations of the *Expositio* are shaped by a number of contributing factors. First, there is the fundamental nature of the biblical text familiar to the author, that is, Old Latin, Vulgate, or mixed. The appearance of Jerome's translation of the Bible in the fourth century did not lead to the immediate abandonment of the *Vetus Latina* text, but rather to the emergence of many strains of a "mixed" bible text with varying proportions of Old Latin and Vulgate readings. Indeed, for the period between the sixth and ninth centuries, there is evidence all over Europe of an abundant variety of such mixed bible texts.<sup>38</sup> In addition to the basic character of the author's biblical model, there is the possibility of the "correction" of some of the *Expositio's* biblical quotations to reflect a (later) Vulgate text in the course of its broader transmission. Thus, through a gradual "revision" with a Vulgate model, many Old Latin readings may have been replaced, as evidenced in some of the text's later manuscripts. The different readings for biblical citations contained in various manuscripts of the *Expositio* may reflect earlier or later periods in the history of its transmission, and if the biblical text was a mixed one to begin with, an increased contamination would obscure the original character of the text even further. Moreover, the author's use of intermediate sources for his biblical citations (e.g., patristic or liturgical texts) may also be misleading for the study of the biblical text: these may have already

contained Vulgate and/or Old Latin elements, and biblical quotations from such secondary sources merely reflect their own immediate model, rather than that of the primary text in question.

The author's practice of abridging and paraphrasing his citations compounds the problem of tracing the biblical text to its archetype. Although the reduction of biblical quotations to the substance of their content is in general keeping with the somewhat brusque style of the text, this habitual summarising may conceal any distinctive features of the biblical model, even if such paraphrases remain faithful to the essence of the original verse. The author also applies this method in certain instances when quoting dialogue, and often employs an *oratio obliqua* construction (cf. Mt. 8:10, Jn. 8:49). By and large, however, direct speech is reported as such, even if the author takes liberties with the word order, or compresses a long passage into a brief citation (cf. Jn. 11:49-50). Despite their brevity, many of the paraphrased passages include Old Latin or variant Vulgate readings which may shed some light on the question of the *Expositio's* scriptural archetype (these are discussed at greater length below). Conversely, the author also adds a word or a phrase to some of his biblical quotations, though again without necessarily changing the original wording of the passage (apart from his own brief interpolation) and rarely changing its sense in any significant way. In a similar vein, the text's biblical quotations are also occasionally supplemented with elements of popular Christian lore (e.g., Mt. 17:1, Jn. 19:34 -- see discussion below under "Sources".)

In certain instances the author is clearly quoting his biblical citations from memory, and as a result, harmonisation of the gospels occurs frequently. Hence, when quoting Mt. 12:1 ("*Discipuli uellent espicas*"), the author adds the words "*confricantes manibus*" -- a phrase from Lk. 6:1 dealing with the same episode -- and incorporates it into his citation of the Matthean passage. At Mt. 11:17, where the Vulgate has "*cecinimus uobis*", the *Expositio* has instead "*cantauiumus uobis tibiis*", the phrase found at Lk. 7:32 for the same pericope, and at Jn. 1:42, where the Vulgate reads "*tu es Simon filius Iohanna, tu uocaberis Cephas*" the *Expositio* has "*tu es Simon Barionas, tu uocaberis Cephas*". "*Barionas*" is presumably a reference to Mt. 16:17 ("*beatus es Simon Bar Iona*"), though this latter passage occurs in a slightly different context. Mt. 17:1-5, which deals with Christ's transfiguration, contains a verse from Acts 1:9: instead of "*ecce nubes lucida obumbravit eos*" (Vulgate Mt. 17:5), the text reads "*et nubes suscepit eum ab oculis eorum*", the wording used to describe the final

ascension of Christ in the Acts of the Apostles; the *Expositio* does, however, go on to comment on the "*nubes candida*". At Mt. 21:42, the author refers to the "*Lapis scissus de monte sine manibus*", a phrase not found in any of the gospels; this is a reference to a phrase from Dan. 2:45, "*de monte abscisus est lapis sine manibus*": the connection between the two is found in Jerome<sup>39</sup>, among other writers. Neither is it unusual for the author to associate different passages from a gospel with one another, as at Jn. 12:45, where the author substitutes the Vulgate reading ("*et qui videt me videt eum qui misit me*") with a quotation from Jn. 14:9 ("*Qui vidit me vidit et patrem*").

This type of departure from the Vulgate is very probably indicative of the author's own contextual memory. He used the biblical formulations which were most familiar to him when citing his references, and, whether consciously or otherwise, associated similar episodes with one another, introducing his interpolations into the biblical quotations without comment or explanation. This, coupled with the constant re-wording of the text, highlights an important aspect of the *Expositio*, namely, the function of the biblical text within the work as a whole. Clearly, the author was not overly mindful of any need for an accurate textual rendering of his biblical citations and apparently did not feel that taking liberties with the biblical text jeopardised its sense or substance in any way: rather, he seems to have been more concerned with providing a reference point for his reader, and probably considered his comments on these passages to be the more important of the two. This leads to the broader question of the *Expositio's* role as an exegetical text: a student studying the elementary exegesis of the gospels, or a cleric using the *Expositio* to prepare a sermon on any given pericope need not have been concerned with the textual accuracy of the biblical reference, as long as it was substantially the same as the scriptural quotation itself. He would presumably have had a copy of the gospels available to him, and merely required a frame of reference in order to understand the allusion in the exegetical portion of the text.

In spite of the fact that the author often appears to be quoting from memory (or at least, to be making little effort to adhere strictly or literally to the biblical text), there are many instances when he clearly intends to quote the text verbatim. Still, the vast majority of the *Expositio's* biblical excerpts depart from their corresponding Vulgate readings in varying degrees: out of roughly 680 separate gospel verses in recension II of the *Expositio* (including paraphrases), only some 220

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<sup>39</sup> Jerome, *Comm. in Daniele*, lib. I, cap. 2; cf. Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tract.* 4, par. 4.

-- approximately one third -- can be said to match the corresponding Vulgate passages. Apart from paraphrasing and abridgement, the differences between the two cover a wide range. A simple inversion of word order is fairly common: at Mt. 4:16, our author has "*Populus gentium qui sedebat in tenebris*" instead of the Vulgate "*populus qui sedebat in tenebris*": at first glance, the word "*gentium*" in the *Expositio* quotation seems to be an addition; however, it is more than likely taken from Mt. 4:15, which ends with "*trans Iordanen Galilaeae gentium*". The *Expositio* reading most likely resulted from an inversion in the word order of "*gentium populus*", particularly since the expression "*populus gentium*" was quite common in religious works, and is certainly found scattered throughout the text. There is also the occasional substitution of one word for another with the same approximate meaning (e.g., at Mt. 3:12, the *Expositio* has "*colligit triticum*" instead of the Vulgate "*congregabit triticum*"); similarly, alternate prepositions are sometimes used (e.g., at Mt. 21:19, "*iuxta viam*" instead of "*secus viam*").

Other minor textual variations include changes of verb tense and the substitution of participles for conjugated verbs and vice versa. Both orthographic and morphographic variants (i.e., the form and inflexion of certain words) are quite common and not necessarily indicative of any peculiarities in the text's biblical model. Scribal error doubtless accounts for many of the spelling variations between the *Expositio* and the Vulgate. The incorrect expansion of certain abbreviations may also lead to discrepancies, as with "*quia*" and "*quoniam*", whose abbreviations are fairly similar but may also vary from region to region. This type of scribal disparity is an inevitable consequence of continuous recopying, and corrupted readings may often be compounded by successive scribes. Indeed, though such variants may appear in certain Vulgate, or even Old Latin manuscripts, they may not necessarily prove to be reliable witnesses from which to identify the character of the biblical text used by the author, but may simply represent independent readings. One must look to other, more conspicuous variations in order to draw any significant conclusions regarding the *Expositio*'s biblical model.

## II. Variants in the *Expositio* : Old Latin

The frequent departures from the Vulgate in the biblical quotations of recension II contain variants attested elsewhere in biblical manuscripts of both a

Vulgate and an Old Latin type text. Many of these are simply variations in spelling, word inflexion, word substitution, or word order. Their similarity with other biblical texts may be merely coincidental, and they may not necessarily be indicative of any one biblical model; other readings, however, are more reliable and are attested in both Vulgate and Old Latin manuscripts. Though there are many more variants than are here set out, only those with any significant textual value are given: orthographic or morphographic variants are not listed, nor are those which consist only of changes in word order.

As regards Old Latin readings, it should be noted here that while Fischer's exhaustive study on the *Vetus Latina*<sup>40</sup> is invaluable in tracing some of the *Expositio*'s variants to Old Latin models, there is a restriction on how much material applies: Fischer chose only four test sections from each gospel and collated over 450 Old Latin and "mixed" manuscripts for those passages. Thus for the biblical material outside the parameters of Fischer's study, one must rely on older works which do not deal with nearly the same number of witnesses: namely, the Wordsworth-White edition of the Vulgate, which covers some 30 manuscripts (including some Old Latin), and the Jülicher edition of the Old Latin Gospels, which deals with only the earliest representatives of the Old Latin text (i.e., approximately ten to fifteen manuscripts)<sup>41</sup> All *Expositio* citations pertain to recension II, unless otherwise specified; the corresponding Vulgate verse is given underneath in square brackets ([ ]).

1. Mt. 2:12 Ammoniti in somnis ne redirent ad Herodem  
[et responso accepto in somnis ne redirent ad Herodem ]

The wording of this passage is clearly Old Latin, and is attested in manuscripts a b c d f g<sub>1</sub> q<sup>42</sup>, but not in any Vulgate manuscripts. Both recensions II and III have the Old Latin reading, but recension I<sup>43</sup> contains the Vulgate reading ("*responso accepto ...*"). This may be a result of subsequent editorial revision: as the

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<sup>40</sup> Bonifatius Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, vol. I-IV, (Freiburg, 1988).

<sup>41</sup> I. Wordsworth, H.I. White, H.F.D. Sparks, *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine secundum editionem S. Hieronymi*, (Oxford 1889-1954); Adolf Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in Altlateinischer Überlieferung* (Berlin 1963).

<sup>42</sup> see Appendix III for manuscript sigla.

<sup>43</sup> as no critical edition of recension I exists, all quotations in reference to this first recension will be taken from *PL* 30, p. 531-590.



Tense change is a fairly common type of variant between the quotations of the Vulgate and the *Expositio*, and need not be over-emphasised as a distinguishing feature of the latter's biblical text. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the "erat" of the *Expositio's* citation at Jn. 7:39 is attested in a handful of Old Latin manuscripts, namely b e l r<sub>1</sub>. Similarly, the word "honorificatus" is also attested in many Old Latin manuscripts: Ggf Ki Mckn Pbt Za, as well as b ff<sub>2</sub> l q r<sub>1</sub>. (Note the presence of the Irish Old Latin manuscript, r<sub>1</sub>, for both of these variants.) Recension III omits this reference and recension I has the same "erat honorificatus" reading as recension II.

5. Jn. 12:24 Granum tritici  
[granum frumenti]

Here again, though the "tritici" at Jn. 12:24 does not appear to be a Vulgate variant, it is found in many Old Latin manuscripts: a b c d e f ff<sub>2</sub> r<sub>1</sub> and Bo Cf Fi Gf Lm Mk Pt Za; once again, though this group of witnesses does cover a wide spectrum, at least one, r<sub>1</sub>, belongs to the Irish stream of Old Latin biblical texts. (Both recension I and III read "tritici" instead of the Vulgate "frumenti" for the same reference.)

6. Jn. 9:21 Aetatem habet ipse pro se loquatur  
[aetatem habet ipse de se loquatur]

Though preposition substitution does occur throughout the text (e.g., "in" for "ad" or "ad" for "a" -- Mk. 14:62), the variant of "pro" instead of the Vulgate "de" in Jn. 9:21 is more distinctive. It does not appear as a Vulgate variant in the Wordsworth-White edition, but does occur in several Old Latin manuscripts, namely a b c e ff<sub>2</sub> q r<sub>1</sub>. This reference is omitted from recension III, but it shows up in recension I as "aetatem habet ipse per se loquatur". Given that the abbreviations for these two prepositions are fairly similar, the model almost certainly had "pro"; due to a scribal error in expanding the abbreviation, "per" made its way into the text. Hence, the reading in recension I may well be another witness to the Old Latin text, rather than just another alternate reading.

7. Jn. 18:3 Uenerunt Iudaei cum lanternis et faculis  
 [Iudas ... venit illuc cum lanternis et facibus et armis ]

The *Expositio's* rendering of this biblical verse is clearly a paraphrase of the original text. Nonetheless, the use of "*faculis*" betrays an Old Latin usage; in manuscripts *c e r<sub>1</sub>*, the word "*faculis*" replaces the Vulgate "*facibus*". Furthermore, we find that "*faculis*" appears in recension III's citation of this same reference ("*Uenerunt iudaei cum laternis et faculis*"). The Old Latin witnesses may not be numerous (though it should be noted that this particular pericope was not tested by Fischer in his work on the *Vetus Latina* text), but one again we find an Irish witness in *r<sub>1</sub>*.

8. Mt. 14:6-11 Puella quae saltauit in conuiuio ... datum est puellae...  
 attulit matri suae  
 [saltauit filia Herodiadis in medio ... datum est puellae et tulit  
 matri suae ]

The phrase "*in conuiuio*" instead of the Vulgate "*in medio*" is not listed as a variant for any of the Vulgate manuscripts collated, and apparently is attested in only one of the Old Latin manuscripts collated, namely *ff<sub>1</sub>* (a manuscript from Corbie dated to the first half of the eighth century). Unfortunately, Fischer's study does not include a collation of the manuscripts for this pericope, so it is not known at this point whether the reading occurs in other Old Latin codices. Similarly, the *Expositio's* "*attulit*" does not appear in the Vulgate witnesses, but is attested in the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts *b c d f ff<sub>1</sub> ff<sub>2</sub> g h l q*; thus it too would appear to be an Old Latin reading. Both of these variants are also found in recensions I and III.

9. Jn. 1:9-11 Uenientem in hunc mundum ... in suam uenit ... sui eum  
 non cognouerunt  
 [uenientem in mundum ... in propria uenit et sui eum non  
 receperunt ]

The first variant of "*hunc mundum*" is fairly well attested in many Vulgate manuscripts (CDEEpHMO<sup>g</sup>QRT) and in a handful of Old Latin manuscripts (*a b c e*). However, the citation of Jn. 1:11 is a slightly different matter: *a q* both have "*in sua uenit*", and *b ff<sub>2</sub> r<sub>1</sub>* have "*in sua propria uenit*". Whatever the specific manuscript derivation for "*suam*" (a scribal error for "*sua*"?), it is also an Old Latin reading. The *Expositio's* "*cognouerunt*" at Jn. 1:11 (instead of "*receperunt*") is not listed as a variant in either the Vulgate or Old Latin manuscripts (though, again, this pericope

is not covered in Fischer's study, and may merely be an echo of Jn. 1:10 ("*mundus eum non cognouit*"). Recension III has all of the same readings for these verses (Jn. 1:9-11) as recension II; recension I omits the section of Jn. 1:9 in question (i.e., "*uenientem in ...*"), and at Jn. 1:11, has "*in sua uenit*" but "*sui eum non recipierunt*", the latter being very similar to the Vulgate reading.

10. Mt. 2:14 Surgit Ioseph in nocte ... abiit in Aegyptum  
[*consurgens accepit puerum et matrem eius nocte et recessit in Aegyptum* ]

The first variant of "*surgit*" is reminiscent of the Old Latin: manuscripts a b c g<sub>1</sub> q have "*Surgens autem Ioseph*". Substitution of participles and conjugated verbs is a fairly common variant in the *Expositio*, and the Old Latin "*surgens*" might have suggested the "*surgit*" to the author. ("*Surgit*" shows up in only one Vulgate manuscript, E, a member of the "Celtic" DELQR group.) Moreover, the *Expositio's* "*abiit*" (as opposed to the Vulgate "*recessit*"), though not attested as a Vulgate variant, shows up in the Old Latin manuscripts a b c f g<sub>1</sub> l q . Recension III shares the recension II readings (though it has "*abiit in Aegypto*" for the second part) and the only reference to Mt. 2:14 in recension I is "*noctem*".

11. Mt. 25:29 Qui non habet ipsum quod habet auferetur ab eo  
[*qui non habet et quod videtur habere auferetur ab eo* ]

The substitution in this quotation of "*quod videtur habere*" in favour of the *Expositio's* "*quod habet*" is not attested in many Vulgate manuscripts; of all the manuscripts collated in the Wordsworth-White edition, it appears only in R (a member of the Celtic group of biblical manuscripts). It is, however, better represented in Old Latin manuscripts, showing up in a b c ff<sub>1</sub> ff<sub>2</sub> h q r (the last of which is also an Irish representative). Recension I reads as recension II, while recension III's quotation of this verse is abbreviated to "*auferetur ab eo*".

### III. Variants in the *Expositio* : Vulgate

Apart from the various "pure" Old Latin readings found throughout the *Expositio*, there are many which are attested in both Vulgate and Old Latin

manuscripts. Moreover, those which can be traced show a much greater emphasis on Celtic representation in their Vulgate textual witnesses, alongside the many *Vetus Latina* manuscripts. Since a feature of the so-called "Celtic" group of Vulgate manuscripts (i.e., DELQR) is their "mixed" character (i.e., Vulgate and Old Latin elements), the evidence from the Vulgate witnesses here is not necessarily inconsistent with that from the often greater number of Old Latin witnesses.

Since much of what follows will involve textual witnesses included in the "Celtic" group of manuscripts mentioned above, a few remarks on these will be appropriate here. Scholarship in recent years has questioned the unity of the DELQR group, that is, the extent to which it can be considered a family apart, and its precise nature (i.e., the extent to which it is truly representative of the "Irish" tradition). As M. McNamara observes,<sup>44</sup> this group does not distinguish between an "Irish" text *per se* and a Celtic one: E was probably written in Brittany and L in England near the Welsh border; some scholars believe that even the Book of Kells (Q) originated in Iona or Northumbria. Many early Irish biblical manuscripts remain to be studied in depth, and thus one cannot say with absolute certainty that the DELQR group represents the central Irish tradition for the biblical text in the early medieval period. Nonetheless, the marginal glosses contained in the Echternach Gospels (Ep) are a very important witness to this "Celtic" set of readings, as they constitute revisions of a Vulgate text in accordance with the unique readings found in the DELQR group. Thus, whatever about the relationships of these manuscripts with one another (or indeed the origin of their idiosyncratic readings), the evidence of Ep indicates that by the seventh or eighth century, there was clearly a tradition of Celtic "mixed" biblical texts in circulation. Though only a complete collation of the manuscripts DELQR and the other Irish Gospel texts will reveal the true nature of this "Celtic" or "Irish" text, in the absence of further work done in this area, the traditional assumptions concerning this group will obtain for the analysis of the *Expositio* gospel citations: namely, that the DELQR group does represent a Celtic stream of biblical readings which sets it apart from continental ones, and that a significant feature of these peculiar readings is a strong Old Latin element. Furthermore, the point should be made that though there is a preponderance of Celtic witnesses among the examples cited here, this is not the result of selective analysis: this phenomenon reflects the wider picture presented by the biblical citations overall, where support for non-Vulgate variants

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<sup>44</sup> M. McNamara, *Studies on Texts of Early Irish Latin Gospels, A.D. 600-1200* (Steenbrugge: In Abbatia S. Petri, 1990), p. 8.

(barring obvious paraphrases of biblical quotations) among the DELQR and Ep manuscripts is fairly consistent; no other obvious pattern emerges.

12. Jn. 13:1 Diligens suos qui erant in mundo usque in finem dilexit eos  
[*cum dilexisset suos qui erant in mundo in finem dilexit eos* ]

The variant "*diligens*" appears only in E of the Vulgate group of manuscripts, but is attested in several Old Latin manuscripts, namely a b d f q r<sub>1</sub> (note that both the Vulgate and Old Latin representatives of this reading have members of the Celtic family of biblical manuscripts -- E and r). The other notable variant is the presence of "usque" in the *Expositio*'s quotation of this verse: the Vulgate witnesses consist of DER (all from the Celtic group), while the Old Latin representatives include a b f ff<sub>2</sub> l q , and many others (for full list see Fischer<sup>45</sup>). Recension I has "*dilexi uos qui ...*" for the first variant, but also has the "usque" of the second; recension III contains the same readings as recension II for this verse.

13. Mt. 27:31 Exuerunt eum clamide et induerunt uestimentis suis  
[*exuerunt eum clamydem et induerunt eum uestimentis eius* ]

The variant "*suis*" for "*eius*" is not attested in many Vulgate manuscripts. Wordsworth-White list only three, namely DEEp<sup>mg</sup>, but two of these (DE) belong to the Celtic group, and the marginal glosses of the third (Ep) reflect the unique readings associated with the DELQR group. This variant does, however, occur in some seventeen Old Latin manuscripts (Bckst Cz Gbklw[e] Hfin[qd] Pab Vb Yr), in which the Irish, Breton and Gallican families are well-represented. Both recension I and III also carry the "*suis*" variant for this verse.

14. Mt. 2:22 Archelaus regnauit pro Herode patre suo, timuit illuc ire  
[*Archelaus regnaret in Iudaea pro Herode patre suo timuit illo ire* ]

Though the *Expositio*'s citation is a slight abridgement of the fuller Vulgate text, the variant of "*illuc*" is striking: not only is it attested in Vulgate manuscripts ADEFHLQRT, but it also occurs in approximately 85 Old Latin manuscripts from

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<sup>45</sup> Bonifatius Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert: IV. Varianten zu Iohannes* (Freiburg, 1988), p. 419.

all regions of medieval Europe.<sup>46</sup> Recension III has the Vulgate reading "*timuit illo irae (sic)*", but the entire reference to Mt. 2:22 is absent from recension I. Of the ten Vulgate witnesses, five belong to the Celtic family of Vulgate texts -- DELQR.

15. Mt. 4:10 Uade retro Satanas  
[*Vade Satanas* ]

At Mt. 4:10, the addition of "retro" is attested in CDEEpLQRX, as well as approximately 75 Old Latin manuscripts from almost every regional group, with the "Irish" family showing the heaviest representation.<sup>47</sup> The reference is not found in recension III, and recension I has the shorter "*uade retro*". Once again, the five representatives of the "Celtic" group of manuscripts are included among the eight Vulgate witnesses, with one other (Ep) having Celtic affiliations. This variant could represent another Old Latin element, or might also derive from a Vulgate witness; the majority of the Vulgate texts cited here are of a mixed nature themselves, and already contain Old Latin elements of their own.

16. Mt. 17:5 Nubs candida                      Mt. 28:3 candorem uestimenti  
[*nubes lucida* ]                                      [*uestimentum eius sicut nix*]

At Mt. 17:5, recension II contains the Old Latin reading of "*candida*" as attested in the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts ff<sub>1</sub> and r<sub>1</sub>; the reference is absent from recension III, but recension I also has "*candida*" instead of "*lucida*". The text at Mt. 28:3 is clearly a paraphrase of the biblical verse, which appears as "*vestimenta eius candida sicut nix*" in DEEp<sup>m&g</sup>L and a b ff<sub>2</sub> h q r<sub>1</sub> (note that three of the four Vulgate manuscripts belong to the Celtic group while the fourth, Ep, has Celtic affiliations). Recension I also has "*candorem uestimenti*" for this reference, whereas recension III simply has "*candorem*" in the same place. Although the *Expositio* does not match the *Vetus Latina* reading verbatim, the Old Latin "*candida*" may well have suggested the "*candorem uestimenti*" to our author; it is not impossible that the Old Latin reading could have found its way into the text in this manner, and be represented there, if only in paraphrase.

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<sup>46</sup> Fischer, I, p. 16.

<sup>47</sup> Fischer, I, p. 110.

17. Mt. 24:30 Apparebit signum in caelo  
[*tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in caelo* ]

Though the *Expositio* citation is clearly an abridgement of the biblical text, the variant "*apparebit*" is attested in certain Vulgate manuscripts, namely DEEpQR and f l r<sub>1</sub> of the Old Latin type. Whether this points to an Old Latin model or a Vulgate one, it would seem to belong, once again, to the Celtic stream: almost all of the Vulgate witnesses belong to the Celtic group, while one (Ep) has close Celtic connections; of the three Old Latin witnesses, at least one (r) is from the Irish family. Recension III omits the reference completely, while recension I has "*apparet*" a reading which seems closer to "*apparebit*" than to "*parebit*".

18. Mt. 23:37 Sicut gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas suas  
[*quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas* ]

The first variant, "*sicut*", is not found in many other biblical manuscripts: it is attested only in DE of the Vulgate type (both of which belong to the Celtic group) and in a d h r<sub>1</sub> of the Old Latin model (here again we find an Irish representative in r<sub>1</sub>). The second variant, the addition of "*suas*" after "*alas*" is not attested in any of the Old Latin manuscripts collated to date, but does appear in a handful of Vulgate models -- DEEpHLQT -- half of which belong to the Celtic family (DELQ) and one of which (Ep) shows affinities with the afore-mentioned Celtic group. (Recension I contains both of these variants, but the reference is absent from recension III).

19. Jn. 14:16 Rogabo patrem meum  
[*et ego rogabo Patrem* ]

The addition of "*meum*" in this verse is attested in only two Vulgate manuscripts, namely, D and R; manuscript E has the reading "*patremeum*", and it is more than likely that the scribe (probably either reading or writing in *scriptura continua* style, with little or no word division) mistook the last "m" in "*patrem*" for the first "m" in "*meum*": hence, he wrote only one "m" instead of two, but doubtless intended "*patrem meum*". We then have three witnesses to the *Expositio's* reading, all of which belong to the Celtic group (no Old Latin manuscripts are listed for this variant). Recension I also has "*patrem meum*" but the verse is omitted from recension III.

One other striking biblical quotation is that at Jn. 5:4, in the pericope of the lame man at the pool of Bethsaida. Apparently, there was an intermittent spring in the pool which caused the waters to bubble up at certain intervals; the text at Jn. 5:4 explains that an angel would come down to the pool to agitate the waters, and that the first person into the pool after this ebullition would be cured of his ailments. The angel was a popular explanation for this turbulence and for the healing powers attributed to the pool, but the verse is not found in any of the important or early Greek manuscripts of the New Testament; furthermore, there are a number of different readings of this passage, some retaining and others omitting one or another portion, a circumstance usually regarded as betraying subsequent interpolation.<sup>48</sup> The passage was most probably introduced into the text from a marginal notation, perhaps originally recorded to explain the lame man's words at Jn. 5:7 ("*cum turbata fuerit aqua mittat me in piscinam dum venio enim ego alius ante me descendit*"). The passage is acknowledged by both Tertullian and John Chrysostome,<sup>49</sup> and hence must be very old. The addition is generally regarded as spurious, and is not included in the text of the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate, although its chapter numbers go from Jn. 5:3 to 5:5. It does, however, appear in certain Old Latin and Vulgate manuscripts. Wordsworth - White distinguish three recensions of this passage among their collated manuscripts which carry the verse:

- i. *angelus autem domini secundum tempus descendebat in piscinam et mouebat aquam qui ergo primus descendisset post motum aquae sanus fiebat a quocumque languore tenebatur*
- ii. *angelus autem domini secundum tempus descendebat in piscinam et mouebatur aqua et qui prior descendisset in piscinam post motionem aquae sanus fiebat a quacumque detinebatur infirmitate*
- iii. *angelus autem secundum tempus lauabatur in natatoria et mouebatur aqua et qui prior descendisset in natatoriam post motionem aquae sanus fiebat a languore quocumque tenebatur*

Recension II carries the reading "*Angelus enim descendebat per tempus et mouebatur aqua*"; unfortunately, recension II's rendition of the passage is not a verbatim match for any of these, and only covers the first part of this verse. Of the

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<sup>48</sup> Hermann Olshausen, *Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, trans. by David Fosdick, Jr. (New York: 1858), pp. 389-390.

<sup>49</sup> Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, c. 5 (CCL 1, p. 281); John Chrysostome, *In Ioh. Homilia XXXVI* (PG 59, p. 203-204). <sup>50</sup> On this subject, see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, esp. chap. 1 (pp. 1-37).

three, it is probably closest to the second version (attested in BfCEGHIKOQTVWZ and c ff<sub>2</sub> d aur ), with its combination of "descendebat" and "mouebatur aqua"; but, as in so many other instances, it is undoubtedly an abridgement or paraphrase of its original model. Recension III omits the reference completely (its text goes from Jn. 3:23 to Jn. 6:24), and recension I's reference as found in Clm 14388 (a ninth century R I manuscript) -- the passage is not found in the *PL* text -- consists of only a few words, "angelum" and "moto aque". Thus neither recension I nor III can shed much light on the question of the model for this passage. Nonetheless, it would seem that the author of the *Expositio* considered it to be a legitimate part of the biblical text, and quoted it as such.

#### IV. Analysis

The biblical material contained in recension II of the *Expositio* cannot, realistically, be traced to a known biblical archetype. Nonetheless, the preceding examples should demonstrate, if not the exact model, then at least the preponderance of Old Latin readings indicating a mixed text, and a tendency towards the Celtic stream of biblical texts (in as much as these have been studied) in its traceable Vulgate variants. It should be emphasized, however, that there remain many departures from the Vulgate which appear to be unattested elsewhere, a good portion of which are due to the plethora of paraphrases found throughout the work. Furthermore, it should also be noted that the *Expositio* is not always consistent in its quotations of the Scriptures: certain sections are absent, particularly those outside of Matthew (in recension II, for instance, the commentary on the gospel of Mark goes abruptly from Mk. 9:49 to Mk. 14:12). This makes for a somewhat uneven biblical text, a circumstance which could obscure the character of the biblical model. Some peculiar or distinctive readings in the exemplar may not have made it through to the *Expositio*'s text simply because of the author's selective references.

As noted in the previous discussion on Vulgate variants, it is the so-called Celtic readings which appear most frequently in the Vulgate variants of the Gospels. Out of 161 traceable Vulgate variants, the top three most frequently cited manuscripts were E (75 instances), R (63 instances) and D (55 instances); the next four most frequently cited manuscripts were W (43 instances), Q (41 instances), T (37 instances) and Ep (36 instances). There were over 125 instances where the

*Expositio's* variants were attested only in Old Latin manuscripts. It must, however, be re-iterated that the extent of the Old Latin witnesses is probably under-represented, since Fischer's study does not cover many of these references. All of the evidence available points to a mixed biblical text, with a strong Old Latin element, and an apparent affinity with the DELQR group.

## V. Quotations from all Three Recensions

A certain amount of information may be inferred from a comparison of the biblical quotations in all three recensions of the *Expositio*, and such information may shed some light on the question of a biblical model for the text. First something should be said of the various references cited in all three recensions, and how they differ from each other both in quantity, and in certain instances, in wording.

Of all three recensions, the first has the most in the way of biblical material. Not only does it comment on more biblical verses than the other two, but it tends also to deal with more elements in each reference. In contrast, the quotations in recension II are usually fuller than the corresponding citations in recension I and recension III. Indeed, one of the characteristics which sets recension II apart from the other two recensions is its tendency to quote full verses, rather than abrupt words or phrases. Recension III seems to have a slightly higher proportion of paraphrased references, reflecting the brevity which characterizes this version. Another striking feature of the *Expositio's* biblical content is the difference in the text of the same quotation occurring in all three recensions. This may be a different rendition of the same biblical verse, or a quotation of a different part of that verse. Thus, while the three recensions may appear to have many biblical references in common, the quality of this seeming parity does not necessarily correspond to its quantity. An examination of the biblical material in all three recensions may shed some light on the relationships (and differences) between them.

Most of the biblical references found in recension II and III are found in recension I; however, there is some material in the second and third recensions which is not included in the first, though such citations are relatively uncommon. There are many instances where all three contain the same citation for a given

passage, but as a rule, recension I tends to include more elements from a given biblical passage than the other two:

A. Mt. 2:16

RI (PL 30, p. 538C)	RII (I.2)	R III
Tunc Herodes uidens quod inlusum sit a magis ... et mittit et occidit omnes pueros	Inlusus est Herodes a magis	Inlusus a magis

Vulgate: *tunc Herodes uidens quoniam inlusus esset a magis iratus est valde et mittens occidit omnes pueros*

By the same token, recension I's biblical references can consist only of single words, while the other two recensions have fuller citations of the same verse:

B. Mt. 10:16

RI (PL 30, p. 550C)	RII (I.10)	R III
Serpens	Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes ... et simplices sicut columbae	Oues in medio luporum ... Serpens ... simplices sicut columbae

Vulgate: *Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae*

In some instances, all three recensions have citations for the same biblical reference which vary slightly from each other:

C. Jn. 10:4

RI (PL 30, p. 582D)	RII (III.10)	R III
Ante illas uadit ... uocem meam audiunt	Ante illas uadit ... sciunt uocem eius	Et oves illum secuntur et uocem eius audiunt

Vulgate: *ante eas vadit et oves illum sequuntur quia sciunt uocem eius*

D. Mk. 6:7

RI (PL 30, p. 562A)

RII (II.5)

R III

Misit binos

Misit dominus Iesus binos  
discipulos ad  
praedicandum

Misit Iesus binos  
discipulos ante se

Vulgate: *Et convocavit duodecim et coepit eos mittere binos et dabat illis potestatem spirituum inmundorum*

As a general rule, recension III tends to follow recension II in its biblical quotations, against recension I. Yet for some of the material common to both recensions II and III, but not found in recension I, there is a difference in their biblical citations for the same passage: though it is usually recension II which provides a more comprehensive quotation than recension III, they sometimes cover different elements of a given biblical verse in their respective quotations, and occasionally it is the third recension which has a slightly fuller biblical passage (as in F below):

E. Mt. 17:9

RII (I.17)

R III

Et dixit illis dominus Iesus, Nemini  
dixeritis uisionem donec filius hominis a  
mortuis resurgat

Cum descendisset de monte

Vulgate: *et descendentibus illis de monte praecepit Iesus dicens nemini dixeritis uisionem donec Filius hominis a mortuis resurgat*

F. Mt. 17:4

R II (I.17)

R III

Domine bonum est nos hic esse, faciamus  
hic tria tabernacula

Petrus in stupore dixit Domine bonum est  
nos hic esse faciamus tria tabernacula

Vulgate: *respondens autem Petrus dixit ad Iesum Domine bonum est nos hic esse si vis faciamus hic tria tabernacula*

Though the pattern of biblical quotations fairly consistently sets recensions I and II apart, it is somewhat ambivalent about recension III. As mentioned above,

recension III generally follows recension II in its biblical text, but in some instances it shows a closer affinity with recension I:

G. Mt. 18:6

R I (PL 30, p. 555A)	R II (I.18)	R III
Qui scandalizauerit unum ex his ... suspendatur mola ... in collo eius ... dimergatur in mare	Si quis scandalizauerit unum de pusillis ... et qui scandalizauerit suspendatur mola asinaria ad collum eius et demergatur in profundum maris	Qui scandalizauerit unum ex his ... suspendatur mola ... in collo eius ... et demergatur in mare

Vulgate: *Qui autem scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis qui in me credunt expedit ei ut suspendatur mola asinaria in collo eius et demergatur in profundum maris*

There are some 60 instances of biblical references which show up in both recension I and III, but which are omitted from recension II. Even so, these biblical quotations are not always identical (this is only true for approximately one half of the citations), particularly those which are longer than just a word or a brief phrase; and once again recension III sometimes has a fuller biblical citation than the first recension.

H. Mt. 16:21

R I (PL 30, p. 554B)	R III
Multa pati a senioribus et scribis	Oportet filium hominis multa pati a senioribus et scribis

Vulgate: *exinde coepit Iesus ostendere discipulis suis quia oporteret eum ire Hierosolymam et multa pati a senioribus et scribis et principibus sacerdotum*

As with recension II, there are instances in recension I where its biblical citation (shared only with recension III) carries a completely different reading of the text as compared to recension III:

I. Mt. 4:23

R I (PL 30, p. 543C)

R III

Circuibat Iesus totam Galileam ... Omnem  
langorem

Sanabat iesus languidos et infirmos

Vulgate: *Et circumibat Iesus totam Galilaeam docens in synagogis eorum et  
praedicans evangelium regni et sanans omnem languorem et omnem  
infirmiorem in populo*

The passage at Mt. 4:15 in recension III may tell us something about recension II. The preceding text of recension III (a brief comment on Mt. 4:12) is identical to the same passage in recension II, as opposed to the text of recension I. Recension II goes immediately to Mt. 4:16, whereas recensions I and III quote Mt. 4:15. Both the text and biblical quotation are given here for ease of reference: as recension I has far more in the way of commentary material on Mt. 4:12, and goes on to include Mt. 4:13 (which the other two omit), this portion of recension I is excluded from the sample given below, not being particularly relevant to the point in question. The biblical citations are italicized:

J. Mt. 4:12-16

R I (PL 30, p. 542C)

R II (I.4)

R III

*Cum autem audisset Iesus quod Iohannes traditus esset, secessit in Galileam id est a Iudaeis, abiit ad gentes .... trans Iordanem et reliqua ... qui sedebant in tenebris, id est ignorantiae peccatorum*

*Traditus est Iohannes in carcerem ostendit omnem alligationem legis litterae. Populus gentium qui sedebat in tenebris id est in ignorantia*

*Traditus Iohannes in carcerem ostendit alligacionem litterae uias maris Galileae trans Iordanen Gencium populus qui sedebat in tenebris id est in ignoranciam*

Vulgate: *Cum autem audisset quod Iohannes traditus esset secessit in Galilaeam ...  
... <sup>15</sup>Terra Zabulon et terra Nephtalim via maris trans Iordanen Galilaeae  
gentium <sup>16</sup>populus qui sedebat in tenebris ...*

Recension III's biblical text for Mt. 4:12 in the above example is obviously much closer to recension II than to recension I; the subsequent exegetical portion is also obviously taken from recension II, and bears no resemblance to the commentary in recension I for the same passage. The quotation of Mt. 4:15 ("*uias maris Galileae trans Iordanen gencium*") is similar to recension I's rendering of the

verse, but the quotation is not included in recension II; both recensions I and III go on immediately to quote Mt. 4:16, and to comment on it. Recension I does finish with "*ignorantiae peccatorum*" but has much more material between in explaining the passage. Recension III, however, follows recension II in stating only "*id est in ignoranciam*" (the last word may be taken as a simple morphographic variant of recension II's "*ignorantia*"). Given the close textual proximity of recension III to recension II in every other regard for this particular excerpt, it is entirely possible, from the evidence of recension III, that the citation for Mt. 4:15 was originally included in recension II, but dropped out of the text during the course of its transmission.

Though recension III is the shortest of the *Expositio's* recensions, in certain instances its biblical quotations contain more elements than are found in the other two versions for the same verse. In the following examples, it is recension III which has the fullest biblical citation of the three, including more elements in its paraphrase than the other two:

K. Jn. 3:14

R I (PL 30, p. 579B)	R II (III.3)	R III
Sicut exaltatus est serpens in deserto	Sicut serpens exaltatus est in deserto	Sicut Moyses exaltauit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet filum hominis

Vulgate: *et sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis*

(Note in the above example that it is recension III which has the Vulgate reading of this citation, rather than the paraphrase carried by both recension I and II.)

L. Mt. 26:51

R I (PL 30, p. 559D)	R II (I.26)	R III
Gladium ... amputauit auriculam	Gladium ... amputata auricula	Unus ex his qui erant cum iesu abscidit auriculam seruo principis sacerdotum

Vulgate: *Et ecce unus ex his qui erant cum Iesu extendens manum exemit gladium suum et percutiens servum principis sacerdotum amputavit auriculam eius*

M. Jn. 7:24

R I (PL 30, p. 581A)

R II (III.7)

R III

Nolite iudicare  
secundum faciem

Nolite iudicare secundum  
faciem

Nolite iudicare secundum  
faciem ... sed iustum  
iudicium iudicate

Vulgate: *Nolite iudicare secundum faciem sed iustum iudicium iudicate*

(The above passage in recension III also includes a commentary portion on the second part of the biblical verse not found in either of the first two recensions.)

N. Jn. 10:12

R I (PL 30, p. 583A)

R II (III.10)

R III

Mercenarius ... uidit  
lupum et fugit

Mercennarius ... uidet lupum  
fugit

Mercenarius autem et qui  
non est pastor uidet  
lupum uenientem et  
dimittit oues et fugit

Vulgate: *mercennarius et qui non est pastor cuius non sunt oues propriae uidet lupum uenientem et dimittit oues et fugit*

Despite the frequent disparity among the biblical quotations in the *Expostio's* three recensions, there does exist a certain concomitant unity. As mentioned earlier, many of the biblical citations do not match the corresponding Vulgate text, and some of these variants remain unresolved; yet the same variants often appear in all three recensions for a given reference:

O. Mt. 12:34

R I (PL 30, p. 531C)

R II (I.12)

R III

Progenies uiperarum,  
quomodo potestis loqui  
bona cum sitis mali?

Progenies uiperarum,  
quomodo potestis loqui  
bona cum sitis mali?

Progenies uiperarum  
quomodo potestis loqui  
bona cum sitis mali?

Vulgate: *Progenies viperarum quomodo potestis bona loqui cum sitis mali*

P. Jn. 8:9

R I (PL 30, p. 581 )

R II (III.8)

R III

Remansit solus Iesus cum  
muliere in domo

Remansit Iesus solus cum  
muliere in domo

Remansit Iesus solus cum  
muliere in domo

Vulgate: *et remansit solus et mulier in medio stans*

In the two preceding examples, R I and R III have the same variant of "*loqui bona*" at Mt. 12:34, and all three recensions have the same variants of "*in domo*" at Jn. 8:9. According to Wordsworth-White, Jügelicher and Fischer, these variants are not attested elsewhere. Presumably these readings were present in the original work, or at least made their way into the *Expositio* at an early stage. Regardless of the fact that they represent aberrations from the Vulgate which are unattested elsewhere, they are at least witnesses to a certain unity among the three recensions of our text.

## VI. Quotations Outside the Gospels

It remains to say something about the distribution of the other biblical quotations in the *Expositio*, that is to say, the material quoted from the Old Testament, and from certain New Testament books outside the gospels. Although one can discern certain relationships in the *gospel* quotations within the three recensions, the biblical material outside the gospels presents a different picture. In recension I, there are 52 Old Testament citations (and several more Old Testament allusions) out of 76 extra-evangelical quotations, and many of these are not found in the other two recensions (only 20 appear in recension II, and only ten in recension III); the remaining 24 quotations are taken from various New Testament writings. In contrast, recension II seems to carry more New Testament material than Old Testament: out of 74 quotations outside the gospels, only 39 are taken from the Old Testament, while 35 are taken from the New. Recension III's ratio of Old to New Testament material is similar to that of recension II, though in smaller numbers: out of 39 citations, 21 refer to Old Testament material, and eighteen are references from the New Testament. While some material is common to all three recensions, each version of the text has biblical matter unique to itself. Out of 153 biblical references spanning the Old and New Testament books, only eighteen are common to all three recension, and only 38 are common to both recensions I and II.

Recension I has 31 Old Testament and five New Testament citations which are not found in either of the other two versions. Recension II has twelve quotations from the Old Testament and eleven from the New Testament not found elsewhere. Much of recension III's scriptural quotations are found in recension II, but even this third recension has four Old Testament and three New Testament quotations which are exclusive to it.

In addition to these references from the Old Testament and New Testament books, there is a great deal of material in all three involving gospel quotations used to elucidate another biblical passage under discussion -- a common practice in medieval exegesis. Thus, for instance, in recension II's commentary on the Beatitudes (Mt. 5:3 - 5:10), the author explains how each applies to the person of Christ, and quotes passages from each of the four gospels to demonstrate his point (e.g., the humility celebrated in Mt. 5:4 is mirrored by Christ's humility in Mt. 11:29 -- "*Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde*"; those who thirst in Mt. 5:6 are related to Christ's thirst at the well in Jn. 4:6 -- "*fatigatus ex itinere super puteum sedens a muliere postulavit bibendam aquam*" -- and on the cross at Jn. 19:28 -- "*sitio*"). It is this last category of biblical quotations which varies the most among the three recensions. Once again, some of it is common to all three (seven citations out of 129, while another twelve of these are common to recensions II and III only), but each recension has its own distinctive material. Out of the 52 gospel quotations in recension I, 34 are not found outside of this version. Out of 53 such citations in recension II, 24 are not found in either of the other versions; and recension III has eleven extra gospel quotations out of its 31 which do not appear in either of the first two recensions. The distribution of all of these "extra" biblical quotations tends to follow a pattern: that is, recension I seems to have the most individual material, and while recension II appears fairly distinct from recension I, it shares much of its own characteristic material (i.e., as apart from recension I) with recension III. Hence the information gleaned from a study of the biblical material in all three recensions would seem to indicate something about their relationships with one another: namely, that recensions II and III are more closely bound together than recensions I and II, or recensions I and III.

## VII. Conclusion

From a comparison of the biblical text in all three recensions, it is clear that they each underwent considerable editorial work at some stage in their respective developments. For recension I, its text appears to have been revised in many places along Vulgate lines; recension II has many old elements, and much fuller biblical citations than the other two; and recension III, though it would appear to be a derivative text of the other two, has biblical material with its own distinctive features, and may well have had other influences. Exactly how much of the original biblical text each represents is difficult to ascertain, but the older or earlier elements buried in the biblical citations are most probably those which are closest to the original, rather than the result of a later scribe's editorial work. However, a complete and proper analysis of the biblical material in the three recensions of the *Expositio* will only be possible when a critical edition of the first recension appears: only then will all the evidence be available to trace the path of the development and transmission of the biblical material in our text; this may, in turn, go some way in establishing the relationships between the three recensions.

#### 4. SOURCES FOR THE *EXPOSITIO IV EVANGELIORUM* (RII)

##### I. Introduction

The interpretations found in the *Expositio* are generally confined to the conventions set by the Latin Church Fathers, and much of its content is highly derivative. The comments on the various biblical pericopes are usually quite brief, and frequently repetitive; analogies and themes are rarely developed beyond a few words, a method which can often obscure any specific exegetical bias associated with particular writers or their works. Like most other exegetes and patristic authors, the author of the *Expositio* tends to skip the literal sense of the biblical text, and usually (though not always) goes straight to the other three senses of Scripture, as understood by medieval exegetes<sup>50</sup>. The *Expositio's* numerous conceptual parallels with other standard Latin works betrays the influence of those texts, but for the most part, we are left with a *mélange* of hermeneutic material chosen from a range of sources, sometimes combined together in the same gloss. In the tradition of the Church Fathers, the author relies heavily on Scripture to explicate biblical passages, drawing from both the Old and New Testaments: there is particular emphasis on the Psalms, and in the New Testament, the author often looks to other episodes in Christ's life to elucidate a given pericope. A problem particular to recension II is that much of its explanatory material is quite similar to that found in recension I, but seems to be a paraphrase of that text: hence its content may be that much further removed from the text of its ultimate sources. Much of the patristic material used by exegetes in the middle ages was transmitted through collections of sayings or *florilegia*, and the question of whether or not some of our author's sources were mediated also bears on how much of their content was eventually incorporated into the *Expositio*. Further "contamination" of this kind may render the relationship between the text and its sources that much more ambiguous, particularly in view of the author's tendency to extract only parts of the texts he uses. The general impression is one of a mixture of influences: the omnipresent polemic against the Jews points to Jerome, the frequent indictment of simoniacs suggests Gregory, the constant etymological digressions are reminiscent of Isidore, and so on. In broad outline, recension I appears to have used Jerome more extensively than recension II, though this seeming prevalence of Jerome may simply be due to the greater amount of material in recension I overall; recension II, on the other hand, shows heavy Gregorian influence in the material not found in recension I. These characteristics may well account for the false attributions of recension I and recension II to Jerome and Gregory respectively.

## II. Church Fathers

As was very often the case in such works, the author of the *Expositio* made abundant use of the writings of the Church Fathers throughout his text, without acknowledging his debt to any of these. Jerome is widely used, particularly his Commentary on Matthew: much of the prologue of the *Expositio* appears to draw on the preface to that text, and its influence is evident throughout the *Expositio*'s own commentary on Matthew. The ubiquitous etymologies of names of people and places found throughout the text are almost all taken from Jerome's *Liber Interpretationis Haebraicorum Nominum*; material from his *Epistulae*, his *Comm. in Daniele*, and his *Comm. in IV Epistulas* is likewise in evidence. The writings of Augustine are also well-represented in the text: much of the material in the *Expositio*'s commentary on John is taken from Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannis evangelium*; in addition, there is material from his *De sermone domini in monte*; his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, his *Quaestionum evangeliorum libri duo*, his *Sermones*, and from his *De ciuitate dei*. Gregory is a particularly heavy influence, with most of the borrowed material coming from his *Homiliae XL in Evangelia*; his *Moralia in Iob*, *Homilia in Ezechiel*, and *Dialogi* are also used. Many of the various definitions scattered throughout the text can be traced to Isidore's *Etymologiae*, while some passages show parallels with the *Sermones* of Caesarius of Arles.

## III. Sections taken Verbatim from Sources

In keeping with the abbreviated style of the work, the author, for the most part, extracts the substance of his sources and summarizes it in his own words. Nonetheless, there are two lengthy sections in the work where the author reproduces the actual text of his sources, a feature somewhat at odds with his general method. After a brief comment on Mark 16:18, there follows a long discourse (covering some eight folios in the manuscripts) on various topics, including the ascension of Christ, the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, the trinity, the ascensions of Elias and Enoch, and a passage on the Beatitudes. This section is taken virtually verbatim from the works of Gregory and Augustine, and comprises nine smaller sub-sections:

1. "Quid est quod nato domino ... .. in ascensionem ostensus est homo sublimis"  
Gregory, *Hom. 29 in Evang.*, c. 9 (PL 76, p. 1218B)

2. "Sed quaerendum nobis est ... .. et corda audientium inluminant"  
Gregory, *Hom. 30 in Evang.*, c. 5 (PL 76, pp. 1222D - 1223B)
3. "De isto spiritu scriptum est ... .. fortitudo solidasset"  
Gregory, *Hom. 30 in Evang.*, c. 7 (PL 76, pp. 1224D - 1225B)
4. "Quid est quod marcus ait ... .. de caelo illius gratia pugnauit"  
Gregory, *Hom. 29 in Evang.*, c. 7 (PL 76, pp. 1217C-D)
5. "Uidet iesus cuius ignis est in sion ... .. ubi plene uidemus quod amamus"  
Gregory, *Hom. in Ezech. II, 9*, c. 10 (PL 76, pp. 1048D-1049A; CC 142, pp. 364-5)
6. "Dissoluit dominus lingua maris aegypti ... .. per carnem se ostendendum destruxit"  
Gregory, *Moralia XXXIII*, 10, c. 19 (PL 76, p. 684B; CC 143B, pp. 1689-90)
7. "Qui non diligit me ... .. iam uisione recedebat"  
Gregory, *Hom. 30 in Evang.*, c. 2 (PL 76, p., 1221B-C)
8. "In regnorum libro cognoscimus quod helias sit raptus ... .. neque per coitum generatus"  
Gregory, *Hom. 29 in Evang.*, c. 5-6 (PL 76, pp. 1216C-1217C)
9. "Beati pauperes spiritu ... .. noli extolli in superstitionem".  
Augustine, *De sermone domini in monte I*, c. 3-11 (CC 35, pp. 3-10)

Sections 3, 5, and 6 are taken virtually verbatim from their respective sources, while sections 1, 2, 4, 7, and 8 are only slightly abbreviated from the original Gregorian texts; the long excerpt taken from Augustine (sub-section 9), however, is considerably abridged, with some passages out of order. Only the twelfth century manuscript Clm 14514 marks the entire section off as separate from the commentary on Mark: a note in that manuscript's margin ("Explicit secundum Marcum") shows that at least one scribe (or corrector?) recognized the different character of this portion of the text; nonetheless, as in all of the other earlier manuscripts, this manuscript also has "Explicit Secundum Marcum. Incipit Secundum Iohannem" at the end of this section. Though most of the excerpts which make up this section are taken from Gregory (with the obvious exception of Augustine's tract on the Beatitudes), they are nonetheless taken from disparate works: one must therefore still reckon with an editorial contribution on the author's part, even if he did not paraphrase or distill from his sources, but copied excerpts wholesale into his own text.

Recension I of the *Expositio* does not contain any part of the section discussed above, though the exposition of Mark's gospel does close with a short comment on Christ's ascension, and a comparison of it with the ascensions of Elias and Enoch. This passage is reminiscent of the much longer passage in recension II taken from Gregory's *Hom. 29 in Evang.* c. 6, and though it may not necessarily be taken directly from it, it could nonetheless be influenced by it:

R I (PL 30, p. 567B)

Tres legimus cum corpore de mundo assumptos in coelum: Dominus eleuatus est a sua uirtute, quia nec per concubitus genitus, nec per concubitus generans, sed ex uirgine natus est: Enoch ablatus est, quia per concubitus generans; Elias cum curru raptus est, quia per concubitus genitus est, non per concubitus generans, quia uirgo permansit.

Greg., *Hom. 29 in Evang.* c.6

Nam Enoch translatus, Elias uero ad coelum subuectus esse memoratur, ut ueniret postmodum qui nec translatus, nec subuectus, coelum aethereum sua uirtute penetraret .... Nam Enoch quidem uxorem et filios habuit; Elias uero neque uxorem neque filios legitur habuisse ... Translatus namque est Enoch et per coitum genitus, et per coitum generans. Raptus est Elias per coitum genitus, sed non iam per coitum generans. Assumptus uero est Dominus neque per coitum generans, neque per coitum generatus

Recension III's commentary on Mark only goes to Mk. 10:28, but that verse is followed by a portion of the text found after Mark in recension II. It begins with "Qui non diligit me ..." (sub-section 7 above) and ends with "patente ostenditur" (Gregory, *Hom. 29 in Evang.*, c. 6); the excerpt from Augustine is not present at all, and the explicit of Mark and incipit for John follow immediately. Apart from the fact that recension III only has a portion of the text in question, its interpolation is not abridged or abbreviated from recension II in any way, a detail which reinforces the argument for recension III's derivation from recension II.

The second segment in recension II copied verbatim from its source is found in the commentary on Luke, which is taken almost exclusively from Ps. Theophilus' *Commentarius in IV Evangelia*.<sup>51</sup> With some abridgement and only occasional paraphrasing, our author copies most of his Lucan material directly from Ps. Theophilus into his own work: as the sequence is not always the same as that found in Ps. Theophilus, this too is divided into sub-sections for easier reference:

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<sup>51</sup> *Patrologia Latina* Supplement, vol. III, pp. 1283-1329.

1. Lk. 13:21 "Simile est regnum caelorum fermento ... Sata tria significat trinitatem"  
Ps. Theophilus, *Comm. in IV Evang.* III, c. 9 (*PL* suppl. III, p. 1317)
  
2. Lk. 15:4 "Homo qui habebat centum oues ... genus humanum eriperit ab errore"  
  
This section is contained in neither Theodore Zahn's edition of the text (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons* II, Erlangen, p. 31ff) nor its re-print in the *PL* Supplement: however, according to A. Harnack, this same verse is found, (with a few variants), almost word for word between c. 9 and c. 10 in book III of the commentary, as found in the cod. Bruxellensis 9850-52<sup>52</sup>
  
3. Lk. 15:11 "Homo quidam habuit duos filios ... gentes qui adae figuram tenent"  
Ps. Theophilus, *Comm. in IV Evang.* III, c. 10 (*PL* suppl. III, p. 1317)
  
4. "et recepit eum pater occidit uitulum saginatum ... In futuro duo cherubin"  
  
This passage is not found in the relevant section of Ps. Theophilus' commentary on Luke<sup>53</sup>: although the passage does pertain to the pericope in section 3 (above) and 5 (below), its source has yet to be determined; clearly it is an interpolation from another source, and is attested in all of the recension II manuscripts which contain the commentary on Luke consulted for the present edition of the text.
  
5. "Per calciamenta uero uestigia ... et omnia mea tua sunt"  
Ps. Theophilus, *Comm. in IV Evang.* III, c. 10 (*PL* suppl. III, p.1317-18)
  
6. Lk. 16:1 "Diues quidam habebat uilicum ... episcopis posuit"  
"Ut quomodo uilicus ... conuertatur et uiuat"  
Ps. Theophilus, *Comm. in IV Evang.* III, c. 20 (*PL* suppl. vol. III, p. 1321-23) and c. 11 (*PL* suppl. vol. III, p. 1318)  
  
This passage on Lk. 16:1 is the longest exposition of the pericopes dealt with in the *Expositio's* Lucan commentary, and like the others, is taken from Ps. Theophilus. However,

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<sup>52</sup> A. Harnack, "Der angebliche Evangelienkommentar des Theophilus von Antiochen" in *Texte und Untersuchungen* I, 4 (1883) p. 164, n. 40.

<sup>53</sup> Griesser does not isolate this passage in his analysis -- see B. Griesser, "Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der *Expositio IV evangeliorum* des Ps. Hieronymus" in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 54 (1930), p. 76

some liberty has been taken with Ps. Theophilus' text: aside from a certain amount of paraphrasing, not only have certain parts been omitted (a trait consistent with the general character of the work) but other passages not found in Ps. Theophilus have been added. Furthermore, the author appends a section from c. 11 of Ps. Theophilus' work to the portion copied from c. 20 (i.e., "Ut quomodo uilicus ... conuertatur et uiuat"), but still pertaining to the same pericope.

7. Lk. 18:2 "Iudex quidam erat ... Innocens sum a sanguine iusti uos uideritis"  
Ps. Theophilus, *Comm. in IV Evang.* III, c. 13 (PL suppl. III, p. 1318)
8. Lk. 19:3 "Zacheus statura pusillus erat ... quod male tulerat"  
Ps. Theophilus, *Comm. in IV Evang.* III, c. 14 (PL suppl. III, p. 1319)
9. "Non enim ad mensuram dat deus ... accipiunt gratiam spiritui sancti"  
Ps. Theophilus, *Comm. in IV Evang.* III, c. 17 (PL suppl. III, p. 1320)

This very brief passage is taken from Ps. Theophilus' comment on Christ's ascension, but the *Expositio* omits any reference to it at this juncture: it may well be that, as Griesser suggested<sup>54</sup>, there is a gap in the text between the piece on Zacheus and this last passage in the *Expositio*; in any event, the text appears in this way in all of the recension II manuscripts containing Luke which were consulted for the present edition. The Lucan commentary, and indeed the work itself, closes with this textual fragment.

Thus, almost all of the Lucan commentary of recension II is taken entirely from another source: it appears that the only licence the author takes is in the selection of pericopes he chooses to explicate, and the extent to which he abridges Ps. Theophilus' commentary. The Lucan commentary is one of the most conspicuous features to distinguish recension II from recension I, and is radically different from the commentary on Luke found in the first recension. These two Lucan commentaries have fewer than five verses in common (in terms of the gospel material commented upon), and even these are given different interpretations in each recension. Further, there is the evidence of Merseburg 103 (N), whose text of the *Expositio* is followed by the beginning of the recension I Lucan commentary.

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<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, p. 76.

the *Expositio* is followed by the beginning of the recension I Lucan commentary. This circumstance raises the question of whether or not there was an "original" Lucan commentary of recension II (something perhaps akin to the commentary in recension I, or at least deriving from it), and if so, why it was replaced with the excerpts from Ps. Theophilus: was a Ps. Theophilus "epitome" already circulating as a text, or did our author take on the editorial role himself? Was the text a deliberate substitution or a replacement for a section missing from recension II's archetype?

The influence of Ps.-Theophilus is not confined to the Lucan commentary alone: an obscure reference in recension II of the *Expositio* at Jn. 18:1 (one not found in either recension I or III), when Christ goes to the Garden of Gethsemane, is also found in Ps. Theophilus' *Comm. in IV Evangelia*, but in his commentary on Luke:

Ps. Theophilus *Comm. in Evang.* III, c. 16

R II (III.18)

Hortus domini est ecclesia catholica, in qua sunt rosae martyrum, lilia virginum, violae viduarum, hedera coniugum

*Ubi erat hortus, id est uita aeterna; et aliter, hortus domini ecclesia est, ubi sunt rosae martyres, lilia uirgines, uiolae confessores*

The similarity between these two passages is conspicuous, and it is perhaps no coincidence that it occurs only in recension II of the *Expositio*, the only recension to use Ps. Theophilus extensively in its commentary on Luke. This fact emphasizes the editorial role of the scribe: the author or editor of recension II appears to have added material from new sources in his re-working of recension I, the text he presumably had before him.

#### IV. Ps.-Jerome's *Commentarius in Marcum*

The *Expositio* shows strong parallels with the Ps. Jerome *Commentarius in Marcum*, identified as a Hiberno-Latin text by Bischoff in 1954<sup>55</sup>, who further suggested that it was the work of Cummean, the Irishman involved in the Paschal Controversy of the seventh century. The text is dated to the middle of the seventh

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<sup>55</sup> B. Bischoff, "Turning Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Irish Church: A.D. 650-800" (originally published in *Sacris Erudiri*, 1954; updated and trans. by Colm O'Grady) in *Biblical Studies: the Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin 1976), no. 27.

could still very plausibly be a source for the *Expositio*. The similarity between the two texts is more obvious in recension I, but even here, there is some variation among the textual witnesses for the first recension. For instance, the *Comm. in Marcum*'s passage on Mk. 1:3 (dealing with John the Baptist), has parallels with the Matthean passage (at Mt. 3:1) in the *Expositio*, dealing with the same pericope. The PL text has a much shorter version of this passage than Clm 14388, a ninth century R I manuscript whose text, though corrupt, shows much closer affinities with the passage in the *Comm. in Marcum*:

R I (Clm 14388)	<i>Comm. in Marcum</i> , c.1	R II (I.3)
<p><i>Uox clamantis de Iohanne Christi trino modo fit: Clamor si longe est queuis quia longe est a peccatoris et reliqua. alium a surdum sicut aspes surde et reliqua; tertia si indignatur id indignatus est furor tuus . Item in deserto sine lege sine rege sine sacerdote uel prophetam aerant Iudaei</i></p>	<p>Clamor autem ad surdos longe positos, siue cum indignatione fleri solet: quae Judaico certum est euenisse populo, dum longe est a peccatoribus salus, et aures suas grauitur obturauerunt, sicut aspides surdae, et indignationem et iram , et tribulationem a Christo audire meruerunt. In deserto autem fit uox, et clamor, quia deserti a spiritu Dei, sicut domus uacans et scopata: deserti a propheta, a rege atque sacerdote.</p>	<p><i>Desertum Iudaeae ubi Iohannes uenit praedicare: recte desertum dicitur, quia deserti erant Iudaei a fide Christi, et nunc deserti sunt a rege et sacerdotio et lege sua.</i></p>

There is another parallel between the passage at Mk.1:9 in the *Comm. in Marcum*, and that at Mt. 3:13 in the *Expositio*: though not identical, both recensions I and II have content similar to that present in the *Comm. in Marcum* for this passage:

R I (PL 30, p. 540D)	<i>Comm. in Marcum</i> , c.1	R II (I.3)
<p><i>Ita Iohannes lauat et exstinguit peccatum, uiuificat et satiat: ita baptismus mari ... ascendit de aqua significat postea ascendere per bona opera, et gradu humilitatis descendere quia Iordanis descensio dicitur.</i></p>	<p>Jordannis autem descensio aliena interpretatur ubi peccata abluuntur ... Sic nos olim alienati a Deo per superbiam per baptismum symbolum humiliati erigimur in alta</p>	<p><i>Uenit Christus ad Iohannem ut baptizaretur in Iordane: Ior interpretatur discensio, id est per humilitatem confessionis</i></p>

An obscure reference found at Mk. 3:17 in the *Expositio* also appears to bear some relation to a much fuller citation in the Commentary on Mark; as the reference in the *Expositio* is identical in both recensions I and II, only the text of recension II is given here:

*Comm. in Marcum, c. 3*

*Filii tonitruui quorum trium sublime meritum, in monte meretur audire tonitruum patris, per nubem de filio tonantis: Hic est filius meus dilectus, ut per nubem carnis, et ipsi ignem uerbi, ac si fulgura in pluviam fecit: ut exstinguat misericordia, quod iudicium inurit.*

R II (II.2)

*Filii tonitruui apostoli sunt; nubes prophetae sunt, pluuiam uero praedicatio diuina est.*

The *Expositio* provides a terse explanation of Mk. 3:17 (*et Iacobum Zebedaei et Iohannem fratrem Iacobi et inposuit eis nomina Boanerges quod est Filii tonitruui*), and has obviously abbreviated its source. Its references to "nubes" and "pluuia" are puzzling, as their inclusion and the subsequent interpretations given to them imply that the author believed them to be part of Scripture; however, no such references are found in the biblical text. Within the context of the *Comm. in Marcum*, however, their relevance is made clearer: that text includes references to "nubes" and "pluvia" as part of a three-fold interpretation of "filii tonitruui", the name given to Jacob and John at Mark 3:17. The author of the *Expositio* apparently distilled the essentials of the passage from the *Comm. in Marcum* for his own work, but their context was lost in the process.

The explanation given in the *Expositio* for Mt. 14:3 (the episode in which the daughter of Herodiadis dances for John the Baptist's head) also has some affinities with the passage at Mk. 6:17 in the *Comm. in Marcum*:

*Comm. in Marcum, c. 6*

*Caput legis quod est Christus, de corpore absciditur proprio, id est, Judaico populo, et datur gentili puellae id est Romanae Ecclesiae: et puella dat matri suae adulterae, id est, Synagogae crediturae in fine.*

R II (I.14)

*Caput Iohannis in disco significat corpus Christi in altare, et caput illius, corda fidelium. Datum est puellae, id est, ecclesiae ex gentibus; attulit matri suae, ostendit conuersionem Iudaeorum in fine futuro. Et aliter, Iohannes typum Christi est; Herodes, diaboli; mulier, synagogae; puella cui datum est caput figuram tenet ecclesiae, quae accepit Christum*

Many other such parallels are found throughout these texts. The glosses borrowed from the *Comm. in Marcum* are not necessarily applied to any pericope in Mark; rather, single elements are taken from some Markan passage and applied, where relevant, to biblical verses from other gospels. Whatever about the question of the Irish origins of the Markan commentary, there is little doubt as to the influence of one on the other; given the early date of the *Comm. in Marcum*, it was almost certainly the *Expositio* which drew on it, rather than the reverse.

## V. Implications for the Biblical Text

The question of the author's sources bears not only on the interpretations of biblical passages found in his text, but in some cases on the biblical text itself. While his sources need not necessarily have determined the biblical text in the work, they may nonetheless have influenced it. In the commentary on Luke (taken from Ps.-Theophilus), the text reads "batos olei" at Lk. 16:6 (IV.4., l. 2168), where the Vulgate has "cados olei" for the same verse: the two most reliable manuscripts (BN) read "batos", while all others have the Vulgate reading. Hence, the text presumably took its original quotation from Ps. Theophilus, rather than from a biblical model; subsequent scribes then presumably emended the text to reflect a Vulgate reading. The author's sources could also be significant in relation to Old Latin readings, which might subsequently be over-represented in an analysis of the *Expositio's* biblical text. A case in point is the quotation of Proverbs 21:20 in the *Expositio's* gloss on Mt. 2:11 (the adoration of the Magi): our text has "Thesaurus desiderabilis requiescit in ore sapientis", an Old Latin reading, instead of the Vulgate "thesaurus desiderabilis et oleum in habitaculo iusti et inprudens homo dissipabit illud". Rather than revealing something of the nature of the biblical archetype, it is more likely that this biblical verse was taken from Gregory's *Hom. 10 in Evang.* c. 6, from which the *Expositio* takes its interpretation of the three gifts of the Magi at this juncture, and in which we find this Old Latin quotation of Prov. 21:20. Similarly, in the gloss on Mt. 19:17, the author quotes Ecclesiastes 1:2, but uses the Old Latin "vanitas vanitantium" instead of the Vulgate "vanitas vanitatum": this reading of the biblical text is found in Gregory, Augustine, and Ambrose<sup>57</sup>, and may well derive from one of their works rather than an Old Latin biblical text. Another

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<sup>57</sup> Gregory, *Expositio in Canticum Canticorum*, par. 9 (CC 144); Augustine, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et Manichaeorum*, lib. 1. c. 21 (PL 32, p. 1328); Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, prol. 2, p. 2 (CC 14).

notable reference is found at Mt. 26:15 in recension III of the *Expositio*, where the author uses a reference found in the Septuagint text of the bible (see discussion below under "Recension III" chapter); this may also have been taken from an intermediate source which used an Old Latin text. As has already been seen, the author of the *Expositio* was often selective in what he took from his sources, and need not necessarily have adopted the exegetical material of some of the works before him in order to have made use of their biblical content; this, in turn, may complicate the analysis of the biblical citations in the text, in an attempt to determine the nature of the text's biblical model.

## VI. Borrowed Phraseology

Another way the author used his sources was by lifting certain phrases from other works, but not necessarily using them in the same context. For instance, after quoting Luke 18:19 as a gloss on Mt. 19:17 ("Bonus est deus"), the author inserts a phrase found in Augustine's *De uera religione*<sup>58</sup>, to read: "Proinde nemo bonus est nisi unus deus qui est aeternus et incommutabilis." At Mt. 23:37 (*Sicut gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas suas*), the *Expositio* reads "Ita et Christus expandit palmas in cruce ut congregaret Iudaeos sub tegmine protectionis suae": in Apponius' *In Canticum canticorum expositio* (also transmitted under Jerome's name, and found in a number of *florilegia*) we find the phrase "Uenite ad me omnes et reliqua sub tegmine defensionis eius"<sup>59</sup>. Again at Mt. 27:51, the *Expositio* uses the phrase "uictor ab inferis" in discussing Christ's rising from the dead ("Ita et Christus semel cum corpore uictor ab inferis ascendit ad caelos et introiuit in sancta sanctorum"): the same epithet is applied to Christ by Gregorius Illiberitanus, fourth-century Bishop of Elvira, in his *Expositio Origenis de psalmo nonagesimo primo*<sup>60</sup>: "quia saluator misertus humano generi post inuictam passionem suam tertia die mane quasi de somno mortis uictor ab inferis resurrexit". Another such instance is found in a gloss on Mt. 20:6: after discussing the significance of the various hours in the parable of the man paying labourers to work in his vineyard (i.e., the first hour being infancy, the third, adolescence, the sixth youth, the ninth old age, and the eleventh decrepitude), the *Expositio* inserts the phrase "Quacumque hora ex his homo correptus ingemuerit saluabitur"; in the

<sup>58</sup> Augustine, *De uera religione*, cap. 37, CC 32, p. 232, line 14.

<sup>59</sup> Apponius, *In Canticum canticorum expositio*, lib III, c. 33; CC 19, p. 17, l. 556

<sup>60</sup> Gregorius Illiberitanus, *Origenis de psalmo nonagesimo primo*, CC 69, p. 213, l. 17.

ACDKOPW stream of manuscripts, however, the phrase appears as "Quacumque hora ex his homo conuersus ingemuerit saluabitur". The interpretation of the various hours is taken from Gregory's *Hom. 19 in Evang.*, c.2; however the phrase following that gloss in the ACDKOPW family of manuscripts also appears in the letters of the fifth century Bishop of Limoges, Ruricius. He uses a remarkably similar phrase, but in a different context: "Peccator enim **qua die conuersus ingemuerit, tunc saluus erit** ...."<sup>61</sup>. Again in a gloss on Mt. 25:15 and the parable of the man entrusting his goods to his servants before he goes away, after interpreting "duo talenta" as representing intellect and action, or the two testaments, our author adds: "Qui habet haec et implet exemplis et uerbis docet saluat semetipsum et alios". In the seventh-century text *Liber scintillarum*, we find the phrase "Predicatio sacerdotis operibus confirmanda est, ut quod uerbis docet instruat exemplis"<sup>62</sup>: strikingly similar to the one found in the *Expositio*, but used in a different context. Many other such examples occur throughout the text, and while it may not necessarily prove the dependence of one text upon another, these may nonetheless be a product of the author's contextual memory. It also emphasizes the "layered" nature of the commentary: the author culled material from other works, sometimes even completely out of context, and made it his own. It may also reflect the broader influence of religious language in general terms, as a corpus of phrases and epithets developed around certain religious subjects and personages; the author, while using this language, may himself have been unaware of its ultimate source.

## VII. Apocryphal References

The author also draws on certain apocryphal traditions, whether consciously or otherwise. In the prologue of the *Expositio* there is a reference to the derivation of Adam's name from the four Greek names of the earthly stars:

Adam ex quattuor stellis nomen accepit, quarum una anatholis, alia dosis, tertia arcton, quarta misimbrion uocatur; significatur per quattuor stellis ipsum factum quod per quattuor euangelia omne genus hominum conuertatur ad fidem christi.

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<sup>61</sup> Ruricius Lemouicensis, *Epistularum*, lib. 2, epist. 32; CC 64, p. 370, line 21.

<sup>62</sup> Defensor Locogiacensis, *Liber scintillarum*, cap. 32, sententia 49, CC 117, p. 127.

As Robert McNally noted, this idea can be traced back to the Jewish apocryphon *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*<sup>63</sup>, although it was most likely transmitted to the West by Augustine, who uses it in his *Tractatus in Iohannis evangelium*, and in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.<sup>64</sup> Further apocryphal references are evident in the biblical text of the *Expositio*. At Mt. 17:1 the author reflects an element of popular Christian lore when he identifies the mountain on which the transfiguration of Christ took place. Here, the *Expositio* reads "*Adsumpsit dominus iesus petrum et iacobum et iohannem et ducit illos in montem excelsum Thabor*" instead of the Vulgate "*adsumpsit iesus Petrum et Iacobum et Iohannem fratrem eius et ducit illos in montem excelsum seorsum*". Though the actual site of the transfiguration is not specified in any of the biblical texts, the tradition that it took place on Mt. Tabor had wide currency in the East by the fourth century, and is attested in the writings of Origen, Eusebius of Caesaria, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Jerome.<sup>65</sup> Thus, Christian circles were virtually unanimous in the view that this episode occurred on Mt. Tabor, with the full weight of patristic authority behind them. If, as seems to be so often the case, the author was paraphrasing his biblical text (or even quoting it from memory), this spurious addition may have been an unwitting one; and if the insertion was deliberate, he was doubtless confident that he was not violating the integrity of the sacred text in either substance or meaning. Similarly, the quotation of Jn. 19:34 includes the name traditionally (though without any scriptural basis) assigned to the soldier who pierced Christ's side before taking him down from the cross: "*lancea latus eius punxit Longinus exiit sanguis et aqua*". The figures of the soldier who pierced Christ's side (Jn. 19:34) and of the centurion who declared that Jesus was the Son of God (Mk. 15:39) became conflated in the early middle ages; Gregory of Nyssa<sup>66</sup> attests to the veneration of the (unnamed) centurion mentioned at Mk. 15:39 in Cappadocia, and Hesychius of Jerusalem wrote an account of his martyrdom in the early fifth century.<sup>67</sup> The feast of St. Longinus appears in several old martyrologies, and the figure of Longinus as both the soldier who pierced Christ's side and who declared him to be the Son of God can be found in

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<sup>63</sup> Robert E. McNally, *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages*, (The Newman Press, 1959), p.26-27; see also "Book of the Secrets of Enoch" in R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament 2: Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford 1913), 30, 13-15, p. 449.

<sup>64</sup> Augustine, *Tractatus 10 in Iohannis evangelium*, c. 12, CC 36, p. 108; *Enarratio in Psalmus 95*, CC 39, p. 1352.

<sup>65</sup> Origen, *Comment. in Ps. 88:13* (PG 12, p. 1548); Eusebius of Caesaria, *Comment. in Ps. 88:13* (PG 23, p. 1092); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. 12:16* (PG 33, p. 744); Jerome, *Epp. 46* (PL 22, p. 491) and *Epp. 108* (*ibid.*, p. 889).

<sup>66</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep. 17* (PG 46, p. 1061).

<sup>67</sup> Hesychius of Jerusalem, *Martyrium Sancti Longini Centurionis* (PG 93, p. 1546-60).

the apocryphal Acts of Pilate, a text which purports to supplement the narrative of Christ's trial given in the four canonical gospels with further fictitious details.<sup>68</sup> Longinus' place was soon fixed in Christian tradition, and by including the soldier's name in his biblical citation of Jn. 19:34, our author merely reflected that convention. Indeed the mention of the soldier's name, along with the other apocryphal references found in the text, would doubtless have been an immediate indicator of the biblical context for the reader, and this may have been the author's primary intention, rather than to provide a verbatim rendering of Scripture. The precise source for these and other references may not necessarily be traced to a particular text, but may be a product of a form of collected popular memory, appearing in any number of medieval exegetical texts or *collectanea*.

### VIII. Use of Sources

Because of the author's tendency to paraphrase his sources, the particular source for a gloss in the *Expositio* is not always clear. For instance, the explanation at Matthew 13:30 bears a resemblance to interpretations found in both Gregory and Augustine for the same passage:

Gregory, *Dial.* IV, 35  
(PL 77, p. 381)

R II (I.13)

Augustine, *Sermo* 250 c.1  
(in Appendix )  
(PL 39, p. 2209)

Messores quippe angeli  
zizania ad  
comburendum in  
fasciculos ligant, cum  
pares paribus in  
tormentis similibus  
sociant, ut superbi cum  
superbis, luxuriosi cum  
luxuriosis, auari cum  
auaris, fallaces cum  
fallacibus,  
inuidi cum inuidis,  
infideles cum infidelibus  
ardeant. Cum ergo  
similes in culpa ad  
tormenta similia  
deducuntur, quia eos in  
locis poenalibus angeli

Messes uero consummatio  
saeculi est, messores uero  
angeli sunt. Pro quid  
fasciculos dicit? Quia non  
omnes equaliter  
iudicantur: non in una  
massa coierint, sed  
adulteri cum adulteris, et  
omnes pares equaliter;  
qui hic sunt similes in  
culpa, illic sunt similes in  
poena.

Ligate fasciculos, hoc est,  
rapaces cum rapacibus,  
adulteros cum adulteris,  
fornicatores cum  
fornicatoribus, homicidas  
cum homicidis, auaros  
cum auaris, iracundos  
cum iracundis, falsos  
testes cum falsis testibus,  
fures cum furibus,  
derisores cum derisoribus,  
similes cum similibus. Hi  
sunt fasciculi ad  
comburendum

<sup>68</sup> see Michel Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, vol. II, *Subsidia Hagiographica* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1980), p. 797.

deputant, quasi  
 zizaniorum fasciculos ad  
 comburendum ligant.

The *Expositio* also has a passage which resembles something found in another Irish text, Ps. Augustine's *De mirabilibus sacrae Scripturae* (written in 655), but which also finds a parallel in Jerome's Commentary on Matthew. The passage in question deals with Christ's baptism by John (Mt. 3:13), and the three-fold significance of that event:

Ps. Augustine, *De  
 mirabilibus sacrae  
 scripturae*, lib. 3 c. 5

R II (I.13)

Jerome, *Comm. in  
 Mattheum*  
 (CC 77, p. 18-19)

Ad baptismum uero dominus Iesus exiuit ... ut aquas, quibus quamuis in delicto adae deus non maledixerat, terrae qua continebantur maledicto, infectas purgaret; et ne quisquam baptismi sacramentum negligeret dum qui sine peccato fuerat, baptismi aquas iniuit; et ne quisquam ab inferiore baptizari parui penderet, dum dominus a seruo suo mergi undis baptismi appeteret. Et quatenus adhuc a diabolo se donec tentatio perficeretur, occultaret qui illum uelut lauacro indigentem inter pollutos peccaminibus, ablui aquis conspiceret

Pro tribus causis dominus baptizatus est: una, ut non dedignaretur dominus a seruo baptizari; alio modo, ut baptismum Iohannis baptismum Christi confirmaretur; tertio modo, ut maledictionem aquae abstolleret.

Triplicem ob causam Saluator a Joanne accepit baptismum; primum, ut quia homo natus erat, omnem iustitiam et et humilitatem legis impleret; secundo, ut baptisate suo Ioannis baptisma comprobaret, tertio, ut Iordanis aquas sanctificans per descensionem columbae, Spiritus sancti in lauacro credentium monstraret aduentum ... .. Non addidit, iustitiam legis, siue naturae, ut nos utrumque intellegamus, et si Deus ab homine accepit baptisma, nullus a conseruo accipere dedignetur

The author frequently provides more than one explanation for some element of the biblical verse at hand, and these may be taken from disparate texts. Elsewhere, his interpretations seems to be a synthesis of various sources. One instance of this "composite" method is found in his explanation of Jn. 3:22: here, the *Expositio*'s author takes Isidore's etymology for Jerusalem and applies it to "Salim". In his etymology of Enon, he grafts a passage from the afore-mentioned *Comm. in Marcum* (Mk. 9:20) onto the end of his gloss:

*At ille ait Hic significatur gentilis populus, cui a natiuitate increuit cultus inutilis idolorum ut stulte immolaret filios suos daemoniis*

*In Enon sic dicitur nomen loci; iuxta Salim, quae interpretatur 'paciis', quam antea uocauerunt Iebus, unde nomen acceperunt Iebusei; Enon uocatur Gehenna, ubi immolauerunt filios suos et filias suas daemomiis.*

*Hanc postea tenuerunt Iebusei, ex quibus et sortita uocabulum est Iebus; sicque duobus nominibus copulatis Iebus et Salem uocata est Hierusalem, quae postea a Salomone Hierosolyma quasi Hierosolomoniam dicta est*

*Gehenna uallis gratuita; quidam aestimant appellatam hanc a ualle Gehennon que est iuxta murum Hierusales.*

It should be noted that in the above example, many of the R II manuscripts (particularly those of the ACDKOPW stream) have a corrupted version of this passage, combining the etymologies of Salim and Enon and applying them to "Salim" only: "Nomen loci 'iuxta Salim', quae interpretatur paciis, quia antea uocauerunt Gebus, unde nomen acciperunt Gebusei, et nunc uocatur Gehenna, ubi immolauerunt filios suos et filias suas daemoniis."

In other instances, he takes an author's commentary on a particular biblical passage and puts it in a parallel pericope. The many instances in the *Expositio* where the author takes glosses from both the *Commentarius in Marcum* and Ps. Theophilus' *Commentarius in IV Evangeliiis* and "transplants" them from one gospel passage to another bear ample witness to this method. For his gloss on Mt. 3:4-8, he uses Gregory's *Hom. 7 in Evang.* c. 3 practically verbatim, a homily which comments on Jn. 1:19-28. This sort of substitution is quite common throughout the work, and is reminiscent of the harmonization of gospel quotations so often found in the text's scriptural references. At Mt. 21:42 (*lapidem quem reprobauerunt aedificantes hic factus est in caput anguli*), instead of quoting the Vulgate verse, the author refers to the "lapis scissus de monte sine manibus", a phrase not found in any of the gospels, but very close to Dan 2:45 (*de monte abscisus est lapis sine manibus*). In his commentary on Daniel, Jerome provides a gloss similar to that found in the *Expositio* for Mt. 21:42 :

Jerome, *Comm. in Daniele* I, ii, 31-35

R II (I.21)

*Abscisus est lapis -- dominus atque Saluator -- sine manibus -- id est absque*

*Lapis scissus de monte sine manibus Christus est, scissus de Iudaeis sine coitu: de matre*

*Abscisus est lapis -- dominus atque Saluator -- sine manibus -- id est absque coitu et humano semine de utero uirginali -- et contritis omnibus regnis.*

*Lapis scissus de monte sine manibus Christus est, scissus de Iudaeis sine coitu: de matre sine semine, de patre sine tempore.*

The author then goes on to quote the second part of the Matthean verse (*factus est in caput anguli*), and to give Augustine's interpretation of the cornerstone.

The foregoing examples reveal something of the method of the *Expositio's* author, particularly his propensity for excerpting material from various sources and "pasting" them together. He sometimes uses disparate sources for his interpretation of the same pericope, or uses only partial interpretations (e.g., some taken from other works, some his own). Our author need not necessarily have had copies of these works at his disposal, but may have been working from a *florilegium* of patristic writings: he employs many of the common patristic concepts (e.g., man as made up of the four elements of the world, the four cardinal virtues, the six ages of the world, the New Law as a fulfilment of the Old, etc.), but these may have already been distilled in some intermediate source he had before him; this would certainly have influenced how much of these patristic texts he used. Although for the most part the content of the *Expositio* is ultimately derivative, the author's selection of sources is still his own. Indeed, though he might follow the patristic example of combing the Scriptures to explicate a biblical verse, his choice of biblical quotations in interpreting those gospel pericopes are not always the same as those chosen by the Church Fathers. As discussed above, he frequently uses phrases taken from other works, if not the exegesis which goes with them: this could be a result of contextual memory rather than the excising of material which he might have considered extraneous to his purpose, and as such, is another facet of his personal contribution to the work. The interpretation he insists upon most is that of Jews vs. Gentiles, or the two testaments, Old and New, with the latter taking precedence over the former; often, he uses these in conjunction with one another. Thus, he tends to choose sources (or portions thereof) which exhibit the same spiritual bent. This technique is part of the editorial function of the author, and therein lies part of whatever originality the text has: the author makes his own exegetical contribution in his selection of pericopes to be commented on, in his selection of sources, and in the way he uses them.

## 5. DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE *EXPOSITIO IV EVANGELIORUM* (RII)

### I. Insular Origins of Recension I

The *Expositio IV Evangeliorum* was identified as a Hiberno-Latin text by Bernhard Bischoff in his 1954 article on Hiberno-Latin commentary material<sup>69</sup>. This assessment was based in the main on certain particular characteristics, and the impression created by their overall combination. In the absence of explicit proof of Irish provenance for the *Expositio*, such as the mention of an Irish author, Irish place names, or other indigenous points of reference, one must look to other, indirect manifestations of an insular bias. In addition to the features apparently peculiar to Hiberno-Latin works which abound throughout the text, the biblical text also seems to have affinities with certain insular readings (insofar as such readings have been established), and is distinguished by a "mixed" character of the type which was presumably current in Ireland in the seventh century. The distribution of the surviving manuscripts shows that the text was copied in an area of intense Irish activity on the continent, a fact which may argue for, if not Irish authorship, then at least Irish influence. Moreover, though the early date of this commentary precludes it from having used many of the other known Hiberno-Latin commentaries, the contents of the manuscripts themselves often point in the direction of an Irish milieu. Many of these manuscripts also show palaeographical evidence of an insular model through certain orthographic variations and abbreviations, if not immediately then ultimately. Though the present research is focussed primarily on the second and third recensions of this text, evidence pertaining to the first recension must be examined, as it is very likely closest to the original.

It is difficult to match any particular stream of Irish thought with what is found in the *Expositio*: so much of the text appears to be a *catena* of interpretations of the gospels, lifted from other parts of scripture and patristic sources. There is very little development of any particular theme, other than the highlighting of certain religious ideals, such as the practice of asceticism, penance and good works, and the omnipresent concern with things eschatological. Nonetheless, the *Expositio* is fully consistent with Bischoff's argument for Irish texts and contains a litany of characteristics evidently found in other Hiberno-Latin compositions. These include the author's obsession with numerology, his predilection for etymologies of both personal names and place names, his constant references to the Old Testament,

references to the *locus tempus*, and *persona* of certain passages, his preoccupation with genealogies, multiple interpretations of a single passage, his insertion of names where none is supplied in the Bible, the recurrent *vita contemplativa vs. vita activa* motif, the treatment of technical or mundane questions pertaining to Scripture, the rendering of certain words into the three sacred languages, and the familiar question and answer narrative structure, reminiscent of vernacular works. It will be appropriate to deal with this aspect of the internal evidence first, as it is central to the claim for the text's Irish origins.

The practice of exegetical numerology is quite prevalent in the *Expositio* and examples abound throughout the text. The author shows a decided predilection for both triads and tetrads. The prologue consists mainly of one quaternary after another, but there are many other such groupings throughout this work. Even more common, however, is the author's tendency to group things into triplets and that particular numerical grouping is often applied to Christ. While it is true that the mystical significance of the number three was universal and a standard feature in early Church writings (in reference to the Trinity, Christ's stay among the dead for three days, the three Magi, etc.), the emphasis found on this number in the *Expositio* is quite pronounced. Still more enumerations are found all through the text, with the numbers five, seven and ten also playing a prominent role. The author also has a tendency to provide multiple interpretations for the same passage (another noted Irish characteristic), frequently in three's, but also in two's and four's.

The discussion of the etymologies of words, particularly names of people and places is another recurring feature of the *Expositio*. Many of the names given in Matthew's genealogy of Christ are explicated in this manner (this is most obvious in recension II of the text), as are the names of the twelve apostles (a section found in recension I). The most common occurrence of the discussion of an etymology occurs with place names. This etymological interest, however, is not confined merely to names of people and places, but is also used to show the apparent derivation of certain words (for example, at Mt. 1:19, the author states that "sponsa ab spontanea uoluntate dicta est"; similarly at Mt. 18:17, he defines "publicanus" as "id est qui publice peccat"). In tandem with this philological interest, the author also has the tendency to relay certain words into the three sacred languages (i.e., Latin, Greek, and Hebrew). These are not restricted to so-called "sacred" names (for example, Jesus Christ), but also include more common words (e.g., *corban*).

While most of the interpretations are allegorical, some are also quite literal. For example, when glossing the passage in Mt. 19:24 on a camel getting through the eye of a needle, the author first gives a literal explanation by saying that this "eye of a needle" refers to a small gate in Jerusalem. He goes on to say that, in another sense, the eye of the needle is a confession of faith or a penance, and that finally a third interpretation is of the eye of the needle as the passion of Christ. The *Expositio* also shows evidence of the Irish tendency to focus on the more trivial questions pertaining to Scripture. For example, in recension I, when the text deals with the visit of the three Magi to Bethlehem, the author goes into the various theories as to when they actually arrived. In recension II, he queries the nature of the Star of Bethlehem, particularly as to whether it was in the heavens or in the sky.

The author also has a pre-occupation with the Old Testament: in addition to the numerous quotations taken therefrom, the text is riddled with allusions to Old Testament pericopes and figures. There is particular mention of Jacob and Joseph, and the Christ - Adam typology (though a common feature in medieval exegesis) is quite marked. There are also references to Jonah and the whale, Gideon's victory over the Philistines, Ezekiel's vision at the Chobar river, the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the temptation of Job. Another prevalent element of the text is the continual pairing of the Old and New Testaments, and indeed, most of the enumerative allegories involving the number two inevitably involve the Old Law and the New. There is also the frequent appearance of the the *vita contemplativa* vs. *vita activa* motif (usually associated, in the New Testament, with Mary and Martha, the two sisters of Lazarus), and a preoccupation with genealogies: according to Bischoff, both of these are features common to other Hiberno-Latin texts.

The other type of internal evidence which may suggest a provenance for the *Expositio* is that of its biblical quotations. As has been seen, apart from the numerous "pure" Old Latin readings found within the work, there are many readings which are attested in both Vulgate and Old Latin manuscripts. Moreover, those variants which can be traced show a much greater emphasis on Celtic representation in their Vulgate textual witnesses, alongside the many *Vetus Latina* manuscripts. Support for non-Vulgate variants (barring obvious paraphrases of biblical quotations) among the DELQR and Ep manuscripts is fairly consistent within the *Expositio* text, and no other obvious pattern emerges. Nonetheless, evidence from the biblical text of the *Expositio* should be approached with caution. Though the number of Old Latin and "Celtic" readings may seem impressive, there

remain many departures from the Vulgate which appear to be unattested elsewhere, a good portion of which are due to the plethora of paraphrases found throughout the work. The problem is compounded by the fact that biblical quotations for the same passage sometimes differ among the three recensions. For instance, at Mt. 2:12 (when the three Magi receive a warning in their sleep not to return to Herod) the first recension has the Vulgate reading (*responso accepto in somnis*) while the second and third recensions have the Old Latin *admoniti in somno*. The manuscript evidence shows that the first recension was copied most, and it is possible that in the course of its transmission, the Old Latin readings were gradually displaced by Vulgate ones -- a fact which could further obscure the character of the biblical model. In any case, whatever biblical text the author used, many quotations were clearly cited from memory, and the many paraphrases imply a familiarity with the biblical text such as one might expect from a monastic scholar.

Moving away from the internal evidence of an Irish provenance for the *Expositio*, what external evidence there is may be examined for the same question. First, the general distribution of its extant manuscripts: these are most concentrated in the Carolingian period, and a large number come from centres of, if not exclusively Irish, at least insular activity and/or influence on the continent. The Irish produced a significant amount of exegetical and religious material in the early middle ages, and they carried these texts with them in their travels abroad. Their monastic foundations became important centres for the copying and preservation of texts, and indeed, played an important role in the Carolingian revival of letters in the eighth and ninth centuries. Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries share much of the credit for nurturing and preserving literary culture on the continent, and the history of their efforts is very much the history of many of the medieval scriptoria there. While the English presence was more strongly felt in northern and western Germany, southern Germany was the domain of the Irish (though a number of wandering Irish bishops continued to traverse the continent). Many of these monasteries were located along pilgrimage routes, which also assured them a prominent place in the traffic of the book trade; they also may have acquired some of their codices from Irish refugees fleeing the Viking onslaughts in Ireland itself. Moreover, many Anglo-Saxon foundations possessed Irish manuscripts from their inception, so an area of Anglo-Saxon activity need not rule out the presence and circulation of Irish texts. For example, many manuscripts at the Anglo-Saxon

foundation of Würzburg contain Old Irish glosses, a fact which attests to the intermingling of insular cultures on the continent.

One monastery prominently represented among the extant manuscripts is that of Regensburg. A cloister was founded on the burial site of the Frankish missionary Emmeram<sup>70</sup> in the early eighth century, and there were close associations between this monastery and Fulda. Reichenau, an Anglo-Saxon foundation, also produced some early manuscripts containing the text. Still other early manuscripts of the *Expositio* are found in St. Gall, a well-known Irish settlement; Tegernsee, with a scriptorium noted for its intense activity and with strong connections to places like Regensburg, also produced at least two manuscripts containing the *Expositio*. Another manuscript stems from the Alsatian cloister of Weissenburg, and although little is known about its library and scriptorium, a Carolingian circulation list<sup>71</sup> shows that books were lent to monks outside the cloister, and sent to such places as Freising, another Irish settlement (which also produced a late ninth century manuscript of the *Expositio*). There is also evidence of early manuscripts of the text being copied in northern Italy, an area noted for its Irish presence in the middle ages. Other monasteries which figure in the text's transmission are Lorsch (with strong ties to Fulda), Salzburg (an area of vigorous Irish activity), and St. Amand (with strong links to Salzburg), among others. Perhaps the most salient point to note here is that the vast majority of the early (i.e., eighth or ninth century) manuscripts for this text are clustered in areas of insular activity, be it Irish or Anglo-Saxon. Given the close association of many of these monasteries, it is not so surprising that the *Expositio* was circulated and copied there.

Although all of the surviving manuscripts of this text are continental, the contents of many of them provide some evidence of Irish associations. As previously discussed, the closed group of recension II manuscripts (ACDKOPW) all contain an identical compendium of texts, among which is the Hibernian

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<sup>70</sup> On the mission of St. Emmeram, see Friedrich Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinland und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1965), pp. 379ff.

<sup>71</sup> Weissenburg ms. 35, now at Wolfenbüttel; cf. Karl Christ, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*, rev. Anton Kern, trans. Theophil Otto (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1984), p. 139.

Chronological Ordinal of Christ<sup>72</sup>, a text on the seven ecclesiastical grades which seeks to show that Christ himself fulfilled all of these during his own lifetime. There were something in the order of ten recensions of these "Ordinals of Christ" texts circulating in the middle ages, yet the *Expositio* is found in the company of the Irish stream of this work. In a Stuttgart manuscript which contains recension I of the *Expositio* (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB.VI.112, saec. ix) one also finds a copy of the Penitential of Cummean.<sup>73</sup> Karlsruhe Aug. Perg. 254 also has an Irish connection. In an article on Irish apocrypha written in 1919<sup>74</sup>, M.R. James discussed the relationship between the Evernew Tongue and the Vision of Adomnán, specifically as regards to their respective descriptions of heaven and hell. He brought in a third document, earlier than the first two, found in the Karlsruhe manuscript, namely, a Latin text of a description of heaven. He showed that a considerable part of this text bore a very close textual relationship to elements in both the Evernew Tongue and the Vision of Adomnán, and believed it to be a fragment of an earlier apocalyptic text, a precursor to what is found in the two apocrypha in question. He concluded that the apocalypse (of which the text in Karlsruhe 254 is a fragment) must have been current in Ireland at a relatively early date, in order to have influenced the two later Irish texts. Thus, it would seem that the *Expositio* is found in the company of yet another Irish work (or at least a work known and used in Ireland), if only in fragmentary form.

Many of the manuscripts under discussion also contain other Hiberno-Latin works found in Bischoff's list.<sup>75</sup> Clm 14469, a ninth-century manuscript containing recension I of the *Expositio*, contains another Hiberno-Latin text identified by Bischoff, Ps.-Jerome's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Clm 14426 (a ninth-century manuscript) contains only the prologue of the *Expositio*, but it is attached to another Hiberno-Latin text entitled *Ex dictis sancti Hieronimi*. One of the most revealing manuscripts in terms of its contents is the mid-to-late ninth century Munich

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<sup>72</sup> cf. Roger E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 1978), p. 70 n. 6.

<sup>73</sup> B. Griesser, "Überlieferung" p. 282.

<sup>74</sup> M.R. James, "Irish Apocrypha" in *Journal of Theological Studies* 20 (1918-1919), pp. 9-16.

<sup>75</sup> According to Bischoff ("Turning Points ....", p. 89), Paris lat. 614A (C) contains an excerpt from the so-called *Bibelwerk*, or Irish Reference Bible, a text commenting on all of the books of the bible; Michael Gorman, however, has shown that this manuscript does not contain the excerpt in question -- see his forthcoming article, "The Carolingian Exegetical Compendium in Albi 39 and Paris lat. 2175", to appear in *Scriptorium* 51 (1997), where he gives a detailed description of Paris lat. 614A.

manuscript Clm 6235. Apart from containing recension I of the *Expositio*, it contains at least four other Hiberno-Latin texts: a work entitled *Pauca de libris catholicorum scriptorum in evangelia excerpta* (no. 13 in Bischoff's list, and edited by Robert E. McNally in CC 108B); a small text on Mark (no. 28 in Bischoff's list); a commentary on Luke, which is actually found **within** the *Expositio*, and replaces the usual Lucan commentary of recension I (no. 29 of Bischoff's list); and a commentary on the Pauline epistles (a text which, according to Bischoff, doubtless arose from interlinear glossing -- no. 33 in his list). It should also be noted that all save the last of the four texts just mentioned also appear, along with the *Expositio*, in the ninth century Paris lat. 1841.

Although the presence of other Hiberno-Latin works in the manuscripts of the *Expositio* can be quite suggestive of an Irish milieu, the question of the basis of their own Irish attributions arises: for many of them, their alleged Irish provenance rests on the internal evidence cited by Bischoff for making such identifications (particularly those which have not yet been studied in any depth), and thus their "independent" testimony might -- for the purposes of an investigation such as this one -- come into question. Nonetheless, there is other corroborating evidence in these manuscripts of Irish influence. Once again, Clm 6235 and Paris lat. 1841 (both manuscripts for recension I) are important witnesses, as both contain Old Irish glosses on some of their texts -- most notably on the Lucan commentary found within the text of the *Expositio*<sup>76</sup>, but also on the Commentary on the Catholic Epistles. Another suggestive, if more oblique aspect of the manuscript evidence is the palaeographical element which might point to an insular model for some of the *Expositio*'s manuscripts. Although none of the extant manuscripts is actually in insular script, some do show evidence of insular influence. The above-mentioned Clm 14426 (ninth century) contains certain insular abbreviations (e.g., the insular abbreviation for *eius*) and may well have had an insular model<sup>77</sup>. Similarly, Clm 6235 seems also to have been copied from an Irish model<sup>78</sup>: Bischoff cites an insular capital G (f. 63r), and also notes the frequent specifically Irish abbreviations for words like *autem*, *enim*, *ergo*, *per*, *post*, *quasi*, *secundum*, and *con*; moreover, other abbreviations point to northern Italy, especially the  $\overline{m\bar{a}}$  abbreviation for *miser cordia* (as found in Clm 14514, recension III), peculiar to Verona. The Albi manuscript,

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<sup>76</sup> These glosses were published by R. Thurneysen in "Irische und bretonische Glossen", *Zeitschrift für die celtische Philologie* 21 (1939) p. 284-287.

<sup>77</sup> B. Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. I, p. 214-215.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, p. 132.

also shows signs of insular influence<sup>79</sup>: some of the smaller initials in this manuscript are red and surrounded by dots. Similarly, at least one scribe of Zurich, Rh. 99 (Z) betrays insular tendencies

The last avenue to explore in the search for corroborating evidence towards an Irish provenance for the *Expositio* is its affinities with other Hiberno-Latin texts. Sadly, this task is made difficult by its early date: so many of the Irish texts identified so far actually post-date the *Expositio*, and cannot be considered as potential sources for the text. There appears to be a certain affinity between the *Expositio* and the Irish Ps.-Augustine's *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* in respect of a passage on the baptism of Christ: although the passage certainly bears some resemblance to patristic exegesis of this pericope (and may ultimately derive from it), the interpretation and wording found in the *Expositio* is most accurately mirrored in the Ps.-Augustine text and in no other in the *Patrologia Latina* series. More importantly, in a forthcoming article on the dry-point glosses of the Usserianus Primus codex,<sup>80</sup> Pádraig O'Neill shows that the *Expositio* and the glossator of the Usserianus Primus bible text shared the same material: this need not mean that one was a direct source for the other, but that they at least shared a common source or exegetical heritage for their interpretations of certain biblical verses. This is particularly significant, and places the *Expositio* text in Ireland, or at least, in an milieu where an Irish influence was heavily felt. O'Neill's findings also shed light on the possible origins of our text: he points out that the format of the *Expositio* resembles that of the glosses of the Usserianus Primus, which are written above certain key words in the biblical text. This would go some way to explaining the grammatical slips made by the author in his commentary (e.g., "*mensas nummulariorum mandata legis*" at Mt. 21:12 [I.21, l. 866]), and indicate that the various interpretations may initially have been collected from just such interlinear and marginal glosses into the form in which it exists in the present.

As mentioned, the early date of the *Expositio*, precludes it from having used many of the known Hiberno-Latin texts as sources, but despite the paucity of Hiberno-Latin texts which can be reliably cited as sources for the *Expositio*, there are a number of others which drew upon the *Expositio* for some of their own material. These include the "*Liber questionum in Evangeliiis*" (no. 161 in Bischoff's list), in

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<sup>79</sup> E.A. Lowe, *CLA* VI. 706.

<sup>80</sup> Pádraig O'Neill, "The Earliest Dry-Point Glosses in Codex Usserianus Primus", forthcoming.

which the *Expositio* is actually named as a source (according to Bischoff, p. 114); the glosses on Matthew 1:1-16:18 (no. 22 in Bischoff's list); another brief Matthean commentary consisting of a moral interpretation of selected passages (no. 24 in Bischoff's list); and the Lucan commentary found in Clm 6235 and Paris lat. 1841 (no. 29 in Bischoff's list), whose allegorical interpretation (particularly in relation to numbers) Bischoff believes is due to the influence of the *Expositio*. St. Gall 230, a late eighth century recension I manuscript contains a brief Hiberno-Latin text consisting of an introduction to the four Gospels, which also bears a close relation to recension I of our text. Needless to say, these are for the most part confined to Bischoff's list of Hiberno-Latin texts, many of which still exist only in manuscript, awaiting critical editions and source analyses. Nonetheless, Robert McNally cited the *Expositio* in his source analysis of the "Pauca de libris catholicorum scriptorum" mentioned above (CC 108B), and there also appear to be some affinities between it and the Irish *Liber de numeris*. Hence, the literary parallels between our text and other later Irish works may yet be of some value, if only for their sheer numbers: it would seem that the *Expositio* was widely known in Irish circles, and that the authors of other Hiberno-Latin texts made extensive use of it. Moreover, many of these texts appear to be in the nature of collections of glosses or similar compilations, a genre to which the *Expositio* could lend itself quite easily; this may go some way to explaining both its function and its popularity.

While much of this "external" evidence is admittedly circumstantial, taken as a whole, it is compelling. It is particularly relevant as the text of the *Expositio* itself seems to have been in an ongoing state of transformation: the manuscript tradition is extremely complex, and the text, as it presently survives, is almost certainly not in its original form. The closed group of manuscripts mentioned above which contain a compendium of the same texts seems likely to have represented some sort of handbook used in a school setting; the *Expositio* would certainly have been an accommodating tool for such a purpose. The existence of three recensions clearly shows that the text was considered to be a very malleable one by scribes who copied it: apart from its intellectual substance being transmitted through so many other works, it obviously had a life of its own. Indeed, the Irish ethos of the work is less pronounced in the second recension than in the first (the reasons for this are not clear -- were certain Irish features lost or expunged, to make the text more palatable, or at least more relevant to its continental audience?), and in that event the gauge of internal evidence for the text's provenance may not be as reliable as one would expect. The *Expositio's*

reputed Irish provenance was an attribution originally made on the basis of internal material, but there appears to be other evidence to substantiate that claim; though the evidence may not prove that the text was actually written in Ireland itself, it does point to an Irish milieu. While this may not have direct implications for recension II of the *Expositio*, (whose origins, as discussed above, seem to be continental), it nonetheless bears on the ultimate exegetical tradition from which that second recension stems, and which continues to survive at some level in the text, in spite of the revision of continental editors.

## II. Derivation of Recension II

Recension II of the *Expositio* has a style and content which distinguishes it from the other recensions of the text. Notwithstanding, however, its unique features, it takes its basic form and content from the first recension of the work. It takes much of its material verbatim from recension I and the structure of the commentary in both recensions is essentially the same: a prologue and commentary on each of the four gospels, with the author concentrating his efforts principally on the commentary on Matthew, and giving the other gospels a more cursory treatment. The majority of recension I manuscripts examined by Griesser<sup>81</sup> have the gospel commentaries in the order of Matthew, John, Mark, and Luke. All recension II manuscripts examined follow the order of Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke, with the exception of Karlsruhe, Aug. Perg. 254 (L), where they appear in the canonical order of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

The prologue of recension II is much longer than that of recension I, but both share a common core of material. There are, however, significant differences in some of the content in each, and in the order in which it is presented. The prologue in recension I is more disjointed than that of recension II. A common feature of both is a series of interpretations in groups of four relating to the four evangelists: these are more numerous in recension I but are scattered amid other sections within the prologue. Recension I generally deals with each topic in a brisk manner before moving on to the next. While the material in recension II is more limited in terms of the number of themes it addresses, it tends to discuss at greater length the subjects in common with recension I. Both recensions offer parallels between the four elements and the four Gospels, but that of recension II is more

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<sup>81</sup> B. Griesser, "Überlieferung", p. 279-321.

extensive than the same discussion in recension I, and includes more biblical quotations to demonstrate each allegory. Indeed, its justification of fire as a symbol for Luke (*Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis* - Lk. 24:13) leads to a commentary on the pericope of the disciples on the road to Emmaus, which is not found in the first recension. Its interpretation of the Vision of Ezekiel, in the context of the beast and its representation of the ministry of the evangelists, is also much fuller than that of recension I and deals with many more individual elements from that passage. In addition, it adds unique material, particularly in the context of Peter's vision in Joppa, not found in recension I at all. Some of its material in common with recension I has been reorganized in a different order, as with, for example, Ezekiel's vision and the ark of the covenant. In addition, it seems that its editor also gave more structure to the layers of allegories for the evangelists by gathering these together into one section (with the exception of his reprise of the four rivers of paradise and their symbols at the very end of the prologue). Thus, though the two have obvious differences, it is clear that their core material is the same:

**Rec. I (PL 30, pp. 531-534)**

Primum quaerendum est omnium librorum tempus, locus, persona.

Quare non de duodecim euangelia recipiuntur nisi quatuor: quia totus mundus ex quatuor elementis est ...per coelum Ioannes ... per Matthaeum terra ... per Lucam ignis ... Per Marcum aqua ...

Quatuor flumina de uno fonte quatuor euangelistas significat ... irrigant mundum ...

Significant quatuor uirtutes, id est prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem, et iustitiam ...

Et homo ex quatuor elementis consistit: ex aere, igne, et aqua, et terra ...

**Rec. II**

Mattheus sicut in ordine primus ponitur ita et euangelium hebreo sermone in Iudaea primus scripsit. Euangelium id est bonum nuntium, id est uitam adnuntiat post mortem, regnum post seruitium, requiem post laborem, lucem post tenebras.

Propter quid non amplius recipiuntur quam quattuor euangelia ... sed quia totus mundus ex quattuor elementis constat ... per caelum Iohannem ... per terram Mattheum ... per aquam Marcum ... per ignem Lucam ... Ambulante domino et euntibus ex discipulis eius duobus in castello ... Discumbentes uero cognouerunt eum ...

Igitur de conditione paradisi ... quattuor flumina egrediuntur de paradiso, per quae irrigatur uniuersus mundus ...

Ita et homo ex quattuor elementis conditus est: ex aere, igne, aqua, et terra

Adam a quatuor stellis nomen accepit, quod est artis, dosis, anatholis, mesimbrio, uel quatuor significant euangelistas ...

Item arca Noe quadrata legitur ex lignis facta ...

Item arca testamenti, ubi erant duae tabulae et uirga Aaron, quatuor circulis aureis portabatur, et uectes ex auro cooperti ...

Item Matthaeus donatus, Marcus donum excelsum, Lucas consurgens, Iohannes gratia Domini ...

Item rota in rota, spiritus in rota praedicatio euangelii in mundo gyrans ... uas linteum ... quatuor animalia habent oculos ante et retro ...

Item supplantauit Iacob ter fratrem suum ...

Quatuor euangelistae significant Matthaeus faciem hominis, Lucas uituli, Marcus leonis, Ioannes aquilae ...

Cur quatuor euangelistae non per quatuor apostolos scribuntur, nisi per discipulos et duos apostolos ...

Matthaeus mel, Marcus lac, Lucas oleum, Ioannes uinum

Adam ex quattuor stellis nomen accepit, quarum una anatholis, alia dosis, tertia arcton, quarta misimbrio ...

De arca Noe ex quadris lignis facta, quae quattuor euangelia figurauit ...

Uisio quam uidit Ezechiel super fluuium Chobar ... per senas alas ... oculos ante et retro ... scintillae micantes ... crura recta ... pedes pinnati ... uersis uultibus ... rota in rota ... quocumque ibant non reuertebantur ... spiritus in rota ...

Cum uenisset Petrus in Iopen in domum Simonis coriarii ...

Item de arca testamenti in qua erant duae tabulae testamenti et uirga Aaron ...

Sancta uero ecclesia non recipit nisi quattuor euangelia quamuis duodecim paradiso de uno fonte: primum flumen dicitur Phison .... secundum flumen dicitur Geon ... tertium flumen dicitur Tigris ... quartum flumen dicitur Eufrates ...

In terms of the number of biblical passages commented upon, recension I covers more material than recension II, though its interpretations are often shorter.

The biblical verses found only in recension I generally occur in clusters, particularly in the commentaries on Matthew (e.g., Mt. 1:21-25, 2:4-10, 4:3-9, 5:16-21; 5:42-6:13, 6:25-7:3, 9:30-10:4) and Mark (e.g., Mk. 1:1-45, 3:20-4:22, 7:25-7:30, 8:22-9:2, 10:1-14:11). The commentary on John sees a much more equitable distribution between the two: though there *is* some material found in recension I which is absent from recension II (e.g., Jn. 4:36-4:53), by and large, both recensions cover the same biblical verses for this gospel. (As the commentary on Luke in recension II consists of a collection of excerpts from the *Comm. in IV Evangeliiis* of Ps.-Theophilus -- the majority taken verbatim -- there is little point in comparing it with the Lucan commentary of recension I, as it is clearly not derived from the latter.) There are also biblical verses found in recension II which are not found in recension I, but these are the exception rather than the rule, and tend to occur singly rather than in groups. They often indicate an expanded treatment of a given pericope which *is* dealt with in recension I, but in shorter fashion. On the whole, there are no comparable gaps in biblical material in recension I as viewed in the context of recension II, and it is clear that the vast majority of biblical pericopes treated in recension II are also present in recension I. Even in cases where recension II does not cover all of the biblical elements addressed in recension I, where the two *do* coincide in their biblical material, their glosses are often identical (e.g., Mt. 13:1ff).

Apart from the similarity in commentary material between recension II and recension I, certain textual features in the former indicate its dependence on the latter and imply that it represents a secondary development in the history of the *Expositio*. In certain instances, a phrase in recension II is only made intelligible through comparison with recension I, as at Mt. 9:1ff:

**Rec. I (PL 30, p. 550B)**

*Surrexit, id est curatus est; reuersus in domum suam, id est, ad primam creationem.*

**Rec. II (I.9)**

*Ascendit in nauem, id est in ecclesia, et uenit in ciuitatem suam Nazareth. Et curatus est, in domo, id est in ecclesia uel mundo.*

After citing the second part of Mt. 9:1 (with no accompanying gloss), recension II has the puzzling phrase of "curatus est in domo". In recension I, "curatus est" is preceded by the word "surrexit", the first part of Mt. 9:7 ("surrexit et abiit in domum suam" in the Vulgate), and "curatus est" is a gloss on it; "reuersus in domum suam" is the second part of Mt. 9:7, and its gloss is "id est ad primam creationem" (but "id est in ecclesia uel in mundo" in recension II). The "surrexit" of recension I was presumably lost rather than suppressed, and this corruption

clearly indicates recension II's dependence on recension I. Similarly, another phrase in recension II is placed after a gloss on Mt. 16:19 and before a quotation of Mt. 16:22, yet does not appear to refer to any biblical verse cited in the text:

Rec. I (PL 30, p. 554B)<sup>82</sup>

... clauēs regni coelorum, potestas est ligandi et soluendi, id est, per poenitentiam aperientur. *Multa pati a senioribus et scribis*, haec dicens Iesus ostendit passionem et resurrectionem. *Dicit ad Petrum, Uade post me*, ostendit ipsum crucifixum post se.<sup>83</sup>

Rec. II (I.16)

... clauēs regni caelorum, potestas est ligandi et soluendi, sicut in ostio clauis aperit et claudit; sic ei data est potestas soluendi per poenitentiam, soluere per confessionem, claudere uero impiis et non poenitentibus. Sciens dominus Iesus quae uentura erant illi in passione, et retulit Petro et Petrus ait, *Absit a te domine*, et dominus ad illum dixit, *Uade post me*, significauit et ipsum Petrum crucifigendum esse.

In the context of recension I, recension II's "Sciens Dominus Iesus quae uentura erant illi in passione" would seem to refer to Mt. 16:21 ("Multa pati a senioribus et scribis"). This biblical verse was apparently omitted (presumably through scribal error) early on in the evolution of recension II, as it does not appear in any of its extant manuscript witnesses. Once again, referral to the text of recension I is required to elucidate its meaning, and the passage points to a derivation from the first recension.

One of the largest lacunae in recension II (with respect to recension I) is also one of the most persuasive in the argument for its derivation from the first recension. This occurs in the commentary on Mark: recension II comments on Mk 9:49, and, after a lengthy passage unrelated to the preceding verse, it comments on Mk 14:12. The intervening text contains quotations from the Pauline epistles, but no other biblical point of reference, and thus no indication of which biblical pericope it is intended to gloss. In recension I, however the same passage (to "pro nobis") is found between its gloss on Mk. 12:42 and its citation of Mk. 13:8:

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<sup>82</sup> Clm 14388 has the following reading for this passage: *Clauis regni caelorum potestas est legandi et soluendi, id est per penitentiam et confessionem aperietur, per duritia et inpenitens clauditur. Multa patientia senioribus et scribis*, haec dicens Iesus ostendit passionem et reusurrectionem, sicut peritissimus nauta cognoscens futura tranquillitatem siue tempestatem. *Dicens ad Petrum, Uade post me*, ostendit ipsum curucifixum post se.

<sup>83</sup> Migne here reads, "ipsum crucifixum. *Post me abneget semetipsum*", but this is obviously an error, judging from Clm 6235 and Clm 14388.

*Uidia misit duos nummos, quod est, quadrans, per quos intelligit hominem quadrantem, qui se Deo obtulit. Quaecumque petieritis, credentes in oratione, fient uobis: quomodo sic sanctus Paulus dicit, Ter rogavi Dominum pro stimulo, et non recessit a me. Diabolus petiit, ut tentaret Iob, et permisit eum Deus. Paulus non est exauditus, ut per ipsum stimulum coronaretur: diabolus exauditus eius, ut per eius tentationes Iob coronaretur. Proinde Apostolus ait, Nescimus quid petamus nisi Christum, qui interpellat pro nobis<sup>84</sup>. Gens aduersus gentem ...*

*Fatui habete salem in uobis, id est habete sapientiam dei in uobis. Quaecumque petieritis credentes in orationem fiet uobis. Quomodo sic dum sanctus Paulus dicit, Ter rogavi dominum per stimulum et non recessit a me. Diabolus petiit temptare Iob, et permisit ei ut temptaret. Paulus non est exauditus, ut per ipsum stimulum coronaretur; diabolus exauditus est similiter, ut per eius temptationes Iob coronaretur. Proinde ait apostolus, Nescimus quid oremus nisi spiritus sanctus, qui interpellat pro nobis gemitibus inennarrabilibus. Monstra dicuntur a monstrando, quod aliquid significando monstrent; ostenta ab ostendendo dicta per ostendendum; prodigia quod porro dicant, id est futura praedicant. Primo die azimorum*

Evidently, a portion of the second recension was lost very early on in its development. This passage appears in the same way -- placed between Mk. 9:49 and Mk. 14:12 -- in all of the extant recension II manuscripts. There is a further phrase in recension II after "gemitibus ennarrabilibus" ("Monstra ... id est futura praedicant"), which is not found in recension I, but which may have been intended as a gloss on Mk. 13:22. Griesser pointed out<sup>85</sup> that the Vulgate reading for this passage is "dabunt signa et portenta", while many Old Latin manuscripts (*acdff<sub>2</sub> iq*), as well as the Q, (the Book of Kells) read "prodigia": he suggested that the "prodigia" in the gloss before Mk. 14:12 may suggest the influence of an Old Latin biblical text. The passage is taken from Isidore, who himself was commenting on the meaning of "portenta", and thus the "prodigia" may have simply been taken directly from him<sup>86</sup> and bear no reflection on the author's biblical text at all. The passage is not attested in either recensions I or III and may have been part of some original interpolation which was also partially lost in the second recension's transmission.

<sup>84</sup> Clm 14388 has "gentibus innarrabilibus" following "pro nobis", apparently a corruption of "gemitibus ennarrabilibus"; in addition, its wording of this passage is slightly closer to that of recension II, but overall its orthography and grammar is corrupt.

<sup>85</sup> Griesser, "Beiträge", p. 72.

<sup>86</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae* XI, iii, 3.

### III. Departures from Recension I

Clearly then, recension II takes its basic form and content from recension I of the *Expositio*. Apart from certain obvious features, most notably its prologue, its lengthy interpolation of excerpts from Gregory and Augustine after the commentary on Mark and its exclusive use of Ps.-Theophilus in the Lucan commentary, the overall textual presentation of recension II distinguishes it from the first recension. Though the substantive content in recensions I and II may be the same, their styles are somewhat different. Recension I maintains a brusque approach, its glosses not often ranging beyond brief allegorical parallels between biblical elements and corresponding components of Christian praxis. In contrast to recension I's abrupt method, recension II is far more discursive: it expands on certain biblical quotations and develops their original interpretations, though without necessarily changing their sense in any substantial way.

Although there is some degree of orthographic, and even grammatical variation between the comments on many passages shared by both recension I and recension II, the substantive content is usually the same (*cf.* Mt. 8:8ff). Recension II often paraphrases the interpretation for a given gloss from recension I, as at Mt. 2:12: for its gloss on "ne redirent ad Herodem", recension II reads "hoc est ne ad opera diaboli redirent ubi fuerant" instead of "id est post penitentiam non reuertatur ad diabulum" as found in recension I. At Mt. 4:2, the same remark is made in both recensions I and II regarding Christ's fast of forty days and forty nights in the desert, but using slightly different wording:

#### Rec. I (PL 30, p. 541C)

*Quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, ne haeretici dicerent, quod nocte manducasset.*

#### Rec. II (I.4)

*Quadraginta diebus et noctibus ieiunauit: si noctibus non dixisset, forte estimaretur quod nocturnas caenas accepisset, et non quadraginta diebus et noctibus ieiunasset.*

Notwithstanding its ultimate derivation from recension I, recension II shows some startling departures from its ultimate model, not only in its interpretations, but in its biblical citations as well. Although recension I might comment on more individual elements within a given pericope, it tends to cite its biblical text in a piecemeal fashion. Recension II has a tendency to quote the verse in full before commenting on any of its individual elements. Indeed this is one of the hall-marks of the second recension and these kinds of expanded biblical

citations (though without necessarily an expanded interpretative content) are found at Mt. 8:5ff, Mt. 8:19ff, Mt. 10:11, Jn. 10:22-23 and Jn. 2:14-16, among others. Recension II also adds biblical quotations to the text, though it does not always comment on them, as at Mt. 18:16, Jn. 6:25, and Jn. 21:20. This phenomenon marks more of a change in style between recensions I and II than a change in the exegetical direction or content of the work. Recension II generally quotes a biblical verse in full, then repeats individual words from the verse as it comments on them, as at Mt. 18:6ff:

**Rec. I (PL 30, p. 555A)**

*Qui scandalizauerit unum ex his, id est, siue iniuria corporali, siue in aduersione fidei. Suspendatur mola, id est, cura, siue circuitus huius saeculi: in collo eius, in labore saeculi: dimergatur in mare, id est in saeculum.*

**Rec. II (I.18)**

*Si quis scandalizauerit unum de pusillis, id est iniuria siue corporali siue aduersione fide; qui spernit eum qui adnuntiat uerbum dei, a maximo usque ad minimum, non intrabit in regnum caelorum. Et qui scandalizauerit suspendatur mola asinaria ad collum eius et demergatur in profundum maris: mola, id est cura, siue circuitus huius saeculi designatur; in collo eius, id est in labore saeculi huius; et demergatur in mare, id est in saeculo malitiae saeculi.*

More striking, however, is the addition of extra biblical citations and commentaries on them, as at Mt. 2:21-22, Mt. 5:35-36, Mt. 10:5, Jn. 1:35-37, and Jn. 1:47, among others. Recension II's embellishment of the exegetical material in recension I is one of its most conspicuous features: it may retain the essential content of recension I, but often expands on the material for the same gloss. At Mt. 14:3ff, for example, recension II retains the original interpretations of recension I, but also adds alternate ones:

**Rec. I (PL 30, p. 552D-553A)**

*Alligauit Ioannem et misit in carcerem: ostendit terminum Legis ueteris; Herodiades significat synagogam. puella saltauit in conuiuio, ostendit gentes saltantes ante idola: caput Ioannis in disco, significat corpus Christi in altare, caput illius in corde fidelium; datum est puellae, id est, Ecclesiae ex gentibus; attulit matri suae, ostendit conuersionem Iudaeorum, in futurum.*

**Rec. II (I.14)**

*Alligauit Iohannem in carcere significat terminum legis litterae, quia omnes prophetae usque ad Iohannem prophetauerunt. Herodiadis significat synagogam; puella quae saltauit in conuiuio, hoc est gentes saltantes ante idola. Caput Iohannis in disco, corpus Christi in altare, et caput illius, corda fidelium. Datum est puellae, id est ecclesiae ex gentibus; attulit matri suae, id est synagoga, ostendit conuersionem Iudaeorum in fine futuro. Et aliter:*

Iohannes typum Christi est; Herodes, diaboli; mulier, synagogae; puella cui datum est caput figuram tenet ecclesiae quae accepit Christum. Alligatio, uel carcer, ostendit hunc mundum uel incarnationem Christi, et aliter consummationem prophetiae.

In addition to the interpretations added alongside those taken directly from recension I, recension II also develops a basic gloss found in recension I and adds to it, as at Jn. 10:1:

**Rec. I (PL 30, p. 582C)**

*Qui non intrat per ianuam, ostendit episcopos qui per praemia intrant, non per uocationem Dei, siue populi.*

**Rec. II (III.10)**

*Qui non intrat per ostium, intellegit episcopum, qui per praemia intrat uel seductionem, non desiderando euangelica uerba adnuntiare, sed propter terrenas res, fruere ac possidere; et efficitur auarus, cupidus, inflatus, detractor litigiosus, percussor. Isti tales non intrant in ouile, id est in ecclesia per uocationem dei; qui intrant per ianuam, id est per uocationem dei.*

Recension II also replaces glosses from the first recension with new interpretations, as at Mt. 14:13:

**Rec. I (PL 30, p. 553A)**

*Secutae ostendit (sic) pedestres; ostendit, non cum pecuniis anteguis (sic! s/b aut aequis), sed cum proprio labore debet homo sequi Deum.*

**Rec. II (I.14)**

*Tunc turbae pedestres sequebantur Iesum: pedestres dicuntur, quia pecuniam secum non habebant, neque equos. Lege historiam et crede, quia apertum est.*

Elsewhere, the reverse is the case: the same interpretation is given in recensions I and II but applied to different biblical citations. As the last citation in the commentary on Matthew, recension I cites Mt. 28:16 ("in Galilea in monte"), whereas recension II cites Mt. 28:7 ("in Galilea ibi eum uidebitis"); both, however, have the same gloss for their verses, namely "ostendit de populo iudaeorum ad gentes". It should be noted that there appears to be a fair amount of variation between the manuscripts of recension I itself (my inspection of Clm 14388 and Clm 6235, and the Migne edition confirms this), and that omissions and/or additions in the second recension may not be due solely to selective textual manipulation by the editor. Such omissions may have been the result of peculiarities in the model of

recension I from which he was working. This only highlights the pressing need for a critical edition of recension I, so that the text can be secured for proper comparison with recension II, and the true nature of the latter's relationship with the first recension can be determined.

The most notable feature of recension II, and that which necessitates its classification as a separate recension of the *Expositio*, is the amount of added material relative to recension I. The lengthy section after Mark, excerpted from the writings of Gregory and Augustine, has already been mentioned. In the commentary on Matthew, however, there is a fair amount of exegetical material not found in recension I. At Mt. 1:1ff (not treated in recension I), recension II gives the etymologies of the various names listed by Matthew in Christ's genealogy. Similarly, recension II has a much longer discussion of the Magi and more particularly, of the Star of Bethlehem. The Flight into Egypt, the ministry of John, the Beatitudes, and many other biblical passages are also given a more extensive treatment in recension II. At the same time, however, much material from the Matthean commentary of recension I (especially in the first half) is, in its turn, excluded from the second recension; indeed, it is perhaps in the first half of the commentary on Matthew that (barring the Lucan commentary) the diversity between the two recensions is most evident. Recension II is not merely an abridged version of recension I (though it is shorter, mainly due to its abbreviated commentary on Luke). It comments on biblical passages otherwise passed over in the first recension and sometimes replaces a gloss found in recension I with a different interpretation. The essence of the editor's contribution, therefore, lies in his expansion of the core constituents of recension I, and in the actual addition of commentary material unattested in the first recension; his attempts to make sense of corrupted passages, and to ensure that the work flows more evenly overall give recension II a more polished appearance than its ultimate model.

A brief mention of the evolution of the "second" stream of the *Expositio's* recension II is appropriate here, though it has already been discussed at much greater length. Essentially, its differences from the other recension II manuscripts consist of changes in word order and the addition of material to the text, not in the form of added biblical pericopes, but in the expansion of existing interpretations on biblical lemmata. Omissions which are characteristic of this group are almost certainly corruptions of the text. There are substantial passages missing at certain junctures, passages which are attested in the other recension II manuscripts and in

recension I, and which therefore may be assumed to have been present in the original archetype for this recension. As the defining distinction of this second stream seems to lie in its expansion and development of existing glosses, it is unlikely that such passages were deliberately excluded from the text. Indeed, it is precisely those omissions which identify the ACDKOPW stream as secondary to the BFLMNRZ group in the history of recension II, rather than vice versa. An examination of the latter is often required to elucidate phrases in the former which have been rendered senseless through the omission of certain passages (e.g., Mt. 14:24, Jn. 5:2). Thus, the existence of a second stream in the textual history of recension II attests to its continued evolution and to the licence to which successive scribes obviously felt entitled in their transmission of the text. Though itself a derivative of another text, it became the object of further editorial revision, a fact which bears witness to its continued use and diffusion.

#### IV. Date of Recension II

Naturally the true date of origin for recension II of the *Expositio* hinges on the date of recension I. Since no critical study has yet been done on this first recension, any postulated date for recension II can only be approximate at best. There is next to nothing in the way of internal evidence or indications from the source analysis of the text to provide any concrete *termini* for a date of origin. As the biblical text was still rather fluid in terms of the ratio of Vulgate to Old Latin readings in the period under discussion (that is, the seventh to ninth centuries), the presence of Old Latin readings is not conclusive for the purposes of determining the precise date of the text. There is very little mention within the work of any ecclesiology, heretical movements, or doctrinal controversies, and most of the identified sources are patristic, with the exception of the Ps.-Jerome *Commentary on Mark*, a work which has been dated to the middle of the seventh century.<sup>87</sup> This is far earlier than any feasible date for the second recension of the *Expositio*, although it may have implications for the date of the first.

Though derived from the first recension, the second recension must nevertheless have evolved at an early stage. Its earliest manuscript witnesses date to the end of the eighth century and are contemporaneous with many of the earliest

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<sup>87</sup> B. Bischoff, "Turning Points", no. 27; Michael Cahill, "Is the First Commentary on Mark an Irish Work? Some New Considerations" in *Peritia* 8 (1994), p. 37.

extant recension I manuscripts. Indeed, one of the earliest recension II witnesses, Albi 39 (A), dates to the end of the eighth century, but as a member of the closed ACDKOPW sub-group of manuscripts, it already represents a second stage in the development of the text. As Michael Gorman has noted<sup>88</sup>, the presence of an excerpt from Alcuin's *Epistula* 136 (dated to 798) in the closed compendium of texts which characterize this group places the second stream at least at the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth. The other stream is in all probability closer to the ultimate recension II model. In spite of the fact that recension II is itself a secondary development in the history of the *Expositio* as a whole, its archetype must nonetheless be relatively early. If there was already a second stream of recension II in existence by the end of the eighth century (as A and D suggest), the original archetype in all likelihood dates to the middle of the eighth century, ca. 750 AD. As the text was apparently being continually re-shaped (and indeed, there seems to be some measure of diversity among the manuscripts of the first recension itself), one need not necessarily presume a long line of development to account for the early appearance of the ACDKOPW stream, particularly in light of the increased literary activity which accompanied the Carolingian Renaissance. As it seems likely that the *Expositio* was used as a manual for students and/or teachers, and perhaps also as a reference for homilists, frequent modification of the text would not be surprising. It seems that the text was meant not merely to be read, but actually *used* and frequent use of it doubtless led to the evolution of its various forms.

## V. Provenance of Recension II

There is little doubt that recension II's origins -- that is, its original derivation from recension I -- are continental. Beginning with the second stream first, the ACDKOPW group seems to have originated in France, judging from the extant manuscripts (Plimpton 58 was written in Southern France, Albi 39 in the cathedral of Albi, Orleans 313 in Fleury). In his discussion of the Gregorian excerpts after Mark<sup>89</sup>, Griesser noted that some striking variants found in the *Expositio* may point to a French origin for the text. For the excerpt from Gregory's *Hom. 29 in Evang.*, the *Expositio* reads "post **adsumptionis** suae gloriam" instead of

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<sup>88</sup> Michael Gorman, "The Carolingian Exegetical Compendium in Albi 39 and Paris lat. 2175", to appear in *Scriptorium* 51 (1997).

<sup>89</sup> B. Griesser, "Beiträge", p. 74.

"ascensionis", a reading attested in two manuscripts of Gregory's work from Jumièges, and in another Bigotianus manuscript. Similarly, in the excerpt from Gregory's *Hom. 30 in Evang.*, the *Expositio* reads "qui inuisibili potestate semper **praeerat**" instead of "praesens erat", a variant attested in a manuscript from Beauvais and another from Corbie. These manuscripts are of French provenance, which might suggest that the text of the *Expositio* has a French provenance as well. The other manuscripts seem to be centred more in Germanic areas of the Continent: for example, Karlsruhe, Aug. Perg. 254 in Reichenau, Clm 14514 in Regensburg, Merseburg 109 in Fulda (or at least a daughter-house), and Zurich Rh. 99 in Rheinau. As this "first" stream of manuscripts is closer to the archetype, its links to many insular centres of activity may be significant for a discussion of the text's ultimate origins. The insular origins ascribed to the text by scholars since 1954 have been assumed principally on the basis of recension I, but as this clearly bears on the ultimate origins of recension II, the evidence for insular influence for both recensions must be examined.

## 6. RECENSION III OF THE *EXPOSITIO IV EUANGELIORUM*

The third recension of the *Expositio* is shorter than the other two, and survives complete in only one twelfth-century manuscript. Its text contains many aberrant readings, but also shows readings which clearly favour an older period of composition, and which are therefore probably closer to the original than the other two versions. Despite the fact that it appears to be much older than its surviving manuscripts, very little evidence of it survives.

### I. Manuscripts

There are very few manuscript witnesses to the third recension of the *Expositio*.<sup>90</sup> B. Lambert listed seven manuscripts for this recension in his *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*:

1. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Fragment 47<sup>91</sup>
2. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Sopp. 385 (Valambrosa 454)
3. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388
4. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14426
5. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14514
6. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Pp.1 (Cod. theol. fol. 174)
7. Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVIII (110)

Upon inspection, however, it became clear that Lambert was in error for several of these manuscripts: Munich, Clm 14388 actually contains recension I of the text, not recension III; and neither Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl. Pp.1 nor Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare XLVIII (110) contain any part of the *Expositio* at all.<sup>92</sup> Although Lambert indicates that recension III appears in Clm 14426 on f. 1-140, this manuscript contains only a prologue of the *Expositio* (most likely an abridged version of the prologue from recension II, as is argued below), while the text covering ff. 3 -140 is not the *Expositio* text at all, but another commentary entitled *Ex*

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<sup>91</sup> Lambert lists this manuscript fragment as Lat. qu. 931, the call number of the codex in whose binding the fragment in question was found. It is currently catalogued under the call number of Fragment 47, and will be referred to as such.

<sup>92</sup> I was able to examine a microfilm copy of Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl. Pp.1 myself, and determined that the text therein is not the *Expositio*, although its text does have the same incipit as ours. Dr. Michael Gorman examined the Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare XLVIII manuscript *in situ*, and confirmed that the gospel commentary contained in that codex is not the *Expositio* (correspondence dated 28 May 1996).

*dictis sancti Hieronimi*. Conv. Sopp. 385 may have a recension III text at its base, but it appears to be a fusion of all three traditions of the text.

1. **Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Fragment 47 (\*no longer extant)<sup>93</sup>**  
[saec ix<sup>1</sup>; 3 folios; parchment; 260 mm x 160 mm; prov.: Mondsee]

This manuscript fragment is a most valuable witness to recension III of the *Expositio*, mainly because of its early date, in the first half of the ninth century. The fragment consists of three folios which were found stuffed inside the covers of a tenth-century manuscript purchased by the Berlin Staatsbibliothek in 1933, namely Lat. qu. 931 (Ansegius, *Collectio Capitularium*). The first two folios contain a fragment of the third recension of the *Expositio* (from Mt. 1:1-Mt. 3:4); the third folio contains a fragment on allegorical etymologies, with the rubrics "De litteris" and "De ponderibus" (Eucherius). According to Bischoff, the script of these (a Caroline minuscule) is a typical example of the later Mondsee-type. He also speculated that it came from the same manuscript as another ninth century fragment, Ser. Nov. 3754, and believed that f. 3-4 of this last were written by the same hand as Fragment 47. Unfortunately, the Berlin fragment disappeared after the Second World War.

The Berlin fragment, covering the section in recension III between Mt. 1:1 and Mt. 3:4, agrees verbatim with the text of recension III as found in the twelfth-century manuscript Clm 14514, with only a few orthographical variants. The fragment is damaged, however, in the inside margin of 1<sup>r</sup> and the outside margin of 1<sup>v</sup>. It is of particular significance, as this section is one in which recension III distinguishes itself from the other two recensions, not only in content, but in its biblical quotations. For example, recension III has the Old Latin reading of Prov. 21:20, "Thesaurus desiderabilis requiescit in ore sapientis", as does the Berlin fragment. Thus, another witness to this tradition strengthens the case for the existence and transmission of the text as a third recension of the *Expositio*, and not

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<sup>93</sup> Karl Christ, "Die Schloßbibliothek von Nikolsburg und die Überlieferung der Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegius" in *Deutsches Archiv* 1 (1937), pp. 281-322; Bruno Griesser, "Ansegius-Kodex", p. 137-142; Bernhard Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. II, p. 23, 25; Ursula Winter, "Die Fragmentensammlung der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek: Katalog der Fragmente des 4.-10. Jahrhunderts", *Studien zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen* 4 (1986), p. 14-15 (I am indebted to Dr. Michael Gorman for bringing this last catalogue to my attention). All information on this fragment has been taken from the afore-mentioned catalogues and articles which mention this fragment.

just an aberrant text in the twelfth century manuscript (Clm 14514) which carries it *in toto*.

2. Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Sopp. 385<sup>94</sup>  
[saec xiv; 62ff; prov.: Valambrosa]

The *Expositio* text in this fourteenth century manuscript is longer than the recension III text found in Clm 14514, with significant additions in some places, but with equally extensive omissions elsewhere. There is no prologue of any kind and the text begins with the commentary on Matthew; Mark and John follow, and there is no commentary on Luke. It carries a certain amount of recension III material not found in either recension I or II, but many of its individual variants from the Clm 14514 recension III text correspond to recension II readings at the same juncture. Moreover, many of the recension III passages excluded from Conv. Sopp. 385 are similarly not found in recension II, and towards the end of the text, a substantial section of recension III (Clm 14514) is omitted from Conv. Sopp. 385.

It seems that a recension III text definitely forms the basis for the text in this manuscript, but that it underwent considerable revision with the aid of both recensions I and II. As already mentioned, those sections in Conv. Sopp. 385 which are not attested in recension III (i.e., Clm 14514) correspond most often with the recension II text. Its model, however, was apparently not part of the "closed group" (ACDKOPW) stream, as it contains passages omitted from those manuscripts (for example, "Uidete regiones ..." at Jn.4:35 - Jn. 5:2). Conv. Sopp. 385 reflects recension II more consistently in its first half, that is, in its commentary on Matthew. The balance shifts somewhat in the second half, where Conv. Sopp. 385 is much closer to recension III (Clm 14514). Elsewhere Conv. Sopp. 385 passages not found in either recension III or recension II find a model in recension I. This is particularly evident in the commentary on Mark: recension III only goes to Mark. 10:28, while recension II jumps from Mk. 9:49 to Mk. 14:12. Conv. Sopp. 385, however, has no such gap, and its commentary material for Mk. 10:28ff is taken from recension I. After its gloss on Mk. 11:16 (taken from recension I), it adds a short section of its own on the ministry of priests. It too contains the passage beginning "Quaecumque

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<sup>94</sup> *Catalogus codicum graecorum, latinorum, italicorum, etc. .... in Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana transesti sunt cura et studio Francisci de Furia*, tom. III, p. 307. I am most grateful to Catherine Lawless who kindly checked this reference for me in Florence, and provided the details on Conv. Sopp. 385 from the catalogue.

petieritis" found in recensions I and II, and elaborates on it somewhat (though without any indication as to which biblical lemma it glosses). In recension II, this section is followed immediately by an excerpt from Isidore, presumably as a gloss on Mk. 13:22 ("Monstra dicitur ... futura praedicant"). The same passage occurs in Conv. Sopp. 385 between its comment on Mk. 13:9 (taken from recension I) and the quotation of Mk. 13:22; this passage is not present in recension I. All subsequent material between Mk. 13:22 and Mk. 14:12 is taken from recension I, but when recension II picks up again, Conv. Sopp. 385 follows *its* text instead. More significantly, at the end of Mark, Conv. Sopp. 385 contains the excerpted section from Gregory's *Homiliae in Evangeliiis* characteristic of recension II. Before this tract, however, it has the shorter section found in recension I before the explicit to the commentary on Mark, concerning three ascensions in the flesh (i.e., those of Enoch, Elijah, and Christ). The longer excerpted section from Gregory, however, goes only to the point where the same passage ends in recension III (that is, to "domini personam pater (*sic*) ostenditur"), even though it presumably takes the first part, unattested in recension III (i.e. "Uidentibus illis ... ostendendo distruxit"), from recension II. In the commentary on John, Conv. Sopp. 385 carries the section on simoniacal bishops found only in recension III (see discussion below), and most likely a twelfth-century interpolation. Further on in the same commentary, it goes abruptly from a gloss on Jn. 10:1 to a citation of Jn. 15:19. Thus, in addition to material of its own, Conv. Sopp. 385 incorporates all three traditions of the *Expositio* into its text.

Given the evidence for considerable textual contamination, the value of Conv. Sopp. 385 as a witness for recension III of the *Expositio* is suspect. The manuscript's fourteenth-century date leaves much room for a period of later development of the text (i.e., between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries). Were it earlier, more weight might be placed on it as a witness for the original form of recension III. The fact that it contains material not found in Clm 14514 does not necessarily mean that such material does not represent a recension III tradition. Such material could be attested in other manuscripts of recension III which are no longer extant. Unfortunately, as there are no other complete witnesses to this recension, there is no corroboration for Conv. Sopp. 385's representation of recension III. Rather than providing a more complete copy of the original text, Conv. Sopp. 385 seems more likely to be a composite of the original text and interpolations from the other versions. A recension III text *is* present, but when isolated from the recension II readings, it sheds little light on the original form of

recension III, and does not elucidate the gaps in the Clm 14514 text. If a twelfth century manuscript contained all three versions of the *Expositio*, it may not have been unique. The scribe of Conv. Sopp. 385 (or its model) may have been working from a similar exemplar, thus explaining the inclusion and fusion of the disparate traditions of the text. In the absence of any other witnesses to the third recension, the evidence in Conv. Sopp. 385 is inconclusive, and its late date and obvious contamination by other traditions of the *Expositio* makes it an unreliable witness.

3. **Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14426<sup>95</sup>**  
[saec ix; vellum; 154 ff; 235 mm x 167 mm; prov.: Regensburg (St. Emmeram)]

Clm 14426 contains only a fragment of the *Expositio*, namely the prologue. There are between 22 and 25 lines per folio, and the entire manuscript was written in one hand (with the exception of the last three lines on f. 87<sup>v</sup>). Bischoff suspected that the manuscript's model may well have been insular (in particular, he noted the presence of the insular abbreviation for "eius" at f. 16<sup>r</sup> and 90<sup>r</sup>)<sup>96</sup>. As mentioned above, Lambert listed the text of this manuscript as recension III, but it bears a much closer resemblance to recension II. It is not identical to recension II, as it omits a good deal of material found in the latter (material which is not completely omitted from Clm 14514), as, for example, part of the section on Ezekiel's vision and the section on Noah's ark). Nonetheless it does include material from recension II not found in recension III, such as the fuller discussion of the symbols of the four evangelists and another section of the commentary on Ezekiel's vision. The section at the end of recension II's prologue on the four rivers of Paradise and the four evangelists ("Sancta uero ecclesia ... mundum, id est ecclesiam") is not attested in either recension I or III, but it is partially attested in Clm 14426 (the folio ends with "quartum Eufrates, significat Lucam, interpretatur ubertas"). Of particular interest is its reading at the beginning of the prologue: "Euangelium bonum nuntium dicitur, quia uitam **adnuntiat** post mortem, regnum post seruitium, requiem post laborem, lucem post tenebras." This passage is only found in recension II. All of the recension II manuscripts, however, omit the word "adnuntiat", while still using the accusative case for the subsequent gloss (i.e., "uitam ... regnum ... requiem ...

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<sup>95</sup> *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* (Tom, II, pars II); Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, vol. I (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1974), p. 214-215.

<sup>96</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. I, pp. 214-215.

lucem"). The verb "adnuntiat" is necessary for the passage to make grammatical sense, otherwise the various metaphors would have to be placed in the nominative. Only the twelfth-century recension II manuscript, Clm 14514, has these in the nominative, but this is presumably a scribe's attempt to correct the grammatical resulting from the omission of "adnuntiat"). Hence Clm 14426 appears to have a reading which is closer to the original than the extant recension II manuscripts.

Overall, it would seem to be a fragment of recension II (albeit considerably abridged) rather than recension III. It does have some readings identical to those of recension III (for example, "euangelium bonum nuntium dicitur" instead of "euangelium id est bonum nuntium"), but there is no material independent of recension II to suggest that the Clm 14426 fragment was derived from recension III. Indeed its treatment of Peter's vision in Joppa is considerably shorter than the corresponding passage in *both* recensions II and III ("Nam et ille discus quattuor lineis ligatus ad Petrum de caelo missus, in quo erant munda in inmunda animalia; iiii euangelia iiii linea praefigurant, munda et inmunda, Iudei et gentes"). It may be that Clm 14426 is simply an abridged version of recension II's prologue, with only coincidental similarities to recension III, rather than some sort of intermediate version of the recension III prologue in its derivation from recension II. The fact that this prologue is prefaced to a text other than the *Expositio* suggests that it may have been circulated independently. According to Bischoff, both it and its subsequent text were written in the same hand, a fact which suggests that scribes were making free use of it. Although its ambiguous relationship with the prologues of both recensions II and III raises intriguing possibilities concerning the transmission and circulation of the text, its value as a witness for recension III is negligible.

4. **Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14514, f. 128<sup>r</sup>-139<sup>v</sup><sup>97</sup>**  
[saec xii; parch.; 139 ff; 140 mm x 240 mm; prov.: Regensburg (St. Emmeram)]

Clm 14514 carries the only extant copy of the third recension of the *Expositio in toto*. This manuscript is particularly significant as it contains all three recensions of the *Expositio*, though these do not appear to be intimately connected with each

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<sup>97</sup> *Catalogus Codicum Latiorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* (Tom, II, pars II), p. 185. For full details on this manuscript, see its description in the discussion of recension II manuscripts.

other. Hence, though recension III may have derived textually from recensions I and II, the copies of these versions in Clm 14514 were not the models for the recension III text in the same manuscript. This twelfth-century manuscript is also the earliest witness for the large interpolations in the commentary on John which characterize recension III. As they pertain principally to the conduct of bishops and the evils of simony, one wonders if they are not contemporary scribal interpolations reflecting the concerns of the period of the manuscript, and added to a much older text. Many older readings (as compared to recensions I and II) are preserved here, and there are many textual corruptions which indicate that the text as preserved in Clm 14514 may stand at the end of a longer line of development in the text's evolution. Thus, whatever about the ultimate date of origin for recension III, the scribe of Clm 14514 was almost certainly not the editor of it.

5. Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Ser. Nov. 3754<sup>98</sup>  
[saec ix; 4 ff; 220 mm x 160 mm; prov.: Mondsee]

This manuscript contains only a fragment of the *Expositio*, but nevertheless raises interesting questions about the relationships between recensions I, II, and III of the *Expositio*, and the derivation of these last two. It consists of just four folios, with approximately 25 lines to each, and was identified by Bernhard Bischoff as a representative of recension III of the *Expositio*.<sup>99</sup> Upon inspection, however, it was found not to contain any of recension III, but rather seems to be a fusion of several traditions. Unfortunately, the last two folios are badly damaged and the text is illegible for a considerable portion of them. In addition, three of the folios appear to be cut off at the bottom, which could account for some of the gaps in the continuity of the text. Bischoff believed that this fragment and the Berlin Fragment 47 (discussed above) originally came from the same manuscript, and indeed, that folios 3 and 4 of the Vienna fragment may have been written by the same hand as the folios of the Berlin fragment (folios 1 and 2 of the Vienna fragment he believed to have been written by a different hand).

The first folio (1<sup>r</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>) begins with Mt. 13:33, but the opening words at the top of the folio, "amatores scientiam", are presumably the end of the *Expositio*'s exegetical portion relating to Mt. 13:32 ("Ramos eius ... uolucres intellegit amatores

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<sup>98</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. II, p. 23.

<sup>99</sup> Bruno Griesser, "Ansegis-Kodex", p. 142.

scientiam"). The text contained on this first folio is virtually identical to that of recension I for the same pericope, with the occasional omission of a phrase, and some morphographic variants. No new material of any kind has been added. It does bear a resemblance to recensions II and III, but only insofar as these resemble the first recension. The text continues, with some small lacunae, to Mt. 14:22, ending abruptly with "iiii modis uocatur: prima natura, ii cogitatione, iii gente".

The second folio (2r-2v) does not pick up where the preceding folio left off, but jumps ahead to Mt. 23:38. Judging from the amount of material covered on the first folio, and the amount of material between Mt. 14:22 and Mt. 23:38 in recension I, there may originally have been as many as seven folios between the first and second folios of this manuscript fragment. A singularly-worded heading has been added at the top of the folio in a different script ("Surge uero aduocata fidelium omnibus nobis, O sancta (*sic*) Da<ui>d"), but bears no connection with the text in the rest of the folio. The folio begins with the words "super scapulas suas", undoubtedly the last three words of a quotation from Deut. 32:11: "Extendit alas suas et adsumpsit eos et suscepit eos super scapulas suas". This citation is used in the *Expositio's* commentary on Mt. 23:37 ("Sicut gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas suas") in both recensions I and II, while the only complete manuscript of recension III known to us, Clm 14514, omits this section altogether. Once again, the Vienna fragment adheres to the text of the *first* recension rather than the second: for instance, at Mt. 24:10, Ser. Nov. 3754 has the first recension reading of "quia per **magnitudinem** persecutionis negabunt christum": as opposed to "quia per **multitudinem** persecutionis multi negaturi erunt christum", as found in recension II. Nonetheless, there is some variation between recension I and the Ser. Nov. 3754 text (for example, at Mt. 25:2, the pericope of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, Ser. Nov. 3754 reads "quinque **fatuae**" instead of "quinque stulte", as found in both recensions I and II). The second folio of this fragment ends abruptly at Mt. 25:6, and appears to have had one or more lines cut off from the bottom.

The third folio (f. 3r-3v) marks a difference in the textual trend of this fragment. It is difficult to say how many folios have been omitted. The opening words "id est in ... doces" are taken from the *Expositio's* comment on Jn. 1:38: "*Dicit eis Dominus Iesus, Quid quaeritis? At illi dixerunt, Rabbi ubi habitas? Id est, in qua doctrina commoras uel doces?*". The text continues with Jn. 1:39-1:48, its text matching the *Expositio's* verbatim, only here it is the tradition of recension II which is represented in the fragment. It is clearly not taken from recension I, as its word

order and phraseology differ from the first recension and it contains material not found in that version. This section is not included in recension III (as represented in Clm 14514). At line 20 of f. 3<sup>r</sup>, after Jn. 1:48, a new section begins dealing with Lk. 13:21. Once again, the text of the Ser. Nov. 3754 fragment follows that of recension II to the letter, though the reason for the sudden shift in subject matter and break in continuity -- without a rubric or space in the text to indicate it -- is unclear. Perhaps the manuscript's model contained less text per page than its copy and this change in subject matter in the bottom half of f. 3<sup>r</sup> reflects a new folio in the fragment's exemplar. In any case, this text continues to follow the text of recension II (as against recension I), including the order of each pericope. As one of the hall-marks of the second recension is its Lucan commentary taken from Ps.-Theophilus, the parallel text on f. 3<sup>v</sup> provides conclusive evidence that this folio at least represents a recension II text. Unfortunately, f. 3<sup>v</sup> is damaged and barely legible in many places and only the words at the beginning and end of each line can be understood for a good portion of the page. The last five lines of the page are reasonably clear, and continue to reflect recension II's version of the commentary for this passage (Lk. 15:25ff).

The last folio of the Ser. Nov. 3754 fragment (f. 4<sup>v</sup>) represents a different textual tradition. It begins with a passage from Lk. 15:11 (this is partially illegible, but the reference may be deduced from the text which follows it). The initial exposition of this pericope, already dealt with on the preceding folio, bears some resemblance to recension I until approximately Lk. 15:21 (f. 4<sup>r</sup>, line 11), where it seems to break with this version. The ensuing text, which continues down to Lk. 15:26, where 4<sup>r</sup> ends, resembles no other known tradition of the *Expositio*. Unfortunately, the folio is quite damaged, and the middle section of each line between lines 4-17 on f. 4<sup>r</sup> is illegible. Lines 18-24 are legible, but the material does not correspond to either recension I or II. The possibility that it may represent some old Lucan commentary from recension III which was subsequently lost cannot be corroborated by any other manuscript and since the evidence of Ser. Nov. 3754 is meagre at best, such a conclusion must be discarded until other textual evidence can be found to substantiate it.

Folio 4<sup>v</sup> brings yet another shift in material, here back to the gospel of Matthew. The folio begins with the rubric "De operarios (*sic*) conductos in uinea", and proceeds with an exegetical tract on Mt. 20:1-20:15. A second short commentary on Mt. 20:1 - 20:6 provides different interpretations of the same

elements previously commented upon. While there is broad agreement between the various interpretations of this passage and material in recensions I and II of the *Expositio* for this pericope (the section between Mt. 18:31 and Mt. 25:14 is omitted from recension III), the phraseology and general construction is different from the text of both recensions of the *Expositio*. At line 20 of f. 4<sup>v</sup>, there is another rubric which reads "De Quinque Talentis", and a brief commentary on Mt. 25:14 begins (the folio ends at line 24). Once again, the tradition represented here does not match any of the *Expositio*'s recensions, except in the interpretation of the five talents referred to in the biblical passage as the five senses of the body. Unfortunately, the folio is cut off before this theme is developed.

The Ser. Nov. 3754 fragment represents disparate traditions of the *Expositio*'s commentary on the gospels. Although these folios are now grouped together as one unit, it is clear that they are not in their original order and that there are many folios missing between them. As for the last folio, it sheds very little light on the *Expositio*. It does not reflect any of the exegetical material found in any of the three recensions identified to date, and indeed, seems merely to be part of a random selection of biblical passages. If, however, it once existed in the same manuscript as the Berlin Fragment 47 (as Bischoff claimed), such a circumstance would raise intriguing possibilities about the mixture of traditions of the *Expositio* already in existence in the ninth century, and in the general transmission of the text. As a witness to recension III, however, Ser. Nov. 3754 must be rejected out of hand, as it contains no basis for comparison with any of the known material of that third version.

The only reliable witness to recension III, then, is the text found in the twelfth-century manuscript Clm 14514. Compared to the other extant manuscripts for recensions I and II this manuscript is relatively late, but many readings in it suggest a much earlier date of origin. The evidence of the Berlin Fragment 47 is very important, not least for its ninth-century date. Its text is admittedly extremely limited, but it does corroborate material unique to recension III in the *Expositio* textual tradition, thereby confirming an early date for at least a portion of the text. Conv. Sopp. 385 is fascinating for the later transmission of the text, but as a witness for recension III, it is unreliable, particularly in view of the extensive textual contamination from the other recensions. Therefore, the base text for recension III of the *Expositio* must be taken from Clm 14514 alone (except where it is corroborated

by Fragment 47), pending the discovery of other manuscript witnesses for this recension of the text.

## II. Structure and Content of Recension III

Recension III is the briefest of the *Expositio's* three recensions. It has commentaries on Matthew, Mark, and John (in that order), but has no commentary on Luke. Both Stegmüller and Lambert<sup>100</sup> were in error in listing it as having two commentaries on John. Their mistake seems to have been the result of the identification of the commentary on John in Conv. Sopp. 385 as a separate Johannine commentary in the recension III tradition. As has been seen, that particular manuscript is actually an amalgamation of all three traditions and its commentary on John is as conflated as its commentaries on Matthew and Mark. Hence, one cannot really speak of a "second" commentary on John within the recension III stream as Conv. Sopp. 385 is the only witness to it, a witness whose value in establishing the original form of recension III is dubious at best.

Its prologue is much shorter than that found in the other recensions, and though it has the incipits of both recensions I and II (i.e., "In primis omnium librorum requirendum est tempus, locus, personas. Matheus sicut in ordine primus ponitur"), it is almost entirely derived from the second recension. It contains no unique material of its own beyond a few changes in wording, and abbreviates much of the material it shares with recension II. It also omits several sections found in recension II (including the parallel between the four elements and the four elements of man, and the derivation of Adam's name from the four stars) and the prominent place given to the interpretation of the evangelists and the four rivers of paradise is notably absent. The sub-sections it does share with recension II follow precisely the same order as in the second recension, with virtually the same wording in every case. These include the various symbols offered initially for the four evangelists (with quotations from each of their gospels to support them), and allegorical interpretations of Noah's ark, the vision of Ezekiel, Peter's vision in Joppa, and the ark of the covenant.

The structure and format of recension III is much the same as that of the first two recensions. There appear to be large lacunae in the text, notably between Mt.

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<sup>100</sup> Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum medii aevi*, no. 3434.; Lambert, *BMH*, no. 472.

19:1 and 25:14, and Jn. 3:23-6:24. Similarly, the commentary on Mark ends at Mk. 10:28, before bringing in the excerpted section from Gregory's *Homilies*. The main body of the commentary is a blend of material from recensions I and II, but also including unique material of its own. The commentary on Matthew appears to be based on the text of the second recension. This is most evident in its inclusion of material found in recension II, but not in recension I in the first half of the commentary on Matthew. The commentary on Mark in recension III shows more variety in terms of its relationship with the other two recensions. It often follows the content of recension II, but where the second recension is lacking, recension III takes its material from recension I. Recension II's commentary on Mark begins with Mk. 2:3, and all of the material in recension III from Mk. 1:1 to Mk. 2:3 is taken from recension I. Further on in the Markan commentary (Mk. 8:22 - 9:16 and Mk. 10:14-10:28), recension III again includes material from recension I which is not present in recension II. However, the section of excerpts from Gregory and Augustine found after the commentary on Mark in recension II (and one of the defining characteristics of that version) is partially attested in recension III: after its gloss on Mk. 10:28 (a pericope not found in recension II), recension III carries the excerpt from Gregory's *Hom. 30 in Evang. c. 2* ("Qui diligit me sermones meos ... uisione iam secedebat [sic]", f. 135<sup>v</sup>, l. 28<sup>101</sup>), and part of the excerpt from his *Hom. 29 in Evang. c. 5-6* ("In regnorum cognouimus quod Helyas ... domini personam ascendentis patente ostenditur"). This portion of the text was undoubtedly taken from recension II. The third recension's commentary on John contains the greatest amount of interpolated material (amounting to approximately one third of the entire Johannine commentary), yet it sees a much more equitable distribution in its shared material with recensions I and II. From Jn. 10:34 onwards in particular (f. 138<sup>r</sup>, l. 28ff), the content of recension III is essentially that of recensions I and II, albeit abbreviated, and very little bias in favour of one or the other is evident.

As an abridged version of the *Expositio*, the third recension tends to abbreviate the material it takes from the first two recensions. This may involve the omission of biblical pericopes, the compression of biblical citations to a few words or the reduction of a given gloss to its essential elements with little or no elaboration. In contrast, its departures from the first two recensions may also consist of expansions of shared biblical lemmata and their interpretations or the addition of material unattested in recensions I and II. There are no biblical

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<sup>101</sup> As recension III is only presented in the form of a transcript of its one complete manuscript witness, references will be given according to folio and line number of Clm 14514.

pericopes found exclusively in recension III, but it does sometimes give a fuller treatment of a given biblical verse. Thus at Mt. 12:45 (f. 131<sup>v</sup>, l. 17), while taking the exegetical portion of its text from both recensions I and II, it quotes a portion of the verse and comments on it:

Rec. I (PL 30, p. 551C)	Rec. II	Rec. III
<p><i>Assumpsit secum septem spiritus nequiores, hoc sunt omnes dies eorum in malo opere uersi.</i><sup>102</sup></p>	<p><i>Adsumit secum alios septem spiritus nequiores se, quod intellegit omnes dies eorum in malo opere uersos.</i></p>	<p><i>Adsumunt secum septem nequiores se, quod intellegitur omnes dies eorum in malo opere uersi. Intrans in domo, hoc est in corda persecutorum, qui Christum persecuti sunt uel fidelium persecutores. Fit nouissima eorum peiora prioribus, id est, in finem mundi, maior persecutio erit per antichristum quam in inicio.</i></p>

In other instances, recension III simply expands on the exegetical material it shares with either recension I or II without augmenting its biblical content as, for example, at Mt. 14:21, in its explanation of why the figure of 5000 men did not include women and children among them (132<sup>v</sup>, l. 2). Elsewhere, recension III includes its own glosses in addition to those provided by recension I and/or II (cf. Mt. 3:10, f. 129<sup>r</sup>, l. 34ff). Again in other places, the third recension rejects a gloss in both recensions I and II in favour of its own (as at Mt. 11:17, f. 131<sup>r</sup>, l. 29).

One passage of particular interest in recension III is found between Mt. 6:24 and 7:3 (f. 130<sup>r</sup>, l. 42): "*Iulia agon intellegitur uirgines, rosa martyres, uiola confessores*". This gloss is taken from Ps.-Theophilus' *Commentarius in IV Evangeliiis*, and is found in recension II at Jn. 18:1, when Jesus and his disciples go to the Garden of Gethsemane before the Passion. The "*iulia agon*" of recension III which introduces the parallel between various flowers and members of the Church is undoubtedly a corruption of a phrase from Mt. 6:28, "*considerate lilia agri*" (a phrase not commented upon in recension II and with a different gloss in recension I<sup>103</sup>). In the Ps.-Theophilus text, "*lilia*" are equated with "*uirgines*" ("*Hortus*

<sup>102</sup> Clm 14388 adds at this point: "*Intrans in domo, hoc est in corda persecutorum, qui Christum persecuti sunt sicut et prophetas.*"

<sup>103</sup> Clm 14388 reads "*Considerate lilia agri, id sunt angeli*" at this juncture; the Migne text (PL 30), however, omits this passage.

domini est ecclesia catholica, in qua sunt rosae martyrum, lilia uirginum, uiolae uiduarum, hederam coniugum"<sup>104</sup>), the first interpretation given in recension III's gloss. The substitution of "confessores" for "uiduarum" also occurs in recension II, so that it is still possible that the editor of recension III took this gloss from recension II, but elected to use it in a different context. The allegory of a garden for the Church is used at the end of Matthew, in a comment on Christ's tomb (Mt. 27:60, f. 134r, l. 29), but not using the same language as is found in Ps.-Theophilus:

Sepulchro in<uolu>to significat Christum in aecclesia, qui uere hortus est in quo sunt holera diuersa, diuerso odore habentes, id est diuersitas graciaram uel uirtutum.

Both recensions I and II comment on Mt. 27:60, but carry a different and shorter interpretation of it.

### III. Material Unique to Recension III

Apart from the various deviations in commentary material scattered throughout recension III, it also has more substantial additions in its text. In many instances, its expansions of material taken from either recension I or II go beyond a few words or phrases, as at Mt. 16:24ff (f. 133r, l. 6ff):<sup>105</sup>

*Qui uult uenire post me abneget semetipsum, tollat crucem suam et sequatur me, id est contempnat uoluptatem carnis et concupiscencia saeculi: cruciet semetipsum per paenitentiam. Sequatur Christum, id est faciat ipse ieiunando, et elemosinando, quemadmodum ipse per crucem passus est. Qui amat animam suam perdet illam, sepe anima in scripturis uita ista significat et uoluptate carnis, id est, qui diligit hunc mundum et concupiscens (sic) eius animam suam perdet. Et qui perdiderit animam suam, aut penitendo aut paciendo contempnens hunc mundum et gloriam eius, hic animam saluam facit et in uitam aeternam inueniat eam, id est sine fine uiuet. Quid dabit homo commutationem pro anima sua: ille commutationem dat qui carnem suam cruciat et animam suam nutrit, id est, legendo uerbo dei, audiendo, ieiunando, orando, uigilando, omnem mundi gloriam contempnando.*

In certain instances, recension III's expansion of recension I and II material consists of appended sections to the core comments. In the Matthean commentary,

<sup>104</sup> Ps.-Theophilus, *Commentarius in IV Evangeliiis*, IV, c. 16.

<sup>105</sup> Material unique to recension III is set out in bold; material which is paraphrased but which expresses the same concept as recensions I and II is left in plain script.

for instance, after the gloss on Christ's fast in the desert (Mt. 4:1, f. 129<sup>v</sup>, l. 15ff), recension III adds a section to the shared material with recensions I and II:

Quid est quod Iesus postquam baptizatus est non continuo predicat, sed in deserto per se contra diabolum ad pugnandum pergit: dat nobis exemplum ut quando nos aliquod boni incoamus facere, non predicando protinus surgamus, sed ante temptationis uincamus diaboli ut superemus ieiunando carnem nostram et premium nobis faciamus in opere, quod aliis dicamus in uerbis. In deserto huius seculi Iesus diabolum uincit.

Such additions explicate other elements associated with the biblical lemma, but are still related to the biblical pericope at hand. In the above example, the editor of recension III examines the question of why Christ did not begin his ministry immediately after his baptism, as part of a larger discussion of his temptation in the desert.

Most of the material unique to recension III is found in the commentary on John, and it usually pertains to simoniac clergy. The pericope of Jesus throwing the money-lenders out of the temple (Jn. 2:14-15), for instance, bears ample witness to the preoccupation of the third recension with this issue. The author draws a parallel between those buying and selling livestock in the temple, and those who buy and sell ecclesiastical offices, and bishops who sell sacred gifts for profit. An abridged version of this passage appears practically verbatim in the twelfth century *Decretum* of Gratian<sup>106</sup>, and a portion of it also appears in the canon law collection of Cardinal Deusdedit:<sup>107</sup>

Rec. III (f. 136 <sup>v</sup> , l. 5ff)	Gratian (II C 1, q. 1, c. 12)	Deusdedit (IV 150 Wolf von Glanvell)
Et unde credendum est quod hii qui sacros honores uendunt et emunt sacerdotes esse non possint. Qui sacros honores uendunt nomen quidem habere possunt, sed quod uocantur, esse non possunt, sed sunt pseudo-sacerdotes, sicut pseudo-Christo ( <i>sic</i> ) et	Qui sacros ordines uendunt aut emunt, sacerdotes esse non possunt. Unde scriptum est: Anathema dandi anathema accipiendi, hoc est symonicaca heresis. Quomodo ergo si anathema sunt et sancti non sunt, sanctificare alios possunt? Et cum in Christi corpore non sunt,	Idem in eodem: Qui sacros ordines uendunt uel emunt, sacerdotes esse non possunt, sed sunt pseudochristi et pseudoprophete.

<sup>106</sup> Emil Friedberg, ed., *Concordia discordantium canonum* (1879).

<sup>107</sup> Viktor Wolf von Glanvell, ed., *Die Kanonensammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, (Paderborn, 1905).

pseudo-prophetae. Unde scriptum est, Anathema dandi anathema recipiendi, hoc est simoniaca heresis. Quomodo ergo si anathemasunt et sancti non sunt sanctificare quomodo possunt? Et cum in Christi corpore non sunt quomodo Christi corpore tradere aut accipere possunt? Sicut alibi scriptum est, *Maledictus homo qui opus dei neglegentes fecerit, et iterum, Qui maledictus est benedicere quomodo potest?* Unde rursum Paulus apostolus ait, *Qui a semetipsis sumunt honorem, hii sunt sacerdotes sed qui uocantur.*

quomodo Christi corpus tradere uel accipere possunt? Qui maledictus est, quomodo benedicere potest?

In both of these works, this canon is attributed to Gregory the Great, but Bruno Griesser noted that it does not appear in any of Gregory's genuine works.<sup>108</sup> The editor of the *Deusdedit* collection, Viktor Wolf von Glanvell, listed this particular canon as "origin unknown" in his source analysis of the collection. While this does not necessarily mean that the passages in the two above-mentioned canon collections were taken directly from the *Expositio*, they could at least share some common, as-yet-unidentified source with the latter. The passage in recension III may be a twelfth-century addition, interpolated into the older text at a time of Church reform. However, as Griesser pointed out, a similar but abridged form of this passage is found in recension II in a gloss on Mt. 21:12 (the same pericope of Jesus throwing the money-lenders out of the temple) and is attested in ninth century manuscripts of that recension:

*Intrauit Dominus Iesus in templum, id est in ecclesiam, et eiecit uendentes et ementes, intellegitur episcopos qui accipiunt propter honores dandas praemia, ipsi uendunt sacrationes propter praemia ipsos abhomiunt deus, et fiet illis sicut scriptum est, Anathema dandi anathema recipiendi.*

Recension III's passage, then, may be older than the twelfth century, at least in its core elements. How much (if any) modification was made to it subsequently is impossible to determine without corroborating manuscripts or the identification of a precise source.

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<sup>108</sup> B. Griesser, "Beiträge", p. 83-84.

Another significant interpolation occurs later on in the commentary on John. In a comment on Jn. 10:1 ("*Qui non intrat per ostium in ouile ouium sed ascendit aliunde ille fur est et latro*", f. 137<sup>r</sup>, l. 42ff), recension III adds a passage in which a parallel is drawn between robbers and thieves, and simoniac bishops: "*id est qui non intrat per uocationem populi et per electionem fratrum et permissionem Christi, sed per premium aut per unum parentum aut potestatem: hic non est pastor sed est fur et latro...*". Recension III then adds a lengthy passage on the duties of a bishop as shepherd of his flock and continues with this allegory for his interpretation of Jn. 10:11ff (f. 137<sup>v</sup>, l. 46ff), excluding the exegetical material from recensions I and II for these biblical pericopes.

The material which separates recension III from the other recensions can be divided into two categories. The first type tends to expand on core material taken from the other two recensions, or at least, to add new exegetical interpretations in keeping with the general tone and style of the *Expositio* as a whole. These tend to focus on the moral sense of interpretation of Scripture, and the active life of a Christian (hence the emphasis on prayer, fasting, penance, alms-giving etc.). This need not necessarily reflect a later period in the text's transmission (or at least not very much later than the first two recensions) and are most likely part of the original form of recension III.

The other type of added material is of a different character. The interpolated passages on the duties of bishops and the indictment of simoniacs are not in keeping with the general style of the commentary. In contrast with the rudimentary glosses applied to so much of the rest of the commentary, they contain developed themes on the biblical text. Moreover these are not evenly distributed throughout the text, but for whatever reason, are concentrated in the commentary on John. This material is one of the defining characteristics of recension III as found in Clm 14514, and though some of it *is* attested in the fourteenth-century manuscript Conv. Sopp. 385, there are no earlier extant witnesses to it. In light of this, it must be regarded with some suspicion in terms of its relation to the original form of the third recension of the *Expositio*.

#### IV. Biblical Quotations in Recension III of the *Expositio*

As an abbreviated version of the commentary, recension III has a much higher proportion of paraphrased and abridged biblical citations than do the other two recensions. It frequently follows recension II in its quotations rather than recension I, but it also favours the latter in certain instances. It has little biblical material which is not found in either (or both) of the other two, though it does sometimes have fuller citations than these for a given verse. There are, however, supplementary biblical quotations cited in reference to a gospel verse which are not found in the other two recensions. Thus, for instance, at Mt. 5:14, recension III quotes Phil. 2:15-16 (f. 130<sup>r</sup>, l. 14); at Jn. 2:15, the author quotes Jer. 48:10 (f. 136<sup>v</sup>, l. 11); at Jn. 10:1, the author quotes 2Tim 4:2 (f. 137<sup>v</sup>, l. 13), and so on. Recension III also uses other scriptural citations to explicate a given biblical verse at hand (as do recensions I and II): 31 are taken from the other gospels, 18 from other New Testament books, and 21 are taken from the Old Testament.

Recension III contains a fair amount of Vulgate material, but it also contains certain Old Latin readings in its biblical quotations (see discussion in "Biblical Text", pp. 54-59). In addition to the material it has in common with recension II, it has other Old Latin elements of its own:

1. Jn. 8:58 Ante Abraham ego sum  
[antequam Abraham fieret ego sum ]

Recension III's reading of Jn. 8:58 is not attested in any of the Vulgate biblical manuscripts, but is found in several Old Latin codices, namely aaurbcdfflq r<sub>1</sub>. Although recension II carries the Vulgate reading for this passage, recension I has the Old Latin wording as well. The subsequent commentary on this passage in recension III is also closer to that in recension I, although all three texts are very similar at this point.

2. Jn. 9:6 Expuit in terra ... Lutum fecit ex puto unxit oculos eius  
[expuit in terram et fecit lutum ex sputo et linuit lutum super oculos eius ]

The first variant in the above passage -- "*terra*" instead of the Vulgate "*terram*" -- could merely be a morphographic variant of a type commonly found throughout the text, but it is attested in two Old Latin manuscripts (a q) and is not found in any of the Vulgate witnesses. The "*puto*" is obviously a scribal error for

"sputo" (could this indicate an oral dictation?), but the verb "unxit" is distinctly non-Vulgate. None of the Vulgate witnesses carry this reading, but a handful of Old Latin manuscripts (i.e., cefl<sub>1</sub>q) have "superunxit oculos eius": though recension III lacks the "super" prefix found in these *Vetus Latina* manuscripts, its reading is nonetheless far more reminiscent of the Old Latin text than it is of the Vulgate (both recensions I and II read "liniuit"). The commentary portion of this passage in recension III differs somewhat from recension II, but it is virtually identical to the same section in recension I. This suggests that the recension III reading might reflect the original reading from recension I, whose biblical text may have been modified at a later date.

3. Mt. 27:6      *Corban* dicent haebrae gazofilacum grecae Latine uero  
diuiciarum custodia

The above is recension III's rendering of Mt. 27:6 -- the only word from the biblical text being "*corban*" -- followed by an explanation of the word's meaning. Recension III's commentary on this passage is the same as that of both recensions I and II, the only difference lying in the biblical quotation. The Vulgate has "*corbanan*", as do recensions I and II; the "*corban*" of recension III is found in several Old Latin manuscripts (fgq<sub>2</sub> while adh<sub>1</sub> have "*corbam*"), and is also attested in a few Vulgate manuscripts (DEpLR, Q="curban"), all of which belong to the Celtic family.

4. Jn. 13:2      Et cena facta est  
[Et cena facta cum diabolus ]

The addition of "*est*" to the citation at Jn. 13:2 would seem to be another Old Latin feature (the omission of "*cum diabolus*" does not necessarily signify its absence from the biblical archetype). It is attested in e and Eh Gie Hbcfhoru; notably, the greatest proportion of representation occurs among the Irish group of Old Latin manuscripts. The only Vulgate manuscripts to carry this reading are Ep<sup>mg</sup> and R, both of which have strong Celtic connections. Both recensions I and II have only "*caena facta*"; recension III's comment on the passage is similar to both of the first two recensions, but not identical.

Even more striking is a reference found at Mt. 26:15 (f. 134r, l. 4ff). In a section not found in either of the first two recensions, the author draws a parallel

*Ille post carcerem uocatur egypcia lingua sumpto phanech quod est saluato<r> et accepit regnum; Christus post resurrectionem ascendit ad caelos et regnat in aeternum.*

The words "sumpto phanech" are a reference to the name given to Joseph by Pharaoh after he saved Egypt from famine. This reference, however, is not found in the Vulgate text of the bible. Rather, it goes back to the Septuagint text at Gen. 41:45: "*et vocavit Farao nomen Ioseph Psompthomfanech et dedit illi Asenneth filiam Peteferes sacerdotis Heliopolis uxorem.*"<sup>109</sup> As Griesser noted,<sup>110</sup> the *sumpto phanech* of recension III is presumably a corruption of the LXX reading, and though there is no direct quotation of the Genesis passage, the reference shows a very old element underlying the general Vulgate character of the biblical text in this recension. Both Augustine<sup>111</sup> and Jerome<sup>112</sup> mention this Septuagint name, but the exegetical portion attached to it in the *Expositio* does not appear in either of their writings.

Apart from the Old Latin elements in the third recension, there are some distinctive Vulgate readings as well. As mentioned above, most of the non-Vulgate readings in recension III are paraphrases or abridgements, and many cannot be traced to any known biblical witnesses. Hence, those variants which are attested elsewhere are perhaps the more remarkable for this evidence. The "*lutum fecit*" of Jn. 9:6 (f. 137<sup>r</sup>, l. 34) is a Vulgate variant attested only in R (a member of the Celtic family), though it is a reading which is also found in recensions I and II. At Jn. 11:44 (f. 138<sup>r</sup>, l. 39), recension III (along with recension II) reads "*ligatis manibus et pedibus*" instead of the Vulgate "*ligatus pedes et manus*". The *Expositio* reading is attested in only one Vulgate codex, D<sup>mg</sup>, another member of the DELQR group. Recension III's comment on this passage is similar to that found in recension I and II (these are identical), but is slightly fuller. Finally, the witness of Jn. 14:1 (f. 138<sup>v</sup>, l. 34) is particularly compelling: recension III has "*Non turbetur cor uestrum neque formidet ... Credite in deum et in me credite*" as opposed to the Vulgate "*Non turbetur cor uestrum creditis in Deum et in me credite*". Taking the second variant of "*credite*" first, this verb form (found also in recensions I and II for this passage) is attested in only two Vulgate manuscripts (DE, both members of the Celtic family), but is found

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<sup>109</sup> taken from *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel* nach Petrus Sabatier, Verzeichnis der Sigel für Handschriften und Kirchenschriftsteller von Bonifatius Fischer (Freiburg: Verlag, Herder, 1949), p. 429-430.

<sup>110</sup> B. Griesser, "Beiträge", p. 80.

<sup>111</sup> Augustine, *Quaest. Gen.* 135, PL 34, p. 584.

<sup>112</sup> Jerome, *Quaest. hebr. in Gen.* at 41:45, PL 23, p. 998.

in several Old Latin manuscripts (a a u r b c d f f e q r, the last of these also being of Irish provenance). Although recension III carries the same biblical reading as recensions I and II, its comment on this passage differs from that contained in these last two. The first variant, however, is more telling: of all three recensions, the third is the only one to add the words "*neque formidet*" to its citation. Furthermore, the only witness to this reading in any of the collated biblical manuscripts is Sangall. 51 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. 51), an Irish manuscript written around the end of the eighth century. Thus, while those biblical variants in recension III which can be traced may be somewhat meagre, they do provide evidence of older elements which may have been present in the original text of the *Expositio*, or at least point to an early composition date for recension III itself.

## V. Singular Readings and Date of Origin

Several readings in recension III of the *Expositio* show it to be a corrupted version of its model, immediate or otherwise. The afore-mentioned "iulia agon" for "lilia agri" at Mt. 6:28 is a case in point and many other readings bear witness to this fact, including "trans fectum" instead of "trans fretum" at Mt. 14:22 (f. 132<sup>v</sup>, l. 7), "pertassimus nauta" instead of "nauta peritissimus" as a gloss on Mt. 16:21 (f. 138<sup>r</sup>, and "Simonis reprosi" instead of "Simonis leprosi" at Mt. 26:6 (f. 133<sup>v</sup>, l. 36). In contrast, there are other passages which show a purer reading than recension II, recension III's primary model. At Mt. 9:7 (f. 131<sup>r</sup>, l. 1), recension III carries the biblical citation of "surrexit" before its gloss of "curatus est" (cf. discussion, p. 103). As mentioned earlier, recension II carries only the gloss for this verse (i.e., "curatus est") and does not quote the biblical text. Recension III might have derived this part of the commentary from recension I, which carries both verse and gloss.

Certain passages in recension III also suggest that the surviving copy recension III of does not represent its original form. After Mt. 5:41 (f. 130<sup>r</sup>, l. 29ff), for instance, recension III abruptly introduces into the commentary a passage on the structure of the Pater Noster, with no explanatory introduction:

Quare oratio dominica vii uersiculos comprehenditur, id est pro septem qualitatibus hominis quae in homines sunt: animae scilicet tres, racionabilis, irascibilis, et concupiscibilis; quattuor uero corporis, calidum, frigidum, siccum, humidum. Rursum pro septenario dierum numero per quem uita uoluitur hominis, et aliter, tria pertinent ad aeternam petendam, quattuor uero ut ista temporalia bene utamur.

This passage is not attested in either recension I or II, nor does it appear to pertain to any biblical or exegetical material within the text; the next biblical lemma cited is from Mt. 6:17. Recension II also goes from Mt. 5:41 to 6:17, but recension I deals with the Pater Noster (Mt. 6:9-13) in its commentary, though its interpretation of the structure of the prayer is different.<sup>113</sup> Thus, what seems at first glance to be an interpolation into the regular commentary of the *Expositio* may be a vestige of some larger section of the text now lost, namely, an exposition of the Pater Noster, of which only the last portion remains.

In addition to its textual corruptions pointing to an older date, recension III also carries what must be original readings of the text. This is particularly striking for material it shares with recension II but which is not found in recension I. At Mt. 1:20 (f. 128<sup>v</sup>, l. 28), where almost all recension II manuscripts (with the exception of Zurich, Rh. 99) have "Bethlehem interpretatur domus dei", recension III has the correct reading (along with Z) of "Bethel interpretatur domus dei"; recension I does not have this passage, and therefore could not have been a source for recension III on this point. Immediately following this, as in recension II, recension III quotes an abridged version of Num. 24:17-18 as the prophecy of Balaam (f. 128<sup>v</sup>, l. 32). Only Paris, BN lat. 2796 among the recension II manuscripts comes close to the correct reading (and even it has orthographic errors), but recension III has the closest readings of this verse to the Vulgate: "Orietur stella ex Iacob et consurget uirga ex Israel, uastauitque (*sic*) filios Seth, et erit Idumea possessio eius". Similarly, at the beginning of Matthew there is a passage in both recensions II and III on the genealogy of Christ, where Matthew's "weaving" of the genealogy is compared to the weaving of a rope by a fisherman, who then casts his net out into the sea to catch fish (see discussion, pp. 45-46). Although only two recension II manuscripts witness the passage in question in full (B and Z, with the latter omitting certain words), recension III carries the passage as well (f. 128<sup>v</sup>, l. 13). Its reading is closer to that found in Z, rather than B, but it is nonetheless fuller than the reading found in most of the other recension II manuscripts:

Paris, BN, lat. 2796 (B)	Zurich, Rh. 99 (Z)	Rec. III (Clm 14514)
Sic et deus pater misit filium suum de caelis in mundum, sicut piscator qui	Sic et deus pater misit filium suum de caelis in mundum, sicut piscator qui	Misit deus pater filium suum in mundum, quasi amum in mare; uenit piscis

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<sup>113</sup> PL 30, p. 548C: "Hae septem orationes ut septem gratiae Spiritus sancti: quatuor communes sunt omnibus: tres petitiones ad coelestia pertinent, id est, sanctificetur nomen tuum, adueniat regnum tuum, fiat uoluntas tua: quatuor ad istam uitam."

mittit amum in mare, et  
 uenit piscis magnus quasi  
 Leuiathan quaesiuit capere  
 escam, captus est ab amo.  
 Piscis ille magnus  
 Leuiathan est diabolus:  
 uenit ad crucem diabolus  
 quaesiuit capere Christum  
 et captus est ab eo.

mittit amum in mare, et  
 uenit piscis magnus quasi  
 Leuiathan capere escam,  
 captus est ab amo. Piscis  
 ille Leuiathan est diabolus:  
 quaesiuit capere Christum  
 et captus est ab eo.

magnus quasi Leuiathan  
 quesuiuit capere escam, et  
 captus est ab amo. Piscis  
 ille magnus diabolus est:  
 quesuiuit capere Christum et  
 captus est ab eo.

Fortunately, this is one of the few passages in recension III for which there is a corroborating witness, namely the Berlin Fragment 47. Though partially damaged, its text (as reproduced by Griesser from photographs<sup>114</sup>) attests to the gloss on Mt. 1:18 and shows the essential elements of this passage. Given the ninth century date for this fragment, it shows that the passage *is* closer to the original than that found in the majority of the extant recension II manuscripts, and that recension III, though surviving in whole in a much later manuscript and carrying many other textual corruptions, carries a much older reading in this instance. Another point to be made for an earlier date for this third recension is that the twelfth century manuscript carrying all three recensions, from which the text of recension III is taken, does not have the correct reading for the passages in question in its text of recension II, the version which seems most likely to lie at the base of recension III. Presumably, then, the scribe of Clm 14514 was not the original editor of recension III, but had an earlier exemplar of it before him.

At Mt. 13:30, there is a gloss in recension II which bears a close resemblance to a passage in Gregory and Augustine (see discussion, p. 87). In recension III (f. 131<sup>v</sup>, l. 39), the passage is only slightly fuller but appears to be a closer fusion of the comments of both Augustine and Gregory on this passage:

*Colligite fasciculos ad conburendum: pro quid fasciculi? Quia non omnes equaliter iudicantur: non in una massa congeriae (sic) sed adulteros cum adulteris, homicidas cum homicidis, rapaces cum rapacibus; qui hic similes fuerint in culpa, illuc similes erunt in tormenta.*

At Mt. 2:3 (f. 128<sup>v</sup>, l. 35), both recensions II and III take a passage from Gregory's *Hom. 10 in Evang.*, c. 1 ("Tunc terrena potestas confunditur cum [recension III reads "dum"] celsitudo caelestis aperitur [recension III reads "apparetur]"), but only recension III cites Gregory as a source, introducing the gloss with "hinc Gregorius ait". This may represent an old marginal gloss, perhaps

<sup>114</sup> Bruno Griesser, "Ansegis-Kodex", p. 139-142.

in the archetype of recension III, copied into the body of the text at some stage in its transmission and preserved there; no other such attributions are found anywhere else in the text.

One other notable feature in the recension III text is its gloss on Mt. 16:21 (f. 133r, l. 2): "*Oportet filium hominis multa pati a senioribus et scribis, hoc est sicut peritissimus (sic) nauta cognoscit futuram tranquillitatem siue tempestatem, ita Christus sciebat tempus passionis suae*". This passage in recensions I and II has already been discussed (p. 103): both carry a gloss to the effect that Christ knew what would befall him in his Passion. However, in Clm 14388 (a recension I manuscript), there is an added passage: "*Multa patientia (sic) senioribus et scribis, haec dicens Iesus ostendit passionem et resurrectionem, sicut peritissimus nauta cognoscens futura (sic) tranquillitatem siue tempestatem*".<sup>115</sup> The passage in recension III, then, would seem not to be part of its own unique contribution to the text, but rather to be taken from some branch of the transmission of the first recension. Its biblical quotation is fuller than the recension I citation, to say nothing of the corrupt reading found in Clm 14388. The passage is not found in either Migne's printed text or Clm 6235 (another ninth-century recension I manuscript), and perhaps more significantly, it is not found in the recension I text preserved in the same manuscript (Clm 14514) as the full recension III text. Only a complete collation of the extant recension I manuscripts will reveal the extent to which this phrase found favour in the text's transmission. It clearly has implications for the origins and transmission of recension III of the text.

Recension III, then, represents an abridged fusion of material from both traditions in recension I and II. With so few reliable extant witnesses to it, however, its history is difficult to unravel. The twelfth-century manuscript (Clm 14514) which serves as its base text also contains a copy of the first two recensions. It may be that the original text of recension III as it survives in this manuscript was "contaminated" by either one of these, as the scribe clearly had both of them immediately to hand. The survival until the second World War of the ninth-century Berlin fragment attests to its early date, and provides a witness to at least a portion of recension III's unique material. Despite the paucity of manuscript witnesses, the textual evidence in recension III raises interesting questions. Did it evolve before the derivation of recension II was complete, thus explaining its preservation of

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<sup>115</sup> According to Griesser ("*Beiträge*", p. 77), this phrase is also found in Clm 16057, another recension I manuscript.

some of the purer readings which eventually disappeared in the second recension? Why was it apparently so little used at the same time as the other recensions, but taken up again in the twelfth century? Why did it survive until the fourteenth century? An early date of origin for recension III *would* be consistent with the general history of the *Expositio's* transmission. It was most widely circulated and, more importantly, revised during the eighth and ninth centuries. Not only did a second recension emerge from the first, but a second stream within recension II also came into existence. The evidence of the abbreviated prologue in Clm 14426, and the excerpts from recensions I and II in the Vienna fragment (Ser. Nov. 3754) imply that it was being constantly re-molded. If Bischoff was correct in his belief that the Berlin and Viennese fragments (Fragment 47 + Ser. Nov. 3754) came from the same manuscript, we have a very early witness to the fact that not only was recension III already in existence by the ninth century, but that all three recensions seemed to have been current. Though recension III only survives in whole in a twelfth-century manuscript, its date of origin is no doubt much earlier, possibly as early as the late eighth or early ninth century. As to its provenance, the earliest witness (Berlin fragment 47) suggests perhaps a Germanic centre of activity, but this must remain a matter of speculation until further evidence for this recension comes to light.





