UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM
Department of History, School of Humanities

A Reassessment of the Biblical Glosses of Theodore and Hadrian's Canterbury School

by

Emma Vosper

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2018

I certify that:

a) The following dissertation is my own original work.

b) The source of all non-original material is clearly indicated.

c) All material presented by me for other modules is clearly indicated.

d) All assistance received has been acknowledged.

……

Abstract

In 1954, Bernhard Bischoff published an article that revolutionised scholarly attitudes towards the Canterbury School of Archbishop Theodore (c. 602–690) and Abbot Hadrian (c. 630x37–709). This school is described with the utmost respect by Bede (c. 672-735). Yet scholars knew little about its character until the re-discovery, by Bischoff, of a series of biblical glosses whose origins could be traced back to the School's teaching activity. Bischoff (and later Michael Lapidge) viewed these glosses as evidence of Canterbury's literalist approach to exegetical study and its focus on Greek rather than Latin patristic sources. In the sixty-four years since Bischoff published his article, scholars have been reluctant to challenge his initial conclusions. The present thesis will examine sections of the Canterbury glosses that have thus far evaded analysis to prove that Canterbury's teaching style was far more nuanced than has previously been thought.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to a number of people who have contributed to the creation of this thesis. Principal thanks must, of course, go to my supervisors, Dr Peter Darby and Prof Jo Story, whose support I have gratefully received for the past eight years, ever since the commencement of my undergraduate studies at the University of Leicester. I am extremely glad to have benefited from their expertise, generosity, enthusiasm and boundless patience throughout my BA, MA and PhD studies.

I would also like to thank the academic community at the University of Nottingham, especially members of the Department of History and the Institute for Medieval Research, both of whom provided welcoming environments in which to share ideas and advice. Chrysanthi Gallou and her husband were particularly valuable sources of guidance and I am grateful for their frequent offerings of tea and treats during late-night sessions at university.

Special thanks must go to the Centre for the Study of the Viking Age—particularly Prof Judith Jesch—who awarded me with a scholarship that allowed me to achieve an MA in Viking and Anglo-Saxon Studies. I am very thankful for the opportunities the Centre provided, not least the funding they offered that enabled me to present a paper at the International Congress on Medieval Studies in the first year of my PhD. I have fond memories of conversations shared and lessons learned during my MA in the School of English.

I also wish to acknowledge the assistance of a number of academics from other institutions. To begin with, I am grateful to the late Dr Jennifer O'Reilly whose belief that this thesis would significantly contribute to scholarship has been a precious source of solace during periods of self-doubt. I am also indebted to Prof Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, whose warm-heartedness and sincere interest in my research have been hugely encouraging. Prof Ó Cróinín was kind enough to share his considerable expertise and to send me a

plethora of useful reading material, without which my PhD would be far less nuanced. I am also grateful to Dr Máirín MacCarron, who has not only informed the academic content of my thesis but also the cultural experience of undertaking a PhD. There are few (if any) people more generous than Máirín.

Next, I wish to thank the Midlands3Cities Doctoral Training Partnership who funded my PhD, including my attendance at several invaluable conferences. The M3C has been instrumental in developing my employability through helpful workshops and programmes. I am appreciative of my continued involvement in the M3C community, which I know will aid my transition from PhD study to permanent employment.

Finally, I would like to extend a very special thank you to my mother, whom I greatly admire for her fortitude and enduring support. Without her financial and emotional backing, this PhD would never have been completed.

Contents

List of Figures ..... **vii**

Abbreviations ..... **viii**

Introduction: The Canterbury School **1**

Chapter 1: Canterbury's Scholarly Output: An Overview **26**

Chapter 2: The Latin Patristic Sources of the Canterbury Glosses **62**

Chapter 3: The Exegetical Orientation of the Canterbury School **122**

Chapter 4: Canterbury, Bede and the Books of Kings **145**

Conclusion **178**

Appendices **185**

Bibliography **197**

List of Figures

Fig. 1: Titles assigned to the individual texts of the Canterbury glosses in *Biblical Commentaries* and *Glossae Biblicae: Pars I*.....**46**

Fig. 2: A selection of manuscripts that witness the Leiden Family and Canterbury glosses.....**53**

Fig. 3: Stemma bible glosses (Leiden Family members L^1, L^1, K^1 and C).....**54**

Fig. 4: Number of *EvII* glosses showing overlap in M^1, M^2, W^1 and W^2.....**56**

Fig. 5: Stemma bible glosses (*EvII*: M^1, M^2, W^1 and W^2).....**57**

Fig. 6: Number of *EvI* glosses showing overlap in M^1, W^2 and L^1.....**58**

Fig. 7: Jerome's prefaces to the books of the Vulgate, as given in *Glossae Biblicae: Pars I*.....**106**

Fig. 8: The structure of the individual sections of the Canterbury glosses (each section comments on a specific book or part of the Bible).....**113**

Fig. 9: Biblical passages discussed in both *Cant-Kings* and *Thirty Questions*.....**154**

Abbreviations

Archbishop Theodore	Michael Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
BHG	François Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols, 3rd edn., Subsidia Hagiographica 8a (Brussels: Bollandist Society, 1957); Supplement: *ibid*., *Novum Auctarium*, Subsidia Hagiographica 65 (Brussels: Bollandist Society, 1984).
BHL	Bollandist Society (eds), *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols, Subsidia Hagiographica 6 (Bollandist Society, 1898-1901); Supplement: Henryk Fros (ed.), *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: Novum Supplementum*, Subsidia Hagiographica 70 (Brussels: Bollandist Society, 1986).
Biblical Commentaries	Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge (eds), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
Cant-Kings	The Canterbury glosses on the 'Books of Kings' (1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings), contained in folios 81v-83r of M^1. Paolo Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars I*, *CCCM*, vol. 189A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 47-55.
Cant-SOS	The Canterbury glosses on the Song of Songs, contained in folios 81r–88r of M^1. Paolo Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars I*, *CCCM*, vol. 189A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 58-60.
CCB	Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010).
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966-present).
CLA	E. A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols. and suppl. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934-1971; 2nd edn. of vol. 2, 1972).

CPL	Clavis Patrum Latinorum, 3rd edn. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866-2011; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012-present).
DOC	*Liber de ordine creaturarum*. Latin text from J. P. Migne (ed.), *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi opera omnia: Romae anno Domini MDCCXCVII excusa recensente Faustino Arevalo, qui Isidoriana praemisit, variorum praefationes, notas, collationes, qua antea editas, qua tunc primum edendas, collegit, veteres editiones et codices mss. Romanos contulit* […] (Lutetiæ Parisiorum: 1862), tomus quintus. English translation modified from M. Smyth, 'The seventh-century Hiberno-Latin treatise *Liber de ordine creaturarum*. A translation', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 21 (2011), 137-222.
EH	Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*); Latin text and English translation from Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (eds), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
Innovation and Tradition	Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006).
LLT	*Library of Latin Texts Series A + B* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).
LOW	Stephen of Ripon, *Life of Wilfrid* (*Vita Sancti Wilfridi*), in J. F. Webb (trans.) and D. H. Farmer (ed.), *The Age of Bede* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998).
M^1	*Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana M 79 sup.*, in Paolo Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars I*, CCCM, vol. 189A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
PL	Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus: series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1841–1864).

TTH	Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1985-present).

Introduction: The Canterbury School

> Theodore came to his church on Sunday, 27 May, in the second year after his consecration […]. He was accompanied everywhere and assisted by Hadrian […]. And because both of them were extremely learned in sacred and secular literature, they attracted a crowd of students into whose minds they daily poured the streams of wholesome learning. They gave their hearers instruction not only in the books of Holy Scripture but also in the art of metre, astronomy, and ecclesiastical computation. As evidence of this, some of their students still survive who know Latin and Greek just as well as their native tongue. Never had there been such happy times since the English first came to Britain […].[1]

When Bede (*c*. 672-735) penned these words in the 730s, he was recalling the intellectual achievements of a school that had flourished over half a century earlier. This school—known to modern scholars as the Canterbury School—was founded by Augustine of Canterbury (*d*. 604) in the late sixth century but did not achieve its exalted status until Theodore of Tarsus (*c*. 602–690) became its overseer in 669.[2] By wistfully evoking the past, Bede was making a profound statement about the

[1] *EH*, 4.2.

[2] M. Lapidge, 'Theodore of Tarsus [St Theodore of Tarsus] (602-690)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27170 [accessed 14 June 2016]; N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (London; New York: Leicester University Press, 1996), p. 94.

circumstances of his own age. He completed his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in 731, at a time when he was becoming increasingly worried by the decline of Christian standards in Anglo-Saxon England.[3] In a letter written to Ecgberht (*d*. 766), bishop of York, in 734, Bede famously deplored the deteriorating standard of clerical education available in England.[4] He condemned the growing number of 'uneducated priests' whose ignorance of Latin rendered the Creed and the Lord's Prayer incomprehensible, both to the priests themselves and to their congregations. Bede entreated Ecgberht to train more clerics, arguing that increased access to spiritual guidance would encourage greater piety amongst the English.[5]

In the context of this perceived degeneracy, Bede looked back on the seventh-century Canterbury School as a shining exemplar. Under Theodore's guidance, 'all who wished for instruction in sacred studies' had had access to teachers and resources.[6] Furthermore, the calibre of education provided at Canterbury had been exceptional; pupils were tutored on a range of subjects from languages and biblical exegesis to poetry and astronomy.[7] The School's gradual decline following the deaths of its principle teachers, Theodore and Abbot Hadrian (*c*. 630x37–709), was doubtless a source of great anguish to Bede. When Theodore died in 690, the see of Canterbury fell vacant for two years before being granted to Berhtwald (*c*. 650–731), abbot of Reculver, in July 692.[8] Berhtwald was a capable

---

[3] B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 22.
[4] 'Ecgberht 7', *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, http://www.pase.ac.uk [accessed 5 June 2018]; J. McClure and R. Collins, 'Introduction', in J. McClure and R. Collins (eds), *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. xiv; Bede, *Letter to Ecgberht* (*Epistula ad Egbertum*), *PL* 94 (Paris: 1850); C. Grocock and I. N. Wood (trans and eds), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow: Bede's Homily i. 13 on Benedict Biscop; Bede's History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow; The Anonymous Life of Ceolfrith; Bede's Letter to Egbert, Bishop of York* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), pp. 124-61.
[5] Bede, *Letter to Ecgberht*.
[6] *EH*, 4.2.
[7] *Ibid*.
[8] Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 77.

archbishop, achieving a number of administrative successes during his tenure.[9] Yet Bede records that Berhtwald was in no way comparable to his predecessor and Brooks suspects that it was during Berhtwald's rule that the 'brief pre-eminence' of the Canterbury School began to wane.[10]

BEDE: THE SHINING LIGHT OF ANGLO-SAXON SCHOLARSHIP

At the height of its success, the Canterbury School had been Anglo-Saxon England's most illustrious scholarly institution, producing a number of famous students who would go on to shape the future of the English Church.[11] But despite its contemporary renown, the School is hardly known today. Modern historians tend to focus on Bede, whose scholarly abilities are attested in numerous extant works. Bede is a monumental figure in English history. Today, he is best known for his historical writings and is often referred to as the 'Father of English History'.[12] But in his own time, and for centuries afterwards, his fame centred on his exegetical works, which earned him 'virtual patristic status' in the minds of later admirers.[13]

Arthur Holder claims that Bede 'would probably have blushed to hear that he was being spoken of as the equal of his patristic mentors'.[14] Yet Bede's genius is indisputable, especially in light of recent studies, which have showcased the

---

[9] *Ibid*., p. 79.
[10] *EH*, 5.8; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 99.
[11] These students include: Albinus (*d*. 732), abbot of St Peter's and St Paul's, Canterbury; Aldhelm (*d*. 709/10), the famous Christian writer and later bishop of Sherborne; John of Beverley (*d*. 721), bishop of Hexham and later bishop of York; Oftfor (*d*. *c*. 699), bishop of Worcester; and Tobias (*d*. 726), bishop of Rochester. It is also thought that Bede's mentor Ceolfrith (642–716), abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, studied at Canterbury. Lapidge, 'Theodore of Tarsus' [accessed 27 Nov 2014]; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 94.
[12] C. W. Jones (ed.), *Medieval Literature in Translation* (New York; London: Longmans, Green, 1950), p. 131.
[13] J. Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede', in *Innovation and Tradition*, p. 227-8; R. Ray, 'Who Did Bede Think He Was?', in *Innovation and Tradition*, pp. 13-14.
[14] A. G. Holder, 'Bede and the Tradition of Patristic Exegesis', *Anglican Theological Review*, 72:4 (1990), 399-411 (p. 401).

diversity, originality and enduring significance of his work.[15] Over the years, numerous historians have examined the sources that inspired Bede.[16] More recently, however, attention has shifted to understanding where Bede located himself in the wider world of Latin learning.[17] The old perception of Bede as a derivative interpreter of patristic ideas has been replaced by a 'New Bede', who 'saw himself as a creator of Christian Latin culture' and an active contributor to the intellectual sphere of his age.[18]

Bede has now been fitted 'into the bigger picture of Latin learning'.[19] But his place in the scholarly context of his own land, Anglo-Saxon England, has yet to be properly addressed. Thanks to the abundance of his works and the longevity of his legacy, Bede is regarded as the leading light of Anglo-Saxon scholarship.[20] However, the considerable reverence afforded Bede has obscured the contributions of other Anglo-Saxon scholars. John Niles wrote as recently as 2016 that Bede is one of few 'success stories of the medieval system of English schooling; we do not hear from

---

[15] S. DeGregorio, 'Introduction: The New Bede', in *Innovation and Tradition*; J. A. Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond', in *CCB*; S. M. Rowley, 'Bede in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in *CCB*.

[16] See, for instance: M. L. W. Laistner, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', in A. H. Thompson (ed.), *Bede: His Life, Times and Writings: Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935); M. L. W. Laistner, 'Bede as a Classical and Patristic Scholar', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, series 4, vol. 16 (1933), 69-94; M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 34-7 and 191-228; R. Love, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', in R. Gameson, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 1: c.400–1100*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), vol. 1.

[17] Ray, 'Who Did Bede Think He Was?'; R. Love, 'The World of Latin Learning', in *CCB*.

[18] DeGregorio, 'Introduction: The New Bede'; Ray, 'Who Did Bede Think He Was?', p. 11.

[19] Love, 'The World of Latin Learning', p. 40.

[20] 'Bede was the greatest biblical scholar of his age': S. DeGregorio, 'Bede and the Old Testament', in *CCB*, p. 127; 'The Venerable Bede (672/3-735) […] was the most remarkable scholar and intellect of his age […]': C. B. Kendall and F. Wallis, 'Introduction', in C. B. Kendall and F.Wallis (eds), *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), p. 1; 'Bede (*c*. 673– 735) was the foremost intellectual figure of the Anglo-Saxon Church': P. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 1.

the others'.[21] Niles' view demonstrates a tendency among historians to overlook an incredibly important player in the 'medieval system of English schooling': the Canterbury School. The present thesis seeks to liberate Canterbury from Bede's shadow by examining the intellectual climate that shaped Bede's scholarly development. In doing so, it will affirm Canterbury's status as a pre-eminent academic centre and provide a clearer picture of the scholarly interactions that took place across Anglo-Saxon England.

THEODORE AND HADRIAN

Two names are synonymous with the Canterbury School: Theodore and Hadrian. Theodore of Tarsus (*c*. 602-690) is a shadowy figure in early Anglo-Saxon history. His significance for the development of the English Church is proudly asserted by Bede, who claims that Theodore's rule as archbishop of Canterbury was the happiest time the English experienced since first coming to Britain.[22] Despite this glowing endorsement, Bede gives only the briefest account of Theodore's varied and eventful life. Born in Greek-speaking Tarsus, Theodore decided to pursue a religious life and, for reasons still unknown, he left Tarsus for Rome sometime before 667 where he won the favour of Pope Vitalian (*d*. 672).

In the year 667, Vitalian was searching for someone to fill the see of Canterbury, which had been vacant since 664 following the death of Bishop Deusdedit.[23] Deusdedit's successor, a priest named Wigheard, had travelled to Rome to receive the pallium but had succumbed to plague there in 667. Vitalian

[21] J. D. Niles, *Old English Literature: A Guide to Criticism with Selected Readings* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), p. 58.
[22] *EH*, 4.2.
[23] Jo Story argues that Theodore was the first bishop of Canterbury to be called 'archbishop' and that the archbishopric did not exist before him. Thus, the present thesis shall refer to Theodore's predecessors as the 'bishops' of Canterbury. J. Story, 'Bede, Willibrord and the Letters of Pope Honorius I on the Genesis of the Archbishopric of York', *The English Historical Review*, 127:527 (2012), 783–818.

now considered Theodore for the role, yet he had reservations about Theodore's suitability. Recent scholarship has suggested that Vitalian's hesitancy may have stemmed from Theodore's involvement in the Lateran Synod of 649. This landmark synod was convened in response to the Monothelete Controversy, a centuries-old debate between two conflicting theological perspectives: monotheletism and dyotheletism.[24] Monotheletes argued that Jesus Christ had two natures but only one will, whereas dyotheletes, claimed that Christ had two wills (human and divine) corresponding to his two natures. The Church's official position—which had been outlined at the Council of Chalcedon in 451—was that Christ is 'acknowledged in two natures', divine and human, whose attributes 'come together into one person and one *hypostasis*'.[25] This pronouncement seemed to favour the monothelete stance, yet the vague phrasing of the Chalcedonian Definition, particularly its failure to define the term '*hypostasis*', did little to assuage Christological division.[26]

Byzantine Emperor Constans II (630-668), along with the patriarchs of Constantinople, eventually decided to put an end to the conflict by issuing the *Ekthesis* (in 638) and the *Typos* (in 648), edicts which officially banned all discussion of the operations and will(s) of Christ.[27] The papacy was enraged by this act of imperial dominance and by Constans' blatant dismissal of centuries of patristic debate.[28] In response, Pope Martin I (*d*. 655) invited over a hundred bishops to the Lateran Basilica in Rome in 649 where they condemned monotheletism and dismissed the rulings of the *Ekthesis* and *Typos*. By rejecting

[24] R. Price (trans.), with contributions by P. Booth and C. Cubitt, *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*, TTH 61 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p. 7.
[25] *Ibid*., p. 1.
[26] D. R. Law, *Kierkegaard's Kenotic Christology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 35.
[27] M. Lapidge 'The career of Archbishop Theodore', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 3, 21; A. J. Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590-752* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2007), p. 93.
[28] Price, *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*, pp. 3-4.

Constans' rulings, the synod violated imperial law; Constans could not allow such a brazen attack on his sovereignty to go unpunished.[29] He immediately laid plans to assassinate Pope Martin but when these failed (supposedly due to divine intervention) he had Martin arrested. The disgraced pope was transported to Constantinople in 653. He was accused of treason and exiled to Chersonesus in Crimea where he eventually died in 655.[30]

When Vitalian became pope in 657, the events of 649 were still fresh in his mind. Unlike his predecessor, Pope Eugenius (*d*. 657), who had continued to champion Martin's cause, Vitalian sought to reconcile with Constans.[31] He purposefully distanced himself from the Lateran Synod and worked hard to appease Constans during the emperor's twelve-day visit to Rome in 663.[32] Given Vitalian's policy of conciliation, it is easy to see why Theodore's involvement in the Lateran Synod might have made Vitalian nervous about granting him a senior position in the Church. But what evidence is there that Theodore attended the Lateran Synod? The *acta* of the synod confirm the presence of one *Theodorus monachus*, whom several scholars have identified as Theodore of Tarsus.[33] Yet this record is not, in itself, compelling evidence of Theodore's participation. Instead our strongest evidence comes from Pope Agatho (*d*. 681), the third pope to succeed Vitalian.

Agatho, who became pope in 678, convened a council in 680-681 that sought to vindicate the rulings of the Lateran Synod of 649.[34] This council—known

---

[29] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 76.
[30] Price, *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*, pp. 81-2.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-6.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 86; J. N. D. Kelly, revised by M. J. Walsh, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 2nd edn. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 73.
[33] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 78; Price, *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*, p. 75, n. 30; M. W. Herren and S. A. Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002), p. 55.
[34] J. F. Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church: A History* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009), pp. 58-9.

variously as the Third Council of Constantinople and the Sixth Ecumenical Council—was supported by the new Byzantine emperor, Constantine IV (*d*. 685), who recognised the political value of religious accord with the West.[35] In a letter to Constantine IV, dated 27 March 680, Agatho expressed his wish that Theodore, 'the archbishop and philosopher of the island of Britain', would attend the Council of Constantinople (680-681), since he was the only man alive who understood the theological issues under debate.[36] This statement has been taken as evidence that Theodore (who was around 78 years old in 680) was the only living cleric who had been present at the Lateran Synod of 649.[37]

Certainly, Theodore displayed fervent support for the Lateran Synod during his tenure as archbishop of Canterbury. In 679, he invited clerics from across England to meet 'in the place which in the Saxon tongue is called *Hæthfelth*'.[38] This meeting, known as the Council of Hatfield, was held in preparation for Agatho's Council of Constantinople. In the late 670s, Agatho sent papal representatives to each of the provinces under his direction in order to canvass the opinion of the western churches.[39] He sought their unanimous denunciation of monotheletism, believing that a display of western unity would strengthen papal arguments in favour of exonerating Pope Martin and the rulings of the Lateran Synod. The representative sent to England was a man named John, about whom little is known except that he was the archcantor of St Peter's in Rome and the abbot of its neighbouring monastery, St Martin's.[40] When John embarked on his journey back to

---

[35] A. Louth, 'The Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century', in P. Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume I, c.500-c.700*, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), vol. 1, p. 302.
[36] Agatho, *Letter of Pope Agatho to Emperor Constantine IV* (*Epistola prima ad Augustos Imperatores*), *PL* 87 (Paris: 1863); translation modified from *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 79-80.
[37] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 79-80.
[38] *EH*, 4.17.
[39] Lapidge, 'Theodore of Tarsus' [accessed 27 Nov 2014].
[40] C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-c. 850* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), pp. 253-4; É. Ó Carragáin, 'Interactions Between Liturgy and Politics in Old Saint Peter's, 670-741: John the Archcantor, Sergius I and Gregory III', in R. McKitterick, J.

Rome, he took with him a copy of the *acta* of the Council of Hatfield, which detailed the English Church's resolute opposition to monotheletism.[41] Sadly, John never delivered the *acta* to Rome because he died shortly after crossing the English Channel. Yet his task was completed by clerics from Tours who ensured that the testimony of the English was 'gladly received by the Pope and by all those who heard it or read it'.[42]

Given Theodore's endorsement of Pope Martin's cause, it seems likely that he participated, in some way, in the Lateran Synod of 649. Thus, when Vitalian considered Theodore for the post of bishop of Canterbury in 667, he may have been concerned that elevating Theodore's status would upset papal reconciliation with Constans II. After much deliberation, Vitalian eventually appointed Theodore to the see in March 668. However, this appointment came with two conditions. Firstly, Theodore was to let his hair grow out to allow his customary Greek style of tonsure to be replaced with the Roman style.[43] Secondly, Theodore was to be accompanied to England by Hadrian (*c*. 630x37–709), a trusted friend and advisor to Vitalian. According to Bede, Hadrian was to 'prevent Theodore from introducing into the church over which he presided any Greek customs'.[44]

Details of Hadrian's life are even harder to determine than Theodore's. Bede tells us that Hadrian was a native of north Africa, but the precise location and date of his birth are unknown. In 667, Hadrian was abbot of a monastery near Naples. Although this monastery no longer survives, most scholars believe that it

---

Osborne, C. M. Richardson, and J. Story (eds), *Old Saint Peter's, Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univesity Press, 2013), p. 183.

[41] *EH*, 4.18.

[42] *Ibid*.

[43] *EH*, 4.1; J. Robert Wright, *A Companion to Bede: A Reader's Commentary on* The Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), pp. 89-91.

[44] *EH*, 4.1.

was situated on the islet of Nisida in the Gulf of Naples.[45] Hadrian had been Vitalian's first choice as bishop of Canterbury but had declined the position on the basis that 'he was unworthy of so exalted a rank'.[46] Instead, Hadrian suggested Theodore for the role and it is a mark of the close relationship between Hadrian and Vitalian that the pope was willing act on Hadrian's recommendation despite having misgivings about Theodore's suitability. Vitalian placed considerable trust in Hadrian, entreating him to accompany Theodore to England where he could watch over the new bishop and ensure that papal policy was being upheld. Hadrian was also to act as Theodore's guide on the journey to England since he had previously travelled through Gaul on at least two occasions and was well acquainted with the road.[47]

Theodore and Hadrian set off for England together on 27 May 668 but were separated in Arles. Theodore continued on to England, arriving in Kent on 27 May 669 (exactly one year after departing Rome), but Hadrian was detained in Gaul by Ebroin (*d*. 680), mayor of the palace of Neustria.[48] Bede writes that Hadrian was suspected of transmitting information from Constans II to the kings in Britain.[49] It has been suggested that Hadrian was personally acquainted with Constans, having met the emperor in 663 while Constans was visiting Naples.[50] Although this hypothesis is impossible to prove, Hadrian must have had some degree of contact with the emperor in order for Ebroin to suspect him of carrying out an imperial embassy (*legationem imperatoris*) on Constans' behalf.[51] Hadrian was eventually

---

[45] M. Lapidge, 'Hadrian (630x37–709)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39256 [accessed 14 June 2018].
[46] *EH*, 4.1.
[47] *Ibid*.
[48] M. Frassetto, *The Early Medieval World: From the Fall of Rome to the Time of Charlemagne* (Santa Barbara, CA; Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2013), p. 237.
[49] *EH*, 4.1; Lapidge, 'Hadrian (630x37–709)', [accessed 27 Nov 2014].
[50] M. Fuiano, *La cultura a Napoli nell'alto medioevo*, Storia e pensiero, 9 (Naples, 1961), p. 23; *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 129-30.
[51] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 130.

released and allowed to continue to England where he was reunited with Theodore in 670. Hadrian was appointed abbot of the monastery of St Peter's and St Paul's in Canterbury, where he and his retinue were comfortably housed.[52]

Once Theodore and Hadrian had established themselves at Canterbury, they immediately set about reviving the English Church from the disrepair it had fallen into during five years without a metropolitan bishop at Canterbury. Theodore achieved a considerable amount during his twenty-two years as archbishop. He completely reformed the structure of the English Church, dividing unmanageably large sees into smaller ones that could more efficiently focus on pastoral care. He also solidified canon law; indeed, his name became synonymous with ecclesiastical law for generations after his death (see, pp. 30-31). At the first synod of his archiepiscopacy—the Council of Hertford of 672—Theodore promulgated a number of rules aimed at establishing orthodoxy in England.[53] Chief among these was his avowal that all Christians should celebrate Easter on the same day, 'namely on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon of the first month'.[54] This affirmed the rulings of the Synod of Whitby (664), which had decreed eight years earlier that the Roman method of calculating Easter was to be observed.[55]

The *acta* of the Council of Hertford also centralised ecclesiastical governance. Theodore mandated that Anglo-Saxon clerics 'should meet once a year on 1 August at the place known as *Clofesho*'.[56] Modern scholars doubt that the *Clofesho* councils actually took place with as much frequency as Theodore had

[52] Lapidge, 'Hadrian (630x37–709)', [accessed 15 June 2018].
[53] Lapidge, 'Theodore of Tarsus', [accessed 27 Nov 2014]; Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, p. 18.
[54] Act 1, Council of Hertford (672), as recorded in *EH*, 5.5.
[55] *EH*, 3.25.
[56] Act 7, Council of Hertford (672), as recorded in *EH*, 5.5.

hoped.[57] Yet Theodore succeeded in his overarching aim, which was to foster greater unity within the English Church. Bede tells us that Theodore was 'the first of the archbishops whom the whole English Church consented to obey'.[58] Added to this, several clauses in the Hertford *acta* discuss clerical relations; for instance, Clause 2 states that no bishop should intrude into the diocese of another. The implication, therefore, is that Theodore engineered a 'working principle of diocesan organization' that allowed clerics to surmount political divides.[59]

By the time of his death in 690, Theodore had saved the English Church from near-collapse. Although Christian communities had existed in practically every English kingdom by the 660s, these communities were small and lacked the security and support that should have been provided by stable infrastructure and trained personnel. Theodore dramatically changed this state of affairs.[60] Upon his arrival in England, he created a unified and pastorally-minded diocesan system with the power to transcended secular parameters. His actions inspired greater spiritual progress amongst the English than ever before.[61] Bede writes that, thanks to Theodore, 'the desires of all men were set on the joys of the heavenly kingdom of which they had only lately heard'.[62] As the ensuing discussion will show, Canterbury played a pivotal role in Theodore's efforts to Christianise the English. The School shaped English men (and perhaps women) into educated, evangelising clerics who were able to spread God's message amongst their own people. Under Theodore's leadership, therefore, Canterbury—which had originally been the focal

---

[57] Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, pp. 18-20; R. W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 45; S. Keynes, 'The Councils of Clofesho', *Brixworth Lecture 1993* (Leicester, 1994), p. 4.
[58] *EH*, 4.2.
[59] H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (London: Batsford, 1991), pp. 131-2.
[60] M. Dunn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons c. 597-c. 700: Discourses of Life, Death and the Afterlife* (London: Continuum, 2009), p. 187.
[61] *EH*, 5.8.
[62] *EH*, 4.2.

point of Augustine's mission to the English in 597—was reaffirmed as an important centre of evangelism.

GIVING VOICE TO CANTERBURY'S STUDENTS

Niles' statement that 'we do not hear from' the students of medieval schools except for a few famous individuals, such as Bede, Alcuin and Aldhelm, was largely true until 1936 when Bernhard Bischoff made a pioneering discovery. While searching through an eleventh-century manuscript at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, Bischoff noticed a series of biblical glosses containing references to Theodore and Hadrian.[63] Although these glosses were primarily written in Latin, they made use of Greek and Old English and cited a number of obscure Greek patristic authors.[64] Bischoff quickly recognised that these works must have been produced under the tutelage of Theodore and Hadrian at their celebrated Canterbury School sometime between 669 (Theodore's arrival in England) and 709 (Hadrian's death).

Prior to Bischoff's discovery, everything historians knew about the Canterbury School came from Bede's short account and from snippets of information provided by Canterbury's most famous student, Aldhelm (*d*. 709/10). In a letter addressed to Abbot Hadrian, Aldhelm describes Hadrian as his 'venerable teacher' and bemoans the fact that his studies in Kent had been suspended 'almost three years ago'.[65] We can infer with certainty from this that Aldhelm studied at Canterbury sometime before becoming abbot of Malmesbury.[66]

---

[63] The manuscript in question is known as 'Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup.': *Biblical Commentaries*, p. vii; Lapidge, 'Theodore of Tarsus' [accessed 24 March 2015]; Lapidge, 'Hadrian' [accessed 24 March 2015].

[64] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. vii.

[65] Aldhelm, *Letter to Hadrian* (*Epistola ad Hadrianum*), in R. Ehwald (ed.), *Aldhelmi Opera*, new edn. (Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1961), pp. 478-9; M. Lapidge and M. Herren (trans. and eds), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich: D. S. Brewer, 1979), pp. 153-4.

[66] M. Lapidge, 'Aldhelm [St Aldhelm] (d. 709/10), abbot of Malmesbury, bishop of Sherborne, and scholar', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/308 [accessed 28 June 2018].

Indeed, his letter to Hadrian implies that he studied there on two separate occasions and would have returned for a third time had he not been incapacitated by illness.[67]

In another letter, this time addressed to a man named Heahfrith, Aldhelm compares Theodore and Hadrian to the sun and the moon on account of the dazzling brightness of their combined intellect.[68] He also affirms Theodore and Hadrian's commitment to orthodoxy and praises Theodore's chronological teachings.[69] Beyond this, however, Aldhelm tells us little about the character of the Canterbury School. Thus, the discovery of Bischoff's biblical glosses provided historians with a whole new window into the teaching activity of the Canterbury School. The glosses provided, for the first time, an opportunity to examine the scholarly exploits of ordinary monastic students, whose voices would be otherwise unrecorded.

When Bischoff announced his findings in 1954, his initial assessment simply outlined the structure of the Canterbury glosses.[70] He reached two main conclusions: firstly, that they are the written records of oral teaching carried out by Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury in the late seventh century; and, secondly,

---

[67] Aldhelm, *Letter to Hadrian*, pp. 478-9*;* Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm,* p. 154.
[68] 'Britain […] possesses, for example, the luculent likeness, as it were, of the flaming sun and the moon, that is, Theodore, who discharges the duties of the pontificate and was from the very beginnings of his apprenticeship mature in the flower of the arts of learning, and his colleague of the same sodality, Hadrian, equally endowed with ineffably pure urbanity'. Aldhelm, *Letter to Heahfrith* (*Epistola ad Ehfridum*); translation from D. R. Howlett, 'Aldhelm and Irish Learning', *Archiuum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 52 (1994), 37–75 (p. 45).
[69] T. Major, *Undoing Babel: The Tower of Babel in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), p. 89; Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, p. 60.
[70] B. Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', in B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966-1967) vol. 1, 205–73; Translation: Bernhard Bischoff, 'Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages', trans. by Colm O'Grady, in Martin McNamara (ed.), *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution* (Dublin : Dominican Publications, 1976).

that they take a largely literal approach to biblical interpretation.[71] This approach has traditionally been attributed to the 'Antiochene School' of exegesis, whereas its antithesis, the allegorical approach, is generally associated with the 'Alexandrian School' (for more on this, see Chapter 2). Perceiving the Canterbury glosses to adhere to Antiochene tradition, Bischoff speculated that Canterbury's literalism may have influenced Bede. After all, Bede's *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings* and his *On Eight Questions* both demonstrate a strong commitment to literalism that is not mirrored in Bede's other works. Might this change in style result from Canterbury's influence, perhaps even from interaction with the Canterbury glosses themselves?[72]

We know that Bede had some knowledge of Theodore's opinions thanks to a comment he makes in *On Eight Questions*. In this work, Bede records Theodore's interpretation of 2 Corinthians 11.25:

> I have heard certain people asserting that Theodore of blessed memory, that most learned man who was formerly archbishop of the English people, explained it in this way: there was in Cizico [Cyzicus (modern day Erdek), a city in Asia Minor] a certain exceedingly deep pit prepared for torturing criminals, which on account of its immense deepness used to be called 'the depth of the sea'. It was the filth and darkness of this which Paul endured, among innumerable other things, for Christ's sake.[73]

Bischoff deduced that Bede had gained knowledge of Theodore's teaching from Benedict Biscop (*c*. 628–689), Bede's former guardian.[74] Biscop had spent time

---

[71] '[…] the Antiochene tendency predominates throughout': Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', trans. by O'Grady, p. 77.
[72] *Ibid*., pp. 74-7.
[73] Bede, *On Eight Questions* (*De octo quaestionibus*), *PL* 93 (Paris: 1850), question 3; A. G. Holder (trans.) 'On Eight Questions', in Trent Foley and Holder, *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany*, p. 152.
[74] S. J. Coates, 'Benedict Biscop [St Benedict Biscop] (c. 628–689), abbot of Wearmouth and scholar', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004),

with Theodore from *c*. 668-671 when acting as Theodore's interpreter, and the two scholars are likely to have discussed their respective exegetical stances during this time.[75] It is probable, therefore, that Bede came into contact with Canterbury's ideas at some point in his scholarly career. However, Bischoff ultimately concluded that Bede made a conscious choice to favour the older Alexandrian tradition of exegesis over the Antiochene style employed at Canterbury. For this reason, Bischoff claims, Bede's works are resolutely independent from exegetical materials surviving from Canterbury.

Since Bischoff's 1954 essay, scholars have only tentatively considered the degree to which Canterbury shaped Bede's intellectual outlook. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, writing in 1988, agreed with Bischoff's pronouncement that the Canterbury School had little impact on Bede's exegesis. But his concurrence relied entirely on the notion that Canterbury's literalist approach differs from Bede's allegorical perspective.[76] The idea that exegetical styles can be slotted into such divergent categories is—as the present thesis will prove—open to considerable debate. Conor O'Brien raised this issue in 2015, pointing out that '[…] scholars increasingly question the binary opposition of 'Alexandrian' and 'Antiochene' exegesis on which so much has been based'.[77] Yet O'Brien maintained Bischoff's view that Canterbury favoured a literal approach to the Bible and he expressed scepticism over the likelihood of Canterbury influencing Bede. Paul Hilliard, however, took a different stance. He argued that Bede's vehement defence of allegory, which is particularly strong in *On Genesis*, *On Samuel*, *On Tobit* and *Thirty Questions*, hints at possible

---

http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2082 [accessed 13 April 2018]; M. P. Brown, 'Bede's Life in Context', in *CCB*, p. 5.

[75] Coates, 'Benedict Biscop'; Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', trans. by O'Grady, p. 75.

[76] J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 138.

[77] C. O'Brien, *Bede's Temple: An Image and Its Interpretation* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 30-1.

debate taking place between intellectual circles in the North of Britain and those based at Canterbury. Hilliard proposed that the North inherited an Irish exegetical tradition that had always been steeped in allegory, whereas Canterbury cultivated Theodore and Hadrian's penchant for literalism. Bede, believing that Canterbury was promoting an unfavourable form of biblical interpretation, felt compelled to defend allegory.[78] If Hilliard's theory is to be believed, then Bede's writings *were* impacted by Canterbury, though not in an emulative sense.

In 2010, James Siemens challenged prevailing thought by highlighting a number of similarities between Bede's works and several texts deriving from Canterbury.[79] These similarities were based on specifics of content rather than vague ideas about exegetical style. Siemens noted, for instance, that Bede's *Homilies on the Gospels* contains an explanation of the significance of the number forty-six that is mirrored in the *Laterculus Malalianus*, a work that has often been attributed to Archbishop Theodore.[80] There are problems with Siemens' argument, not least that the *Laterculus Malalianus* has yet to be verified as a Theodorian work.[81] But Siemens was among the first to reconsider Bischoff's argument that no link can be discerned between Bede and the Canterbury School.

---

[78] P. Hilliard, 'The Venerable Bede as Scholar, Gentile and Preacher', in R. Corradini et al. (eds), *Ego Trouble: Authors and their Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2010), pp. 105–9.

[79] J. Siemens, *The Christology of Theodore of Tarsus: the Laterculus Malalianus and the Person and Work of Christ* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 176-82.

[80] *Ibid*., pp. 181-2; J. Siemens, 'Another Book for Jarrow's Library? Coincidences in Exegesis between Bede and the Laterculus Malalianus', *Downside Review*, 131 (2013), 15-34.

[81] Jane Stevenson argues that the *Laterculus Malalianus* was written by Theodore. But her arguments have been viewed with scepticism by some scholars, including Benedicta Ward. See Chapter 1, pp. 33-4 for a fuller discussion of this. J. Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 8-15; B. Ward, review of J. Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (1995), *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 47:2 (1996), 723-4. Another problem with Siemens' argument is the fact that the supposed similarity between Bede's *Homilies on the Gospels* and the *Laterculus Malalianus* may simply derive from a shared knowledge of Augustine's comments on the number forty-six (see: Siemens, *The Christology of Theodore of Tarsus*, p. 181, n. 58).

At present, historians are hesitant to question Bischoff's initial conclusions. Much of this hesitancy can be attributed to the inaccessibility of his sources. Bischoff assured readers of his 1954 essay that an edition of the Canterbury glosses was forthcoming.[82] But scholars had to wait forty years for this anticipated edition. In the meantime, the only way of reading the glosses, besides travelling to Milan to view the manuscript that contains them, was by purchasing a microfilm of the manuscript from the University of Notre Dame's Medieval Institute. Michael Gorman has commented that this microfilm 'must have become one of the best-selling microfilms of all time' since every scholar of medieval exegesis clamoured to acquire it.[83]

The Canterbury glosses were finally put into print in 1994, in a monograph co-authored by Bischoff and Michael Lapidge.[84] Sadly, the book was released three years after Bischoff's death, meaning that he never got to witness the final fruits of his labour.[85] However, the book was received with delight by the academic community thanks, in large part, to its substantial critical apparatus, which was chiefly authored by Lapidge. Although Bischoff and Lapidge's book revolutionised analysis of the Canterbury School and its overseers, the volume only provided the text and translations of three sections from the Canterbury corpus. Four of a total of seven sections remained unedited at this time (the composition of the Canterbury glosses is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 1). When reviewing Bischoff and Lapidge's book, Paul Szarmach remarked that the remaining glosses

[82] 'I intend to publish elsewhere the Bible glosses of the school of Canterbury, and to set forth its ramified tradition. Here I limit myself to a description of them'. Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', p. 192; Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', trans. by O'Grady, p. 76.
[83] M. M. Gorman, *Biblical Commentaries from the Early Middle Ages* (Firenze: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2002), p. 164.
[84] *Biblical Commentaries*.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. ix.

would 'present a formidable assignment for a future editor'.[86] Prospective editors evidently agreed with him since the remaining texts evaded print for a further ten years. But in 2004, Paolo Vaciago provided a full transcription of the Milan manuscript (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup.) for Brepols' *Corpus Christianorum* series.[87] Vaciago's transcription was not accompanied by critical apparatus, nor an English translation. However, thanks to Vaciago's efforts, scholars now have ready access to the complete text of the Canterbury glosses.

RE-EXAMINING THE CANTERBURY GLOSSES

It has now been fourteen years since the publication of Vaciago's transcription, yet scholars still cling to Bischoff's original opinions, devised in 1954, about the literalist nature of Canterbury's teaching style. Bischoff's perspective is clearly in need of revision, especially given changing ideas about the nature of exegesis and the validity of the terms 'Antiochene' and 'Alexandrian' as indicators of interpretive style. Historians have judged the Canterbury School based on the content of Bischoff and Lapidge's 1994 edition of the Canterbury glosses. But this edition does not examine the Milan manuscript in its entirety, and so its assessment of Canterbury's teaching style is incomplete. As the present thesis will show, Canterbury was not the stubborn proponent of literal exegesis that has been

[86] P. E. Szarmach, review of B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge (eds), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (1994), *The Journal of Religion*, 76:4 (1996), 631-2.

[87] P. Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars I*, CCCM, vol. 189A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004). This work (along with its sister volume, *Glossae biblicae: Pars II*) is a published version of Vaciago's doctoral thesis: P. Vaciago, 'The Transmission of Early Anglo-Saxon Glossarial Material on the Continent: Texts, Index and Analysis' (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, Oriel College, 1998). Brepols have agreed to publish Vaciago's thesis in three parts (consisting of four volumes). Only Part 2 (volumes 2 and 3) has been published to date. It contains transcriptions of around twenty manuscripts (including the Milan manuscript) dating from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries. Parts 1 and 3 are forthcoming and will provide commentary on, and an index to, the transcribed texts.

envisaged by previous studies. Instead, it was a complex institution shaped by a range of influences from across early medieval Christendom.

By maintaining Bischoff's views about the exegetical style of the Canterbury School, historians have also limited their understanding of Bede's interpretive outlook. The ecclesiastical community at Canterbury was a far-reaching force in Anglo-Saxon England and we should not assume that Bede, having always dwelt at the monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow, was oblivious to Canterbury's intellectual sphere.[88] Indeed, Bede is known to have had a close relationship with Abbot Albinus (*d*. 732), Hadrian's successor as abbot of St Peter's and St Paul's, from whom he received information on the ecclesiastical history of Kent.[89] Albinus is, in fact, named by Bede as the inspiration behind *The Ecclesiastical History*, proving that Canterbury was deeply involved in Bede's academic exploits.[90] This thesis will demonstrate that Canterbury drew on a multitude of sources and influences, many of which were shared by Bede at Wearmouth-Jarrow. Consequently, it will re-evaluate the degree to which scholarly exchange took place between Bede and his Canterburian peers and will provide insights into the interconnectedness of scholarship across the British Isles.

Chapter 1 will outline the many textual sources associated with Canterbury, as well as the relationships between the manuscripts that contain them. Chapter 2, meanwhile, will focus on the Canterbury glosses themselves and will examine the Latin Christian authors whose influence over Canterbury's curriculum has not been fully recognised. It will question the idea that Canterbury drew predominantly on Greek patristic scholars whose interpretive interests tended towards the literal, instead proving that Canterbury employed a range of sources, including

[88] Brown, 'Bede's Life in Context', pp. 6-7.
[89] *EH*, preface; W. Hunt, 'Nothhelm (d. 739)', rev. Henry Mayr-Harting, *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20368, [accessed 5 Dec 2016].
[90] *EH*, preface.

allegorically-minded Latin authors. Chapter 3 will assess the validity of defining Canterbury as a literalist, Antiochene School. It will consider the usefulness of the terms 'Antiochene' and 'Alexandrian' and will study Canterbury's glosses on the Song of Songs to prove that the School engaged with sophisticated figurative analysis. Finally, Chapter 4 will examine Canterbury's approach to a part of the Bible that has traditionally inspired historical-literal interpretation: the Books of Kings. This chapter will evaluate Nothelm's (*d*. 739) role as a communicative vessel between Wearmouth-Jarrow and Canterbury. It will also assess the similarities and differences between Bede's comments on the Books of Kings and Canterbury's interpretation of the same biblical texts. Current perceptions of the Canterbury School have been hugely shaped by Bischoff's (and later Lapidge's) portrayal of the Canterbury glosses. By distancing the glosses from Bischoff and Lapidge's analytical framework, this thesis will outline the complexity and intellectual grandeur of the once famous Canterbury School.

TERMINOLOGY

In 1954, Bischoff described the Canterbury glosses as 'ein grosses Corpus lateinischer Bibelglossen' ('a large Corpus of Latin Bible glosses').[91] By 1994, however, these texts were being referred to as 'the Canterbury biblical commentaries'.[92] The decision to replace 'glosses' with 'commentaries' seems to have been stimulated by a desire to emphasise the sophistication of these texts. Glossaries (the collective term for a group of glosses) are generally viewed as simplistic works that explain the meaning of specific words or phrases by providing elucidatory alternatives. An example of simple glosses can be found on the final folio of the Moore Bede, a manuscript dating to *c*. 737 which contains the

[91] Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', p. 190; Bischoff, 'Turning-Points' trans. by O'Grady, p. 75.
[92] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. vii.

earliest extant copy of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.[93] These glosses provide Old English explanations for three Latin words used in Bede's *History* that were apparently difficult for contemporary readers to understand. The Latin word *arula* ('small altar') is glossed by Old English *heorþ* ('hearth').[94] Likewise *destina* ('support, stay, prop') is glossed by *feurstud* ('sloping beam, buttress') and *iugulum* ('a slaughter, murder') by *sticung* ('a pricking, piercing, killing, sticking [i.e. of pigs]').[95]

When modern historians think of glosses, they often imagine straightforward annotations such as those contained in the Moore Bede. This is because Isidore of Seville (*d*. 636), the most celebrated lexicographer of the medieval period, wrote in his *Etymologies* that a gloss (*glossa*) explains the meaning of a given thing 'by means of one single word'.[96] Isidore viewed the *glossa* as a condensed form of the *commentarium*, which he defined simply as an interpretation of a text.[97] However, he specified no difference in purpose between the gloss and the commentary, causing uncertainty about the respective uses of the genres. In the early twelfth century, William of Conches (*d*. *c*. 1154) developed Isidore's definition. William stated that the difference between a commentary and a gloss is that a commentary concerns the text's deeper sense whereas a gloss

[93] Manuscript classmark: 'Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.16'; J. Story, 'Moore Bede (MS Kk.5.16)', *Cambridge Digital Library*, https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/264 [accessed 15 June 2018].
[94] 'HEORÞ', in J. Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller (ed.), *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898); accessed via S. Christ, O. Tichý, et al. (eds), 'An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online', http://www.bosworthtoller.com/018810 [accessed 15 June 2018].
[95] 'Feor-studu', in Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*; 'An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online', http://www.bosworthtoller.com/044797 [accessed 15 June 2018]; 'Sticung', in Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*; 'An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online', http://www.bosworthtoller.com/028949 [accessed 15 June 2018].
[96] Isidore, *Etymologie*s (*Etymologiae*), *PL* 82 (Paris: 1850); book 1, chapter 30, part 1; S. A. Barney *et al*. (trans.), *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 55.
[97] *Ibid*., p. 140.

discusses its context and use of language.[98] This definition is somewhat vague. Could a gloss still be categorised as such if its contextual and linguistic focus touched upon profound interpretive themes?

Due to this ambiguity, modern scholars disagree about the precise definition of a gloss. David Solomon defines medieval glosses as explanatory marginalia or interlinear texts.[99] But glosses were not always directly appended to a text. They could also exist as standalone works known as *glossae collectae*, as in the case of the Canterbury material.[100] Frans van Liere gives a more thorough definition, explaining that '*gloss* denotes both a short explanatory note to a text and a commentary added in the margin or between the lines of a text'. He argues that the primary aim of the gloss was to provide grammatical or stylistic analysis, to offer translations, or to reference relevant authors and works.[101] Gernot Wieland, on the other hand, poses that glosses can be grouped into three categories: lexical, syntactical, and commentary glosses. Wieland views commentary glosses as more extensive than linguistic glosses since they generally concern the broader meaning of a given text.[102]

Although a definitive classification of the gloss has yet to be settled on, most scholars agree that glossaries are concise versions of commentaries. This designation has led glosses to be devalued, since scholars perceive them to impart

---

[98] R. Copeland, 'Gloss and Commentary', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (Oxford University Press, 2012), http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195394016.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780195394016-e-9 [accessed 23 April 2017].

[99] D. A. Salomon, *An Introduction to the 'Glossa Ordinaria' as Medieval Hypertext* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), p. 1.

[100] Vaciago claims that the term *glossae collectae* denotes 'a batch of glosses in which the lemmata follow the same order as they do in the text from which they are drawn'. He applies this term to the Canterbury material. Vaciago, 'The Transmission of Early Anglo-Saxon Glossarial Material', p. viii.

[101] F. A. van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 151-152.

[102] G. R. Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 153-173 (p. 155).

little interpretive profundity. With this in mind, it is not surprising that Bischoff and Lapidge decided to refer to the Canterbury texts as 'commentaries' rather than 'glosses'. They recognised that the texts display a level of erudition that is not traditionally associated with glosses and did not wish them to be overlooked on the basis of arbitrary categorisation.

Mark Stansbury has observed that 'commentary' is sometimes used as the overarching English term for various forms of biblical exegesis, including the *commentarium* and *glossa*.[103] This approach seems to have been adopted by Bischoff and Lapidge who, in their 1994 book, describe the Canterbury texts as 'biblical commentaries' yet refer to individual extracts from the texts as 'glosses'. This has engendered some confusion. For instance, Conor O'Brien has downplayed the significance of the Canterbury texts because he perceives them as glosses. He posits that 'the gloss is a distinct genre, separate from the commentary, and always more likely to focus on the literal meaning of the text'. This, he explains, makes it impossible to use Canterbury's exegetical material as evidence that Canterburian literalism may have influenced Bede.[104] O'Brien dismisses the Canterbury texts on the basis of a definition that is not necessarily fitting. The texts are far more sophisticated than his study implies, regardless of their seemingly simplistic composition.

The present thesis will refer to the Canterbury texts exclusively as 'glosses' since this categorisation best describes their format. The vast majority of the Canterbury glosses are brief sentences (occasionally paragraphs) that elucidate specific words or passages from the Bible. They cannot be undertood without the original text (the Bible) to hand. This marks them out from the freestanding

---

[103] M. Stansbury, 'Irish Biblical Exegesis', in R. Flechner & S. Meeder (eds), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London: Palgrave, 2016), 116-130 (p. 116-117).
[104] O'Brien, *Bede's Temple*, pp. 30-31.

commentaries favoured by Bede, which comment on pre-existing texts but are also comprehensible in their own right.[105] Taken as a whole, therefore, the Canterbury glosses form a *glossae collectae*, but their designation as such should not denote theological simplicity.

Historians find it difficult to detach themselves from the modern terms 'gloss' and 'commentary', which have rigid parameters today but which lacked 'precise or consistent' meaning in the medieval period.[106] Copeland explains that medieval exegesis took many forms ('*enarrationes*, *tractatus* and t*ractatulus*, *expositio*, *explanatio*, *adnotatio*, *interpretationes*, *opus*, and *postilla*'), techniques from which were used interchangeably.[107] Although the Canterbury School used glosses to preserve its teaching materials, we should not extrapolate from this that its educational output was rudimentary. Canterbury's students engaged with a challenging and multifaceted curriculum that will be highlighted in the subsequent thesis.

[105] Copeland, 'Gloss and Commentary' [accessed 15 June 2018].
[106] *Oxford Dictionaries* defines 'gloss[2.1]' as 'a translation or explanation of a word or phrase' and 'commentary[1.2]' as 'a set of explanatory or critical notes on a text'. *Oxford Dictionaries*, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/gloss and https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/commentary [accessed 15 June 2018]; Copeland, 'Gloss and Commentary' [accessed 15 June 2018].
[107] Copeland, 'Gloss and Commentary' [accessed 15 June 2018].

Chapter 1: Canterbury's Scholarly Output: An Overview

Surprisingly for a school of such magnitude, the Canterbury School has few surviving works. Theodore (*c*. 602–690) has been associated with a number of texts (which will be outlined more fully below), yet only three of these—a letter to King Æthelred of Mercia (*d*. after 704), a poem written for Bishop Hædde of Winchester (*d*. 705/6), and the *acta* of the Council of Hertford (672)—can be definitively attributed to Theodore. Hadrian (*c*. 630x37–709) is not known to have produced any works of his own and so his character can only be perceived through the writings of others, including his famous student Aldhelm (*d*. 709/10).

Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury (later bishop of Sherborne), is the most celebrated of Canterbury's pupils. It is not clear how long he studied at Canterbury, but his presence at the School is attested in two letters already mentioned (see, pp. 13-4). In one of these letters, Aldhelm celebrates the 'intimate fellowship' (*sodali contubernio*) that existed between himself and Hadrian, implying that Hadrian was his main teacher at Canterbury.[1] Aldhelm was a prolific writer and his works undoubtedly reflect much of what he learnt at Canterbury. However, mining such works for information about the Canterbury School is highly problematic. Aldhelm was probably taught by an Irish

[1] Lapidge, 'Aldhelm' [accessed 28 June 2018]; Aldhelm, *Letter to Hadrian*, pp. 478-9*;* Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm,* pp. 153-4.

master before commencing his studies at Canterbury.[2] This makes it difficult to determine which aspects of his literary output are shaped by Ireland, which are shaped by Canterbury, and which are original to Aldhelm. A comparison of Aldhelm's works with other texts known to derive from Canterbury would greatly benefit future scholarship. Yet such a monumental task would fill an entire thesis of its own. Since the present thesis centres on the Canterbury glosses, Aldhelm's works will not be treated in detail but will be cited only when they serve to illuminate the Canterbury glosses.

Excluding Aldhelm's many prose and verse writings, the Canterbury School has been linked to eight major texts (or groups of texts) that still survive today. Several are ascribed to Theodore himself, but the vast majority stem from the *viva voce* teaching conducted by Theodore and Hadrian in Canterbury's classrooms. Stevenson has likened Theodore (and, by extension, Hadrian) to 'a lecturer who seldom had time to work his notes up into a book'.[3] The Canterbury masters' focus on teaching rather than personal study tells us much about their aspirations for Anglo-Saxon England. They were committed to improving the spiritual erudition of the English and recognised that educational vigour was needed to strengthen Christianity's hold in Britain.

WORKS KNOWN TO BE AUTHORED BY THEODORE

THE LETTER TO KING ÆTHELRED

In his administrative role as archbishop, Theodore must have produced a large number of letters. Historians are aware of his correspondence with at least four individuals: Pope Agatho (*d*. 681); King Æthelred; King Aldfrith of Northumbria (*d*. 704/5); and Abbess Ælfflæd of Whitby (654–714).[4] Yet only one of Theodore's letters (a missive sent

[2] Lapidge, 'Aldhelm', [accessed 28 June 2018].
[3] Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus'*, p. 12.
[4] Theodore's correspondence with Agatho is attested in *LOW* 29. He is also described as having sent letters to Aldfrith and Ælfflæd in *LOW* 43. Theodore is also likely to have corresponded with Pope Vitalian (d. 672) and we have a potential letter from Vitalian to Theodore (dating to *c*. 668) that would seem to confirm this. However, this letter is of questionable authenticity: Vitalian,

to Æthelred) survives today. This letter, which is preserved in Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid*, records Theodore's reconciliation with Wilfrid (*c*. 634–709/10), bishop of Hexham and sometime bishop of York.[5] Theodore had stripped Wilfrid of episcopal power during the 670s but reconsidered his treatment of the former bishop in the 680s. Stephen reports that Theodore even named Wilfrid as his successor to the archbishopric of Canterbury.[6] Stephen's claims cannot be verified but the letter he records is fascinating, albeit of limited usefulness for understanding the Canterbury School. It portrays Theodore as a man deeply sympathetic to the needs of the English Church and intent on securing its future. This portrait of Theodore is helpful, as we shall see, when determining the purpose of the Canterbury glosses.

OCTOSYLLABIC VERSE

A tenth-century manuscript held at the Parker Library in Cambridge preserves the only copy of a small poem addressed to a man named Hædde, whom Theodore had appointed bishop of Winchester in *c*. 676.[7] The poem, which is written by Theodore in the first-person, requests that Hædde remember Theodore in his prayers. The text has been dated to sometime between 676 and 690, making it one of the earliest surviving poems from Anglo-Saxon England.[8]

Letter to Theodore, in A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (eds), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), vol. 3, pp. 116-7.

[5] A. Thacker, 'Wilfrid [St Wilfrid] (c.634–709/10)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29409 [accessed 29 June 2018].

[6] *LOW*, 43, p. 152.

[7] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 320. The manuscript can be viewed online at: https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/mt087kd8953; *EH*, 4.12; B. Yorke, 'Hædde [St Hædde, Heddi] (d. 705/6), bishop of Winchester', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12858 [accessed 29 June 2018].

[8] M. Lapidge, 'Theodore and Anglo-Latin Octosyllabic Verse', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 260-1; The only known Anglo-Latin poems dating to the same period as Theodore's octosyllabic text are those composed by Lutting of Lindisfarne in the 680s. In a recent article, Lapidge describes Lutting as the 'earliest Anglo-Latin poet'. Yet he notes that 'such a claim cannot be proved absolutely' since Theodore's poetic endeavours may be earlier than Lutting's. M. Lapidge, 'The Earliest Anglo-Latin Poet: Lutting of Lindisfarne', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 42 (2013), 1-26 (pp. 19-20).

Te nunc, sancte speculator,	You, now, holy bishop,
uerbi Dei digne dator,	worthy giver of the Word of God,
Hæddi, pie praesul, precor	Hædde, holy prelate, I beseech you,
pontificum ditum decor:	the glory of powerful pontiffs:
pro me tuo peregrino	for me, your foreign visitor,
preces funde Theodoro.	pour out prayers for Theodore.[9]

This intimate poem hints at a close friendship between Hædde and Theodore. It also shows that Theodore was a skilled poet who may have impacted Aldhelm's poetic prowess. Aldhelm's *Rhyming Song* employs the same poetic structure as Theodore's poem (each line is restricted to eight syllables) and it is possible that Theodore's engagement with octosyllabic verse influenced Aldhelm's interest in the style.[10] Aldhelm follows the Latin tradition, cultivated by Ambrose (*d*. 397), of ending each line with a trisyllabic word, whereas Theodore is unusual for ending some lines with bisyllabic words. Theodore seems to have based his style on Greek poetic models and so his influence over Aldhelm's verse should not be overstated.[11]

The irregular style of Theodore's poem has fuelled speculation that he may have also composed three anonymous poems found in a ninth-century manuscript known as the 'Book of Cerne' (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll. 1. 10, 62v, 66r-v and 66v).[12] These poems—'Heloi Heloi Domine mi', 'Sancte sator suffragator' and 'Christum peto Christum preco'—frequently employ bisyllabic line endings such as those used in the poem to Hædde. Added to this, they each contain a plethora of Greek words.[13] It is highly

[9] Latin text and (slightly modified) translation from *ibid.*, p. 275.
[10] Aldhelm, *Rhyming Song* (*Carmen rhythmicum*); Latin text and English translation from D. R. Howlett, 'Aldhelmi Carmen Rhythmicum', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 53 (1995), 119-40.
[11] Lapidge, 'Theodore and Anglo-Latin Octosyllabic Verse', pp. 261-73.
[12] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 188; M. Gretsch and H. Gneuss, 'Anglo-Saxon Glosses to a Theodorean Poem?', in K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard (eds), *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2005). Michelle Brown convincingly argues that the Book of Cerne was produced in central or westem Mercia, *c*. 820x840. M. P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (London: British Library; Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
[13] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 188.

plausible, therefore, that Theodore penned the three Cerne poems. Yet such a claim is impossible to prove.

ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS

Theodore made a significant contribution to Anglo-Saxon England through his endorsement of synods. As Catherine Cubitt has shown, Theodore used the councils of Hertford (672) and Hatfield (679) to implement ecclesiastical reform and ensure uniformity of worship across the English kingdoms.[14] One of Theodore's main concerns was to consolidate the multifarious Christian groups operating in seventh-century England. These included: descendants of the Augustinian mission of 597; missionaries from Iona who had been invited to Northumbria by the evangelising King Oswald (*c*. 603/4–642); Frankish clerics promulgating Christianity in Wessex and East Anglia; and residual communities of Romano-British Christians.[15]

At the first known synod of his archiepiscopacy (the Council of Hertford of 672), Theodore personally dictated a series of rules that helped to unite England's discordant Christian factions. The *acta* of the council recount that Theodore, perceiving 'the need to preserve charity and unity in the Church', presented a book of canons to the assembled bishops and asked them to read and assent to ten of its chapters that were of particular significance to the needs of the English Church.[16] The identity of this book is unknown, but Lapidge speculates that it was a copy of the second recension of a collection of canon law compiled by Dionysius Exiguus (*fl*. 525).[17]

Theodore, who had travelled throughout the Byzantine Empire (including Constantinople and Rome) before arriving in England, would have been influenced by

[14] Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, pp. 8-9, 20-21.
[15] *Ibid*., pp. 10-11.
[16] *EH*, 4.5.
[17] Lapidge, 'Theodore of Tarsus' [accessed 15 January 2016].

the growing interest in canon law that gripped sixth-century Christendom.[18] This interest had been sparked by the 'Gelasian Renaissance', the period spanning the papacies of Pope Gelasius I (*d*. 496) and Pope Hormisdas (*d*. 523) which saw a flourishing of juridical activity and the standardisation of ecclesiastical bureaucracy.[19] Martin Brett argues that Theodore probably came into contact with a range of canonical texts during his journey from Rome to England since he travelled through Arles, Lyon and Paris, centres heavily involved in the collection of canonical material during the mid-600s.[20] Furthermore, Michael Elliot has shown that Theodore encouraged the study of Italian canon law collections at Canterbury.[21]

It is clear from the Council of Hertford that Theodore played a pivotal role in spreading knowledge of canon law to English audiences. It was under his leadership that clerics from across England first agreed to adhere to a cohesive law code. For this reason, the *acta* of the Council of Hertford (and those of the Council of Hatfield, which are not personally authored by Theodore but are heavily influenced by him) are an important witness to Theodore's scholarly interests and his dedication to the plight of the English Church.

---

[18] M. Brett, 'Theodore and the Latin Canon Law', in *Archbishop Theodore*, p. 121.
[19] M. M. Schaefer, *Women in Pastoral Office: The Story of Santa Prassede, Rome* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 210; Catholic University of America (eds), *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn., 15 vols (Detroit; London: Gale, in association with the Catholic University of America, 2003), vol. 3, p. 39. On Theodore's life before 667 see *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 5-64 and Lapidge 'The career of Archbishop Theodore'.
[20] Brett, 'Theodore and the Latin Canon Law', pp. 123-4.
[21] M. Elliot, 'Canon Law Collections in England ca 600–1066: The Manuscript Evidence' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2013), pp. 204-70; M. Elliot, 'New Evidence for the Influence of Gallic Canon Law in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64: 4 (2013), 700–730 (pp. 706-7).

WORKS POTENTIALLY AUTHORED BY THEODORE

THE *LATERCULUS MALALIANUS*

The *Laterculus Malalianus* (literally translated as 'chronicle connected with John Malalas') is a short computistical text that charts the events of the gospels. It is based on a world-chronicle (the *Chronographia*) produced by the Greek rhetor John Malalas (*d*. 578).[22] The text was originally thought to be of Roman provenance since its earliest manuscript witness derives from eighth-century Rome.[23] Yet in 1995 Stevenson outlined fascinating evidence to suggest that the *Laterculus* was created at Canterbury, possibly by Theodore himself. Her reasons for locating the text at Canterbury can be summarised as follows: the author of the *Laterculus* had excellent knowledge of the Greek language; (s)he also had a good understanding of Greek patristics but a limited awareness of Latin sources; the few Latin sources cited by the author are believed to have resided in Canterbury's library; two passages in the *Laterculus* suggest that the author had read Gildas' *On the Ruin of Britain*, which was little-known beyond Insular academic circles; manuscript evidence suggests that the text was copied from an Insular exemplar; the text was transmitted (in the Roman manuscript) alongside two Hiberno-Latin computistical and exegetical works; the *Laterculus* is disparaging towards Irish scholarship, recalling Aldhelm's denunciation of Irish scholars as 'a snarling pack of hounds' in his letter to Heahfrith; and, finally, the *Laterculus* demonstrates considerable overlap with the Canterbury glosses, especially in regards to its 'Antiochene exegetical tendencies'.[24]

All of this certainly points towards Canterbury as a possible point of origin for the *Laterculus*, but the attribution is not certain. The *Laterculus* could have been

[22] Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus'*, pp. 1-2.
[23] This manuscript is: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 277; J. Stevenson, 'Theodore and the Laterculus Malalianus', in *Archbishop Theodore*.
[24] Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus'*, pp. 8-13; Aldhelm, *Letter to Heahfrith*, p. 45.

produced by any Insular scholar with a distaste for Irish learning and access to a substantial library. Stevenson speculates that Theodore himself may have authored the text. She notes that the *Laterculus* discusses subjects thought to have interested Theodore, including Greek medicine, penitential literature, and Roman law.[25] Added to this, the author of the *Laterculus* is familiar with Roman geography, suggesting that (s)he had spent time in the city. In particular, the author mentions a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which Stevenson equates with the Basilica di Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Since this basilica was built in the second half of the seventh century, Stevenson conjectures that the author had been in Rome sometime between 650 and 700.[26] Theodore was, of course, living in Rome during the 660s, but he was by no means the only Insular scholar to inhabit the city at this time. We know of at least three influential Anglo-Saxons who travelled to Rome between 650 and 700: Benedict Biscop (*c*. 628–689), Wilfrid and Aldhelm.

Stevenson admits that her reasons for attributing the *Laterculus* to Theodore are 'essentially circumstantial' and her arguments have been questioned by peers.[27] Benedicta Ward cautions that 'it is tempting but perhaps premature to assume for this work the definite link with Canterbury'.[28] Ward contests Stevenson's claim that the *Laterculus* is 'Antiochene' in style, stating that the work contains no more literalism than any other commentary of its time.[29] Similarly, Michael Winterbottom disagrees that the *Laterculus* demonstrates proficiency in Latin and Greek.[30] He also states that the

[25] Lapidge inferred that these subjects interested Theodore by analysing scholarly concerns discernible in the Canterbury glosses and other supposed Theodoran works. M Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), 45-72; Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus'*, p. 13.
[26] Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus'*, pp. 8-9.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[28] Ward, review of Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus'*, p. 723.
[29] *Ibid*., p. 724.
[30] 'The man can barely write Latin ('unde circumcisio Christi omnes legis ira cessauit' is a typical clause); it hardly appears from the hash he makes of a prophecy cited in Malalas (130) that he was very good at Greek […]'. M. Winterbottom, review of Jane Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (1995), *Notes and Queries*, 43:4 (1996), 457–459 (p. 457).

Laterculus 'could [not] be more unlike the tone and method of the Bischoff-Lapidge commentaries' and that the palaeographical argument for an Insular origin is decidedly flawed.[31] In short, the *Laterculus*' origins remain obscure and scholars should be wary of viewing it as a Theodoran work.

THE *PASSIO SANCTI ANASTASII*

St. Anastasius (*d*. 628) was a monk and martyr from seventh-century Persia. He was originally named Magundat but changed his name to Anastasius (from the Greek ἀνάστασις (anastasis), 'resurrection') after converting to Christianity. Before adopting Christianity, Anastasius had been a horseman in the Persian army and he perceived it as his Christian duty to convert his former comrades. But his missionary activity was cut short when he was captured and murdered by followers of Zoroastrianism, the dominant religion of his homeland.[32] After his death, the cult of Anastasius quickly spread across Christendom and, by 650, a monastery in Rome located—according to the *acta* of the Lateran Synod (649)—*ad aquas Saluias* ('at the Salvian springs') claimed to be the caretakers of Anastasius' head.[33] The monastery soon came to be known as 'St. Anastasius at the Salvian springs' in honour of this prized relic.[34]

Historians have speculated that Theodore may have dwelt at the monastery of St. Anastasius during his time in Rome. The community there consisted primarily of Cilician monks and since Bede reports that Theodore was a native of Cilicia it is not unreasonable to suppose that Theodore chose to live amongst his countrymen.[35] This hypothesis is potentially strengthened by the fact that the cult of Anastasius had reached

---

[31] *Ibid*.
[32] E. M. Beretz, 'Anastasius the Persian', in P. G Jestice (ed.), *Holy People of the World: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia: Volume 1, Entries A-G*, 3 vols (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), vol. 1, p. 50.
[33] C. Vircillo Franklin, 'Theodore and the *Passio S. Anastasii*', in *Archbishop Theodore*, p. 175.
[34] Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes*, p. 206; Vircillo Franklin, 'Theodore and the *Passio S. Anastasii*', p. 179.
[35] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 66-8.

England by the early eighth century, at which time Bede acquired and revised a Latin copy of the *passio* of Anastasius.[36] Carmela Vircillo Franklin proposes that the version of the *Passio S. Anastasii* used by Bede was brought to England by Theodore in 669.[37] She believes that the text Theodore transmitted is that preserved in a manuscript known as Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F. III. 16 (Bobbio, s. x), fols. 14-23. This text is referred to as '*BHL*, no. 410b' because of its similarity to two other *Lives* of Anastasius that are numbered 408 and 410 in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*.[38] *BHL*, no. 410b is a highly literal translation of an earlier Greek *passio* (*BHG*, no. 84), which was written in Jerusalem in *c*. 630 and is the earliest *passio* commemorating the martyrdom of Anastasius.[39] The supposition, therefore, is that Theodore gained a Latin translation of this original Greek *passio* whilst living at the monastery of St. Anastasius in Rome. He transported it to Canterbury where it eventually found its way into Bede's hands and was described by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* as 'a book on the life and passion of St. Anastasius which was badly translated from the Greek by some ignorant person'.[40]

The above theory is necessarily speculative and depends heavily on the notion that Theodore belonged to the community *ad aquas Saluias*, which is by no means certain. However, Theodore does seem, as Lapidge remarks, 'the most likely agent for transmission of the *Passio S. Anastasii* (*BHL*, no. 410b) from Rome to England'.[41] His background in Greek scholarship gives him a stronger connection to the *passio* than someone like Benedict Biscop, whose Greek credentials are hard to determine.[42] Added to this, Vircillo Franklin has shown that Aldhelm's *On Virginity* is based on material that seems to be linked to the transmission of *BHL*, no. 410b. She believes that Aldhelm used

---

[36] Thacker believes that Bede had produced his revised version of the *passio* of Anastasius by c. 721. A. Thacker, 'Bede and History', in *CCB*, pp. 170-1; *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 183-4.
[37] '[…] the *Passio S. Anastasii* was almost certainly brought to England by Theodore […]'. Vircillo Franklin, 'Theodore and the *Passio S. Anastasii*', p. 183.
[38] Vircillo Franklin, 'Theodore and the *Passio S. Anastasii*', pp. 181-2.
[39] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 183.
[40] *EH*, 5.24.
[41] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 184.
[42] Siemens, *The Christology of Theodore of Tarsus*, pp. 30-1.

a lost *passio* of the saints Victoria and Anatolia which, in turn, spawned the conjoined *passiones* of Victoria and Anatolia preserved in the same Turin manuscript that contains *BHL*, no. 410b.[43] It is possible, therefore, that Theodore transported the *Lives* of Anastasius, Victoria and Anatolia from Rome to Canterbury in one codex. These texts were studied by Aldhelm at Canterbury and then continued to be circulated as a unit by Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the eighth century. The texts eventually made their way to northern Italy where they were copied into the Turin manuscript.

Vircillo Franklin makes a compelling case for the *Passio S. Anastasii*'s presence at Canterbury. However, her claim that Theodore himself may have authored the text is harder to countenance. Vircillo Franklin notes that the *passio*'s author was more proficient in Greek than in Latin. For instance, (s)he had limited understanding of Latin intransitive verbs and frequently used the wrong Latin case endings in an attempt to stay faithful to the original Greek text (i.e. '*missas factas*' should be genitive but the s-ending is appropriated from the corresponding Greek phrase, συνάξεως γενομένης).[44] Vircillo Franklin argues that Theodore's 'Greek intellectual orientation, and his disregard—even ignorance—of Latin' is attested in the Canterbury glosses and *Laterculus Malalianus*. Since a similar disregard for Latin is found in the *passio*, Vircillo Franklin suggests that Theodore is the text's most likely author.[45]

Unfortunately, this theory is based on unsubstantiated evidence. As we have seen, the *Laterculus*' provenance is unclear and so it should not be used as evidence for the *Passio S. Anastasii*'s origins. Moreover, the Greek orientation of the Canterbury glosses has (as the present thesis will prove) been greatly overstated in previous scholarship. A thorough re-assessment of the glosses shows that Canterbury was less devoted to Greek tradition than has often been asserted. Most damaging of all for Vircillo Franklin's argument is the fact that the Canterbury glosses were not authored by

[43] Vircillo Franklin, 'Theodore and the *Passio S. Anastasii*', pp. 187-91.
[44] *Ibid*., pp. 192-3.
[45] *Ibid*., p. 203.

Theodore. They are second-hand reports of Theodore's teaching and do not accurately reflect his linguistic prowess. It is clear from Theodore's octosyllabic poem to Hædde that the archbishop had excellent command of the Latin language. It seems unfair, therefore, to charge him with the authorship of a work that engendered such condemnation from Bede. A possible explanation is that the *Passio S. Anastasii* was authored by a student at Canterbury whose Latin skills had yet to be refined. Bede writes that the School taught both Greek and Latin, but there is no way of knowing if students learnt the two languages concurrently or at different stages in their studies.[46] The prevailing evidence suggests that Theodore was involved, in some way, in the transmission of the cult of St. Anastasius to England. But as to his authorship of *BHL*, no. 410b, nothing can be concluded with certainty.

WORKS INFLUENCED BY THEODORE AND HADRIAN

PENITENTIAL LITERATURE

Of all the fields of literature known to have interested Theodore, none has been linked to him more fervently than the penitential. Theodore has been associated with numerous penitential texts, the earliest of which dates to a generation after his death. Yet Theodore himself is not known to have produced any works on penance and so his views on the subject are handed down to us as second- or third-person accounts of his teaching. As Thomas Charles-Edwards observes, this makes it difficult to determine 'Theodore's own standpoint on the practice of penance'.[47] The two best-known of the so-called 'Theodoran penitential texts' are the *Iudicia Theodori* (also known as the *Canones Theodori*, or *Capitula Dacheriana*) and a work authored by an anonymous *discipulus*

[46] *EH*, 4.2.
[47] T. Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', in *Archbishop Theodore*, p. 143.

Umbrensium ('disciple of the Northumbrians'), the text of which is often referred to as the *Poenitentiale Theodori*.[48]

The *Iudicia* is the earliest of all Theodoran penitential texts, dating to sometime before 725.[49] It consists of two parts: the first is a penitential in the traditional sense (in other words, it is a handbook listing sins and their respective punishments); the second is a collection of canon law.[50] The most extensive surviving version of the *Iudicia* (known as the 'U-Recension') was compiled by a man named Eoda about whom nothing is known.[51] Lapidge has speculated that Eoda was probably a student of Theodore, but this cannot be ascertained with certainty.[52] Eoda's compilation was rearranged by the *discipulus Umbrensium* to form the *Poenitentiale Theodori*. The prologue to the *Poenitentiale Theodori* states that the *discipulus Umbrensium* collected his material based on answers given by Theodore to various questions about penance. These answers, it continues, were originally gathered together by Eoda.[53] Thus, the *Poenitentiale Theodori* and *Iudicia Theodori* are intrinsically linked and this has often caused scholars to conflate the two works.

The Theodoran penitential texts have a highly complex transmission history. Even the *discipulus Umbrensium*, operating in the first half of the eighth century, observed that conflicting accounts of Theodore's penitential teachings were already circulating in Anglo-Saxon England.[54] In the thousand or so years that have passed since the *discipulus*' comments, the waters have been muddied further. This makes it

---

[48] *Ibid*., p. 141-2; R. D. Fulk and C. M. Cain, *A History of Old English Literature* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 125.
[49] The *Iudicia Theodori* is considered to be the source for the A-Recension of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, which was produced sometime before 725. Therefore, the *Iudicia Theodori* has 'the earliest terminus ante quem of all the Theodoran penitential literature'. *Ibid*., pp. 141-2.
[50] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 150.
[51] Lapidge advises that 'the standard edition of all the various recensions of Theodore's *iudicia* is that by P. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Uberlieferungs/ormen* (Weimar, 1929). Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', p. 48, n. 17.
[52] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 150-1; Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', p. 48.
[53] Fulk and Cain, *A History of Old English Literature*, p. 125.
[54] R. Flechner, 'The Making of the Canons of Theodore', *Peritia* (2003–04), 121–43 (p. 126).

extremely difficult to pinpoint Theodore's original views on penance.[55] Roy Flechner has made a courageous attempt to disentangle the penitential texts' confusing transmission history but admits that 'Theodore's views were sometimes obscured in the works of later interpreters for whom Theodore's name might have been more important than his actual sayings'.[56] While the penitential corpus associated with Theodore is endlessly fascinating, the information it yields concerning Theodore's opinions must be treated with caution.

THE CANTERBURY GLOSSES AND LEIDEN-FAMILY GLOSSES

Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge made an influential contribution to early medieval studies with the publication of their 1994 monograph, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School*. This work, which contains transcriptions and English translations of three biblical glossaries, has revolutionised knowledge of the Canterbury School and its two overseers. Yet, the glossaries included in Bischoff and Lapidge's edition (which will hereafter to be referred to as '*Biblical Commentaries*') are only a small segment of a vast collection of exegetical material that originates from Canterbury. The corpus as a whole can be roughly divided into two categories; the first is a series of *glossae collectae* associated with the Leiden Glossary, while the second is a group of glossaries attested, in their fullest form, in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M.79 sup. (hereafter 'M[1]'), fols. 59v–125v. The present thesis will (for reasons outlined below) refer to the first group as the 'Leiden-Family glosses' and the second as the 'Canterbury glosses'.

[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid*., p. 139.

The Leiden-Family Glosses

During the 1980s, Lapidge's research brought him into contact with the Leiden Glossary, a *glossae collectae* preserved in a manuscript from late eighth- or early ninth-century St. Gallen.[57] Whilst analysing this text, he noted that the glossary makes frequent use of Greek and Old English words and contains various *nominatim* attributions to Theodore and Hadrian. For instance, one of its glosses gives the following explanation of *cinyris* ('harps'):

> *Cyneris: nablis idest citharis longiores quam psalterium nam psalterium triangulum fit theodorus dixit.*[58]
>
> Harps: are *nabla*, that is, citharas longer than a psaltery, for a psaltery is triangular. Theodore said so.

In another gloss, Abbot Hadrian is cited as having clarified the biblical expression '*stipate me malis quia amore langueo*' (Song of Songs 2.5), 'compass me about with apples (*malis*) because I languish with love'. Hadrian's students recount that he understood *malis* to mean 'evils' and *stipate* to mean 'hold in check':

> *Stipate. stringite Adrianus dicit .i. remissionem peccatorum per baptismum. Domum uini ecclesiam dicit.*[59]
>
> Compass: 'Hold in check, said Hadrian, that is, the remission of sins through baptism. He also says that the house of wine (*cellam uinariam*: Song of Songs 2.4) represents the Church.

[57] The manuscript containing the Leiden Glossary is known as: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. Q. 69.
[58] '*Cyneris*' (or '*cinyris*') appears in Ecclesiasticus 39.20; J. H. Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of the Leiden University* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), p. 13; Latin text and English translation from *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 177.
[59] Latin text and English translation from *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 177.

Lapidge concluded that the Leiden Glossary must be a product of the seventh-century Canterbury School.[60]

In 1986, Lapidge coined the term 'Leiden Family' to denote a collection of biblical commentaries which derive—both directly and indirectly—from a corpus of glossaries that no longer survives (see Appendix III, Table B, pp. 189-90). This lost ancestral corpus, which is best represented in the Leiden Glossary, originated in late seventh- to early eighth-century Canterbury and was transmitted to the Continent sometime during or immediately after Theodore's archiepiscopacy.[61] After spreading to Anglo-Saxon missionary centres in Europe, the texts were copied and altered over time to such an extent that many have become unrecognisable from their original form.[62]

Rosamond McKitterick has argued that the original collection of glosses which spawned the Leiden Family may have originated in St Gallen, not Canterbury.[63] She points out that many of the texts cited in the Leiden Glossary were available at St Gallen at the turn of the eighth century.[64] She also notes that verbs such as '*dixit*' and '*ait*' are commonly used to introduce textual citations. This means that the reference '*Theodorus dixit*' may indicate that the scribe was simply citing a text written by or relating to Theodore. It should not, therefore, be taken as proof that the Leiden Glossary preserves the *viva voce* teaching of Theodore's Canterbury School.[65]

Lapidge strongly contested her arguments in a recent review article. After systematically evaluating the manuscripts she names as possible sources for the Leiden

---

[60] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. vii-viii.
[61] Lapidge, '*The School of Theodore and Hadrian*', pp. 57-8; p. 67.
[62] *Ibid*., p. 57.
[63] R. McKitterick, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production', in E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick & R. Thomson (eds), *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Manuscript* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), pp. 60-8.
[64] 'Certainly there is a remarkable correspondence between the texts excerpted for the *glossae collectae* and the manuscripts containing these very texts actually written, or known to have been, at St Gallen in the late eighth or early ninth century': McKitterick, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations', p. 63.
[65] *Ibid*., pp. 60-1.

Glossary, Lapidge concluded that these could not possibly have provided the *lemmata* included in the Leiden Glossary due to 'discrepancies in spelling and declension'.[66] For instance, the *lemmata* given in the Leiden Glossary's commentary on the Book of Isaiah are spelt very differently from those given in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 40 (the supposed exemplar): the Leiden Glossary provides '*teristra*' (Isaiah 3.23), '*Tabahel*' (Isaiah 7.6) and '*runtina*' (Isaiah 44.13), whereas St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 40 gives '*theristra*', '*Tabeel*' and '*runcina*' respectively.[67] Lapidge also noted that four texts appear in the Leiden Glossary 'which are not attested in manuscripts written or owned at St Gallen c. 800' but which seem to have been studied a century earlier' at Canterbury.[68] The texts in question are: the anonymous *Vita S. Eugeniae*; Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones* (trans. Rufinus); Gildas, *On the Ruin of Britain*; and Phocas, *Ars de nomine et verbo.* Each of these is paraphrased or quoted verbatim at some point or other in the works of Aldhelm. Since Aldhelm studied at Canterbury, it is possible that he gained knowledge of these texts while based at the School.[69] Neither McKitterick's nor Lapidge's studies have conclusively proven that the glosses which inform the Leiden Glossary were originally written in St Gallen or Canterbury. Yet both scholars agree that the Leiden Glossary is the nearest surviving descendent of this original collection. Thus, the term 'Leiden Family' is now loosely associated with all biblical glosses connected to this manuscript.

One piece of evidence that seems to favour Lapidge's theory is the fact that much of the Leiden Glossary is paralleled in the Canterbury glosses, which have generally been accepted as Canterburian works. A series of glosses found in Leiden Glossary folios 39r-v correspond almost verbatim to biblical glosses in M^1, which Lapidge has labelled '*Gn-*

[66] M. Lapidge, 'St Gallen and the "Leiden Glossary"', *Anglia* 133: 4 (2015), 624–655, p. 628.
[67] *Ibid*., p. 630.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 644.
[69] *Ibid*., pp. 644-8.

Ex-EvIa'.[70] These matching glosses discuss several Greek customs (such as the Greek tendency to fast for forty days after Pentecost) and employ Greek terminology, hinting strongly at the influence of Theodore and Hadrian's teaching.[71]

The Canterbury Glosses

As we have seen, the exegetical texts which this thesis terms the 'Canterbury glosses' were initially uncovered by Bischoff during a visit to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in 1936. They are preserved in a number of extant manuscripts (see Appendix III, Table A, pp. 188-9) but the most complete and best-known of these is M[1], which dates to the late eleventh century and is thought to have been compiled in Piacenza, Italy by two principle scribes working in tandem.[72] It contains an eclectic range of texts, from Gregory the Great's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (fols. 11r-17r) to a treatise on 'Greek numbers and letters' (fols. 25v-26r).[73] The manuscript consists of 254 folios in total. Bischoff and Lapidge surmised that its original binding must have suffered from rot, since the outer leaves of several quires have decayed on their inner fold. It was rebound in 1953, at the abbey of Grottaferrata, near Rome, and was refoliated at this time.[74] The complete contents of the manuscript are listed according to this new foliation in Bischoff and Lapidge's book.[75]

The work containing the Canterbury glosses is known as *Libellus glossarum ueteris ac noui testamenti* ('The glosses of the Old and New Testament') and spans folios 59v–125v. This work can be divided into two sections: 'Part A', which covers folios 59v-92v; and 'Part B', which encompasses folios 92v-125v. Bischoff and Lapidge believed

[70] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 545-8.
[71] *Ibid*., pp. 387-95.
[72] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup.; *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 275, 277-84.
[73] The eighteenth-century table of contents to M[1] describes the treatise on Greek numbers and letters as: '*De grecis litteris cum diptongis ac numeris suis*'; *Ibid*., pp. 278-82.
[74] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 276.
[75] *Ibid*., pp. 278-83.

that Part A of the *Libellus glossarum* originally consisted of seven separate biblical glossaries, to which they assigned the following names (see Appendix I, p. 185, for a comprehensive itemisation of the *Libellus glossarum* as given in M[1]):

1. *First Commentary on the Pentateuch* (*PentI*)
2. *Second Commentary on the Pentateuch* (*PentII*)
3. *Third Commentary on the Pentateuch* (*PentIII*)
4. *Glosses to the remaining books of the Old Testament* (*OT glosses*)
5. *First Commentary on the Gospels* (*EvI*)
6. *Second Commentary on the Gospels* (*EvII*)
7. *Supplementary Commentary on Genesis, Exodus and the Gospels* (*Gn-Ex-EvIa*)

Since many of these texts correspond to one another in terms of content and exegetical method, Bischoff and Lapidge felt they could be divided into four distinct sets. The reasoning behind this decision is only discussed very briefly in chapter seven of *Biblical Commentaries* and scholars would benefit from a much fuller explanation of the interrelationships between these texts.[76] In the meantime, however, scholars must rely on Bischoff and Lapidge's judgement that the glosses derive from the following four collections:[77]

1. *PentI* + *EvII*
2. *Gen-Ex-EvIa*
3. *PentII* + *OT glosses* + *EvI*
4. *PentIII*[78]

[76] Only one paragraph is devoted to this task in *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 286.
[77] See Appendix I, p. 185, for a more detailed explanation of these sets.
[78] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 286.

These four initial sets were, according to Bischoff and Lapidge, rearranged by the compilers of M^1 to form one collection of glosses (see Appendix I). Thus, four different perspectives on Genesis were merged together, as were three on Exodus, three on Leviticus, three on Numbers, and three on Deuteronomy. These were followed by two amalgamated interpretations of the Gospels and one interpretation of the books of Joshua to Nehemiah.

Sets 1 and 2 are transcribed and translated in Bischoff and Lapidge's *Biblical Commentaries* and are accompanied by an extensive critical apparatus. Sets 3 and 4, however, were not edited until 2004, when Paolo Vaciago included them in his two-volume contribution to the *Corpus Christianorum* series: *Glossae Biblicae*.[79] Vaciago's transcription of the two remaining sets is not accompanied by any critical material. Such material is to be included in two forthcoming volumes entitled *Prolegomena* and *Index glossarum*. *Prolegomena* will discuss many of the manuscripts associated with the Canterbury glosses and should further scholarly understandings of the interrelationships between the seven Canterbury texts. *Index glossarum*, on the other hand, will form a useful tool for easily identifying differing interpretations of specific biblical passages. It will also give an overview of the source material used by the original glossators.[80] The expected publication dates for these two volumes have yet to be announced.

Together, the work of Bischoff, Lapidge and Vaciago has provided a complete transcription of the *Libellus glossarum* as it appears in M^1 (see Appendix II, pp. 186-7, for a full explanation of the folios transcribed in each monograph). Bischoff and Lapidge's work also includes transcriptions of six additional manuscript witnesses to *PentI*, *EvII* and *Gen-Ex-EvIa*.[81] These are provided without English translations. Similarly, Vaciago's

[79] P. Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars I*, CCCM, vol. 189A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); and P. Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars II*, CCCM, vol. 189B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).
[80] Vaciago, *Glossae biblicae: Pars I*, p. v.
[81] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 533-560.

Glossae Biblicae provides a range of supplementary material which complements M[1]. Volume 1 transcribes five manuscripts relating to *PentIII* while volume 2 contains, among other things, a full transcription of the Leiden Glossary.[82] Once again, these texts are given without accompanying English translations.

When Vaciago published his book in 2004, he decided to assign his own titles to each of the Canterbury texts rather than use the ones appointed by Bischoff and Lapidge. This creates some confusion for anyone studying the Canterbury glosses, since the two sets of titles do not perfectly correlate. This thesis will employ Bischoff and Lapidge's terminology, which is more widely understood than Vaciago's. However, it will use Vaciago's terminology when citing Canterbury glosses that are only transcribed in his edition. Vaciago's titles are outlined in fig. 1, alongside their corresponding titles in Bischoff and Lapidge's book.

Biblical Commentaries	***Glossae Biblicae: Pars I***
PentI	A^a
PentII	A^b
PentIII	A^c
OT glosses	A^I
EvI	-
EvII	A^I
Gn-Ex-EvIa	-
'Apostrofa glosarum […]'	A^{II}

Fig. 1: Titles assigned to the individual texts of the Canterbury glosses in *Biblical Commentaries* and *Glossae Biblicae: Pars I*.

We can see from fig. 1 that *PentI*, *PentII* and *PentIII* correspond with A^a, A^b and A^c. But the glosses not included in this tripartite division are grouped together under the

[82] Vaciago, *Glossae biblicae: Pars I*, pp. vi-viii; Vaciago, *Glossae biblicae: Pars II*.

designations *A^I and A^II*. This means that all remaining Old and New Testament glosses are lumped together indiscriminately, with the exception of *EvI* and *Gn-Ex-EvIa* which are not named at all. Presumably Vaciago meant for *EvI* and *Gn-Ex-EvIa* to be included in *A^I* or *A^II*, but it is unclear which group he intended them to fall under.

The material that forms *A^II* in Vaciago's edition is dubbed 'Apostrofa glosarum […]' by Bischoff and Lapidge. It forms the second half (i.e. 'Part B') of the *Libellus glossarum*. Bischoff and Lapidge named this section after its opening line: 'Apostrofa glosarum per precedentes libros a iehsu naue. et deinceps in prologo iosuę' ('A return to the preceding books of glossaries; [turning away] from the industrious Jesus and successively to the prologue on Joshua').[83] This introductory statement signals that the compiler of M[1] is about to return, in Part B, to the Old Testament (beginning with Jerome's *Preface to the Book of Joshua*) after a hiatus provided by Part A's closing glosses on the Gospels. The contentual break between Parts A and B is highlighted in the following summary of the biblical books glossed in each part:

Part A (59v-92r):

1. Genesis
2. Exodus
3. Leviticus
4. Numbers
5. Deuteronomy
6. Joshua
7. Judges
8. Ruth
9. 1 & 2 Samuel
10. 1 & 2 Kings
11. 1 & 2 Chronicles
12. Proverbs
13. Ecclesiastes
14. Song of Songs
15. Wisdom of Solomon
16. Wisdom of Sirach
17. Isaiah
18. Jeremiah
19. Lamentations
20. Ezekiel
21. Hosea
22. Daniel
23. Joel
24. Amos
25. Jonah
26. Micah
27. Nahum
28. Habakkuk
29. Zephaniah
30. Zechariah
31. Malachi
32. Job
33. Tobit
34. Judith
35. Esther
36. 1 & 2 Ezra
37. Mark
38. Luke
39. John
40. Matthew

[83] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 285. English translation my own.

Part B (92v-125v):

1. Joshua
2. Judith
3. Ruth
4. 1 & 2 Samuel
5. 1 & 2 Kings
6. 1 & 2 Chronicles
7. Psalms
8. Proverbs
9. Ecclesiastes
10. Song of Songs
11. Wisdom of Sirach
12. Job
13. Tobit
14. Judith
15. Esther
16. 1 & 2 Ezra
17. 1 & 2 Maccabees
18. Isaiah
19. Jeremiah
20. Lamentations
21. Ezekiel
22. Daniel
23. Hosea
24. Joel
25. Amos
26. Obadiah
27. Jonah
28. Micah
29. Nahum
30. Habakkuk
31. Zephaniah
32. Haggai
33. Zechariah
34. Malachi
35. Matthew
36. Mark
37. Luke
38. John
39. Acts
40. James
41. 1 & 2 Peter
42. 1 & 3 John (not 2)
43. Jude
44. Revelation
45. Romans
46. 1 & 2 Corinthians
47. Galatians
48. Ephesians
49. Philippians
50. 1 & 2 Thessalonians
51. Colossians
52. 1 & 2 Timothy
53. Titus
54. Philemon
55. Hebrews

Although they do not discuss the matter in *Biblical Commentaries*, it appears that Bischoff and Lapidge believed Part B of the *Libellus glossarum* to have a different provenance from Part A. Available evidence certainly supports this theory. Parts A and B are clearly distinct from one another, since Part B restarts the systematic assessment of the Bible undertaken in Part A. While Part A is replete with references to Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian (see Appendix IV), no such references to the Canterburian masters can be found in Part B.[1]

[1] The lack of references to Theodore and Hadrian in Part B can be ascertained by using the *LLT*'s online database. Searches for 'Theodorus' and 'Adrianus' (and their variants) produce no results for Part B of M[1] (which is entitled 'Glossae biblicae in codice Mediolanensi (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 79 sup., ff. 92ua-124ra' on the *LLT*). Added to this, the references to Theodore and Hadrian listed in Appendix IV are found in manuscripts that parallel Part A of M[1], not Part B.

Most significantly of all, Part B contains extracts from Bede's *Commentary on Revelation*, specifically its section on the twelve precious stones of Revelation 21.19-20.[2] This Bedan treatise appears (in condensed form) on folios 118v-119r, between the glosses on Revelation and those on Romans (Part B: nos 44 and 45).[3] Faith Wallis has shown that this treatise frequently circulated as an isolated text.[4] Yet Bede did not compose his *Commentary on Revelation* until *c*. 703, around thirteen years after Theodore's death, making it impossible for Theodore's pupils to have accessed the text while their revered master was alive.[5] Study of Bede's work could feasibly have occurred at Canterbury during the lifetime of Hadrian, who died in 709. But the fact remains that there is no reason to attribute Part B to the Canterbury School beyond its presence in a manuscript alongside Part A (which, as we shall see, can be attributed to Canterbury with some certainty). In the absence of substantial evidence, therefore, we are obliged to exclude Part B of M[1] from any assessment of the Canterbury glosses.

The Attribution of Part A

The notion that Part A derives from the School of Theodore and Hadrian is based on four pivotal observations. Firstly, the glosses are greatly influenced by Greek and Syriac scholarship. They draw on a range of Greek patristic authors; indeed, Lapidge has identified references to six Greek authors who are quoted by name and a further nine who are used but not explicitly cited.[6] Added to this, they demonstrate an awareness of Syriac etymology and knowledge of Syriac texts such as the *Book of the Cave of*

[2] Bede, *Commentary on Revelation* (*Explanatio Apocalypsis*), *PL* 93 (Paris: 1850).
[3] 'Lapidum nomina et genera .xii. Beda', *A[II]* 56.1-57.14, *Glossae Biblicae I*, pp. 201-3.
[4] F. Wallis 'Introduction', in F. Wallis (trans.), *Bede: Commentary on Revelation*, TTH 58 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), pp. 87-92.
[5] *Ibid*., p. 43.
[6] The named authors are: Basil of Caesarea, Clement of Alexandria, Cosmas Indicopleustes, Epiphanius of Salamis, John Chrysostom, and Flavius Josephus. The cited, but not named, authors are: Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Severian of Gabala, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Maximus the Confessor, John Moschus, and Procopius of Gaza. *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 205-29.

Treasures, an apocryphal work thought to have been produced in the sixth century.[7] Such intellectual and linguistic influences are strongly indicative of Theodore and Hadrian's scholarly backgrounds and the type of learning they would have imparted at Canterbury.

Secondly, the Canterbury glosses make frequent use of Old English and Greek terms to elucidate given biblical *lemmata*. This suggests that the glosses were produced at a scholarly centre influenced by speakers of both Old English and Greek. The Canterbury School is the most plausible candidate for such a centre. Thirdly, the glosses contain explicit references to Theodore and Hadrian's perceptions of various biblical *lemmata* (see Appendix IV). The inclusion of such references demonstrates, beyond reasonable doubt, that the Canterbury glosses derive from teaching materials produced under the combined tutelage of Theodore and Hadrian. Such materials could only have come into being at Canterbury.

Fourthly, there is a fragmentary manuscript which can be dated, on palaeographical grounds, to the mid-eighth century and which originates at an Anglo-Saxon missionary centre in Germany.[8] This manuscript contains part of *PentI* and is the oldest surviving witness to the Canterbury glosses. It includes an explicit reference to Hadrian that makes use of two Old English words: '*Larum* (Leviticus 11.16): **hragra**; Adrianus dicit **meu** esse' ('*Sea-bird*: a heron; Hadrian says it is a gull').[9] *Hragra* is an Old English word for 'heron', whilst *meu* is a Latin rendering of *mæw*, the Old English for 'sea-mew' or 'gull'.[10] This proves that the Canterbury glosses were composed by

---

[7] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 233-40; E. A. W. Budge (trans. and ed.), *The Book of the Cave of Treasures: A History of the Patriarchs and the Kings, their Successors, from the Creation to the Crucifixion of Christ, translated from the Syriac text of the British Museum ms. Add. 25875* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1927), p. xi.

[8] This manuscript is: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Grimm 132,2, frg.; *CLA*, Supp., no. 1675.

[9] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 288-9.

[10] 'hrágra' and 'mǽw', in Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*; accessed via 'An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online', http://www.bosworthtoller.com/019639 and http://www.bosworthtoller.com/022267 [accessed 31 July 2018].

individuals operating in or before the late-seventh to early-eighth century who knew Old English and had a master named Hadrian. Scholars could not wish for better proof of the texts' Canterburian origins.

Manuscript Witnesses to the Leiden Family and Canterbury Glosses

Lapidge viewed the Leiden Family as something quite different from, though closely related to, the corpus that forms the Canterbury glosses. Members of the Leiden Family are texts that preserve some version of the glosses contained in the Leiden Glossary.[11] The Canterbury glosses, on the other hand, are texts preserving the *Libellus glossarum*. Thus, the Canterbury glosses should be thought of as distant cousins to, rather than members of, the Leiden Family. Due to this distinction, the present thesis will focus solely on the Canterbury glosses and will only discuss Leiden Family texts when (like Aldhelm's works) they can be used to illuminate the Canterbury glosses. Although both branches share a common origin and exhibit a degree of overlap, there is currently no consensus as to how the Canterbury glosses relate to their more distant family members.[12] Efforts to adequately describe links between these groups of texts are greatly hindered by the fact that much material has yet to be properly analysed. However, scholars have reached some conclusions about the Leiden Family which may help us to understand the origins of the Canterbury glosses.

J. D. Pheifer made what Rolf H. Bremmer and Kees Dekker termed 'a courageous attempt' to track the evolution of the Leiden Family by calculating the degree of similarity between different recensions.[13] All glossaries mentioned in the following discussion are listed in fig. 2 alongside their appropriate sigla (see Appendix III: Table

[11] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 175.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[13] R. H. Bremmer and K. Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLF 24', in R. H. Bremmer and K. Dekker (eds), *Fruits of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, Mediaevalia Groningana, new series, 21 (Leuven; Paris; Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2016), p. 247.

B). Pheifer's complicated study identified two groups with similar characteristics, one consisting of L^1, C, P and K^1 and the other composed of both F and a collection which he dubbed the 'Reichenau Bible glosses' but which are commonly referred to as 'Rz'.[14] This information, interesting as it may be, generated little in the way of practical conclusions and Pheifer ended his discussion with the rather noncommittal statement that the complex interrelations of the glossaries are a testament to the 'intense educational activity that took place in early Anglo-Saxon England and its outposts abroad'.[15]

Shelf mark and folio nos.	**Provenance and date**	**Sigla**
Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 4. 6., 41ra-44vb	Worcester, s. xii^1	C
Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa. 2, 38r-117v	Konstanz, s. x	F
Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 99, 37r-52v	Reichenau, s. viii^{ex}	K^1
The 'Leiden Glossary': Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossius Lat. Q. 69 (VLQ 69), 39r-v	St Gallen, s. viii/ix	L^1
Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus F. 24 (VLF 24), 102v-105v	Western Francia (Tours), s. ix/x	L^2
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup., 59v-125v	Northern Italy, s. xi^1	M^1
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14470, 121r-121v	Bavaria, s. ix	M^2

[14] Rz: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. IC, fols. 37-52; J. D. Pheifer, 'The Canterbury Bible Glosses: Facts and Problems', in *Archbishop Theodore*, pp. 298-9; Bremmer and Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries', p. 247; Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', p. 60.
[15] Pheifer, 'The Canterbury Bible Glosses', p. 333.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2685, 47r-56r	Low Countries, s. ix^{2}	P
Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 38, 123v-124r	Würzburg, s. ix^{1}	W^{1}
Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 47, 71r-73v	Unknown (perhaps Würzburg), s. ix^{in}	W^{2}

Fig. 2: A selection of manuscripts that witness the Leiden Family and Canterbury glosses

Bremmer and Dekker developed Pheifer's findings by making use of L^{2}. They discovered, by comparing L^{1} with L^{2}, that the Leiden Glossary is incomplete. Its glosses on the Pentateuch and the Old Testament books Joshua, Ruth, Samuel and Kings seem to be missing.[16] However, this was not their only interesting finding. They also revealed that the geographical distribution of the Leiden Family manuscripts bears no correlation to the content of the glossaries. For instance, L^{2} (which originated in Tours) contains eight glosses on the Book of Chronicles, all of which are also recorded in K^{1} (Reichenau) and C (Worcester).[17] This strengthens the idea that the glossaries descend from an original ancestral corpus that was widely distributed across Western Europe. The earliest of the manuscripts, K^{1}, dates to the eighth century, whilst L^{2} dates to *c*. 900 and C to the twelfth century. This means that the original corpus must date to sometime in or before the eighth century and that its contents were still in use four centuries later.

When Bremmer and Dekker compared the glosses to the Book of Ecclesiasticus (commonly known as the 'Wisdom of Sirach') in L^{1}, L^{2} and K^{1}, they found that L^{2} and K^{1} contain exactly the same glosses, whereas L^{1} contains ten glosses that appear in neither L^{2} nor K^{1}. Thus, L^{2} seems to be closer to K^{1} than to L^{1}. C must also follow the K^{1}-L^{2}

[16] Bremmer and Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries', pp. 247-54.
[17] *Ibid*., p. 250.

branch, since its commentary on Ecclesiasticus is very similar to that of L^2 and K^1, but it contains enough deviation to be viewed as somewhat distant from K^1 and L^2. Bremmer and Dekker surmised from this that L^2 and C derive from at least one hyparchetype (γ) below that of K^1 (α). The slight variations in L^1 compared to K and L^2 mean that it must belong to a separate branch of descendants of the original glosses (ω).

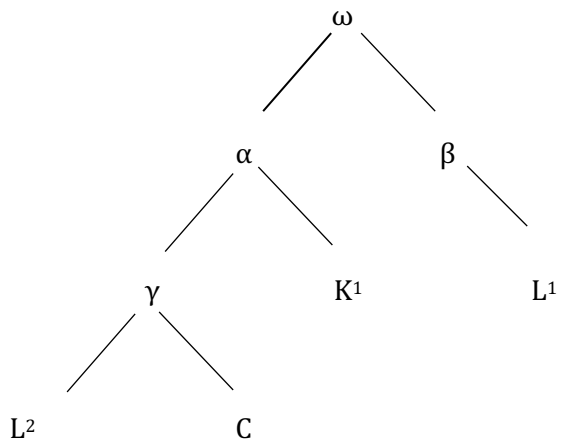


Fig. 3: Stemma bible glosses (Leiden Family members L^1, L^1, K^1 and C).[18]

If we apply this approach to the Canterbury glosses, we can attempt to map out similar patterns of descent. In their book, Bischoff and Lapidge included transcriptions of six additional witnesses to *PentI*, *EvII* and *Gen-Ex-EvIa* (see Appendix III).[19] Witnesses to the four remaining Canterbury texts may be preserved in manuscripts which have yet to be identified, but for the time being Bischoff and Lapidge's transcriptions of *EvI* and *EvII*, combined with Vaciago's transcriptions, give us some insight into the evolution of the Canterbury glosses.

EvII (transcribed and translated by Bischoff and Lapidge) is witnessed in four manuscripts: M^1, M^2, W^1 and W^2. We can see from fig. 4, which outlines the number of

[18] Diagram taken from: Bremmer and Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries', p. 254.
[19] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 533-560.

correlating glosses preserved in each manuscript, that M^2, W^1 and W^2 are each more similar to M^1 than to each other. All three glosses preserved in M^2 have counterparts in M^1. Of the thirteen glosses in W^1 only four are missing from M^1, while of the seventy-six in W^2 only two are missing from M^1. We must bear in mind, however, that the results could be skewed by the survival of more glosses in M^1 than in any other manuscript. Since the three German manuscripts date to the ninth century, they cannot possibly have been copied from M^1. Added to this, the texts within the German manuscripts are so fragmentary that they are unlikely to have been used as exemplars themselves.[20] It seems likely, therefore, that M^1 used an exemplar closer to the original glosses than W^2, M^2 and W^2 did. There is no overlap between W^1 and M^2 and only two overlapping glosses in M^2 and W^2. W^1 and W^2, on the other hand, have a higher proportion of overlapping glosses (albeit marginally). This, coupled with the geographical similarity of W^1 and W^2 (both are thought to have been copied in the see of Würzburg created by Boniface in 741/2), implies that they descend from the same branch, whereas M^2 and M^1 belong to separate branches (see fig. 5, in which 'X' represents the 'original Canterbury glossaries' and each linking line marks a degree of distance from X).[21]

[20] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 292.
[21] *Ibid*., p. 291.

	M1	M2	W1	W2
M1	-	3	9	74
M2		-	0	2
W1			-	4
W2				-
Total glosses:	151	3	13	76[22]

Fig. 4: Number of *EvII* glosses showing overlap in M1, M2, W1 and W2.

Bischoff and Lapidge have already shown that the Italian scribes of M1 copied selectively from their exemplar(s), but they seem to have copied more fully than the scribes of M2, W1 and W2.[23] However, this notion relies on the idea that exemplars came to the scribes of M2, W1 and W2 relatively whole, which (although impossible to prove or disprove) is quite unlikely. Theodore arrived in England in 669 and was joined by Hadrian a year later.[24] Therefore, the earliest possible date at which the original glosses could have left Canterbury is 670. Since Bede tells us that 'soon after he arrived, [Theodore] visited every part of the island where the English peoples lived',[25] the Canterbury School was probably not producing distribution-worthy material until much later than 670. Besides, Anglo-Saxon missionary activity did not gain impetus until the 690s with the efforts of Willibrord (*d*. 739) and his peers.[26] Thus, the commentaries reached the Continent in the late seventh or early eighth centuries at the earliest. This means that the German

[22] *EvII* starts at Wb2 42; preceding glosses belong to *Ev*I: *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 554.
[23] *Ibid*.
[24] Lapidge, 'Theodore of Tarsus', [accessed 15 January 2016]; M. Lapidge, 'Hadrian (630x37–709)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39256 [accessed 15 January 2016].
[25] 'Moxque peragrata insula tota quaquauersum Anglorum gentes morabantur': *EH*, 4.2.
[26] I. Wood, 'Missionaries', in M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, and D. Scragg (eds), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), pp. 324-5.

manuscripts M^2, W^1 and W^2 date to around a century after the original glosses were composed. Any number of exemplars could have interrupted the chain of transmission during this time, so α, β, γ and δ in fig. 5 potentially represent multiple exemplars.

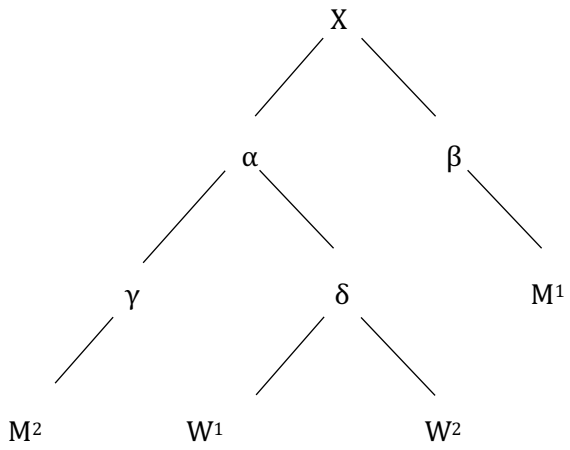


Fig. 5: Stemma bible glosses (*EvII*: M^1, M^2, W^1 and W^2)

These calculations are, of course, highly speculative, and they are challenged by similar comparative analysis of *EvI*. The text of *EvI* (transcribed by Vaciago) is preserved in M^1, W^2 and L^1. Fig. 6 shows that, once again, W^2 and L^1 are more similar to M^1 than to each other. W^2 is the most similar to M^1, since it contains only one gloss that is not included in M^1. This gloss (see W^2 gloss 17 in Appendix V, p. 194) is something of a random addition. The lemma glossed, *caupo* 'innkeeper/ shopkeeper', is taken from the Wisdom of Sirach 26.28 and is followed by the explanation: 'those who sold wine, which they pressed'.[27] This Old Testament quotation seems to have been included because it related to the preceding gloss to John 19.28, which discusses Christ's consumption of sour wine (*acetum*).[28] The near perfect symmetry of M^1 and W^2 might imply that they are closer than fig. 5 indicates. L^1, on the other hand, follows a similar pattern to M^2 in that it is

[27] 'Caupo: qui uinum uendidit, qui eum torculait' [translation my own]: *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 553.

[28] 'Hysopo: in similitudinem absentis': *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 553; John 19.28 (NIV): 'A jar of wine vinegar was there, so they soaked a sponge in it, put the sponge on a stalk of the hyssop plant, and lifted it to Jesus' lips'.

clearly distinct from W^2. Yet again, however, this result may be skewed by the imbalance of surviving glosses. Thus, although *stemma codicum* can tell us something of the origins of the Canterbury glosses, it is clear that a different approach is needed in order to understand how these texts were transmitted over time.

	M^1	W^2	L^1
M^1	-	24	26
W^2		-	10
L^1			-
Total glosses:	59	25	32

Fig. 6: Number of *EvI* glosses showing overlap in M^1, W^2 and L^1.

The Purpose of the Canterbury Glosses

As well as analysing copious statistics, Bremmer and Dekker gained some sense of the purpose of the glosses they were studying. Since their study focuses on one specific manuscript, Leiden VLF 24 (L^2), their findings should not be applied to the Canterbury corpus as a whole. But their theories on the multifaceted use of such glossaries provide clues about the original function of the Canterbury glosses and the function they performed after leaving Canterbury.

Of the 111 folios included in L^2, the first 100 are compiled from four separate glossaries, all of which Bremmer and Dekker classified as 'alphabetical glossaries'. Unlike the glossaries that follow, these four are alphabetically organised. However, this alphabetisation does not extend beyond the first letter, so all words beginning with the letter 'a' are arbitrarily grouped together, followed by a randomly ordered collection of

words beginning with 'b', and so on.[29] Bremmer and Dekker argue that these texts form what Rosamond McKitterick terms 'glossary chrestomathies', or collections of glossaries 'selected and arranged for the specific purpose of learning a language'.[30] Thus, these alphabetical glossaries may have functioned as teaching materials for students in the early phases of their careers. Yet they could also have aided more advanced scholars, specifically teachers. McKitterick notes that the frequency with which eighth and ninth-century glossary chrestomathies survive on the Continent indicates that, like the humble dictionary today, such texts were staple components of any scholar's bookshelf.[31] Although they served primarily as didactic tools, 'assisting a process of acquisition of Latin vocabulary for those needing both to understand and to communicate in Latin', they were also 'aids for honing the skills of rhetoric and eloquence'.[32]

The second portion of L^2 seems to have played a more specialised role than the alphabetical glossaries which fill the majority of the manuscript. Bremmer and Dekker state that the 11 remaining folios in L^2 are filled with *glossae collectae*, class glossaries, and unspecified additional material.[33] '*Glossae collectae'* is the collective term for glossaries formed from various textual excerpts.[34] The term 'class glossaries', on the other hand, is more specific. Excerpts given in class glossaries are organised according to subject area or 'class'. Topics often include, 'names of animals, birds, fishes, plant names, common objects, parts of the house, furniture or seafaring implements'.[35]

---

[29] Bremmer and Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries', pp. 235-7.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 239; McKitterick, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations', p. 70.
[31] 'I mentioned above how many glossary manuscripts still survive. The number originally produced, in itself a significant indication of the assumptions about the basic metalinguistic skills of the users, may well have been so great as to mean that all groups of men or women who were reading and copying texts possessed a glossary or glossary chrestomathy of some kind': McKitterick, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations', p. 73.
[32] *Ibid*.
[33] Bremmer and Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries', p. 239.
[34] M. Lapidge, J. Blair, and S. Keynes, *Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Somerset, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons, 2nd ed., 2013), p. 212; P. van Sterkenburg (ed.), *A Practical Guide to Lexicography* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub., 2003), pp. 9-10.
[35] Lapidge, Blair, and Keynes, *Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 213.

Bremmer and Dekker concluded that the *glossae collectae* and class glossaries in L^2 were probably not used by students due to their highly specialised content and thematic, rather than alphabetical, arrangement. In fact, they provide an encyclopaedic level of knowledge that might be 'required of a teacher or homilist'.[36] It seems, therefore, that the first and most substantial portion of L^2 contains a host of generic reference works, perhaps aimed primarily at students working to develop their linguistic skills, whilst the second portion is meant for instructors. An obvious practicality may lie behind this choice of structure. The owner of L^2, who was probably a teacher or group of teachers, would only have required this one manuscript for the purposes of teaching and personal reference.

If we consider how this compares to the seeming purpose of the Canterbury glosses, we reach some very interesting conclusions. The Canterbury glosses fit with Bremmer and Dekker's perception of *glossae collectae*, indicating that they too were intended for use by teachers or those seeking to become spiritual instructors. As the ensuing discussion will show, there is considerable reason to suppose that the Canterbury glosses were produced by individuals training to become priests. The glosses' focus on pastoral issues and seeming desire to make the Bible accessible to all strongly implies that their authors were preparing to spread knowledge of Christianity to the wider Anglo-Saxon community. This theory fits in well with the context of Theodore and Hadrian's Canterbury School. The two schoolmasters came to England at a time when Christianity's hold was far from secure. In 669, the English Church was in crisis; it had been damaged by at least five years of ineffective leadership and poor pastoral care thanks to a limited number of clerics who could not adequately administer to their flocks.[37] Theodore and Hadrian immediately implemented measures to counter such degeneracy and one such measure seems to have been the development of the

[36] Bremmer and Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries', pp. 244-5.
[37] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 134-5.

Canterbury School. This School would train a new generation of priests who would, in turn, promote the development of Christianity in England.

Chapter 2: The Latin Patristic Sources of the Canterbury Glosses

Scholars have long stressed the immense debt owed by Bede to Latin patristic authors.[1] Bede's admiration for such intellectual giants as Gregory the Great (*c*. 540–604), Ambrose (*d*. 397) and Jerome (*c*. 347–420) is well attested in his many works.[2] Yet traditional conceptions of Bede as a slavish follower of patristic authority have found little traction in recent years. In 2006, a ground-breaking collection of essays dismantled the long-held view that Bede was little more than a conservative compiler of pre-existing ideas.[3] Bede is now hailed as an innovator, who not only followed 'in the footsteps of the Fathers' but who created footsteps of his own, leading many to describe him as a patristic figure in his own right.[4]

While Bede was exploring Latin patristics at Wearmouth-Jarrow, his contemporaries in Canterbury were inheriting an intellectual tradition passed down to them from Theodore and Hadrian. The extent to which Canterbury's students studied

---

[1] G. Bonner, 'Bede and Medieval Civilisation', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition: Augustine, Pelagianism, and Early Christian Northumbria* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996), p. 78.
[2] P. Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great* (Jarrow Lecture, 1964), 1-26, in P. Meyvaert (ed.), *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977); M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996); R. L. McDaniel, 'An Unidentified Passage from Jerome in Bede', *Notes and Queries*, 50:4 (2003), 375; etc.
[3] DeGregorio, 'Introduction: The New Bede', p. 6.
[4] *Ibid*., pp. 8-9. For description of Bede as a patristic figure, see: J. Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede', in *Innovation and Tradition*, p. 235; A. Gransden, 'Bede's Reputation as an Historian in Medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32:4 (1981), p. 398.

Latin sources has been obscured by scholarly interest in the School's Greek inheritance.[5] In his 2006 work, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, Lapidge undertook groundbreaking analysis of the sources that inspired the Canterbury glosses. He found that Theodore and Hadrian made limited use of Latin sources and were, instead, focused predominantly on Greek patristic authors.[6] He argued that, of the few Latin authors who did influence Canterbury's curriculum, the most significant were Aelius Donatus, Augustine, Gildas, Gregory the Great, Isidore, Jerome, and Sulpicius Severus.[7] Lapidge reached this conclusion after counting the number of references to Latin works perceivable in both the Leiden Glossary and the Canterbury glosses. The Leiden Glossary produced references to thirteen Latin authors, whereas the Canterbury glosses revealed only three: Augustine, Isidore, and Jerome.[8] This scant result inspired the following statement:

> Although the Canterbury biblical commentaries are composed in Latin […], their overall debt to Latin patristic exegesis is minimal. Only two Latin Church Fathers are cited by name (Augustine and Jerome); another, Isidore, is not named but is quoted verbatim. Beyond this statement there is no certainty. We know from the Leiden-Family glossaries that a substantial body of Latin patristic literature was studied at Canterbury […] but this study has left no traces in the biblical commentaries […] Rather, it would seem that when the Commentator—whether Theodore or Hadrian—offered an explanation of a biblical

[5] J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 138; M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Greek at the School of Canterbury in the Seventh Century', in M. W. Herren and S. A. Brown (eds), *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: the Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages* (London: University of London, King's College, 1988), pp. 169-194; Lapidge 'The career of Archbishop Theodore'; G. Cavallo, 'Theodore of Tarsus and the Greek Culture of His Time', in *Archbishop Theodore*.
[6] Lapidge argues that twenty-three Latin texts (several written by the same author) influenced both the *Leiden Glossary* and the *Canterbury Biblical Commentaries*. The authorship of three of these texts is unknown and two were written by the Greek authors Athanasius of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea. Thus, the total number of named Latin authors detected by Lapidge is thirteen. M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 175-8.
[7] The seven Latin authors listed are those whose works are, according to Lapidge, cited three or more times in either the *Leiden Glossary* or *Canterbury Biblical Commentaries* (with the exception of Athanasius and Eusebius whose inclusion in a list of Latin patristic authors is problematic). Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 175-8.
[8] See n. 6 (above); Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 177-8.

> passage *ad hoc*, his explanation was based on the resources of a lifetime's reading, and that reading […] was for the most part anchored in Greek patristic literature.[9]

Lapidge presented the Canterbury School as a bastion of Greek learning in a land largely ignorant of Greek language and scholarship.[10] His conclusion was revolutionary, and it caused historians to question the long-accepted theory that Anglo-Saxon exegesis aligned wholly with western tradition. As Lapidge has shown, Canterbury was instrumental in bringing Greek to Anglo-Saxon England. But his strong Hellenistic focus has obscured the role played by Latin scholarship at Canterbury. The Canterbury glosses are peppered with references to at least five Latin authors.[11] Lapidge discusses three of these (Augustine, Jerome and Isidore), but the aim of his study (to highlight the Canterbury School's Greek heritage) precluded him from analysing their significance in any depth.[12] Added to this, he was unaware of the impact of two pivotal Latin figures: Gregory the Great and Eucherius of Lyon. Gregory and Eucherius hugely shaped Canterbury's teaching on morality and pastoral care and the use of their works at Canterbury provides fascinating insights into the nature and purpose of the Canterbury glosses.

Bischoff and Lapidge's 1994 work, *Biblical Commentaries*, focused on three texts (*PentI*, *Gn-Ex-EvIa*, and *EvII)* and left four (*PentII*, *PentIII*, *OT glosses*, and *EvI*) to be studied by future researchers. These four remaining texts—which will henceforth be refered to as the 'Vaciago glossaries', in reference to their modern editor—contain references to Latin works that do not appear elsewhere in the corpus. They demonstrate

---

[9] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 201-2.
[10] M.C. Bodden, 'Evidence for knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon* England, 17 (1988), pp. 217–246; Lapidge, 'The Study of Greek at the School of Canterbury', pp. 169-194.
[11] In addition to the five Latin patristic authors cited, the Canterbury glosses reference the classical authors Cicero and Ovid, supporting Bede's statement that Theodore and Hadrian were learned in secular as well as sacred literature (*EH,* 4.2). Cicero's *De Senectute* is cited in gloss A^{l} 4.176 (*Glossae Biblicae I*, pp. 53-54) whilst Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is cited in gloss A^{b} 32.14 (*Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 30). These references will not be examined in the present thesis.
[12] Lapidge devotes only 5 pages of his 612 page book to the Canterbury commentator's use of Latin sources. *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 201-5.

that, far from relying on Greek patristic authors, students at Canterbury engaged with a range of Latin works that have hitherto gone unnoticed. In fact, when we count the number of authors perceivable in Canterbury's output, it becomes clear that the School's use of Greek and Latin was roughly equal; Lapidge has successfully demonstrated the use of fifteen Greek authors at Canterbury, a number only slightly greater than the thirteen Latin authors referenced in the Leiden Glossary.[13]

Existing scholarship has underestimated the role that Latin exegesis played in forming Canterbury's intellectual milieu. The present chapter seeks to amend this lacuna by examining, in turn, each of the five Latin authors whose works influenced the Canterbury glosses.[14] The following discussion will focus on the four texts excluded from Bischoff and Lapidge's edition. These were known to Bischoff and Lapidge as *PentII*, *PentIII*, *OT glosses* and *EvI* but were renamed A^b, A^c, and A^l, respectively, by Vaciago.[15] Bede's 'footsteps' have been thoroughly examined by DeGregorio and his peers, yet the

[13] In *Biblical Commentaries*, Lapidge lists a total of twenty-two Greek texts that may have impacted the Canterbury glosses. However, nine of these are, by Lapidge's own admission, extremely dubious. Rufinus and Cassian are given as possible influences due to the commentator's awareness that they opposed Jerome's Vulgate translation. But the commentator may have known this without being familiar with either author's works. In fact, Lapidge states that there is no evidence Cassian's writings ever contained an attack on Jerome, so the commentator may have cited Cassian in error. Likewise, the commentator seems to have erroneously cited Gregory of Nazianzus and Theophilus (of Antioch?), on their understanding of Genesis 1.5, and Sophronius, on his explanation of the Hebrew place-name *Emmaus*, suggesting limited knowledge of these authors. '*Ephrem Graecus*' is included in Lapidge's list of Greek influences, but this is the name applied to the imaginary author of a series of pseudo-works attributed to Ephrem the Syrian and so should not be included in a list of Greek authors. Finally, the links Lapidge finds between the *Canterbury Biblical Commentaries* and the works of Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa and Theodore of Mopsuestia are tenuous. They are based on the notion that Canterbury's 'uncharacteristically allegorical' approach to several biblical passages must have been influenced by the styles of these three authors. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the Canterbury School's attitude to allegory was far more complicated than this statement implies. *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 217-223. This leaves a total of thirteen Greek authors whose impact can be felt on the Canterbury glosses. However, two additional Greek authors (Athanasius of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea) are discussed in Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 177-8. Thus, the total number of Greek authors perceivable in the Canterbury glosses is fifteen.

[14] Gregory of Elvira (*fl*. 359-385) is potentially a sixth Latin author known to Canterbury's students since his *On the Song of Songs* may be cited in gloss A^l 8.11. However, this citation consists of only three words and I have been unable to find another reference to Gregory of Elvira in the Canterbury glosses. Thus, it is impossible to know whether the Canterbury commentator(s) derived this citation from Gregory's works or from another source and so I have judged it imprudent to claim that Gregory's *On the Song of Songs* was studied at Canterbury. For more on gloss A^l 8.11, see p. 139.

[15] *Glossae Biblicae I*, pp. v-vi.

influences that shaped Canterbury's exegetical orientation have not been fully elucidated. With this in mind, let us now turn to the five Latin authors whose presence can be detected in the Canterbury glosses.

AUGUSTINE

Augustine of Hippo (354–430) is one of the most influential figures in the history of western philosophy. Born in Thagaste, a small town in modern-day Algeria, Augustine lived a secular life as a teacher and orator until the age of about thirty when he decided to devote his life to Christian contemplation.[16] Although he found Christianity relatively late in life, his works on subjects such as time, free will, and the problem of evil were instrumental in shaping western Christianity.[17] Augustine was a revered figure in Anglo-Saxon England.[18] In fact, of all the manuscripts to survive from pre-conquest England, 107 of them (a tenth of the corpus) contain material attributed to Augustine.[19] Bede was particularly well versed in Augustinian thought, as was Ælfric of Eynsham (*c*. 955–*c*.1010) whose sermons are indebted to the bishop of Hippo.[20]

Despite Augustine's renown in England, Bischoff and Lapidge uncovered only six references to this great Church Father, all of which derive from Augustine's *Questions on the Heptateuch*.[21] From these six references, Lapidge (in his extensive introduction to *Biblical Commentaries*) concluded the following: firstly, that *Questions on the Heptateuch*, with its heavy emphasis on the etymology of biblical words and phrases, appealed to the Canterbury commentator's (or commentators') interest in the origin and development of words; secondly, that the commentaries do not seem to cite Augustine's *The Literal*

[16] E. Stump and D. V. Meconi, 'Introduction', in D. V. Meconi and E. Stump (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 1-5; P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 1-7.
[17] *Ibid*., p. 1.
[18] A.J. Kleist, *Striving With Grace: Views of Free Will in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, Ont.; London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. ix.
[19] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[20] R. Love, *The World of Latin Learning*, in *CCB*, p. 43; Kleist, *Striving With Grace*, p. ix.
[21] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 177; *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 202.

Meaning of Genesis since this verbose work was not conducive to the creation of succinct glosses; thirdly, and finally, that Augustine's *The City of God* 'is not certainly used at any point in the biblical commentaries'.[22] The first of these conclusions is supported by evidence from the Vaciago glossaries. Like the texts contained in *Biblical Commentaries*, the Vaciago glossaries are intensely concerned with etymology and so Canterbury's dependence on *Questions on the Heptateuch* is hardly surprising.[23] However, the Vaciago glossaries (those not analysed by Lapidge) suggest that Canterbury also had knowledge of *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* and *The City of God*.

Awareness of *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* is hinted at in gloss *A*^{b} 15.9, which discusses the meaning of the biblical phrase 'dixit Deus' (Genesis 1:3). The gloss states: 'dixit Deus .i. per uerbum suum fecit' ('"God said"; that is, through His Word it was made').[24] The phrase 'per uerbum suum fecit' is used on several occasions by Augustine, who may have borrowed it from Irenaeus (*c*. 130–200 CE), bishop of Lyon.[25] Irenaeus, in turn, developed the phrase from Psalm 32(33).6 ('By the word of the Lord the heavens were made') and John 1.3 ('Through him all things were made; without him nothing was made that has been made').[26] Outside the works of Augustine and Irenaeus, the

---

[22] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 202-3.

[23] Augustine's *Questions on the Heptateuch* generally deals with 'a single phrase or verse, but longer passages are also covered': D. F. Wright, 'Augustine: His Exegesis and Hermeneutics', in M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/ Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, *Volume 1: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), p. 709.

[24] *A*^{b} 15.9, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 5; All English translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

[25] According to Brepols' *LLT*, a regular search of the phrase 'per uerbum suum fecit' produces 13 hits whilst a similarity search produces 30 hits. The exact phrase appears four times in Augustine's works while variants of it (such as 'facit per uerbum suum') occur an additional six times. The only writer who predates Augustine to use a similar phrase is the Latin translator of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*, although Augustine's contemporary Rufinus also uses something similar ('per Verbum suum et fecerit') in his translation of Origen's *In Genesim homiliae*. Irenaeus' translator uses the phrase once (although this usage is interrupted by the words 'et aptavit et') and then uses variants of it an additional three times. '[…] per Verbum suum et aptavit et fecit ex eo […]': Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* (*Adversus Haereses – secundum translationem Latinam*), CPL 1154 f (A), book 1, chapter 22, part 1. Unger argues that Augustine was influenced by Irenaeus: D. J. Unger (trans. and ed.), *St. Irenaeus of Lyons Against the Heresies, Book 1* (New York, N.Y.: The Newman Press, 1992), p. 122, n. 75; D. H. Farmer, 'Irenaeus of Lyons', *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford University Press, 2011), www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-852 [accessed 10 January 2017].

[26] Psalm 32(33):6: (Vulgate) 'verbo Domini caeli firmati sunt et spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum'; English trans. from New International Version [hereafter 'NIV']. John 1:3: (Vulgate)

expression 'per uerbum suum fecit' is uncommon in pre-eighth-century texts.[27] The author of the gloss may have stumbled across this phrase independently by drawing, as Irenaeus had done, on Psalm 32(33):6 and John 1:3. Yet he may also have copied it from one of three Augustinian works: *On the Nature of Good*, *On the Trinity* or *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*. *On the Nature of Good* uses the phrase to explain that everything not made from God's own being is derived from nothingness, as expounded in Romans 11:36.[28] In *On the Trinity*, the expression is included in a discussion of whether or not God appeared to Adam (and subsequently to Abraham and Moses) in the form of a man.[29] Finally, in *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* the phrase is used to elucidate Genesis 1:3.[30]

> And what is this light that was made? Something spiritual or something bodily? If something spiritual, you see, it could be the first thing created, which had first been called heaven, when it said, *In the beginning God made heaven and earth* (Genesis 1:1), and was now perfected by this utterance; so that the text here, *God said, Let light be made; and light was made* (Genesis 1:3) should be understood as its being converted and enlightened, by its creator calling it back to himself. And why is it put like this: *In the beginning God made heaven and earth*, and not like this: *In the beginning God said, Let heaven and earth be made; and heaven and earth were made*, in the same way as the account of light is given: *God said, Let light be made; and light was made*? Is it that first of all what God made had to be universally embraced and presented under the name of

'omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est'; English trans. from NIV.

[27] Bede writes something similar ('per uerbum suum omnia, id est per unigenitum filium, fecit') but he appears to be the only other author before 800 CE to use the phrase; Bede, *On Genesis* (*Libri quattuor in principium Genesis usque ad natiuitatem Isaac et eiectionem Ismahelis*), *PL* 91 (Paris: 1850), book 1, chapter 1.

[28] Romans 11:36: (NIV) 'For from him and through him and for him are all things'; Augustine, *On the Nature of Good* (*De Natura Boni*), *PL* 42 (Paris: 1841), part 26: 'quia ergo deus omnia, quae non de se genuit, sed per uerbum suum fecit, non de his rebus, quae iam erant, sed de his, quae omnino non erant, hoc est de nihilo fecit, ita dicit apostolus: qui uocat ea, quae non sunt, tamquam sunt'.

[29] Augustine, *On the Trinity* (*De Trinitate*), *PL* 42 (Paris: 1841), book 2, chapter 10: 'omnia enim per uerbum suum fecit, quod uerbum eius unicum filium eius secundum rectam fidei regulam nouimus'.

[30] Genesis 1.3: (NIV) 'And God said, "Let there be light," and there was light'.

> "heaven and earth", and then this had to be followed up piecemeal by how he made it, when it says of things one by one, *God said*; meaning that **it was through his Word that he made** whatever he did make?[31]

This is Augustine's only use of the phrase in the context of Genesis 1:3, the very same biblical passage that gloss *A*^{b} 15.9 seeks to elucidate. Thus, of all Augustine's works, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* is the most likely text to have influenced gloss *A*^{b} 15.9. Augustine's ruminations match perfectly with the sentiment and terminology of the gloss ('"God said"; that is, through his Word it was made'). Added to this, Augustine is the only author who predates the Canterbury text to use this exact phrase. Irenaeus and Rufinus (*c.* 345–410) each use something similar, but their comments vary slightly and do not directly reference Genesis 1.3.[32] It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Canterbury glossator had access to the above passage from *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* when forming his glossary.

The likelihood of this increases when we consider the Canterbury glosses' fondness (discussed further below) for taking convoluted exegetical arguments and condensing them into accessible glosses. Augustine is celebrated for his complex philosophical approach to the creation narrative. He believed that all things were created through the Word, or 'creating knowledge', of God. In other words, he argued that everything had been planned by God for eternity but only came into being once it

---

[31] 'et quid est lux ipsa, quae facta est? utrum spiritale quid an corporale? si enim spiritale, potest ipsa esse prima creatura iam hoc dicto perfecta, quae primo caelum appellata est, cum dictum est: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, ut, quod dixit deus: fiat lux. et facta est lux, eam reuocante ad se creatore conuersio eius facta atque inluminata intellegatur. et cur ita dictum est: in principio fecit deus caelum et terram, et non dictum est: in principio dixit deus: fiat caelum et terra. et facta sunt caelum et terra, sicut de luce narratur: dixit deus: fiat lux. et facta est lux? utrum prius uniuersaliter nomine caeli et terrae conprehendendum erat et commendandum, quod fecit deus, et deinde per partes exequendum, quomodo fecit, cum per singula dicitur: dixit deus, id est, quia **per uerbum suum fecit**, quidquid fecit?' Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis: A Commentary in Twelve Books* (*De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*), *PL* 34 (Paris: 1841), book 1, part 3; E. Hill (trans.) and J. E. Rotelle (ed.), *On Genesis*, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, 42 vols (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2002), part 1, vol. 13, pp. 170-1.

[32] See n. 27 above.

participated in the Word and, in doing so, recognised the purpose of its own existence.[33] In *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, Augustine explains that 'Let there be light' (Genesis 1.3) refers to the creation of angels. He writes that 'immediately on the word of God, light (the angel) was made, and the light created clung to the creating light, seeing it and itself in it, that is the reason by which it was made. It saw itself in itself, that is as being separate, because it was made from him who made it'.[34] He also explains that the nature of human beings 'which is intellectual, is like that light (namely, the angel), and therefore its creation is its knowing the Word of God by which it is made'.[35]

It would seem that when the Canterbury glossator states '"God said"; that is, through his Word it was made' in gloss *A*^{b} 15.9 he is referencing a sophisticated theological stance propounded by Augustine. This challenges the prevailing supposition that *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* was excluded from the Canterbury glosses because it was unsuited to the creation of succinct glosses. Since there is no evidence beyond gloss *A*^{b} 15.9 that *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* was used at Canterbury in the seventh to eighth centuries, it is impossible to say with certainty that the School had access to a manuscript copy of this text. However, the available evidence strongly suggests an association between gloss *A*^{b} 15.9 and Augustine's literal interpretation of Genesis.

Another text that Lapidge was unable to detect in the Canterbury glosses is Augustine's *The City of God*.[36] However, the Vaciago glossaries indicate that this work did, in fact, impact the Canterbury School. *The City of God* is cited by name in gloss *A*^{b} 15.15:

> Augustine in his book *The City of God*: It is clear that immediately after sinning he [Adam] covered his nakedness with the leaf of a fig tree (Genesis 3.7), which Lord Jesus cursed

[33] L. Ayres, 'Augustine on Redemption', in M. Vessey (ed.) with S. Reid, *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 418.
[34] Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 4.31, quoted in John O'Meara, 'Saint Augustine's Understanding of the Creation and Fall', *The Maynooth Review/ Revieú Mhá Nuad*, 10 (1984), 52-62 (p. 56).
[35] Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 3.20, quoted in *ibid*.
[36] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 202-3.

> when he was in the flesh, not long before he accepted death on account of the fault of Adam, and it [the tree] immediately withered when he said: 'henceforth no fruit will ever come from you' (Matthew 21.19). This is [i.e. Jesus did this] because it might be able to do more harm to humans.[37]

Vaciago suggests that this gloss was written to explain Genesis 2:9 since the preceding gloss (A^b 15.14) cites the very same biblical passage.[38] Thus, A^b 15.15 is probably a continuation of A^b 15.14's discussion of the trees that grew in the Garden of Eden. The author of the gloss obviously believed that he was citing, or at least paraphrasing, Augustine's *The City of God*. Yet the only section of *The City of God* remotely similar to this Canterbury text is a passage in book 14 concerning the Fall of Man:

> But, once the raiment of grace was removed, they were taught the lesson that disobedience to God is punishable by disobedience to oneself. A strange and irrepressible commotion sprang up in their bodies that made nakedness indecent. They realized the rebellion and it made them ashamed. That explains what is said after they violated the commandment of God by their open transgression: 'And the eyes of both of them were opened: and when they perceived themselves to be naked, they sewed together fig leaves, and made themselves aprons (Genesis 3.7).' It was not, then, in order to see outward things that their 'eyes were opened,' because they could see such things already; it was in order that they might see the difference between the good they had lost and the evil into which they had fallen.[39]

---

[37] 'Augustinus in libro ciuitatis dei. Clarum est inquit quod statim post peccatum nuditatem suam fici arboris foliis texit. Quam dominus ihesus in tempore suae carnis paulo antequam mortem pro adae delicto susciperet maledixit. et cito aruit cum diceret Numquam ex te fructus nascatur in aeternum. hoc est qui ultra hominibus nocere possit'. A^b 15.15, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 5.
[38] Genesis 2.9: (NIV) 'The Lord God made all kinds of trees grow out of the ground—trees that were pleasing to the eye and good for food. In the middle of the garden were the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil'; *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 5.
[39] 'qua gratia remota, ut poena reciproca inoboedientia plecteretur, extitit in motu corporis quaedam inpudens nouitas, unde esset indecens nuditas, et fecit adtentos reddidit que confusos. hinc est quod, postea quam mandatum dei aperta transgressione uiolarunt, scriptum est de illis: et aperti sunt oculi amborum et agnouerunt quia nudi erant, et consuerunt folia fici et fecerunt sibi campestria. aperti sunt, inquit, oculi amborum, non ad uidendum, nam et antea uidebant, sed ad discernendum inter bonum quod amiserant et malum quo ceciderant'. Augustine, *The City of God* (*De ciuitate Dei*), *PL* 41 (Paris: 1841) book 14, chapter 17; G. G. Walsh and G. Monahan

The above passage may well have inspired the first part of gloss *A*^{b} 15.15 ('immediately after sinning [Adam] covered his nakedness with the leaf of a fig tree'). But the second part of the gloss, concerning Jesus' decision to curse the fig tree, has little basis in *The City of God*. A clue as to the source of this second part can be found in the phrasing of Matthew 21.19. The glossator uses the words 'numquam ex te fructus nascatur in aeternum' ('henceforth no fruit will ever come from you'). This version of Matthew 21.19 often appears in *Vetus Latina* manuscripts such as the Codex Vercellensis and Codex Brixianus.[40] Jerome's Vulgate text, however, replaces 'aeternum' with 'sempiternum'. The Vulgate is generally regarded as the principal biblical text studied at Canterbury, but it was not the only version of the Bible known to Canterbury's students.[41] Lapidge and Patrick McGurk have shown that the gospel texts used at the School probably 'had an ancient pedigree', while Richard Marsden has found that non-Vulgate *lemmata* from the Pentateuch appear throughout the Canterbury glosses.[42] Thus, the glossator may have referred to an Old Latin or Greek version of Matthew 21.19 when writing gloss *A*^{b} 15.15.

That being said, an alternate explanation for the presence of 'aeternum' rather than 'sempiternum' is that the glossator based the second part of *A*^{b} 15.15 on Augustine's *Sermon 89*:

> The reading of the gospel a moment or two ago has warned us, terrified us indeed, about the danger of having leaves and not having fruit; which means in a nutshell, all words and no deeds. Truly terrifying! Who wouldn't be afraid when they see with their mind's eye in this reading the tree all dried up, and hear the words, as if spoken to themselves,

(trans.), *The City of God, Books VIII-XVI* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1952; reprinted 2008), p. 390.

[40] 'Codex Brixianus' (*Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, s.n.*) and 'Codex Vercellensis' (*Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, s.n.*), in *PL* 12 (Paris: 1845), pp. 285-6.

[41] 'The biblical instruction given to English students at Canterbury was based principally on the text of the Latin Vulgate': *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 197; 'The text is Vulgate and not Old Latin': P. McGurk, 'Theodore's Bible: the Gospels', in *Archbishop Theodore*, p. 255.

[42] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 195; McGurk, 'Theodore's Bible: the Gospels'; R. Marsden, 'Theodore's Bible: the Pentateuch', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

> ***May fruit never be produced again by you for ever* [*nunquam ex te fructus nascatur in aeternum*]**. May the terror correct us, may correction bring forth fruit.[43]

This sermon is the only Augustinian work that quotes Matthew 21.19. Added to this, Augustine is the only Latin author perceivable in the Canterbury glosses to use 'aeternum' in the context of Matthew 21.19. So, if the Canterbury glossator had drawn on Augustine to form the second part of A^b 15.15, it is conceivable that he mistakenly attributed Augustine's comments about the withering of the fig tree to *The City of God* when, in reality, they derived from *Sermon 89*. This could easily have happened if the glossator was working with a florilegium of Augustine's works rather than with the individual texts.

Augustine's works are so numerous that they were often transmitted as excerpts in compendia during the early medieval period rather than as whole texts. Augustinian extracts were circulated by scholars such as Prosper of Aquitaine (*c*. 390–*c*. 455), Cassiodorus (*c*. 485– *c*. 585) and, most famously, Eugippius (*c*. 455–*c*. 535).[44] Eugippius was the abbot of a community at *Castellum Lucullanum* near Naples. He compiled the first substantial anthology of Augustine's writings by bringing together some 300 passages on various topics.[45] Eugippius' compilation was used by Bede to form his *Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine*.[46] This means that Eugippius' anthology must

---

[43] 'lectio recentissima sancti euangelii admonuit, terruit nos, ne folia habeamus et fructum non habeamus. hoc autem breuiter exponitur: ne uerba adsint, et facta desint. magnus terror. quis non timeat, cum in ipsa lectione oculis cordis aridam arborem uidet, et sic ut ei dicatur: nunquam ex te fructus nascatur in aeternum. terror corrigat, correctio fructus proferat'. Augustine, *Sermon 89*, *Sermons to the People* (*Sermones ad populum*), *PL* 38; E. Hill (trans.) and J. E. Rotelle (ed.), *Sermons (51-94) on the New Testament*, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century (Brooklyn, NY: New City Press, 1991), part 3, vol. 3, p. 439.
[44] C. Weidmann, 'Augustine's Works in Circulation', in M. Vessey (ed.) with S. Reid, *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 435.
[45] J. J. O'Donnell, 'Eugippius', in A.D. Fitzgerald, John Cavadini, et al. (eds), *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1999), p. 338.
[46] A. G. Holder, 'Bede and the New Testament', in *CCB*, p. 146; Bede, *Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine on the Letters of the Blessed Apostle Paul* (*Collectio ex opusculis sancti Augustini in epistulas Pauli apostoli*), CPL 1360; David Hurst (trans.), *Bede the Venerable: Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine and the Letters of the Blessed Apostle Paul*, Cistercian Studies 183 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2006).

have been in England by the early eighth century, but it does not appear to have been used by the author of *A*^{b} 15.15 since neither book 14, chapter 17 of *The City of God* nor *Sermon 89* are among the 300 passages given by Eugippius.[47]

In addition to genuine extracts from Augustine, Bede often made use of works that had been mistakenly attributed to the great Church Father.[48] A similar error may have occurred in the case of *A*^{b} 15.15, which corresponds almost perfectly with a passage from the seventh-century Hiberno-Latin treatise *Liber de ordine creaturarum* (*DOC*). The similarity of these texts is striking when they are placed side by side (differences between the two passages are highlighted in bold):

Canterbury gloss *A*^{b} 15.15:

> **Augustine in his book *The City of God*:** It is clear, **he says**, that immediately after sinning he [Adam] covered his nakedness with the leaf of a fig tree (Genesis 3.7), **which** Lord Jesus cursed when he was in the flesh, not long before he accepted death on account of the fault of Adam, and it [the tree] immediately withered when he said: 'henceforth no fruit will ever come from you' (Matthew 21.19). This is [i.e. Jesus did this] because it might be able to do more harm to humans.[49]

Liber de ordine creaturarum (*DOC*):

> **It is not at all clear from what species of tree Adam ate, but** it is clear that immediately after sinning he covered his nakedness with the leaf of a fig tree (Genesis 3.7), **the only tree** Jesus cursed when he was in the flesh, not long before he accepted death on account of the fault of Adam, and it [the tree] immediately withered when he said: 'henceforth no fruit will ever come from

[47] Eugippius, *Excerpts from Augustine* (*Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*) in P. Knöll (ed.), *Eugippii Opera. 1, Excerpta ex Operibus S. Augustini*, CSEL 9.1 (Vienna, 1885).
[48] Weidmann, 'Augustine's Works in Circulation', p. 435.
[49] '**Augustinus in libro ciuitatis dei.** Clarum est **inquit** quod statim post peccatum nuditatem suam fici arboris foliis texit. **Quam** dominus ihesus in tempore suae carnis paulo antequam mortem pro adae delicto susciperet maledixit. et cito aruit cum diceret Numquam ex te fructus nascatur in aeternum. hoc est qui ultra hominibus nocere possit'. *A*^{b} 15.15, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 5.

you' (Matthew 21.19). This is [i.e. Jesus did this] because **the devil** might be able to do more harm to humans, **such as the harm mentioned above**.[50]

Scholars generally agree that *DOC* was written in Ireland sometime between 655 and 680.[51] Smyth has shown that the work was heavily influenced by Augustinian thought and Hughes even went so far as to state that it was 'written by an Irish author known as pseudo-Augustine'.[52] The work's association with Augustine may be responsible for the Canterbury glossator's misattribution of *A*^{b} 15.15 to *The City of God*. Such a notion presupposes that *DOC* influenced the Canterbury gloss. We should not exclude the possibility that the Canterbury text inspired the Irish *DOC*, yet what evidence is there for such a possibility?

Aldhelm's letter to Heahfrith confirms that Canterbury attracted a number of Irish students who would inevitably have encountered ideas and texts at Canterbury which they took back with them to Ireland.[53] We know that Theodore's influence extended to Ireland by the early-eighth century since he is explicitly cited in an Irish

[50] '**Non satis autem elucet, de qua arbore specialiter Adam comederit sed** clarum est, quod statim post peccatum nuditatem suam fici foliis arboris texit **cui soli** in tempore suae carnis Dominus Iesus, paulo ante quam mortem pro Adae delicto suscepisset, maledixit, et cito aruit, cum diceret: Numquam fructus ex te nascatur in aeternum, hoc est, qui hominibus ultra, **sicut superius diabolus,** nocere possit'. *Liber de ordine creaturarum*, chapter 10, part 13. Latin text from: *De Ordine Creaturarum Liber*, in J.P. Migne (ed.), *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi opera omnia: Romae anno Domini MDCCXCVII excusa recensente Faustino Arevalo, qui Isidoriana praemisit, variorum praefationes, notas, collationes, qua antea editas, qua tunc primum edendas, collegit, veteres editiones et codices mss. Romanos contulit* […] (Lutetiæ Parisiorum: 1862), tomus quintus, p. 941. English trans. modified from M. Smyth, 'The seventh-century Hiberno-Latin treatise *Liber de ordine creaturarum*. A translation', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 21 (2011), 137-222 (p. 94).

[51] Smyth, 'The seventh-century Hiberno-Latin treatise', pp. 38-9; *DOC* was attributed to Isidore for much of the middle ages and its real provenance was only recognised in 1953 by Manuel Díaz y Díaz. M. Smyth, 'The date and origin of *Liber de ordine creaturarum*', *Peritia*, 17-18 (2003-2004) 1-39 (pp. 2-3).

[52] K. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London: Sources of History Ltd, 1972), 194-95.

[53] '[…] Theodore who pilots the helm of the high priesthood be hemmed in by a mass of Irish students, like a savage wild boar checked by a snarling pack of hounds […]'. Aldhelm, *Letter to Heahfrith*, quoted in M.W. Herren, 'Scholarly Contacts between the Irish and the Southern English in the Seventh Century', *Peritia*, 12 (1998), 24-53 (p. 31); Smyth, 'The date and origin of *Liber de ordine creaturarum*', p. 31.

collection of canon law that scholars date to before 725.[54] Smyth argues that Theodore's role in Irish scholarship can be detected much earlier than this. She suggests that the Irish only came into contact with the idea of determination at death (i.e. that the eternal fate of Christians would be decided at the moment of death, not at the Last Judgement) following the 'the centralising efforts of archbishop Theodore who came to England in 669'. Since *DOC* maintains the 'old' perspective that determination only occurs at the Last Judgement, Smyth deduces that its author had no knowledge of Theodore's teachings. She consequently poses that, 'allowing a decade for Theodore's influence to spread', *DOC* must have been written sometime before 680.[55]

By Smyth's reckoning, in order for the Canterbury text to have inspired *DOC* it would have to have travelled to Ireland only eleven years after Theodore's arrival in England. Assuming the Canterbury School was established the year after Theodore's arrival, giving time for him to immediately travel (as Bede states that he did) around Britain, this leaves a window of only ten years for the School's writings to have reached Ireland and for *DOC* to have been written.[56] This seems rather a short period, especially since it would have taken time for Canterbury to build a reputation eminent enough to attract students from Ireland, which already had a sophisticated intellectual culture of its own.[57]

Smyth's arguments are built on tenuous evidence. It is impossible to know the precise means by which Irish scholars came into contact with the principle of determination at death. But, even if we discount her position, we can observe from the

---

[54] This collection is known as the A-Recension of the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* and is thought to have been compiled by Cú Chuimne of Iona (*d*. 747) and Ruben of Dairinis (*d*. 725). H. Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1885); T. Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', in *Archbishop Theodore,* p. 142; Smyth, 'The date and origin of *Liber de ordine creaturarum*', p. 31.
[55] Smyth, 'The date and origin of *Liber de ordine creaturarum*', pp. 29-32.
[56] *EH*, 4.2, p. 335.
[57] See, for instance: D. Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200* (London: Longman, 1995); D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick & D. Dumville (eds), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

texts themselves that the concept of Canterbury influencing *DOC* is unlikely. Two manuscripts from the Leiden Family bear witness to gloss A^b 15.15. Both match A^b 15.15 almost word for word (differences of word choice are highlighted in bold):

> Milan manuscript (*M*[1]): '… **Quam** dominus ihesus in tempore suae carnis paulo antequam mortem pro adae delicto susciperet…'
>
> Fulda manuscript (*F*[r]): '… **Cum sole** in tempore suae carnis dominus ihesus paulo antequam mortem pro ade delicto susciperet…'[58]
>
> Vatican manuscript (*V*): '…**cum** in tempore sue carnis. dominus ihesus paulo antequam mortem pro adae delicto susciperet…'[59]
>
> *DOC*: '… **cui soli** in tempore suae carnis Dominus Iesus, paulo ante quam mortem pro Adae delicto suscepisset…'

The versions of the Canterbury glosses preserved in the Fulda and Vatican manuscripts correspond more closely, in terms of word choice and word order, with the text of *DOC* than they do with the Milan manuscript's version of this passage. When we combine this observation with the fact that *DOC*'s treatise includes details that do not appear in the Canterbury gloss (i.e. that it is not clear which species of tree Adam ate from and that the devil played a part in Adam's fall), the implication seems to be that *DOC* was the 'mother text' and was copied by a Canterbury glossator who eliminated parts he deemed unnecessary. The surviving manuscript witnesses (Milan, Fulda and Vatican) were

---

[58] 'Augustinus in libro ciuitatis dei. Clarum est inquit quod statim post peccatum: nuditatem suam fici arboris foliis texit. Cum sole in tempore suae carnis dominus ihesus paulo antequam mortem pro ade delicto susciperet: Maledixit et cito aruit cum diceret. Numquam ex te fructus nascatur in aeternum. hoc est qui hominibus ultra possit nocere'. *Glossae biblicae in codice Fuldensi* (Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa 2, [*F*[r]]), gloss 2.15, in P. Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars II* [hereafter '*Glossae Biblicae II*'], CCCM, vol. 189B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), p. 213.

[59] 'Augustinus in libro ciuitatis dei. Clarum est inquid quod statim post peccatum. nuditatem suam fici arboris foliis texit. cum in tempore sue carnis. dominus ihesus paulo antequam mortem pro adae delicto susciperet. maledixit et cito aruit cum diceret. numquam ex te fructus nascatur in aeternum. hoc est. qui hominibus ultra nocere possit'. *Glossae biblicae in codice Vaticano* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1469, [*V*]), gloss 2.15, *Glossae Biblicae II*, p. 386.

probably copied from the Canterbury glossator's edited version and so each acquired, during the process of copying, minor variations such as 'quam', 'cum' and 'cum sole'.

Evidence suggests, therefore, that *DOC* made its way to Canterbury sometime in the late seventh or early eighth centuries. Ireland had a flourishing scholarly culture at this time and Irish students, perhaps even teachers, may have travelled to the burgeoning Canterbury School (potentially at Theodore's request) bringing works such as *DOC* with them in order to strengthen the School's curriculum. Of course, none of this brings us closer to understanding why Canterbury gloss A^b 15.15 names its source as Augustine's *The City of God*. Perhaps *DOC* came to Canterbury alongside extracts from *The City of God* or perhaps human error, on the part of the glossator or a later copier of A^b 15.15, is to blame. Yet what this gloss does show is that Irish scholarship played a larger role at Canterbury than has often been supposed.[60]

We can infer from the above that Canterbury's students drew on—or believed themselves to be drawing on—a number of works from Augustine's oeuvre. The library at Canterbury professed to contain Augustine's *The City of God* as well as his *Questions on the Heptateuch*. Although its copy of *The City of God* was actually a work of Irish provenance, this does not change the fact that students viewed themselves as disciples of Augustinian tradition. There is also strong evidence, in gloss A^b 15.9, to suggest that students had access to Augustine's *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, through which they were influenced by Augustine's theories about creation. Augustine seems, therefore, to have been a well-respected author at Canterbury, affirming the School's strong appreciation for this western theological master.

[60] Lapidge states that the Milan glosses 'are the product of seventh-century Canterbury and have nothing to do with Ireland'. *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 499.

EUCHERIUS OF LYON

Eucherius (*d*. *c*. 450), bishop of Lyon from 434 or 435, is an overlooked but significant influence on the Canterbury glosses. Eucherius was a high-ranking Gallo-Roman who entered the monastery of Lérins in *c*. 422 (perhaps following the death of his wife) to join his sons Veranius and Salonius. He soon gained a reputation for wisdom and virtue that earned him the bishopric of Lyon.[61] Two of his best-known works, *Formulas of Spiritual Intelligence* and *Instructions to Salonius*, are referenced frequently in the Canterbury glosses. Lapidge detects only one such reference, tentatively posing that 'there is one slight indication (*EvII* 60) that an explanation of a Syriac word given by Eucherius of Lyon in his *Instructiones* […] was known to the Commentator'.[62]

Eucherius wrote *Formulas* and *Instructions* as encyclopaedic texts to aid his sons' scriptural studies. *Formulas* is addressed to Veranius and discusses the allegorical meaning of numerous items mentioned in the Bible, including animals, natural phenomena and parts of the human body.[63] *Instructions*, on the other hand, was written for Salonius and is divided into two parts. The first part deals with various problems posed by the Old and New Testaments (such as 'on what testimonies of Scripture is the Trinity proven?') whilst the second part is a list of names and their etymologies.[64]

Eucherius based his explanations on extensive reading of Latin sources, particularly the works of Augustine and Jerome. Yet he was not a derivative scholar.[65] For instance, his explanation of Matthew 24:20 is drawn from Augustine's *The Harmony*

---

[61] R. Guiley, *The Encyclopedia of Saints* (New York, NY: Facts on File, 2001), p. 101.
[62] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 205. Lapidge also recognised Eucherius' influence on the *Leiden Glossary*, which draws on Eucherius' *Instructions to Salonius* for information on weights and measures. Beyond this, however, his discussion of Eucherius is minimal. *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 205; Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 176.
[63] T. Toom, 'Introduction', in T. Toom (ed.), *Patristic Theories of Biblical Interpretation: The Latin Fathers* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 14.
[64] A.C. Cooper-Marsdin, *The History of the Islands of the Lerins: The Monastery, Saints and Theologians of S. Honorat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913; first paperback edition 2013), p. 222; J. M. Pepino, 'St. Eucherius of Lyons: Rhetorical Adaptation of Message to Intended Audience in Fifth Century Provence' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Catholic University of America, 2009), p. 148.
[65] Pepino, 'St. Eucherius of Lyons', p. 142.

of the Gospels, but Eucherius diverges somewhat from Augustine's comments.[66] In Matthew 24:20, Jesus advises his disciples to pray that the end of time 'will not take place in winter or on the Sabbath'.[67] Augustine compares this verse to Luke 21:34 and concludes that winter refers to temporal cares while the Sabbath represents drunkenness and excess.[68] In other words, Augustine interprets Jesus' statement as a warning that Christians should live frugally and keep their minds on spiritual matters so that they may be considered worthy of salvation at the end of time. This moralising message is adopted by Eucherius, but the content of Eucherius' explanation is slightly different.[69] He interprets winter as wrongdoing, posing that Christians should avoid misdeeds so as not to exacerbate the hardships of the end times. The Sabbath, meanwhile, is associated with idleness due to its status as a day of rest. Eucherius explicitly states that his explanation is influenced by one with 'superior understanding' (*intellectum superiorem*), by which he probably means Augustine.[70] However, his willingness to alter Augustine's statement shows that he was not afraid to challenge existing readings.

Eucherius phrased his explanations as succinctly and clearly as possible. In fact, Kelly describes his written style as 'almost severely simple'.[71] His approach was inspired

---

[66] J. F. Kelly, 'Eucherius of Lyons: Harbinger of the Middle Ages', in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica* (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1989), vol. 23, p. 141.
[67] Matthew 24.20: (NIV) 'Pray that your flight will not take place in winter or on the Sabbath'.
[68] Luke 21:34: (NIV) 'Be careful, or your hearts will be weighed down with carousing, drunkenness and the anxieties of life, and that day will close on you suddenly like a trap'; 'ad hiemem autem pertinent curae huius uitae, quas lucas aperte posuit, ad sabbatum uero crapula et ebrietas' ('That "winter", moreover, refers to these "cares of this life" which Luke has specified directly; and the "Sabbath-day" refers in like manner to the "surfeiting and drunkenness"'), Augustine, *The Harmony of the Gospels* (*De consensu euangelistarum*), *PL* 34 (Paris: 1841), book 2, chapter 77, part 151; P. Schaff (ed.) *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 14 vols (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), vol. 6, p. 171.
[69] Kelly, 'Eucherius of Lyons', p. 141.
[70] 'Quid intellegendum est loco illo in quo scribitur: Orate, ne fiat fuga uestra hieme uel sabbato? Secundum historiam ita intellegendum est, ne fiat fuga uestra hieme, id est ne tribulatio fugae temporis accumuletur iniuria. Ne fiat fuga uestra sabbato: ne eo utique die quo habere requiem uacationem que consuestis. At uero secundum intellectum superiorem, ne fiat fuga uestra hieme uel sabbato ita accipi potest: ne uos fuga illa deprehendat aut in peccatis algentes aut a bonis operibus otiosos'. Eucherius, *Instructions to Salonius* [hereafter '*Instructions*'] (*Instructionum ad Salonium libri duo*), *PL* 50 (Paris: 1846), book 1, page 144.
[71] Kelly, 'Eucherius of Lyons', p. 139.

by Augustine's comments on the need for concise exegetical handbooks outlining the meanings of biblical words and names. Such textbooks would, in Augustine's opinion, allow burgeoning scholars to progress more rapidly to complex issues of interpretation without having to spend too much time learning the basics.[72] O'Loughlin believes that the brevity and accessibility of Eucherius' works endeared them to succeeding generations of biblical scholars. *Formulas* and *Instructions* became the 'basic textbooks of the West', enabling anyone to understand the Bible without recourse to extensive exegetical training.[73] In addition, their small size (each book could be carried in a pocket) gave preachers a portable tool that 'did not require great academic skill, or great ability'.[74] It is easy to see, therefore, why scholars in seventh to eighth-century England, which had yet to be fully evangelised, were attracted to Eucherius' treatises.

His works are referenced at least six times in the Canterbury glosses.[75] The present chapter discusses two of these references, which both pertain to pastoral care. The remaining four are simple etymological explanations and provide limited information on the Canterbury School's aspirations. For this reason, they are not examined in great detail in this chapter but are outlined in the following table:

[72] Augustine, *On Christian Teaching* (*De Doctrina Christiana*), book 2, chapter 39, part 59; Pepino, 'St. Eucherius of Lyons', p. 153.
[73] T. O'Loughlin, 'The Symbol Gives Life: Eucherius of Lyons' Formula for Exegesis', in T. Finan & V. Twomey (eds), *Scriptural Interpretation in the Fathers: Letter and Spirit* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 1995), pp. 245-6.
[74] *Ibid*., p. 246.
[75] Seven times if we include the tentative reference to *Instructions to Salonius* detected by Lapidge. See, p. 79.

	Canterbury Gloss	**Canterbury Ref. No.**[76]	**Eucherian Extract**	**Eucherian Ref. No.**
1	Ad aquam fidei ad puteum iuramenti.	*A*^{b} 15.41, p. 7	Ad puteum iuramenti, id est ad aquam fidei.[77]	*Formulas*, 8.61
2	Habitauit in terra naid. In hebreo habetur nod .i. instabilis.	*A*^{b} 15.23, p. 6	Naid uel sicut in Hebraeo habet Nod instabilis dicitur; […][78]	*Instructions*, 1.85
3	Creacras fuscinulas uel unctinos ad carnes de caldariis proferendas.	*A*^{l} 5.11, p. 56	Creagrae in Paralipomenon fuscinae ad carnes de caldariis proferendas, Graecum est.	*Instructions,* 2.195
4	Ibis. auis aegyptia obscenitate oris inmunda. quod aluum purgare consueuit.	*A*^{b} 52.14, p. 43	Ibis in Pentateucho auis Aegyptia obscenitate oris inmunda quo aluum purgare consueuit.	*Instructions,* 2.209

The evangelising interests of the Canterbury School are clearly showcased by the Eucherian extracts chosen for study by its students. One gloss in particular emphasises the importance of conversion to Canterbury's ethos:

> 'Feed your kids in the tents of the shepherds' (Song 1:7[8]): the tents of the shepherds represent the bishops of the Church. Kids, on the other hand, [are] the sinners.[79]

[76] According to reference numbers and page numbers given in *Glossae Biblicae I*.
[77] Eucherius, *Formulas of Spiritual Intelligence* [hereafter '*Formulas*'] (*Formulae spiritalis intellegentiae*), *PL* 50 (Paris: 1846), chapter 8, page 61.
[78] *Instructions*, 1.85.
[79] 'Pasce haedos in tabernaculis pastorum. Tabernacula pastorum ecclesiae cum episcopis nuncupantur. Hedi autem peccatores'. *A*^{l} 8.22, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 59.

This gloss, known as *A*^{I} 8.22, draws on Eucherius for information on how clerics should administer to sinners.[80] It suggests that bishops (the shepherds) should treat sinners (the kids) with as much care as they treat the devout (the sheep). The gloss quotes Song of Songs 1.7(8) but gives an Old Latin rendering of this biblical passage rather than the Vulgate version.[81] The Vulgate replaces the term *in* ('in') with *iuxta* ('by'). This seemingly trivial amendment has important ramifications. By quoting the Old Latin, the glossator states that kids should be accepted into the tents of the shepherds alongside the sheep, rather than separated from the rest of the flock. In other words, the gloss is proposing that sinners be actively absorbed into the Christian community rather than viewed as a separate entity. By promoting such a stance, Canterbury was encouraging its students to administer to everyone in Anglo-Saxon England, not just the devout. As we have seen, Canterbury was not beholden to the Vulgate and the glossator seems to have deemed the Old Latin rendering more suited to his aims here than the Vulgate's less inclusive sentiment. In this regard the glossator follows (perhaps purposefully) the example of Augustine, who always cited the Old Latin version of Song of Songs 1.7(8) rather than the Vulgate version.[82]

This agenda of inclusion aligns strongly with Theodore's aims. Bede tells us that Theodore did much to spread the Christian message throughout the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.[83] Gloss *A*^{I} 8.22, therefore, gives an important insight into the purpose of the

---

[80] 'Haedi peccatores; in euangelio: Haedos autem a sinistris' ('The kids are sinners; in the gospel: the kids, however, are on the left'), *Formulas*, 4; K. R. Keck (trans.), *The Formulae of St. Eucherius of Lyons* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2000), p. 22.
[81] Song. 1.7(8): (Vulgate) 'pasce hedos tuos iuxta tabernacula pastorum'; (NIV) 'graze your young goats by the tents of the shepherds'.
[82] Brepols' *LLT* produces fifteen references to the phrase 'pasce haedos tuos in tabernaculis pastorum'. Five are from works by Augustine (two from *Letter 93*, volume 34.2, part 9; one from *Sermon 138*; one from *Sermon 2290*; one from *Against Gaudentius*, book 1, chapter 17, part 18). A further search of Augustine's works using the *LLT* shows that none of them seem to cite the Vulgate rendering ('iuxta tabernacula pastorum'). Instead Augustine prefers 'in tabernaculis pastorum'. For more on Augustine's use of Scripture, see J. J. O'Donnell, 'Bible', in *Augustine Through the Ages* ed. Fitzgerald et al., pp. 99-103.
[83] Bede writes that Theodore travelled 'to every district' (*uniuersa locis*), creating new episcopal sees and correcting unorthodox practice wherever he encountered it. Bede also writes that, under Theodore, 'the desires of all men were set on the joys of the heavenly kingdom of which they had only lately heard': *EH*, 4.2.

Canterbury School, a purpose devised by Theodore and Hadrian when they discovered that much of England had yet to be converted.[84] Students were encouraged to look beyond their cloistered surroundings and to consider the practical applications of biblical study. Canterbury was more than just a centre for academic debate. It was also the training ground for a new generation of priests who would continue the evangelisation of the English.

To this legion of trainee priests, the moral implications of the Bible held far more significance than complicated nuances of biblical interpretation. The Canterbury glosses are rarely concerned with in-depth theology. Instead they prefer to focus on etymology and moral instruction. This is undoubtedly a result of the School's pastoral agenda. Priests had no need to lecture the newly converted on theological complexities such as free will and the problem of evil. All that was needed was the ability to explain the Bible's message, particularly its comments on how to live a good Christian life. For this reason, it is not surprising to see the following Eucherian quote used in Canterbury gloss A^b 15.14:

> 'The tree of knowledge of good and evil' (Genesis 2:9): Obviously, no matter what was on that tree, the order of God is to be understood. But while the order was obeyed, knowledge was of good; once the order was violated, knowledge was of bad.[85]

The above explanation of Genesis 2.9 is copied verbatim from Eucherius' *Instructions*.[86] It is exactly the kind of moralising statement that often permeates Eucherius' work. The

---

[84] Clause 9 of Theodore's *Synod of Hertford* (672/3) calls for more bishops to be created 'as the number of the faithful increases'. It states that this matter was discussed at length but that no decision was made at the time ('*ad praesens*'). *EH*, 4.5, pp. 352-3. Theodore obviously planned to first increase the number of the faithful (probably by training more priests to undertake preaching) before he would consider consecrating new bishops to administer to them. The Canterbury School was an essential component of the first half of Theodore's plan.

[85] 'Lignum que scientiae boni et mali. In arbore quippe illa quodcumque erat preceptum dei intellegendum est. Sed in custodia precepti scientia erat boni. in transgressione precepti scientia erat mali'. A^b 15.14, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 5.

[86] 'In arbore quippe illa quaecumque erat preceptum Dei intellegendum est, sed in custodia praecepti scientia erat boni, in transgressione praecepti scientia erat mali'. *Instructions*, 1.82.

extract condenses a complicated issue, the Fall of Man, down to its basic tenet: the notion that man should always obey God. As with many of Eucherius' explanations, his view is derived from Augustine who writes extensively on whether or not Adam and Eve knew of 'bad' things, such as death and fear, before the Fall.[87] Eucherius simplifies this difficult issue, making it easier for preachers to explain the Fall to newly Christian audiences or those entirely unacquainted with Christianity.

Eucherius was clearly a familiar figure among Canterbury's students. His encyclopaedic texts acted as essential reference works for novice exegetes, particularly those hoping to play an active role in the non-cloistered community. The application of his works at Canterbury highlights the pastoral focus of the School's curriculum and its underlying impetus: to further the Christianisation of Anglo-Saxon England.

GREGORY THE GREAT

Gregory the Great (*c*. 540–604) was revered by Bede for his role in orchestrating the Augustinian mission of 597.[88] Bede describes in glowing terms how Gregory, who was pope from 590 until his death, 'sent a servant of God named Augustine […] to preach the word of God to the English people' and in doing so converted the English 'from the power of Satan to the faith of Christ'.[89] When he arrived in England, Augustine of Canterbury (*d*. 609) was awarded a property by King Æthelberht of Kent from which to carry out his missionary activity.[90] This property (a surviving Roman church) was located in Canterbury, which henceforth became the principal locus of English Christianity.[91]

---

[87] Augustine, *The City of God*, 14.10-11.
[88] L.T. Martin, 'Bede and Preaching', in *CCB*, p. 156; P. Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great* (Jarrow Lecture, 1964), p. 1.
[89] *EH*, 1.23, p. 69; M. DelCogliano, 'Introduction', in M. DelCogliano (ed.), *Gregory the Great on the Song of Songs* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2012), pp. 5-24.
[90] The latest research pinpoints Augustine's death date to 26 May 609. R. Shaw, 'When Did Augustine of Canterbury Die?', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 67:3 (2016) 473–491.
[91] Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 9.

Given Gregory's centrality to the history of Canterbury it is only reasonable to suppose that Theodore's students would have studied Gregorian works. Lapidge detects no hint of Gregory's presence in the Canterbury glosses.[92] Yet close analysis of the Vaciago glossaries proves that, despite being cited infrequently, Gregory's impact on the Canterbury glosses is unmistakable. Gregory was a prolific writer and his *Morals on Job* (a lengthy treatise which discusses the historical, allegorical and moral aspects of the Book of Job) is often viewed as his *magnum opus*.[93] *Morals* is quoted at least twice in the Canterbury glosses but it appears to be the only Gregorian work that is explicitly cited.

Gloss *A*^{I} 16.57 shows that Canterbury's students read and understood *Morals.* The gloss explains the meaning of the word *taeda* ('pine torch') which appears in Job 41:10(19):

> 'Pine torches' (Job 41:10[19]): little torches made from pinewood, from which pitch [is produced]. [In the] singular: '**when a torch is lighted, it has a sweet scent but a dismal light**'.[94]

In the Vulgate, the word is given in its nominative plural form (*taedae*).[95] But in *Morals* it appears in the ablative singular (*taeda*):

> Behold the hypocrisy of those is now plainly described, whose preaching is compared to lamps of torches. For **when a torch is lighted, it has a sweet scent, but a dismal light**. And so because these preachers of Antichrist claim to themselves a show of sanctity, but

[92] Lapidge notes references to Gregory's *Dialogi* and *Regula Pastoralis* in the *Leiden Glossary* but does not find Gregorian references anywhere in the Canterbury glosses. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 176-8.
[93] DelCogliano, 'Introduction', p. 21.
[94] 'Tede faculae de ligno pino. de quo picem faciunt. Singulari numero. Teda cum accenditur odorem suauem habet sed lumen obscurum'. *A*^{I} 16.57, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 74.
[95] Job 41:10(19): (Vulgate) 'de ore eius lampades procedunt sicut taedae ignis accensae'; (Douay-Rheims 1899 American Edition [hereafter 'DRA']) 'Out of his mouth go forth lamps, like torches of lighted fire'; (NIV) 'Flames stream from its mouth; sparks of fire shoot out'.

> yet practise works of iniquity, the smell, as it were, which they emit is pleasant, but the light they give is dark.[96]

It seems that *A[l]* 16.57 cites *Morals* to demonstrate how the singular noun may be employed. The gloss explains that *taedae* (plural) can also be used in the singular, as in Gregory's *Morals*.

Morals is a highly complex work and its use at Canterbury shows that students were exposed to more than just the basics of interpretation.[97] It is tempting to view the Canterbury glosses as beginner texts, produced by students whom Theodore wanted to educate quickly in order to secure Christianity's foothold in England. Yet these students were clearly acquainted with more complicated works than just Eucherius' straightforward interpretative manuals. The casual way in which *A[l]* 16.57 uses *Morals* to illustrate a grammatical point implies a comfortable familiarity with the text. After all, there would be little point in clarifying a difficult biblical *lemma* by referencing an example that was completely alien to Canterbury's students.

The author of *A[l]* 16.57 obviously had grammar at the forefront of his mind. However, his decision to cite the above Gregorian extract is telling of Canterbury's persistent focus on conversion. This focus reflects Gregory's own interests. Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo write that conversion is a recurring theme in *Morals* and many of Gregory's other works.[98] To English minds, Gregory was intrinsically linked with conversion. Indeed, *Morals* held special significance to English audiences thanks to

---

[96] 'Ecce iam hypocrisis eorum aperte describitur quorum praedicatio taedarum lampadibus comparatur. Taeda enim cum accenditur odorem quidem suauem habet, sed lumen obscurum. Ita isti praedicatores antichristi, quia sanctitatis speciem sibi arrogant, sed tamen opera iniquitatis exercent, quasi blandum quidem est quod redolent, sed nigrum quod lucent'. Gregory the Great, *Morals on Job* [hereafter '*Morals*'], (*Moralia in Job*), *PL* 75 (Paris: 1849), book 33, part 35; James Bliss (trans.), *Morals on the Book of Job*, 3 vols (Oxford: John Henry Parker; London: J. G. F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850), vol. 3, part 2, p. 610.

[97] Wilken describes *Morals* as 'a dense and diffuse work'. R. L. Wilken, 'Interpreting Job Allegorically: The *Moralia* of Gregory the Great', *Pro Ecclesia*, 10:2 (2001), 213-226 (p.214).

[98] B. Neil and M. Dal Santo, 'Editors' Preface', in B. Neil and M. Dal Santo (eds), *A Companion to Gregory the Great* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. xx.

a brief comment it makes on the Christianisation of Britain.[99] Given the strong association between Gregory and evangelisation, it is not surprising that *A*[l] 16.57 uses a Gregorian extract that discusses false preachers. Gregory likens duplicitous preachers to pine torches, claiming that, although their words seem pleasant, they cannot truly illuminate God's message. Canterbury's repeated emphasis on enlightenment, whether it be understanding the meaning of the Bible or encouraging the English to adopt Christianity, illustrates the centrality of this theme to Canterbury's ethos.

In addition to highlighting the School's interests, Canterbury's use of *Morals* provides clues about the School's teaching methods. Rather than acting as beginner texts, the Canterbury glossaries were potentially written by and/or for people seeking to apply their existing knowledge of exegesis to a pastoral context.[100] Many early medieval glossaries were prescriptive, propelling readers towards specific literal or allegorical interpretations of the Bible.[101] However, some were more open-ended, allowing readers to reach their own conclusions about the manifold meaning of Scripture. Although glossaries provided the framework for interpretation, it was the responsibility of the individual interpreter to elaborate on this framework by drawing on wider exegetical reading.

---

[99] 'Lo! the tongue of Britain, which knew only how to grate barbarian sounds, has begun long since to resound in the Divine praises the Hebrew Alleluia'. ('Ecce lingua britanniae, quae nihil aliud nouerat, quam barbarum frendere, iam dudum in diuinis laudibus hebraeum coepit alleluia resonare'), Gregory, *Morals*, 27.11; Bliss, *Morals on the Book of Job*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 214. Spiegel argues that this passage refers to 'British Christianity in the immediate post-Roman period, which [Gregory] incorrectly believed was still current in England'. However, Bede interpreted it as referring to the Augustinian mission of 597 (*EH*, 2.1). F. Spiegel, 'The *tabernacula* of Gregory the Great and the Conversion of Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 36 (2007), 1–13 (p. 3, n. 4); C. Ricci, 'Gregory's Missions to the Barbarians', in Neil and Dal Santo (ed.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, p. 55.

[100] R. Sharpe, 'Vocabulary, Word Formation, and Lexicography', in F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (eds), *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), p. 95.

[101] E. Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 141.

Evidence that Canterbury encouraged its students to have interpretive freedom can be found in the Canterbury glosses' only other use of *Morals*, which occurs in gloss A^b 15.19:

> 'Revolving': moving. It is **called 'moveable' in that the time should come one day that it might even be removed**.[102]

This gloss explains the use of the word *versatilem* ('revolving') which appears in Genesis 3.24: 'After he drove the man out, he placed on the east side of the Garden of Eden cherubim and a flaming sword flashing back and forth [*versatilem*] to guard the way to the tree of life'.[103] According to this biblical passage, God placed a flaming sword at the entrance to Eden to prevent Adam from re-entering Paradise. Many early Church Fathers, including Gregory, believed that Christ's Incarnation reversed Adam's expulsion, causing the sword to be removed.[104] Gloss A^b 15.19 agrees with this theory since it quotes Gregory's *Morals* to show that the sword's mobility signified its transient nature:

> […] man, who fell by his own act, was unable by his own act to return to the rest of Paradise except that He should come, who by the mystery of His Incarnation should open the way into that same Paradise. For hence after the sin of the first man it is recorded that a flaming sword was placed at the entrance of Paradise, which is also **called 'moveable,' in that the time should come one day that it might even be removed**.[105]

---

[102] 'Versatilem uibrantem. **Versatilis dicitur. eo quod** aliquando **ueniret tempus ut etiam remoueri potuisset**'. A^b 15.19, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 6.
[103] Genesis 3:24: (Vulgate) 'eiecitque Adam et conlocavit ante paradisum voluptatis cherubin et flammeum gladium atque versatilem ad custodiendam viam ligni vitae'; English trans. from NIV.
[104] P. T. Lanfer, *Remembering Eden: the Reception History of Genesis 3: 22-24* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 108-111.
[105] '[…] homo qui per se cecidit, per se ad paradisi requiem redire non potuit, nisi ueniret ille qui suae incarnationis mysterio eiusdem nobis paradisi iter aperiret. Vnde et post culpam hominis ad paradisi aditum romphaea flammea posita esse memoratur, quae et **uersatilis dicitur,** pro **eo quod** quandoque **ueniret tempus ut etiam remoueri potuisset**'. *Morals*, 12.9. Bliss, *Morals on the Book of Job*, vol. 2, parts 3-4, p. 53.

The issue of the revolving sword has preoccupied generations of exegetes. Philo (*c*. 25 BCE–*c*. 50 CE), who is widely regarded as the father of allegorical biblical interpretation, argued that the flaming sword is a symbolic name for heaven, which he viewed as a flame-like entity that revolves around the world.[106] This interpretation was adopted by the author of *PentI* 47, who writes that the sword is the fiery *aether*.[107] However, early Christian writers saw parallels between the expulsion narrative of Genesis 3.22–24 and various passages in the Book of Revelation, including Revelation 22.14 which states that those who cleanse themselves of sin and experience baptism will regain access to the Tree of Life.[108] Ephrem the Syrian (*c*. 306–373) posed that the sword which pierced Jesus' side on the cross simultaneously removed the flaming sword from Eden's gates.[109] In this manner, the 'moveable' nature of the sword came to be associated with its impermanence. However, not all scholars agreed with this interpretation.

Augustine of Hippo believed that the sword is described as 'moveable' because it represents the ceaseless variety of temporal concerns. The sword's flames, meanwhile, signify the cleansing pain of fire. Augustine concludes that no one will enter paradise until they have endured the hardships of secular life, which act as a painful process of purification.[110] As we have seen, the commentaries display great reverence for

---

[106] Lanfer, *Remembering Eden*, p. 107; F. Young, 'Alexandrian Interpretation' in R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden (eds), *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London: SCM , 1990), p. 12.

[107] '*Gladium autem flammeum ac uersatilem*: uolunt esse aether .i. igneum spacium per .xxiiii. horas uergentem se […]' ('*A flaming sword turning every way*: they wish us here to understand the *aither*, that is, a fiery space which revolves completely every twenty-four hours […]'. *PentI* 47. Latin transcription and English trans. (with slight modifications) from *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 312-3.

[108] Revelation 22:14: (NIV) 'Blessed are those who wash their robes, that they may have the right to the tree of life and may go through the gates into the city'; Lanfer, *Remembering Eden*, p. 110.

[109] Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns on Paradise*, 2:1, cited in Lanfer, *Remembering Eden*, p. 110; S. H. Griffith, *Faith Adoring the Mystery: Reading the Bible with St. Ephraem the Syrian* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1997), p. 1.

[110] 'flammea uero framea uersatilis, temporales poenae intelliguntur, quoniam tempora uolubilitate uersantur. propterea et flammea dicitur, quia urit quodammodo omnis tribulatio. sed aliud est uri ad consumptionem, et aliud est uri ad purgationem […] nemo ergo potest peruenire ad arborem uitae, nisi per has duas, id est per tolerantiam molestiarum, et scientiae plenitudinem' ('The flaming moveable sword means temporal punsihments, because times move in their continual variety. It is called 'flaming' because every tribulation burns somehow or other. But it is one thing to be burned until consumed, another to be burned until purified […] No one can come to the tree of life except by these two ways, that is, by the endurance of troubles and

Augustine and so we might expect gloss *A*^{b} 15.19 to evoke Augustine's interpretation of the flaming sword. However, the author's decision to adopt Gregory's stance (and *PentI* 47's endorsement of Philo's reading) shows that Canterbury's students were willing to engage with contentious exegetical debates and to draw their own conclusions. Both Gregory and gloss *A*^{b} 15.19 propose that Genesis uses *versatilem* to foreshadow the coming of Christ, whose life, death and resurrection caused mankind to be saved. Thus, the underlying message of *A*^{b} 15.19 is that Christ brings about salvation. This is a message with a strong evangelical focus and highlights, once again, the Christianising aims of the Canterbury School.

Despite the Canterbury glosses' seemingly limited dependence on Gregory, their deployment of *Morals* gives an insight into the calibre of the Canterbury School. Far from catering to impressionable beginners, the School expected a high level of skill and seems to have encouraged a degree of independent thought. As with Eucherius' works, the School's use of *Morals* demonstrates a tendency among students to focus on conversion, reinforcing the notion that Canterbury was an active player in Theodore's programme of evangelisation.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE

Isidore of Seville (*c*. 560–636) is often viewed as an intermediary figure between late antique and early medieval theology.[111] His impact on exegetical study was as rapid as it was profound.[112] His works were disseminated across Europe from as early as the mid-

---

the fullness of knowledge'). Augustine, *On Genesis Against the Manichees* (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos*), *PL* 34 (Paris: 1841), book 2; R. J. Teske (ed.), *On Genesis: Two Books: On Genesis Against the Manichees and On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Book* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991), p. 131.

[111] T. O'Loughlin, 'Isidore of Seville (c.560–636)', in G. T. Kurian (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Christian Civilization* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), vol. 2, pp. 1212-3; J. Wood, 'Isidore of Seville', in R. S. Bagnall et al. (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah12218 [accessed 2 March 2017].

[112] A. Fear and J. Wood, 'Introduction', in A. Fear and J. Wood (eds), *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*, Late Antique and

seventh century and they retained their prevalence throughout the medieval period. Indeed, the popularity of his best-known work, *Etymologies*, is clear from the sheer number of manuscript copies (almost a thousand) to have survived.[113]

Although the details of Isidore's life are unclear, most scholars agree that he succeeded his brother, Leander, to the bishopric of Seville in 599 or 600.[114] Isidore wrote seventeen major works on subjects such as salvation history, the natural world and monasticism.[115] However, Anglo-Saxon audiences knew him best for his grammatical works.[116] The earliest evidence for knowledge of Isidore in Anglo-Saxon England can be traced back to Theodore and Hadrian's Canterbury School.[117] The Leiden Family of manuscripts (those associated with the Leiden Glossary) indicate that Canterbury had access to *On Ecclesiastical Offices, On the Nature of Things* and *Etymologies*, whereas the Canterbury glosses attest to two of Isidore's works: *Etymologies* and *The Differences between Words*.[118] Thus, the Canterbury School had at least four Isidorian texts at their disposal and its students made extensive use of Isidore's teachings.

Isidore is without question the most frequently cited Latin author in the Canterbury glosses. Lapidge notes eleven references to Isidore across commentaries *PentI*, *Gn-Ex-EvIa* and *EvII*. One of these draws on *Differences* while the remaining ten cite *Etymologies*.[119] Lapidge states that Isidore is not quoted by name at any point in the

---

Early Medieval Iberia, 2 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 20-23; M. Frassetto, *The Early Medieval World: From the Fall of Rome to the Time of Charlemagne* (Santa Barbara, Calif.; Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2013), p. 331.

[113] Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 24.

[114] *Ibid*., p. 7.

[115] Fear and Wood, 'Introduction', pp. 13-16.

[116] Lockett has shown, by analysing the manuscript evidence, that *Etymologies*, *Synonyma*, *The Differences between Words* and *Sententiae* were the most prolific Isidorian works in Anglo-Saxon England. L. Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp. 224-7.

[117] C. Di Sciaccia, *Finding the Right Words: Isidore's Synonyma in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 47.

[118] *Ibid*., p. 48; Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 175-8.

[119] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 177-8.

commentaries.[120] Although this is true of the Milan manuscript, it should be noted that Isidore is named in another manuscript witness, the Lavanttal manuscript. A gloss from this manuscript (gloss *G** 2.28) gives a confused account of Isidore's teachings on the meaning of *cherubim* ('cherub'). The first half of the gloss correctly quotes Isidore's *Etymologies* to explain that cherubs were placed at the entrance to Eden (alongside the flaming sword) in order to drive off wicked angels. However, the second half of the gloss is as follows:

> 'This, Isidore says, [is] a moving or double-edged sword, **in that the time should come one day that it might even be removed**'.[121]

The gloss cites Gregory's comments on the transience of the flaming sword but mistakenly attributes them to Isidore, not Gregory. The fact that Isidore is named in the Laventtal manuscript (coupled with the named reference to Augustine discussed above) shows that Canterbury was willing to identify its sources when necessary. So why do many other witnesses to the Canterbury glosses, including the Milan manuscript, neglect to name Isidore? Perhaps the School's use of Isidore was so extensive that students felt it unnecessary to cite him by name. Naming one's source might only have been required when the glossator was unfamiliar with the material, as appears to have been the case in the erroneous Lavanttal gloss.

---

[120] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 204.

[121] 'Cherubim et flammeum gladium atque uersatilem. Septus est enim paradisus undique romplea flammea .i. muro igneo. ita ut eius cum celo paene iungatur incendium. Cherubim quoque .i. angelorum. presidium. arcendi sunt spiritalibus malis super rompheam flagrantem. ut homines flammae. angelos uero malos angeli boni submouebant. Hic isidorus gladium uibrantem uel ancipitem dicit. Vt **quandoque ueniret tempus. ut etiam remoueri potuisset**'. *Glossae biblicae in codice Laventino* (Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Archiv des Benediktinerstiftes 82/1, [*G**]), *G** 2.28, in *Glossae Biblicae I*, pp. 297-8; '[…] septus est enim undique romphea flammea, id est muro igneo accinctus, ita ut eius cum caelo pene iungat incendium. Cherubin quoque, id est angelorum praesidium, arcendis spiritibus malis super rompheae flagrantiam ordinatum est, ut homines flammae, angelos uero malos angeli submoueant […]', *Etymologies*, 14.3.3. For Gregory's comments, see p. 89, n. 105 (above). It is clear that the gloss given in the Lavanttal manuscript is a product of Theodore and Hadrian's Canterbury School because it corresponds with *Gn-Ex-EvIa* 9 (*Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 388-9), a gloss which Bischoff and Lapidge have associated with Canterbury.

We have already seen from Lapidge's work that Isidore is cited regularly in the Canterbury glosses. His writings are referenced a further eighteen times in the Vaciago glossaries. Most of these references are basic explanations of words and have limited potential to inform our knowledge of the Canterbury School. Consequently, only the most edifying references are discussed in the present chapter while the remainder are given in the following table:

	Canterbury Gloss	**Canterbury Ref. No.**	**Isidorian Ref. No.**	**Notes**
1	Stellius genus est serpentis similis lacerte sed maior. de colore indicum nomen habet. Est enim tergore pictus fulcitur fulgentibus guttis in modum stellarum. Ideo que dictus stellius quod stellarum habeat corpus.	*A*^{b} 32.14, p. 30	*Etymologies*, 12.4.38	Etymology of *stellio* ('newt, lizard'). It takes its name from the spots on its back, which resemble stars (*stellae*).
2	Herodion. Alii eas dimedias ab insula diomedia. Sunt enim forma fulice similes magnitudine cignorum colore candido. duris et grandibus rostris.	*A*^{b} 52.13, p. 43	*Etymologies*, 12.7.28	Description of a large white bird known as *herodion* (*herodium* in Vulgate) or sometimes as *diomedia*.
3	Bubo auis nocturna. Haec cum in urbe uisa fuerit solitudinem significari dicunt. De qua ouidius. Versus. Feda que fit uolucris uenturi nuntia luctus.	*A*^{b} 32.14, p. 30	*Etymologies*, 12.7.39	Isidore relays Ovid's description of the *bubo* ('horned owl'). The *bubo* is perceived as a bad omen.

	Ignauus bubo. Durum motalibus nomen.[122]			
4	Paradisus est locus in orientis partibus constitutus. Cuius uocabulum ex greco in latinum uertitur ortus. Porro hebraicae. eden dicitur. quod in nostra lingua deliciae interpretantur. Quod utrumque iunctum facit ortum delitiarum.	*A*^{b} 15.13, p. 5	*Etymologies*, 14.3.2	Etymology of the Garden of Eden.
5	Siclus xx obolos habet. Obolus est scripolum dimidium qui facit siliquas .iii. Scripulus sex siliquarum pondere constat. Siliqua uicesima pars solidi est ab arbore cuius hoc nomen est uocabulum tenens.[123]	*A*^{b} 32.34, p. 31	*Etymologies*, 16.25.9-12	Etymology of various coins, including the shekel and siliqua.[124]
6	Tygna id est tecta. Cedrina dura arborum. Cedrus inputribili uigore consistit. nec a tinea umquam exterminatur. quia sucus eius uermibus est obuius.	*A*^{l} 8.36, p. 59	*Etymologies*, 17.7.33	Describes the durability of cedar wood.

[122] *Omen* ('omen, sign') appears to be mistranscribed as *nomen* ('name, title, noun'). *Omen* is used in the original Isidorian text.
[123] *Semen* ('seed') appears to be mistranscribed as *nomen* ('name, title, noun'). *Semen* is used in the original Isidorian text.
[124] For Lapidge's comments on the Canterbury School's interest in coinage see *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 262-3.

7	Bdellium de arbore colligitur. Est autem lacrima lucida et subalbida. leuis sed pinguis.	*A*^{b} 15.16, p. 5	*Etymologies*, 17.8.6	Explanation of 'bdellium', a semi-transparent resin.
8	Mandragora dicta quod habeat mala suaueolentia. quam latini terrae malum uocant. Hanc herbam poete antropomeneos uel antropomo appellant. quod habeat radicem formam hominis similantem. Cuius cortex mixta uino ad bibendum datur his quorum corpus propter curam secandum est. ut soporati dolorem non sentiant. Huius species sunt duae. Femina foliis lactucae similis. mala generans in similitudine prunarum. Masculus uero foliis betae similis.	*A*^{b} 15.38, p. 6	*Etymologies*, 17.9.30	Information on the etymology of the mandrake and its medicinal qualities.[125]
9	Aliter. Calculus lapis breuis qui sine molestia sui breuitate calcatur.	*A*^{l} 10.22, p. 63	*Etymologies*, 18.62.1	Explains that a counter (*calculus*) is a small stone.

[125] For Lapidge's comments on the Canterbury School's interest in medicine see *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 249-55.

The Canterbury School's application of Isidore provides useful clues about the interests of its students. The glosses demonstrate a clear fascination with several themes, one of which is unorthodox ritual practice. Of the eighteen Isidorian citations used, four discuss the various 'magicians, enchanters, sorcerers and astrologers' mentioned in the Book of Daniel.[126] Gloss *A*^{I} 14.17 explains that *incantatores* ('enchanters') are individuals who 'accomplish things with words'.[127] This explanation is lifted straight from Isidore's *Differences*:

> The difference between an *incantator* (enchanter), *magus* (magician), <*h*>*aruspex* (diviner), and *maleficus* (evil doer) is that *incantators* accomplish things with words, *magi* utter predictions from the stars, *malefici* use blood and sacrificial victims and they often touch the bodies of the dead, and <*h*>*aruspices* inspect the entrails of animals and, from them, predict the future.[128]

The above Isidorian passage is also the inspiration for Canterbury gloss *A*^{I} 14.15:

> *Aruspices* (diviners/ soothsayers) are those who examine the entrails of animals and predict the future from them. [They are] either soothsayers or divinely inspired.[129]

The author of *A*^{I} 14.15 is not content with Isidore's statement and decides to add that *aruspices* are divinely inspired (*diuinos*). Isidore makes no attempt to associate *aruspices* with God, but the author of gloss *A*^{I} 14.15 deems it necessary to emphasise God's role in

---

[126] Daniel 2:1-2: (Vulgate) 'in anno secundo regni Nabuchodonosor vidit Nabuchodonosor somnium et conterritus est spiritus eius et somnium eius fugit ab eo praecepit ergo rex ut convocarentur arioli et magi et malefici et Chaldei et indicarent regi somnia […]'; (NIV) 'In the second year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar had dreams; his mind was troubled and he could not sleep. So the king summoned the magicians, enchanters, sorcerers and astrologers to tell him what he had dreamed […]'.

[127] 'Incantatores sunt. qui rem uerbis peraguntur'. *A*^{I} 14.17, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 70.

[128] 'Inter Incantatorem, magum, aruspicem et maleficum. Incantatores sunt qui rem verbis peragunt. Magi, qui de sideribus philosophantur. Malefici, qui sanguine utuntur et victimis, et saepe contingunt corpora mortuorum. Aruspices, qui exta pecudum inspiciunt, et ex eis futura praedicunt'. Isidore, *The Differences between Words* [hereafter '*Differences*'] (*De differentiis uerborum*), *PL* 83 (Paris: 1850), part 291; P. Throop, *Isidore of Seville's Synonyms (Lamentations of a Sinful Soul) and Differences: An English Translation […]* (Charlotte, VT: MedievalMS, 2012), p. 140.

[129] 'Aruspices qui exta pecudum inspiciunt. et ex his futura predicant uel augures uel diuinos'. *A*^{I} 14.15, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 70.

orchestrating the supernatural. Likewise *A*[I] 14.17, which poses that enchanters are those who 'accomplish things with words', downplays the role of non-divine power. The gloss could easily be misconstrued as suggesting that enchanters are those with a talent for persuasion rather than beings with otherworldly powers.

A third gloss (*A*[I] 14.16) draws on Isidore's *Etymologies* to explain the meaning of *aruspices*. The gloss quotes Isidore verbatim:

> <*H*>*aruspices* (diviners/ soothsayers) are so named as if the expression were 'observers (*inspector*) of the hours (*hora*)'; they watch over the days and hours for doing business and other works, and they attend to what a person ought to watch out for at any particular time.[130]

Yet again, the gloss limits its discussion of the supernatural. Although Isidore's definition is included in a chapter entitled '*De magis*' ('On Magicians'), unwitting audiences of gloss *A*[I] 14.16 might perceive *aruspices* as individuals with no otherworldly affiliation whatsoever.

The Canterbury glosses seem hesitant to engage with any form of supernatural power that cannot be directly attributed to God. This hesitancy manifests itself most clearly in gloss *A*[I] 14.11, which cites Isidore's vehement denunciation of *arioli* (another term for soothsayers):

> <*H*>*arioli* are so called because they utter abominable prayers around the 'altars of idols' (*ara idolorum*), and offer pernicious sacrifices, and in these rites receive the answers of demons.[131]

---

[130] 'Aruspices nuncupati quasi horarum inspectores. Dies enim et horas in agendis negotiis opibus que custodiunt. et quod per singula tempora obseruare debeat homo intendunt'. *A*[I] 14.16, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 70. 'Haruspices nuncupati, quasi horarum inspectores: dies enim et horas in agendis negotiis operibus que custodiunt, et quid per singula tempora obseruare debeat homo, intendunt'. *Etymologies*, 8.9.17; Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 182.

[131] 'Arioli qui circa aras ydolorum nefarias preces emittunt. et funesta sacrifitia offerunt. his qui celebritatibus demonum responsa accipiunt'. *A*[I] 14.11, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 70. 'Arioli uocati, propter quod circa aras idolorum nefarias preces emittunt, et funesta sacrificia offerunt, iis que

The gloss depicts *arioli* as nefarious, demonic figures and seeks to stigmatise non-orthodox ritual practice which, in this instance, takes the form of 'abominable prayers', sacrificial ritual and idol worship.

Idolatry receives particular attention in gloss A^c 23.171, another gloss which quotes Isidore verbatim. Here Isidore identifies Apis as an Egyptian deity mentioned in Exodus 32.4:

> Among the Egyptians Apis was the bull dedicated to Serapis, and from this he received his cognomen. Egypt worshipped him like a god, because he would give certain clear signs of things to come. He would appear in Memphis, and one hundred high priests would follow after him and chant suddenly as if frantic. The Jews made the image of his head for themselves in the wilderness.[132]

Although idolatry is not condemned in the above extract, it is certainly criticised by Isidore. The extract is taken from a section entitled '*De diis gentium*', which Barney *et al*. translate as 'Gods of the Heathens'.[133] In this section, Isidore makes his views on idol worship clear. He describes it as an erroneous practice upheld by pagans 'at the urging of demons'.[134] His judgement doubtless permeated the outlook of A^c 23.171's author

---

celebritatibus daemonum responsa accipiunt'. *Etymologies*, 8.9.16; Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 182.

[132] 'Apis fuit apud Aegyptios taurus seraphi consecratus. et ab eo ita cognominatus quem Aegyptus instar numinis colebat. eo quod de futuris daret quaedam manifesta signa. Apparebat enim in mensis. s. initia quem certum antistites prosequebantur et repentem uelut limphatici precanebant. Huius capitis imaginem. sibi in heremo iudaei fecerunt'. A^c 23.171, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 29. 'Apis fuit apud Aegyptios taurus Serapi consecratus, et ab eo ita cognominatus, quem Aegyptus instar numinis colebat, eo quod de futuris daret quaedam manifesta signa. Apparebat enim in Menphis. Quem centum antistites prosequebantur et repente uelut lymphatici praecanebant. Huius capitis imaginem sibi in eremo Iudaei fecerunt'. *Etymologies*, 8.11.86; Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 188.

[133] Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 183

[134] 'Quos pagani deos asserunt, homines olim fuisse produntur, et pro uniuscuiusque uita uel meritis coli apud suos post mortem coeperunt […] sed paulatim hunc errorem persuadentibus daemonibus ita in posteris inrepsisse […]. *Etymologies*, 8.11.1-4. 'Those who the pagans assert are gods are revealed to have once been humans, and after their death they began to be worshipped among their people […]. However, at the urging of demons, this error gradually crept into later generations […]'. Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, pp. 183-4.

whose interest in idolatry may reflect the character of his congregation, which perhaps included individuals whose devotional practices he hoped to rectify.

The gloss indicates, as do glosses *A*^{I} 14.11 and *A*^{I} 14.15-17, that Canterbury was troubled by the subject of orthodoxy. This is hardly surprising given the setting in which the Canterbury School operated. England was a land not yet divorced from pre-Christian spirituality and so it no doubt served the School's evangelising aims to portray God as the agent of all supernatural activity. Any prospective cleric in seventh- to eighth-century England would have known that breaking down the existing spiritual customs of the English was integral to promoting Christianity. Although pre-Christian beliefs are notoriously hard to identify, works such as Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid*—in which a high priest attempts to curse Bishop Wilfrid and his retinue—show that many Christian audiences associated paganism with an ungodly form of spiritual power.[135]

Nevertheless, Canterbury's anxiety over orthodoxy may not have centred on pagans. In fact, it seems likely to have focused on Christian non-conformity, a subject that gained increasing prominence in the seventh and eighth centuries. Bede claims that the purpose of Theodore's Council of Hatfield (679) was to ensure uniformity of devotional practice across the lands under Theodore's jurisdiction. He writes that bishops from across the island of Britain (*episcopis Brittaniae insulae*) declared their allegiance to the 'true and orthodox faith' as devised by 'the holy and universal councils […] and the whole body of the accredited fathers of the catholic Church'.[136] The assembly also assented—as discussed previously— to the rulings of the Lateran Council of 649, which had condemned monotheletism.[137] Bede portrays the Council of Hatfield as little more than a means by which Theodore asserted his authority as archbishop. Yet the

[135] 'The chief priest of their idolatry set himself up on a high mound like Balaam and started to curse God's people, trying to bind their hands by his magic art'. *LOW*, 13, p. 121; B.A.E. Yorke, 'Magic', in M. Lapidge; J. Blair; S. Keynes; D. Scragg (eds), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), p. 303.
[136] *EH*, 4.17.
[137] *Ibid*.; H. Chadwick, 'Theodore, the English Church and the Monothelete Controversy', in *Archbishop Theodore*, p. 88.

council's *acta* had far-reaching implications that Bede was either unaware of or unwilling to discuss. The Council of Constantinople (680-681) was an important opportunity for Rome to assert its authority over Christendom. The *acta* of the Council of Hatfield—which were used in Constantinople as evidence of English support for Roman policy—played a crucial role in asserting papal primacy over the universal Church. They also established the English Church's allegiance to Roman perceptions of orthodoxy.

Rome in the seventh to eighth centuries was a thriving metropolis, attracting people from all over the Byzantine Empire. Julia Smith argues that many of these individuals came from the eastern provinces, bringing with them a range of traditions that drew on religion and superstition.[138] For instance, apotropaic tokens such as gemstones, pierced coins and pieces of coloured yarn were embellished with Christian motifs in an attempt to combine the forces of Christianity with various older, more obscure spiritual customs. Smith notes that Christians in the West tended to be more sceptical of such traditions than their eastern counterparts and this disparity between East and West was thrown into sharp relief by a surge of migration that took place in the late seventh century. Christians from remote provinces of the empire, many of whom had been displaced by Slav and Arab invasions, began to settle in metropolitan districts such as Rome, alerting central authorities to the great diversity of Christian practice taking place across the empire. Concerns over nonconformity were raised at the Quinisext Council of 692 and were still being discussed thirty years later at Gregory II's Council of Rome (721). Gregory anathematised anyone who made use of amulets, incantations and soothsayers and in doing so he clarified Rome's stance on what constituted orthodox practice.[139]

---

[138] J. M. H. Smith, 'Cursing and Curing, or The Practice of Christianity in Eighth-Century Rome', in R. Balzaretti, J. Barrow and P. Skinner (eds), *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 460-1.
[139] *Ibid*., pp. 463-472.

The Canterbury glosses were created against this backdrop of growing rigidity. Most scholars date the glosses to the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the period in which ecclesiastical authorities were growing increasingly concerned about issues of orthodoxy. The glosses, therefore, display a degree of trepidation over orthodoxy that reflects wider concerns circulating at the time of their composition. Their denunciation of nonconformity is doubtless influenced by Theodore, whose eagerness to align the English Church with Roman dogma is evident from the Council of Hatfield (679). Theodore's devotion to orthodoxy may seem surprising given that he grew up in the East where attitudes to Christian practice were more fluid than in the West. Yet his homeland of Tarsus was far from a provincial backwater and he had spent time in other urban centres, including Constantinople, so his beliefs probably conformed to what Smith calls the 'metropolitan norm'.[140]

Pope Vitalian (*d*. 672) obviously trusted Theodore's commitment to orthodoxy otherwise he would never have appointed Theodore to the see of Canterbury. Yet Bede hints that a degree of suspicion still lingered around Theodore which Vitalian sought to quash by putting in place the following measures. Firstly, Hadrian would be sent to England with Theodore in order to ensure that no 'Greek customs' were introduced into the English Church. Secondly, as proof of his loyalty to Rome, Theodore would be forced to grow out his eastern monastic tonsure and replace it with the style of tonsure favoured in Rome.[141] If Theodore had practiced any unorthodox customs before becoming archbishop, he would have been expected to have abandoned them by the time of his consecration in March 668.

Orthodox practice was clearly a prominent concern at Canterbury. Julia Smith writes that Anglo-Saxons in the seventh and eighth centuries 'acquired their Christianity through formal instruction' and, as a result, they gained an 'idealised, scholarly vision of

---

[140] For information on Theodore's education, see *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 5-64 and Lapidge 'The career of Archbishop Theodore'; Smith, 'Cursing and Curing', p. 471.
[141] *EH*, 4.1.

what Christianity should be'.[142] This vision could not accommodate theological irregularity which perhaps explains why the Canterbury glosses take such a firm stance against heterodoxy. Canterbury's perspective centred on regulated conversion, whereas the religious beliefs of eastern Christians had developed spontaneously over hundreds of years.[143]

Canterbury's interest in promoting conversion is demonstrated throughout the commentaries. Gloss A^{I} 12.14, which forms an exact copy of Isidore's comments on the partridge (*perdix*), is one such example of the School's evangelising focus:

> The partridge (*perdix*) takes its name from its call. It is a crafty bird, and filthy, for the male mounts another male; its violent lust ignores gender. It is deceitful to the extent that it will steal and hatch the eggs of another, but this deceit is fruitless, for at last when the hatchlings hear the call of their true parent, through a kind of natural instinct they abandon the bird that has reared them and return to the one who conceived them.[144]

The sentiment of this gloss is highly moralising. Isidore (and thereby the glossator) denounces the evils of lust, particularly homosexual lust, and deceit. Isidore then makes a statement that no doubt appealed to Canterbury's evangelising agenda. The partridge is depicted as an antichrist-like figure similar to the false preachers criticised by Gregory. Although the partridge nurtures its stolen eggs, just as the beguiling preacher encourages its followers to oppose Christianity, its efforts at deception are futile since the hatchling (mankind) is always drawn back to its creator (God). This idea must have inspired students at Canterbury to view conversion as the natural progression of all

---

[142] Smith, 'Cursing and Curing', pp. 474-5.
[143] *Ibid*., p. 474.
[144] 'Perdix de uoce nomen habet auis dolosa atque inmunda. Nam masculus in masculum insurgit et obliuiscitur sexum libidine preceps. Adeo autem fraudulenta. ut alterius perdicis oua diripiens foueat sed fraus fructum non habet. Denique dum pulli uocem propriae genitricis audierint naturali quodam instictu eam quae fouet relinquunt et ad eam quae genuit reuertuntur'. A^{I} 12.14, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 67. 'Perdix de uoce nomen habet, auis dolosa atque inmunda; nam masculus in masculum insurgit, et obliuiscitur sexum libido praeceps. Adeo autem fraudulenta, ut alteri oua diripiens foueat; sed fraus fructum non habet: denique dum pulli propriae uocem genetricis audierint, naturali quodam instinctu hanc quae fouit relinquunt, et ad eandem quae genuit reuertuntur'. *Etymologies*, 12.7.63; Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 268.

mankind. It suggested that nonbelievers in Anglo-Saxon society would welcome Christianity after hearing the 'call of their true parent'; that is, after encountering the Word of God through preaching.

Isidore was clearly a formative influence on the Canterbury glosses. He received unparalleled attention from Canterbury's students and seems to have been their main source for information on a range of topics, not just etymology. Indeed, the Canterbury glosses highlight *Etymologies*' value as a multifaceted teaching text, which undoubtedly explains its enduring popularity. By studying Canterbury's use of Isidore, we can detect the School's interest in a pivotal theme: orthodoxy. This interest reveals Canterbury's engagement with doctrinal debates taking place beyond the confines of England. It paints Canterbury not as an isolated hinterland but as an active participant in the wider Christian world. Finally, the School's determined endorsement of orthodoxy hints at its enduring role as a missionary centre, lending even greater weight to the notion that the glosses were written by or for an audience intent on evangelisation.

JEROME

The final Latin patristic author visible in the Canterbury glosses is Jerome (*c*. 347–420), an influential scholar who grew up in Stridon (near present-day Ljubljana, Slovenia) in the Roman province of Dalmatia.[145] Jerome was sent to Rome at the age of twelve to be taught by the great rhetor Aelius Donatus (*fl*. fourth century).[146] He later travelled to Antioch and Constantinople before returning to Rome to embark on a new translation of the Bible.[147] At first, Jerome's translation was criticised by many of his contemporaries,

[145] T. P. Scheck, 'Introduction', in Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*, The Fathers of the Church, 117, trans. by T. P. Scheck (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), p. 5; Frassetto, *The Early Medieval World*, p. 337.
[146] *Ibid.*; 'Donatus, Aelius', in E. Knowles (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 2005), *Oxford Reference*, 2006, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198609810.001.0001/acref-9780198609810-e-2208 [accessed 27 March 2017].
[147] Scheck, 'Introduction', pp. 7-9.

but it eventually gained acceptance thanks to the endorsement of figures such as Augustine of Hippo and Pope Damasus I. By the seventh century, Jerome's Vulgate had replaced the *Vetus Latina* as the pre-eminent biblical text circulating in the West.[148]

Scholars such as De Hamel claim that Bede played a vital role in disseminating the Vulgate.[149] Yet Bede was not the first in Anglo-Saxon England to promote Jerome's translation. By analysing the many *lemmata* that accompany Canterbury's glosses, Marsden and McGurk have shown that Canterbury made extensive use of the Vulgate.[150] Furthermore, the Canterbury glosses frequently examine Jerome's critical apparatus to Scripture in exactly the same way that they gloss the Bible itself. Jerome's prefaces are the only non-scriptural texts glossed in Canterbury's exegetical corpus, which affords Jerome special significance and suggests that Canterbury viewed his prefaces as integral components of the biblical text. The following table lists all instances in which a Hieronymian preface is glossed in the Vaciago glossaries:

	Hieronymic Text	**Canterbury Ref. No.**
1	*Prologue to the Pentateuch*	*A*^{b} 14.4-27, pp. 3-4
		A^{c} 16.2-7, pp. 9-10
2	*Preface to the Book of Joshua*	*A*^{I} 1.2-7, p. 44
3	*Prologue to the Book of Kings*	*A*^{I} 4.3-6, p. 47
		A^{I} 4.9, p. 47
4	*Prologue to the Books of Solomon*	*A*^{I} 6.2-3, p. 56
5	*Prologue to the Prophet Ezekiel*	*A*^{I} 13.2, p. 68

[148] R. Loewe, 'The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate', in G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible*: *Volume 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 107-110.
[149] C. de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon Press, 2005), p. 34, quoted in D. Fleming, '*Hebraeam scire linguam*: Bede's Rhetoric of the Hebrew Truth', in S. Zacher (ed.), *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), p. 65.
[150] McGurk, 'Theodore's Bible: the Gospels', 255-9; Marsden, 'Theodore's Bible: the Pentateuch'.

6	*Prologue to Daniel*	*A*[I] 14.2-9, pp. 69-70
7	*Prologue to the Book of Job*	*A*[I] 16.3-14, p. 72
8	*Prologue to Tobit*	*A*[I] 17.2-3, p. 74
9	*Prologue to Judith*	*A*[I] 18.2, p. 74
10	*Preface to Esther*	*A*[I] 19.2, p. 75
11	*Preface to the Book of Ezra*	*A*[I] 19.2, p. 75

Fig. 7: Jerome's prefaces to the books of the Vulgate, as given in *Glossae Biblicae: Pars I*.

Canterbury clearly had access, in some form, to the eleven prefatory texts listed above. Lapidge recognises Canterbury's use of the *Prologue to the Pentateuch*, but he does not discuss the School's knowledge of any other Hieronymian preface.[151] In fact, it seems that Lapidge categorised Jerome's prefaces as part of the Vulgate text, negating the need to individually name them. This has led to potential error. For instance, Lapidge attributes the opening *lemma* of commentary *EvII* to an Old Latin rendering of the Gospel of Matthew whereas, in actual fact, this *lemma* is more likely to derive from Jerome's *Preface to the Gospels*. The opening gloss of *EvII* considers the word *primus* ('first'):

> *First*: Matthew the Hebrew wrote his gospel in Hebrew.[152]

Lapidge suggests that this gloss explains a passage from an Old Latin prologue to the Gospel of Matthew (known as *Praefatio uel argumentum Mathei*), which states:

> Matthew, from Judea; he is placed first in order (of the Gospels) because he was the first in Judea to write the gospel.[153]

[151] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 203.
[152] 'Primus: Mathaeus Hebraeus Hebraeo sermone euangelium scripsit'. *EvII* 1, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 396-7.
[153] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 503; 'Mattheus ex Iudaeis, sicut in ordine primus ponitur, euangelium in Iudaea primus scripsit': *Old Latin Prologue to the Gospel of Matthew* (*Praefatio uel*

Since the opening gloss of *EvII* analyses the word *primus*, Lapidge assumes it must refer to *Praefatio uel argumentum Mathei*.[154] However, it could also denote Jerome's *Preface to the Gospels*, which includes the word *primus* and seems more in line with the context of *EvII* 1 than Lapidge's suggested source:

> I now speak of the New Testament, which is undoubtedly Greek but was taken from the Apostle Matthew who, in Judea, first set forth the Gospel of Christ in Hebrew letters.[155]

Added to this, the Canterbury glosses frequently begin their analysis of a given biblical book by glossing a relevant Hieronymian preface. Each preface listed in fig. 7 appears near the start of a new biblical section. Thus, it would be typical of the Canterbury glosses for *EvII* to start by glossing Jerome's *Preface to the Gospels*.

Jerome was undoubtedly a revered figure at Canterbury and his popularity is clear from the abundance of Hieronymian texts available to the School's students. Lapidge has found that Canterbury had access to four of Jerome's works, three of which (the *Commentary on Matthew*, *Letter 36* and *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*) are attested in the Canterbury glosses and one (*On Illustrious Men*) that only occurs in the Leiden Glossary.[156] Lapidge located three references to *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (hereafter '*Hebrew Questions*') in the Canterbury glosses.[157] However, examination of the Vaciago

---

argumentum Mathei), in J. Wordsworth, H. J. White, H. F. D. Sparks, A. W. Adams (eds), *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine: secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi Vol. 1. Quattuor Euangelia*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889), vol. 1, p. 15; English translation modified from B. C. Smith, 'The Latin prologues', *Text Excavation*, www.textexcavation.com/latinprologues.html [accessed 15 May 2017].

[154] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 503.

[155] '[…] de nouo nunc loquor testamento, quod graecum esse non dubium est, excepto apostolo mattheo qui primus in iudaea euangelium christi hebraeis litteris edidit'. Jerome, *Preface to the Gospels* (*Praefatio in Euangelio*), *PL* 29 (Paris: 1846); English translation modified from K. P. Edgecomb (trans.), 'Jerome, Letter to Pope Damasus: Preface to the Gospels', *The Tertullian Project* (Berkeley, CA: 1999), www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_preface_gospels.htm [accessed 15 May 2017].

[156] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 176-8; *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 203-4.

[157] Lapidge found that Jerome's *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* is cited in *PentI* glosses 134, 147 and 187. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 178.

glossaries has revealed four additional references to *Hebrew Questions*, which are outlined in the following table:

	Canterbury Gloss	**Canterbury Ref. No.**	**Hieronymian Ref. No.**	**Notes**
1	In principio fecit deus caelum et terram. Plerique estimant sicut in altercatione quoque iasonis papisci scriptum est. et tertullianus in libro contra praxeam disputant […]	*A*^{b} 15.2, p. 4	*Hebrew Questions*, 3.18–4.5	An extensive quotation of Jerome's comments on the meaning of *bresith* (the Hebrew name for the Book of Genesis).
2	Maledictio terra in operibus tuis. Hic non opera colendi sed peccata exprimit.	*A*^{b} 15.21, p. 6	*Hebrew Questions*, 7.21	Demonstrates that *opera* ('toils') represents sin, not the cultivation of fields.
3	Arbeae. ubi abraham et ysaac et iacob conditi sunt et ipse princeps humani generis adam. ut in libro iosuae apertius demonstratur. et dicitur arbeae hebreo sermone. hoc est quattuor.	*A*^{c} 17.77, p. 13	*Hebrew Questions*, 35.27	Explains the meaning of *arbeae* (the city of Arba, which came to be known as Hebron) and states that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Adam are all buried there.

4	Secundus natus est de melcha buz, quem lxx bauz transferre uoluerunt […]	*A*^{l} 16.2, p. 72	*Hebrew Questions*, 22.20-22	This gloss is discussed more fully on pp. 117-8, below.

Jerome's *Hebrew Questions* is, fundamentally, a commentary on Genesis. However, it deals specifically with a number of questions (or, more accurately, issues) that arise from comparing the Hebrew text of Genesis with that of the Septuagint.[158] The work belongs to a genre often termed 'question–and–answer dialogues', which developed in the Ancient World and became popular with Christian authors during the early medieval period.[159] The genre was generally used for didactic purposes, so it is no surprise that Canterbury valued *Hebrew Questions* as an important educational text.[160]

Of the glosses listed in the above table, *A*^{b} 15.21 is particularly interesting because it takes Jerome's already brief explanation and condenses it further. Jerome's statement ('"Deeds" here do not refer to the cultivation of the fields as most people suppose, but to sins, as it stands in the Hebrew') is shortened to '"Deeds" here do not refer to cultivation but to sin'.[161] The Canterbury glosses often condense their sources in this way. For instance, we have seen that gloss *A*^{b} 15.9 shortens a lengthy treatise from Augustine's *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* to the terse phrase, '"God said"; that is, through his Word it was made' (see, pp. 67-70).[162] Similarly, gloss *A*^{b} 15.23 abridges Eucherius' comments on the etymology of Nod (the land where Cain is said to have dwelt after killing his brother, Abel) to the following concise line: 'He dwelt in the land

[158] C. T. R. Hayward, 'Introduction', in C. T. R. Hayward (trans.), *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 3.
[159] *Ibid*., pp. 2-3; A.J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 14-18.
[160] Van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*, p. 151.
[161] *A*^{b} 15.21, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 6; Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* [hereafter '*Hebrew Questions*'] (*Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim*), *PL* 23 (Paris: 1863); Hayward, *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions*, p. 33.
[162] *A*^{b} 15.9, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 5. Discussed in further detail on pp. 67-70.

[called] 'Naid'. In Hebrew it is called 'Nod'; that is, inconstant' (see, p. 82).[163] A gloss is, according to Isidore's definition, a condensed form of a commentary, so the Canterbury author(s) was simply adhering to the requirements of the genre by abridging in this way.[164] Yet the School's fondness for brevity may also hint at the needs of its audience which, as has been argued above, probably consisted of individuals who had only recently adopted Christianity and needed accessible resources to help them understand the Bible.

References to Jerome found in the Vaciago glossaries indicate that Canterbury was more dependent on *Hebrew Questions* than has previously been supposed. Added to this, the Vaciago glossaries highlight the presence of two additional Hieronymian works in Canterbury's library. These are: the *Commentary on Daniel* and *The Interpretation of Hebrew Names* (hereafter '*Hebrew Names*'). The *Commentary on Daniel* is cited in three glosses which, once again, concern the 'magicians' mentioned in the Book of Daniel. These glosses are outlined in the following table alongside the Hieronymian passages that inspired them. Recurring reference to the theme of orthodoxy highlights the great importance this topic held for Canterbury's students.

	Canterbury Gloss	**Canterbury Ref. No.**	**Hieronymian Ref. No.**	**Notes**
1	Malefici qui sanguine utuntur et uictimis et sepe contingunt corpora mortuorum. Consuetudo autem et sermo communis magos pro malefitiis accipit. Magi	*A*^{l} 14.13, p. 70	*Commentary on Daniel*, 1.2	Description of *malefici* ('evil doers') as those who employ blood and animal sacrifices. Adds that magi ('magicians') were viewed as

[163] *A*^{b} 15.23, *Glossae Biblicae* I, p. 6. The gloss cites Eucherius, *Instructions*, 1.85.
[164] For a fuller discussion of the nature of glosses and commentaries, see Introduction, pp. 21-5.

	uero apud chaldeos philosophi habentur.			philosophers by the Chaldeans.
2	Chaldei sunt quos uulgo mathematicos uocat.	*A*^{I} 14.14, p. 70	*Commentary on Daniel*, 1.2	Explanation that Chaldeans are known as 'mathematicians' by the *uulgo* ('common people').
3	Saraballa apud chaldeos crura hominum uocantur.	*A*^{I} 14.23, p. 70	*Commentary on Daniel*, 1.3	Notes that Chaldeans call refer to the shin-bones as 'saraballa'.

Although the *Commentary on Daniel* is cited infrequently, there can be little doubt (thanks to verbatim references) that it resided, in some form, at Canterbury's library. Another of Jerome's works, *Hebrew Names*, receives similarly limited attention in the Canterbury glosses, but its influence is unmistakeable. *Hebrew Names* is referenced in two of Canterbury's glosses, both of which cite Jerome's statement that *sicera* is 'the name given to any drink that is able to intoxicate'.[165]

	Canterbury Gloss	**Canterbury Ref. No.**	**Hieronymian Ref. No.**	**Notes**
1	Sicera dicitur. omne quod inaebriari potest. excepto uino. quod faciunt in asia. de	*A*^{c} 51.31, p. 41	*Hebrew Names*, 65.24	Explains the meaning of *sicera* ('intoxicating drink'), from the

[165] 'Sicera ebrietas. omne enim quod inebriare potest, apud hebraeos sicera dicitur'. Jerome, *The Interpretation of Hebrew Names* (*Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*), in P. de Lagarde, G. Morin, and M. Adriaen (eds), *S. Hieronymi presbyteri Opera. Pars I, Opera exegetica […]*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959), p. 65, line 24; English translation my own.

	panibus et aqua. et mellae.			Greek σίκερᾰ (sikera).[166]
2	Sycera dicitur omnis potus quo inaebriari potest excepto uino.	*A*[*l*] 23.2, p. 78	*Hebrew Names*, 65.24	As above.

Despite their scarcity, the above references are hugely significant since they form some of our earliest evidence for the presence of *Hebrew Names* and the *Commentary on Daniel* in England. By studying the Vaciago glossaries, we are able to paint a much fuller picture of Canterbury's dependence on Jerome. Not only do the Vaciago glossaries emphasise Canterbury's use of *Hebrew Questions*, they also demonstrate the School's knowledge of several previously unrecognised sources. We are now able to add the *Commentary on Daniel, Hebrew Names* and a range of Jerome's prefaces to Canterbury's hypothetical library. It is evident, therefore, that Canterbury had access to at least seventeen Hieronymian works: the eleven prefaces listed in fig. 7, the *Commentary on Daniel*, *Commentary on Matthew*, *Letter 36, On Illustrious Men*, *Hebrew Questions*, and *Hebrew Names*. Of all the Latin works mentioned above, Jerome's appear to have been most abundant at Theodore and Hadrian's Canterbury and this marks him out as a major influence on the School's intellectual output.

AN AMALGAMATION OF SOURCES

Given the composite nature of the Canterbury glosses, it is no surprise that they often cite multiple patristic authors to elucidate one specific issue. For instance, Isidore and Jerome are both cited for information on the 'magicians' discussed in the Book of Daniel.[167] Similarly, the views of Eucherius and Gregory can both be detected in

[166] J. Strong, *A Concise Dictionary of the Words in the Greek Testament; with their Renderings in the Authorized English Version* (Nashville & New York: Abingdon Press, 1890), p. 65
[167] See pp. 97-8 and p. 110, above.

Canterbury's discussion of pastoral care. Another topic that inspired Canterbury to draw on multiple sources is biblical authorship, a subject which occurs frequently in the Canterbury glosses' various 'introductory glosses'.

The Milan manuscript divides Part A of the Canterbury glosses into forty sections, with each section commenting on a specific biblical book (see Chapter 1, pp. 42-7, for more information on the structure of the Milan manuscript). Most sections begin with an 'introductory gloss' that gives background information on the biblical book about to be analysed. These introductory glosses are often followed by glosses elucidating Jerome's prefaces to the Vulgate (see fig. 8). Although most of Canterbury's introductory glosses seem to be original contributions produced by the School's students, several make use of patristic citations.

	Framework	**Example**	
		Description	**Canterbury Ref. No.**
1	Introductory gloss(es)	Introduction to the Book of Joshua	*A*^{I} 1.1, p. 44
2	Gloss(es) commenting on Hieronymian preface	Commentary on Jerome's *Preface to the Book of Joshua*	*A*^{I} 1.2-7, p. 44
3	Glosses commenting on scriptural text	Commentary on the Book of Joshua	*A*^{I} 1.8-25, pp. 44-5

Fig. 8: The structure of the individual sections of the Canterbury glosses (each section comments on a specific book or part of the Bible)

Isidore is directly quoted in three such introductory glosses (*A*^{I} 9.2, *A*^{I} 15.1 and *A*^{I} 16.2), all of which cite *Etymologies* for information on the authorship of the Bible. However, Isidore is not the only patristic author to inform these glosses. They also draw on, though do not always quote, the writings of Jerome. Gloss *A*^{I} 9.2 introduces the Book of Wisdom:

> The Jews say this book was written by Philo, not Solomon. They read it before the passion of Christ but afterwards, on account of its condemnation, they thoroughly cast away its evident testimony concerning the passion of Christ. It is displayed in the same book which truly was written by Solomon, whence it is said: 'you have appointed me king over your people' [Wisdom 9:7; 1 Kings 3:6–9; 2 Chronicles 1:8–10], et cetera. This book is considered among the apocrypha.[168]

The gloss evidently quotes Isidore's statement, 'The Jews say this book is by Philo' (*hunc Iudaei Philonis esse adfirmant*). Isidore's full observation is as follows:

> The book of Wisdom (*Sapientia*) never existed in Hebrew, whence even its title is more redolent of Greek eloquence. The Jews say this book is by Philo, and it is appropriately named Wisdom because in it the advent of Christ, who is the Wisdom of the Father, and his passion are clearly expressed.[169]

At first glance, gloss *A*^{I} 9.2 seems straightforward enough. However, its author was actually navigating a complex exegetical issue. During the early medieval period, there was no set biblical canon. The Bible tended to circulate in codices containing individual biblical books or small collections of biblical books such as the Pentateuch and Gospels, etc.[170] For instance, the famous image of 'Ezra' found in the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, fol. 2r, formerly numbered 4r and Vr)

---

[168] 'Hunc iudaei philonis esse affirmant. non salomonis. Quem ante passionem xpisti legebant. sed postea propter suae damnationis de xpisti passione euidentissimum testimonium paenitus abiecerunt. Sed quod uere salomonis sit in eodem libro ostenditur cum dicitur. Tu me constituisti regem super populum tuum. et cetera. Hic liber inter apocrifa habetur'. *A*^{I} 9.2, *Glossae Biblicae I*, pp. 60-1. Wisdom 9:7: (Vulgate) 'tu me elegisti regem populo tuo'; (DRA) 'Thou hast chosen me to be king of thy people'.

[169] 'Liber Sapientiae apud Hebraeos nusquam est, unde et ipse titulus Graecam magis eloquentiam redolet. Hunc Iudaei Philonis esse adfirmant, qui proinde Sapientiae nominatur, quia in eo Christi aduentus, qui est sapientia Patris, et passio eius euidenter exprimitur'. *Etymologies*, 6.2.30; Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 137. Barney *et al*. note that 'Hunc Iudaei Philonis esse adfirmant' could also translate as: 'They say that this book is by Philo Judaeus'. However, the context of gloss *A*^{I} 9.2 makes the alternative rendering ('The Jews say this book is by Philo') more likely. Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 137, n. 3.

[170] R. Gyug, 'Early Medieval Bibles, Biblical Books, and the Monastic Liturgy in the Beneventan Region', in S. Boynton and D.J. Reilly (eds), *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, & Performance in Western Christianity* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 34-5; Loewe, 'The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate', pp. 108-9.

depicts a bookshelf containing a nine-volume Bible.[171] The individual inscriptions on these volumes are: 'OCT. LIB. LEG' (the Octateuch); 'REG. PAR. L. VI' (the six 'books of Kings': 1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings, and 1-2 Chronicles); 'HIST. LIB. VIII' (the eight 'books of History': Job, Tobit, Esther, Judith, 1-2 Ezra, and 1-2 Maccabees); 'PSAL. LIB. I' (Psalms); 'SAL. LIB. V' (the five 'books of Solomon': Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, and Sirach); 'PROP. L. XVI' (sixteen books concerning the prophets: the twelve Minor Prophets plus Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel); 'EVANG. L. IIII' (the four Gospels); 'EPIST. AP. XXI' (twenty-one epistles); 'ACT. AP. APOC. IS' (Acts and Revelation).[172]

One of the earliest attempts to define a canon of Scripture (albeit one centred on the Old Testament) was made by the Jewish historian Josephus (37 CE–*c*. 100 CE), who wrote that only twenty-two biblical books should be considered authoritative works of Scripture.[173] By the third and fourth centuries, Christian perceptions of the biblical canon had begun to take shape. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius of Caesarea (*c*. 206–*c*. 339) proposed a scheme for the canon which borrowed heavily from Origen (*c*. 184/185–253/254).[174] Writing shortly after Eusebius, Jerome concluded in his *Prologue to the Book of Kings* (also known as the 'helmeted preface') that a clear line could be drawn between the canonical books and the apocrypha. According to Jerome, the Book of Wisdom belonged firmly in the apocrypha. He wrote that 'the Book of Wisdom, which is commonly ascribed to Solomon, and the books of Jesus the son of Sirach, Judith, Tobias, and the Pastor [of Hermas] are not in the canon'.[175]

---

[171] P. Meyvaert, 'The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and His Image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum*, 80:4 (2005) 1087–1133.
[172] R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 134.
[173] G.W. Anderson, 'Canonical and Non-Canonical', in P.R. Ackroyd & C.F. Evans (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Bible*: *Volume 1: From the Beginnings to Jerome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 114-5; D.L. Christensen, 'Josephus and the Twenty-Two Book Canon of Sacred Scripture', *The Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 29 (1986), 37-46 (p. 37).
[174] M.J. Kruger, *Canon Revisited: Establishing the Origins and Authority of the New Testament Books* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway, 2012), p. 266; E. Ferguson, *The Early Church at Work and Worship: Volume 1: Ministry, Ordination, Covenant, and Canon* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2014), p. 277.
[175] '[…] Sapientia, quae vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Iesu filii Sirach liber et Iudith et Tobias et Pastor non sunt in canone'. Jerome, *Prologue to the Book of Kings* (*Prologus in libro Regum*), in

Jerome's sentiment is clearly reflected in gloss *A*^{I} 9.2, which resolutely states that Wisdom 'is considered among the apocrypha'. Unlike Jerome, Isidore believed Wisdom to be part of the biblical canon, claiming that it was a genuine Solomonic work.[176] Thus, the glossator's decision to reference both Isidore and Jerome seems to be a conscious effort to demonstrate his awareness of on-going debates over canonicity. That being said, the glossator makes his position in favour of Jerome utterly clear, indicating that, in the case of Wisdom's canonicity at least, Jerome's perspective was held in greater esteem than Isidore's.

Gloss *A*^{I} 15.1 introduces the Twelve Minor Prophets, which are treated as a homogeneous group in the Milan manuscript. The gloss explains how each of these books acquired their names:

> On the twelve books of the prophets which in Hebrew are known as 'tharessa' ['Trei Asar', the Aramaic word for 'twelve']. The twelve books of the prophets are entitled with the names of their own authors. They are called the Minor Prophets because their discourses are short. Hence they are contained in one volume. Their names are Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who is also called by another name: Ezra.[177]

The central portion of the gloss quotes Isidore:

> Each book of the twelve prophets is entitled with the name of its own author. They are called the Minor Prophets because their discourses are short. Hence they are contained

---

Robert Weber (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975); English translation in R. J. Hexter & D. Townsend (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 29.

[176] T. O'Loughlin, 'Inventing the Apocrypha: The Role of Early Latin Canon Lists', *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 74:1 (2009), 53-74 (p. 65).

[177] 'In libro xii prophetarum qui hebraicae dicitur tharessa. Liber xii prophetarum auctorum suorum nominibus prenotatur qui propterea dicuntur minores quia sermones eorum breues sunt. unde et in uno uolumine sunt conexi. Quorum hec sunt nomina. Oseae. Iohel. Amos. Abdias. Ionas. Micheas. Naum. Abbacuc. Sophonias. Acgeus. Zacharias. Malachias. qui et esdras alio nomine uocatur'. *A*^{I} 15.1, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 71.

> in one volume. Their names are Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.[178]

However, *A*[I] 15.1 embellishes Isidore's comments by including the Aramaic term for the Twelve Minor Prophets, 'Trei Asar', which the Canterbury commentator gives as 'tharessa'.[179] Aramaic is a descendant of the same Proto-Semitic language that gave rise to Hebrew, hence the commentator's assertion that 'Trei Asar' is Hebrew.[180] The Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek names for the biblical books were relatively well known in the early medieval world thanks to the prevalence of Jerome's *Hebrew Names*, which we have already seen evidence of at Canterbury.[181] In the case of gloss *A*[I] 15.1, the spelling of 'tharessa' is reminiscent of an extract from Jerome's *Prologue to the Book of Kings*: 'liber duodecim prophetarum, qui apud illos uocatur thareasra'.[182] Thus, once again, the gloss seems to draw on both Isidore and Jerome.

The third gloss to cite Isidore for information on authorship is *A*[I] 16.2, which introduces the Book of Job:

> Some say Moses [wrote] the book of Job, others [say] one of the prophets, [and] some that Job himself, after the calamity he suffered, is acknowledged to have written [it]. The second son born from Melcha was Buz. From this man's family comes Balaam the soothsayer (so the Hebrews hand on the tradition) who in the Book of Job is called Eliu. At first he was a holy man and a prophet, [but] later he was condemned by God [for] disobedience.[183]

---

[178] 'Libri duodecim prophetarum auctorum suorum nominibus praenotantur; qui propterea dicuntur Minores, quia sermones eorum breues sunt. Vnde et conexi sibimet inuicem in uno uolumine continentur, quorum nomina sunt: Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Micheas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias et Malachias'. *Etymologies*, 6.2.26. English trans. (with minor modifications) from Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 137.
[179] J. H. Han, 'Introduction', in R. J. Coggins & J. H. Han (eds), *Six Minor Prophets Through the Centuries* (Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), p. 3.
[180] G. Goldenberg, *Semitic Languages: Features, Structures, Relations, Processes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 1.
[181] Poleg, *Approaching the Bible*, p. 118.
[182] Jerome, *Prologue to the Book of Kings*.
[183] *A*[I] 16.2, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 72.

Unlike the previous two glosses, *A*^{I} 16.2 includes a direct quotation from Jerome alongside a quotation from Isidore. In doing so, it physically merges Isidore's words with those of Jerome. The first half of the gloss is a condensed version of the following statement from Isidore's *Etymologies*:

> Some say Moses wrote the book of Job, others say one of the prophets, and some even consider that Job himself, after the calamity he suffered, was the writer […].[184]

However, the second half of the gloss cites Jerome's *Hebrew Questions*:

> The second son born from Melcha was Buz, whom the Septuagint have preferred to transcribe as Bauz. Now from this man's family comes Balaam the soothsayer (so the Hebrews hand on the tradition) who in the Book of Job is called Eliu. At first he was a holy man and a prophet of God; but later, because of his disobedience and lust for rewards, in that he was eager to curse Israel, he was dubbed with the description 'soothsayer' […].[185]

This amalgamation of Isidore and Jerome tells us much about Canterbury's approach to patristic scholarship. It seems that students were encouraged to read widely and to corroborate ideas by consulting multiple sources. Jerome was clearly a highly valued source of information. He is cited frequently in the Canterbury glosses and is treated with considerable respect. Gloss *A*^{I} 9.2 demonstrates, more than any other gloss, Jerome's elevated position in the eyes of Canterbury's students. His views on the canonicity of the Book of Wisdom are adopted in place of Isidore's perspective, hinting that Jerome took priority over Isidore in the hierarchy of exegetical authors.

---

[184] 'Librum Iob quidam Moysen scripsisse arbitrantur, alii unum ex prophetis, nonnulli uero eundem Iob post plagam suae passionis scriptorem fuisse existimant […]'. *Etymologies*, 6:2:13; English trans. from Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 136.

[185] 'Secundus natus est de melcha buz, quem lxx bauz transferre uoluerunt. et ex huius genere est balaam ille diuinus, ut hebraei tradunt, qui in libro iob dicitur heliu, primum uir sanctus et prophetes dei, postea per inoboedientiam et desiderium munerum, dum israhel maledicere cupit, diuini uocabulo nuncupatur […]'. *Hebrew Questions*, 22.20-22; Hayward, *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, p. 56.

CONCLUSION

In the introductory material to his 1994 edition of the Canterbury glosses, Lapidge wrote that, '[a]lthough the Canterbury biblical commentaries are composed in Latin […], their overall debt to Latin patristic exegesis is minimal'.[186] The preceding discussion has greatly expanded Lapidge's findings and has found that the Canterbury glosses are hugely indebted to Latin scholarship. By examining the four glossaries transcribed by Vaciago, it is possible to detect the influence of five pivotal Latin authors on Canterbury's curriculum. Until now, two of these (Eucherius of Lyon and Gregory the Great) have not previously been recognised in the scholarship.

Close analysis of the Vaciago glossaries has greatly expanded scholarly understandings of Canterbury's hypothetical library. Lapidge's 2006 work, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, concluded that only nineteen Latin works were known at Canterbury.[187] It is now possible to extend this number to thirty-six.[188] Thus, a revised list of the sources that shaped the Canterbury glosses is as follows (those not previously recognised as belonging to Canterbury's library are marked with an asterisk):

Anonymous:

- *Liber de ordine creaturarum* (*DOC*), mistaken for Augustine's *The City of God**

[186] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 201-2.
[187] Six attested in the Canterbury glosses are (according to Lapidge): Augustine's *Questions on the Heptateuch*; Isidore's *Differences* and *Etymologies*; and Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*, *Letter 36* and *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*. Thirteen additional Latin works are attested in the *Leiden Glossary*: Augustine's *Sermons to the People*; Cassiodorus's *Commentary on the Psalms*; Aelius Donatus' *Ars maior*; Eucherius' *Instructions*; Gildas' *On the Ruin of Britain*; Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and *Pastoral Care*; Isidore's *On Ecclesiastical Offices* and *On the Nature of Things*; Jerome's *On Illustrious Men*; Paulus Orosius' *History Against the Pagans*; and Sulpicius Severus' *Dialogues*, and *Life of Saint Martin*. Lapidge also identifies three anonymous works but I have excluded these from the above list since their provenance is unclear. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 175-8.
[188] We have added seventeen works to Lapidge's list. These seventeen are: the anonymous *Liber de ordine creaturarum*; Augustine's *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*; Eucherius' *Formulas*; Gregory's *Morals on Job*; Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel*, *Hebrew Names* and eleven of Jerome's prefaces to the Vulgate.

Augustine:

- *Questions on the Heptateuch*
- *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* (probable)*

Eucherius of Lyon:

- *Formulas of Spiritual Intelligence**
- *Instructions to Salonius**

Gregory the Great:

- *Morals on Job**

Isidore of Seville:

- *The Differences between Words*
- *On Ecclesiastical Offices*
- *On the Nature of Things*
- *Etymologies*

Jerome:

- *Commentary on Daniel**
- *Commentary on Matthew*
- *On Illustrious Men*
- *Letter 36*
- *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*
- *The Interpretation of Hebrew Names**
- Eleven prefaces to the Vulgate (*Prologue to the Pentateuch*, *Preface to the Book of Joshua**, *Prologue to the Book of Kings**, *Prologue on the Books of Solomon**, *Prologue to the Prophet Ezekiel**, *Prologue to Daniel**, *Prologue to the Book of Job**, *Prologue to Tobit**, *Prologue to Judith**, *Preface to Esther**, *Preface to the Book of Ezra**)

The twenty-seven sources listed above give major insights into the nature, interests and approach of the Canterbury glosses. Their use of the anonymous *Liber de ordine creaturarum* (*DOC*), for instance, which Canterbury mistakenly attributes to Augustine, hints that a degree of scholarly exchange took place between Ireland and Canterbury, yet this subject has received limited attention in existing scholarship.

Canterbury's use of Eucherius and Gregory, meanwhile, highlights the School's consistent interest in conversion and pastoral care. From this, we may infer that the commentaries' audience consisted largely of trainee priests preparing themselves for pastoral-facing roles in the burgeoning English Church. This explains the commentaries' concise and accessible style. However, the School was not confined to basic matters of biblical interpretation. Students' willingness to engage with contentious issues, such as differing theories about Genesis 3.24's 'revolving' sword and the nature of the biblical canon, demonstrates the high standard of teaching undertaken at Canterbury. Indeed, the Canterbury glosses represent only one 'genre' or form of exegetical text produced at the Canterbury School. It is highly probable that the School produced other works (now lost) that catered to the needs of more advanced students. Therefore, although the Canterbury glosses were probably written for a proselytising audience, they do not necessarily reflect the entire scholarly scope of the Canterbury School. The School's sophisticated understanding of contemporary issues is showcased by its approach to orthodoxy, a matter that greatly preoccupied Christendom during the late seventh to early eighth century. The School's engagement with this issue also stresses its role as an active contributor to wider theological debate.

Chapter 3: The Exegetical Orientation of the Canterbury School

Michael Gorman and Jonathan Sanford have argued that 'it is impossible to think without using categories'.[1] While this is certainly true, scholars should be aware of the limitations categories place on our ability to reach nuanced conclusions. One area that has suffered from an overreliance on categories is the study of early medieval exegesis. Scholars in this field have tended to divide exegetical texts into two groups, 'Alexandrian' and 'Antiochene', which represent opposing styles of biblical interpretation. These groups are frequently referred to as markers of allegorical versus literal interpretation, yet few scholars have been willing to explain exactly what is meant by these terms.[2] As a result, exegetical texts are often forced into either category with a Procrustean crudeness that impedes in-depth understanding.

[1] M. Gorman and J. J. Sanford, 'Introduction', in M. Gorman and J. J. Sanford (eds), *Categories: Historical and Systematic Essays* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), p. vii.

[2] For instance, Sims-Williams contrasts 'the literal, Antiochene', with 'the allegorical, Alexandrian', but provides little context about the two Schools. P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 185; O'Brien, *Bede's Temple*, p. 30.

Alexandrian exegesis emerged from the works of Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria (*c*. 25 BCE–*c*. 50 CE) in the first century CE.[3] Philo argued that certain biblical passages should not be interpreted literally since they contain factual inconsistencies and impossibilities.[4] He, therefore, stressed the need for allegory, the main interpretive method of Hellenistic Judaism. In Philo's age, Alexandrian society was a vibrant amalgamation of Greek, Jewish, Egyptian, and Roman culture. Jewish theologians were heavily influenced by enigmatic Greek philosophy, especially the writings of Plato, and this inspired them to approach Scripture from an allegorical perspective.[5] Two centuries later, their approach was adopted by Origen (*c*. 185 CE–253/254 CE), whom Berthold Altaner has dubbed 'the greatest scholar of Christian antiquity'.[6]

Frances Young describes Origen as the first true adherent of the Alexandrian School.[7] Despite basing his outlook on Philo's works, Origen viewed literal interpretation of Scripture as a Jewish preoccupation that Christians should seek to surmount.[8] His most prominent theory was that Scripture had three levels of meaning: the literal, the moral, and the allegorical. Whilst every human was privy to the literal meaning, only informed persons could perceive its moral implications, and only the most elite could receive God's wisdom through its allegorical sense.[9] However, Origen did not abandon all analysis of the Bible's literal meaning; he simply considered its moral and allegorical aspects more significant to a Christian's spiritual development.

---

[3] Young, 'Alexandrian Interpretation', p. 12; G.E. Sterling, 'General Introduction to the Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series', in A. C. Geljon and D.T. Runia (trans.), *Philo of Alexandria: On Cultivation* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. xi-xii.
[4] Young, 'Alexandrian Interpretation', p. 10.
[5] A. J. Hauser and D. F. Watson, 'Introduction and Overview', in A. J. Hauser and D. F. Watson (eds), *A History of Biblical Interpretation, Volume 1: The Ancient Period* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), p. 44; Young, 'Alexandrian Interpretation', p. 10.
[6] B. Altaner, *Patrology*; trans. by H. C. Graef (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), p. 223.
[7] F. Young, 'Alexandrian and Antiochene Exegesis', in A. J. Hauser, D. F. Watson (eds), *A History of Biblical Interpretation*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), p. 334.
[8] *Ibid*., p. 335.
[9] *Ibid*., p. 335; F. Young, 'Alexandrian School', in J. H. Hayes (ed.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), p. 25.

In contrast to Alexandrian exegesis, Antiochene interpretation is viewed as largely literal in its approach. Frances Young states that the Antiochene School developed in the late fourth and early fifth centuries as 'a reaction against Alexandrian allegory'.[10] The father of Antiochene exegesis was Diodore (*d*. 390 CE), bishop of Tarsus from 378 CE to his death.[11] Only a fraction of Diodore's works have survived, yet the Church historians Socrates of Constantinople (*c.* 380–after 439) and Sozomen (*c*. 400–*c*. 450) each attest to Diodore's focus on the 'surface meaning' of Scripture.[12] Their testimony is corroborated by an extant hermeneutical maxim preserved in Diodore's fragmentary *Quaestiones* on the Octateuch: 'We [in Antioch] far prefer τὸ ἱστορικόν ('the historical') to τὸ ἀλληγορικόν ('the allegorical')'.[13] Thus, we know that Diodore favoured τὸ ἱστορικόν (*to historikon*), 'the historical' or 'precise', over τὸ ἀλληγορικόν (*to allegorikon*), 'the allegorical' or 'figurative', but what these terms actually meant to Diodore is difficult to determine.

Diodore was influenced by Eustathius of Antioch (*fl*. 325), whose pivotal work, *On the Medium,* criticised Origen's interpretation of the Witch of Endor (1 Sam 28:3–25) and is seen as a 'signature statement of Antioch's approach to biblical texts'.[14] In 1 Samuel 28, King Saul, who has lost God's favour, asks for help from a witch. The witch

---

[10] F. Young, 'Antiochene School', in J. H. Hayes (ed.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), p. 38.
[11] R. C. Hill, *Reading the Old Testament in Antioch* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 6.
[12] Socrates of Constantinople states that Diodore 'wrote many treatises, in which he limited his attention to the literal sense of scripture, avoiding that which was mystical'. Socrates of Constantinople, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.3, trans. Zenos (2004), p. 138, quoted in B. D. Wayman, 'Diodore on the Politics of Kingship in Psalm 2', in by D. V. Meconi (ed.), *Sacred Scripture and Secular Struggles* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 140, n. 5. Sozomen remarks, 'I was told that [Diodore] left many books of his own writings, and composed commentaries on the surface meaning of the divine words'. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.2, quoted in R. C. Hill, 'Introduction', in R. C. Hill (trans.), *Diodore of Tarsus: Commentary on Psalms 1-51* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), p. xi, n. 5.
[13] Diodore of Tarsus, quoted in Hill, 'Introduction', p. xii; originally quoted from C. Schäublin, 'Diodor von Tarsus', in *Theologische Realenzyklopddie* 8 (1981), 763-767 (pp. 764-5).
[14] R. A. Greer, 'Eustathius of Antioch', in E. Ferguson, M. P. McHugh, F. W. Norris (eds), *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd edn. (New York; London: Routledge, 1999), p. 403 J. W. Trigg, 'Eustathius of Antioch's Attack on Origen: What Is at Issue in an Ancient Controversy?', *The Journal of Religion*, 75:2 (1995), 219-238, p. 219; Hill, *Reading the Old Testament in Antioch*, p. 3, n. 7.

brings the prophet Samuel back from the dead so that Saul may consult Samuel over what to do about an approaching Philistine army. It is often believed that Origen applied allegory to the story of the Witch of Endor whereas Eustathius interpreted it literally. In fact, the opposite is true.

Origen approached the story entirely literally, arguing that the witch really did raise Samuel from the dead. He claimed that the story must be true because Holy Scripture says it is.[15] But his reading raises some troubling issues. If the story is to be interpreted literally, then readers have to accept that a demonic force (the witch) was able to revive one of God's most revered prophets (Samuel). The notion that demons could have such influence seemed to contravene God's authority. Moreover, in order for Samuel to have been brought back to life by a malevolent force, he must have been plucked from the underworld rather than from Paradise since no Christian could accept that the power of a necromancer might extend to Heaven itself. But how could the pious Samuel have ended up in Hell? Origen negotiated both of these problems by insisting that the voice of the narrator is that of the Holy Spirit and that everything said and done by the witch of Endor is brought about by God acting through her. After all, claims Origen, God 'moves men to speech' on more than one occasion in the Bible.[16]

Eustathius found Origen's explanation unsatisfactory. He perceived the voice of the narrator as entirely separate from that of the witch. According to Eustathius, the witch (or the demon who possesses her) conjures an illusion of Samuel. She convinces Saul that he is speaking to the real Samuel but, in actual fact, the incident is a deception.[17] Eustathius expressed frustration that Origen, who was famed for his allegorical reading of Scripture, was unable to conceive of a non-literal approach to the Witch of Endor.[18] In order to highlight Origen's hypocrisy, Eustathius mocked the

[15] S. Connor, *Dumbstruck: A Cultural History of Ventriloquism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 77.
[16] *Ibid*., pp. 77-8.
[17] *Ibid*., pp. 82-3.
[18] *Ibid*., p. 86.

excessive allegorising of many of Origen's other works. In doing so, he sparked (or, rather, heightened) a rivalry between Antiochene and Alexandrian exegetes that would come to be viewed, by modern historians, as a conflict between literal and allegorical interpretation. Yet both Schools had always drawn on a mixture of literal and allegorical analysis.

Alan Hauser and Duane Watson have emphasised that the traditional dichotomy of allegorical (Alexandrian) and literal (Antiochene) is no longer sufficient; both Schools understood the Bible to have a deeper meaning beyond its literal wording.[19] Hauser and Watson pose that the rivalry between Alexandrians and Antiochenes can be partly understood as a rivalry between the philosophical and rhetorical schools of the ancient world.[20] Greek schools, teaching philosophy and rhetoric, were the higher education institutions of their age. They attracted many rich Romans to the Greek speaking world, causing schools to compete for potential students. Thanks to a typically Roman preference for practice over theory, most students favoured rhetoric. This meant that philosophers had to work hard to recruit their share of the market, creating a division between philosophers and rhetors.[21]

Two of the most important subjects dealt with at the philosophical and rhetorical schools were *historikon* and *methodikon*. *Historikon* aimed to elucidate the background of a text in order to explain its meaning. It considered (among other things) underlying themes, the implications of the narrative, and the aims of the writer. *Methodikon*, however, focused on linguistic analysis, including etymology, style, tropes, figures of speech, etc. Both *historikon* and *methodikon* were subsumed into Antiochene exegesis, but Alexandrian scholarship was influenced by an additional stimulus: philosophical schools stressed that biblical texts also had an important *hyponoia*

[19] Hauser and Watson, 'Introduction and Overview', pp. 43-44.
[20] *Ibid*., p. 44.
[21] Y. Z. Liebersohn, *The Dispute Concerning Rhetoric in Hellenistic Thought* (Oakville, CT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp. 26-27.

('undersense'), which informed Alexandrian preoccupations with *allegorikon*.[22] Thus, Hauser and Watson state that the Alexandrian and Antiochene Schools promoted different hermeneutical principles, but they also stress that 'these principles had much in common'.[23] It is important to recognise this similarity when analysing the Schools, just as it is important to view Antiochene scholars as more than literal interpreters of Scripture. In fact, Young argues that although Antiochenes 'were concerned with taking the narratives realistically', they did not necessarily read them literally.[24]

This misguided emphasis on Antiochene literality has caused many scholars to portray the Alexandrian and Antiochene Schools as diametrically opposed entities.[25] But over-simplifying the character of these Schools undermines their sophistication.[26] Individuals such as Rosalind Love have suggested that the centres were more closely intertwined than has traditionally been thought.[27] Evidence of this can be found in the fact that Jerome (*c*. 347–420 CE), a master of allegory, 'cut his exegetical teeth' in Antioch.[28] He also became critical of over-allegorising in his later writings. For instance, in the preface to book five of his *Commentaries on Isaiah*, Jerome chastised Origen and Eusebius of Caesarea (260/265–339/340 CE) for taking allegory too far:

> Shall I take upon myself a work at which the most learned men have laboured hard? I speak of Origen and Eusebius Pamphili. Of these the former wanders afar in the free spaces of allegory, and his genius so interprets single names as to make out of them the sacred things of the Church. The latter, while promising in his title an historical

[22] Young, 'Antiochene School', p. 39; Hauser and Watson, 'Introduction and Overview', p. 44.
[23] Hauser and Watson, 'Introduction and Overview', p. 44.
[24] Young, 'Antiochene School', p. 39
[25] For instance, Wand states that Antioch was 'the great rival of Alexandria' as a centre of learning: J. W. C. Wand, *A History of the Early Church to AD 500* (London: Methuen, 4th ed., 1963), p. 46.
[26] Young, 'Alexandrian Interpretation', p. 12.
[27] R. Love, 'The World of Latin Learning', in *CCB*, pp. 41-2.
[28] Hall states that, 'Latin exegetes such as Jerome and Ambrose mirror the Alexandrian tradition's reliance upon allegory in making sense of biblical texts': C. A. Hall, *Reading Scripture with the Church Fathers* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), p. 102; R. A Norris, 'Antiochene Interpretation', in R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden (eds), *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London: SCM Press, 1990), p. 29.

> exposition, meanwhile forgets his purpose, and yields himself up to the tenets of Origen.[29]

Jerome's most ardent attack on the overuse of allegory can be found in his *Commentary on Jeremiah*, in which he describes Origen's interpretation of Jeremiah 4:27 as 'insane'.[30] Thus, Jerome was inspired by a plethora of interpretive traditions, not just those of the Alexandrian School. Dennis Brown has argued as much, stating that Jerome 'used to his own advantage specific interpretations from representatives of both the Alexandrian and Antiochene Schools'.[31]

Understanding Anglo-Saxon Exegesis

Recent efforts to gain a more nuanced understanding of the Alexandrian and Antiochene Schools have raised important questions about the character and provenance of Anglo-Saxon exegesis. Allegory is generally regarded as the pre-eminent approach of the medieval period thanks to the widespread popularity of Bede's exegetical corpus.[32] Bede (*c*. 673–735 CE) is viewed as an ardent advocate of allegory and Scott DeGregorio has gone so far as to describe him as 'its chief exponent in his own immediate age'.[33] But Love has challenged this theory, posing that Bede inherited 'a rich fusion of distinct

---

[29] 'quid igitur faciam? subeam ne opus in quo uiri eruditissimi sudauerunt, origenem loquor et eusebium pamphili, quorum alter liberis allegoriae spatiis euagatur, et interpretatis nominibus singulorum, ingenium suum facit ecclesiae sacramenta, alter historicam expositionem titulo repromittens, interdum obliuiscitur propositi et in origenis scita concedit?': Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah* (*Commentarii in Isaiam*), *PL* 24 (Paris: 1845), book 5, preface; English translation from P. Schaff and H. Wace (eds), *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Second Series, 14 vols (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952), vol. 1, pp. 60-61.
[30] 'delirat... allegoricus interpres' ('the allegorical interpreter is insane'), Jerome, *Commentary on Jeremiah* (*In Hieremiam prophetam libri vi*), *PL* 24 (Paris: 1845), book 5; translation my own.
[31] D. Brown, 'Jerome', in P. F. Esler (ed.), *The Early Christian World* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), vol. 2, p. 1169.
[32] Lapidge poses that 'medieval exegesis is almost universally allegorical in its orientation': *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 247; Holder has described Bede as 'the heir of Origen', whose writings 'were an important channel by which allegorical exegesis of the Alexandrian sort was transmitted to the Middle Ages': Holder, 'Bede and the Tradition of Patristic Exegesis', p. 407; Mayr-Harting states that Bede stood 'in the full stream of the allegorical tradition': Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, p. 211.
[33] S. DeGregorio, 'Bede and the Old Testament', in *CCB*, p. 133.

intellectual traditions', including an appreciation for methodological concerns that have traditionally been attributed to the Antiochene School.[34]

The emphasis placed on the Alexandrian-Antiochene binary has obscured the true character of Archbishop Theodore's Canterbury School, which has been labelled 'Antiochene through and through' by Lapidge due to its supposed focus on literal interpretation.[35] When studying the Canterbury glosses, Lapidge found that only three examples of allegorical biblical interpretation could be found in the texts he chose for examination (*PentI*, *EvII* and *Gen-Ex-EvIa*). All of these, he concluded, appear in *PentI*'s commentary on Exodus whilst 'outside these verses of Exodus, no resort to allegorical explanation is made in the Canterbury commentaries'.[36] Lapidge's study focused on only a small portion of the Canterbury glosses. However, examining the remaining texts in the collection yields surprising results that will alter our perception of the Canterbury School and its exegetical orientation.

Students at Canterbury were not, as previous studies have assumed, confined to literal interpretation. In fact, their familiarity with allegory is exhibited in two thoroughly figurative collections of glosses: one on the Wisdom of Solomon and another on the Song of Songs.[37] The present chapter will analyse Canterbury's interpretation of the Song of Songs in order to assess the validity of Canterbury's long-held reputation for literalism. Canterbury's glosses will be scrutinised alongside Bede's commentary, *On the Song of Songs*, to highlight any differences and similarities of approach. The ensuing discussion will show that Canterbury viewed the Song of Songs from the same

---

[34] Love, 'The World of Latin Learning', pp. 41-2. For more on Bede's implementation of this methodology, see Chapter 4.
[35] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 249.
[36] *Ibid*., p. 247, n. 19.
[37] Canterbury's glosses on the Wisdom of Solomon (located on folio 84v of M^1) are replete with figurative analysis. For instance, gloss A^I 9.5 claims that the 'spurious shoots' (*spuria vitulamina*) discussed in Wisdom 4.3 represent illegitimate sons. 'Vetulamina. i. filii a uitulis dicuntur. Spuria qui de adulterio nati'. A^I 9.5, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 61. Although Canterbury's glosses on Wisdom cannot be analysed in detail within the confines of this thesis, future studies would glean much from analysing them further.

allegorical perspective as Bede, challenging existing notions about the orientation of Theodore and Hadrian's Canterbury School and questioning the usefulness of the terms 'Alexandrian' and 'Antiochene' in the context of seventh- and eighth-century England.

The Song of Songs as Interpretive Battleground

The Song of Songs—a series of devotional poems traditionally attributed to Solomon—is one of the most controversial and perplexing books of the Bible. Its ambiguity has inspired numerous conflicting readings, leading H. H. Rowley to state that 'there is no book of the Old Testament which has found greater variety of interpretation than the Song of Songs'.[38] Jewish tradition views the Song of Songs as a dialogue between Israel (the central character of the poem) and God (her lover). This dialogue is thought to symbolise the Covenant made between God and the people of Israel at Mount Sinai.[39] Early Christian interpreters modified Jewish tradition in order to interpret the Song of Songs as a metaphor for the love between Christ (the bridegroom) and the Church (the bride), or between Christ and the individual believer.[40] This idea was based on nuptial imagery found elsewhere in the Bible, particularly Ephesians 5:21– 33 in which Paul states that a Christian husband's love for his wife represents God's love for the Church.[41] Origen promulgated this view, but added that the book evokes Paul's hope (expressed in Romans 9-11) for the eventual union of Jews and Gentiles under the Christian Church.[42]

---

[38] H. H. Rowley, 'The Interpretation of the Song of Songs', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 38:152 (1937), 337-363 (p. 337).
[39] Exodus 19-24; M. Kaufman, *Love, Marriage, and Family in Jewish Law and Tradition* (Northvale, NJ: J. Aronson, 1992), p. 125.
[40] J. C. Exum, *The Song of Songs: A Commentary* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), p. 73.
[41] A. W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 1, n. 1.
[42] Romans 9-11; E. A. Clark, 'Origen the Jews, and the Song of Songs: Allegory and Polemic in Christian Antiquity', in A. C. Hagedorn (ed.), *Perspectives on the Song of Songs* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), p. 274.

Origen's interpretation was widely accepted, but many refuted his allegorical perspective.[43]

Diodore viewed the text as a straightforward love poem written by Solomon for the Queen of Sheba.[44] His disciple, Theodore of Mopsuestia (*c*. 350–428 CE), the 'best-known' adherent of the Antiochene School, was similarly sceptical of reading allegory into the Song of Songs.[45] Unfortunately, Theodore of Mopsuestia's works were anathematised at the Second Council of Constantinople (553) and so his commentary on the Song of Songs has not survived.[46] However, we can establish from later attacks on the work that he viewed the Song of Songs as nothing more than a passionate exposition of the love between Solomon and the Egyptian princess who became his wife.[47] It has been suggested that Theodore of Mopsuestia wanted the Song of Songs removed from the canon, but Dimitri Zaharapoulos refutes this, arguing that there is no evidence to support such a notion besides the claim of Theodore's 'avowed adversary', Leontius of Byzantium (*c*. 490–544 CE).[48]

Theodoret of Cyrus (*c*. 393–457 CE), another famous Antiochene, took what Richard Perhai has termed 'an atypical Antiochene approach' to the Song of Songs.[49] His interpretation is heavily allegorical unlike many of his other commentaries since he

---

[43] H. Pyper, 'Song of Songs', in A. Hastings, A. Mason, and H. Pyper (eds), with I. Lawrie and C. Bennett, *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 681.
[44] M. D. Coogan; M. Z. Brettler; C. A. Newsom; P. Perkins (eds), *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 486.
[45] O. Keel, *The Song of Songs: A Continental Commentary*, trans. by F. J. Gaiser (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994), p. 9.
[46] Theodore of Mopsuestia was condemned as an originator of Nestorianism, since Nestorius (c. 386–450 CE) had been his student. M. Conti, 'Translator's Introduction', in M. Conti (trans.) and J. C. Elowsky (ed.), *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2010), p. xviii.
[47] T. Longman, *Song of Songs* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2001), pp. 38-39.
[48] For instance, this is argued by Exum and Longman: Exum, *The Song of Songs*, p. 73; Longman, *Song of Songs*, pp. 39; Dimitri Zaharapoulos, *Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Bible* (New York: Paulist, 1989), p. 51; E. R. Hardy (ed.), *Christology of the later Fathers* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1954), p. 375.
[49] R. J. Perhai, *Antiochene Theoria in the Writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrus* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015), p. 63.

follows Origen's lead by viewing the bride as the Church and the bridegroom as Christ.[50] Most scholars agree that Theodoret wrote his commentary around the time of the Council of Ephesus (431).[51] At this council, Theodoret was accused of being a Nestorian and so Perhai suggests that this accusation may be the reason for Theodoret's hesitancy to engage with 'Antiochene historicism'.[52] This is an attractive theory, since it allows us to comfortably place Theodoret under the rubric of 'Antiochene literalist'. But, as we have already seen, the Antiochene School was not opposed to allegory. We should, therefore, be cautious of finding excuses for Theodoret's use of allegory and instead embrace the challenge this poses to traditional expectations of Antiochene style. The Song of Songs is a complex work which inspired equally complex interpretation. It was an important point of contention between early medieval exegetes seeking to unveil the deeper meaning of Scripture and, for this reason, it forms the ideal basis for a comparison of the exegetical styles of Bede and the Canterbury School.

THE NATURE OF THE TEXTS

Only one commentary on the Song of Songs survives from Theodore's Canterbury School. This text, which will hereafter be referred to as the 'Canterbury glosses on the Song of Songs' ('*Cant-SOS*'), gives a fascinating insight into the teaching undertaken at Canterbury. In its fullest form, the work consists of sixty-seven glosses and appears among a collection of glosses to various Old Testament books.[53] Bischoff and Lapidge perceived this collection as one coherent text and named it the *Old Testament Glosses*

---

[50] *Ibid*., p. 62; 'Let us, therefore, understand the Church as the bride, and Christ as the bridgegroom': Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, preface; quoted in J. R. Wright (ed.), *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), p. 288.
[51] M.W. Elliott, *The Song of Songs and Christology in the Early Church, 381 – 451* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), pp. 34-5.
[52] D. K McKim, *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1998), p. 72; Perhai, *Antiochene Theoria*, p. 62.
[53] The Old Testament books commented on are: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Kings, Chronicles (books 1 and 2), Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Twelve Minor Prophets, Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah.

(*OT glosses*). They concluded that the *OT glosses* had originally belonged to one of four sets of commentaries, along with the *Second Commentary on the Pentateuch* (*PentII*) and the *First Commentary on the Gospels* (*EvI*):

1. *PentI* + *EvII*
2. *Gen-Ex-EvIa*
3. ***PentII + OT glosses [Iosue – Nehemiah] + EvI***
4. *PentIII*[54]

The *OT glosses* are found in folios 81r–88r of M^1.[55] *Cant-SOS* appears in folios 83v-84v of this manuscript but is also witnessed in four manuscripts currently located in Karlsruhe, Cambridge, and Leiden.[56] This chapter will focus on the M^1 version of *Cant-SOS* since it provides us with the fullest record of Canterbury's teaching on the Song of Songs.

Cant-SOS is unmistakably a product of the Canterbury School. We know this because gloss A^I 8.41 cites Hadrian by name:

> 'Compass' **[2:5]**: hold in check, says Hadrian; that is, the forgiveness of sins through baptism.[57]

Cant-SOS is based on a series of proto-glosses composed at Canterbury sometime after 27 May 669 (the date of Theodore's arrival in England).[58] The exact authorship and date

[54] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 286.
[55] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup. 59v-125v. Bischoff and Lapidge suggest that the manuscript was initially compiled over several years in the 1080s, since the latest datable item that can be attributed to the original scribes is the *acta* of the Council of Rome (1078) while the earliest datable addition to the manuscript is the *acta* of the Council of Piacenza (1095). Bischoff and Lapidge give a suggested provenance of Piacenza, Northern Italy based on references made to St Sabinus and St Martina, both of whom were venerated at Piacenza, and the inclusion of the *acta* of the Council of Piacenza: *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 283.
[56] These are: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. 99, [K1], ff. 37-52, saec. viii ex.,; Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 4.6, [C], ff. 41r-44v, saec. xiI; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. Q. 69, [L^1], ff. 23v-27v, saec. viii ex.; and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F. 24, [L^2], ff. 100r-104r, saec. ix ex.
[57] 'Stipate stringite. Adrianus dicit .i. remissionem peccatorum per baptismum': A^I 8.41, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 59; *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 177.
[58] *EH*, 4.2; Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 332-3; Lapidge, 'Theodore of Tarsus' [accessed 27 July 2016]; *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 286.

of composition of these glosses is unknown, but Lapidge gives their *terminus ante quem* as the mid-eighth century, since this date can be affixed with relative certainty to their earliest manuscript witness (a manuscript now housed in Berlin).[59]

The dating of Bede's *On the Song of Songs* is equally difficult to pinpoint. Alan Thacker argues that it was 'composed in Bede's maturity', but Arthur Holder dates it to sometime before 716 on the basis that book four of Bede's *Commentary on First Samuel* contains two abbreviated explanations of passages from the Song of Songs which also appear, in more depth, in Bede's *On the Song of Songs*.[60] Given that book four of Bede's commentary on Samuel was written after Abbot Ceolfrith's departure from Wearmouth-Jarrow on 4 June 716, it seems likely that *On Songs* was written before this time.[61]

Although the two works (*Cant-SOS* and Bede's *On the Song of Songs*) have much in common, they are each very different in length and structure. *Cant-SOS* is far less detailed than Bede's work. Bede's text is an in-depth biblical commentary spanning five books and so he is able to elucidate his views more fully than the author of *Cant-SOS*. This raises an important methodological issue that has been highlighted by Conor O'Brien. O'Brien points out that 'the gloss' and 'the commentary' are distinct genres and that glosses are 'always more likely to focus on the literal meaning of the text' than commentaries.[62] However, this proves not to be the case for the Canterbury glosses on the Song of Songs. As we shall see, *Cant-SOS* is peppered with allegory, contradicting Lapidge's statement that 'only exceptionally rarely does one find in the Canterbury glosses an allegorical explanation of a biblical passage'.[63]

---

[59] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Grimm 132,2, frg.; *CLA*, Supp., no. 1675; *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 1 and p. 542. For more on this, see Appendix III, Table A, p. 188.
[60] A. Thacker, 'Bede and the Ordering of Understanding', in *Innovation and* Tradition, p. 59; A. G. Holder, *The Venerable Bede: On the Song of Songs and Selected Writings* (New York; Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2011), p. 28.
[61] Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 28.
[62] O'Brien, *Bede's* Temple, p. 31.
[63] *Biblical Commentaries* p. 247.

Added to this, Benedicta Ward argues that Bede's *On the Song of Songs* was intended for the use of preachers as well as monks and that this led him to create a clear and edifying work with a thoroughly practical application.[64] In terms of purpose, therefore, Bede's work is largely comparable to the Canterbury glosses, which, as we have seen, may have been composed for the edification of students training to become preachers. In light of this, it is reasonable to compare the exegetical orientations of *Cant-SOS* and Bede's *On the Song of Songs* without attributing their discrepancies to a difference of genre. With this in mind, let us now turn our attention to the texts themselves.

THE BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM

The most immediate problem posed by the Song of Songs is that of identifying its central characters: the bride and bridegroom. Bede's *On the Song of Songs* addresses this issue in its opening line, stating that the Song of Songs 'describes the mysteries of Christ and the Church (that is, of the Eternal King and his city) under the figure of a bridegroom and a bride'.[65] Holder notes that Bede was typical among early medieval commentators in associating the bride with the Church (that is, with the entire body of the faithful) rather than with the individual Christian believer.[66] Although Origen entertained the idea that the bride might also represent the individual, this concept did not gain popularity until the twelfth century with works such as Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermons on the Song of Songs*.[67] Bede specifies that 'the Church' refers only to Christian

---

[64] Benedicta Ward, *The Venerable Bede* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1998.), p. 77. A. G. Holder, 'Christ as Incarnate Wisdom in Bede's Commentary on the Song of Songs', in *Innovation and* Tradition, p. 171.
[65] 'Salomon mysteria Christi et ecclesiae regis uidelicet aeterni et ciuitatis eius sub figura sponsi et sponsae descripsit': Bede, *On the Song of Songs* [hereafter 'Bede, *Songs*'] (*In Cantica Canticorum*), *PL* 91 (Paris: 1850), book 1, chapter 1; A. G. Holder (trans. and ed.), *The Venerable Bede: On the Song of Songs and Selected Writings* (New York; Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2011).
[66] Holder, 'Christ as Incarnate Wisdom', pp. 171-2.
[67] R. A Norris, Jr, *The Song of Songs: Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2003), p. 19; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*; Holder, 'Christ as Incarnate Wisdom', pp. 171-2.

worshippers, not to 'that portion of the faithful which preceded the time of the Lord's incarnation'.[68] He, therefore, draws a sharp distinction between Church and Synagogue, a theme that occurs frequently in Bede's other works.[69]

Bede viewed the Song of Songs as proof that Jews and Gentiles would unite at the end of time. When discussing Songs 3:5, he describes the Jews and the Gentiles as members of 'one household and family' whom the Lord hoped to see at peace but who were not yet unified.[70] Bede's views were shaped by Origen, albeit indirectly. Holder claims that Bede did not have access to Origen's commentary, either in the original Greek or in Latin translation. Instead he received Origen's ideas at second hand via Apponius, whose long and detailed commentary was Bede's principal inspiration.[71] Philip Alexander has shown that Apponius used the Song of Songs to outline his own historical schema, which Holder believes was pivotal in shaping Bede's understanding of the Song of Songs.[72]

Like Bede, the author of *Cant-SOS* equates the bride with the Church. This is made clear in the second gloss of the commentary:

---

[68] 'omnis electorum congregatio generaliter ecclesia uocatur, et tamen nunc causa discretionis specialiter ea fidelium portio quae incarnationis dominicae tempora praecessit sinagoga': Bede, *Songs*, book 1, preface; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 37.
[69] On the distinction Bede drew between Church and Synagogue, see: M. T. A. Carroll, *The Venerable Bede: His Spiritual Teachings*, The Catholic University of America: Studies in Medieval History, new series, vol. 9 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946), pp. 67-77; P. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 3; p. 200.
[70] 'Tantum hoc meminerit lector quod ideo repetitur hic uersiculus in cantico amoris ut non minorem se dominus ecclesiae de gentibus quam de Iudaeis collectae curam habere sed aequalem pro utriusque pace sollicitudinem gerere designet utpote quia in utraque una eius dilectissima ac sanctissima domus et familia colligatur', Bede, *Songs*, 2.11; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 93.
[71] A. G. Holder, 'The Patristic Sources of Bede's Commentary on the Song of Songs', *Studia Patristica* 34 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 370-75 (pp. 370-71).
[72] P. S. Alexander, 'The Song of Songs as Historical Allegory', in *Targumic and Cognate Studies: Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara*, ed. by Kevin J. Cathcart & Michael Maher (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), p. 26; Holder, 'The Patristic Sources', p. 374; Holder, 'Christ as Incarnate Wisdom', p. 170.

> 'Let him kiss me' **[Songs 1.1]**: These are the kisses which Christ extends to his Church, as though having been cleansed and adorned by the splendour of baptism. By the grace of his perfumed waters, the Holy Spirit invites the bride.[73]

However, the Canterbury glossator was also shaped by Origen's view that the bride could be interpreted *either* as 'the Church in her relation to Christ, or the soul in her union with the Word of God'.[74] The gloss presents the bridegroom's kisses as symbolic of baptism, through which the individual (the bride) is welcomed into the Christian community. But it also allows for the bride to represent the Church, specifying that baptismal waters 'are the kisses which Christ extends to his Church'. This is a distinctly allegorical reading of Songs 1.1 and one that bears a striking resemblance to Bede's interpretation.

THE SUPERIORITY OF THE NEW COVENANT OVER THE OLD

We have seen that the Canterbury commentator associated Songs 1.1 ('Let him kiss me') with the practice of baptism.[75] Bede, however, viewed the same passage as a prefiguring of Christ. He interpreted the statement 'Let him kiss me' as the supplication of the faithful, who looked forward to the arrival of the Messiah:

> *Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth*, which is to say openly, 'I entreat that he would not always appoint angels and prophets to teach me; now at last, let the one who has been promised for so long come himself and instruct me with the light of his own

[73] 'Osculetur me. Ista sunt oscula quae ecclesiae suae porrigit xpistus quam baptismi nitore mundatam et ornatam per spiritum sanctum odoris sui gratia inuitat ut sponsam': *A*^{I} 8.2, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 58; All subsequent translations of *Cant-SOS* are my own.
[74] 'vel de ecclesia ad Christum sub sponsae vel sponsi titulo vel de animae cum Verbo Dei coniunctione': Origen, *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (*Commentarium in Canticum Canticorum*) from the Latin translation by Rufinus, CPL 0198 2 (A), book 1, page 89; R. P. Lawson (trans.), *The Song of Songs: Commentary and Homilies* (New York: Newman Press, 1957), p. 58.
[75] Songs 1.1: (Vulgate) 'Osculetur me osculo oris sui; quia meliora sunt ubera tua vino'; (DRA) 'Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth: for thy breasts are better than wine'.

> presence, and comfort me by speaking to me with his own mouth, as if he were bestowing a kiss'.[76]

Bede finds support for his metaphor in the second half of Songs 1.1: 'for your breasts are better than wine'. The breasts of the bride represent, Bede claims, 'the first principles of evangelical faith', whereas the wine signifies 'the fermentation of knowledge of the law'.[77] He associates 'breasts' with a mother's ability to nourish her child, drawing on Paul's statement: 'I gave you milk, not solid food, for you were not yet ready for it'.[78] With this metaphor, he evokes Hebrews 5:12, in which the Jews are portrayed as children who need to be nourished on milk (the basic tenants of faith) before they can progress to solid food (that is, develop their knowledge of God).[79] Thus, Songs 1.1 was interpreted by Bede to mean that the teachings of the New Testament are superior to the Law of the Old Testament.

We find a parallel to this reading in *Cant-SOS*, in which glosses *A*^{I} 8.3-4 equate the bride's breasts with the apostles and wine with the prophets:

> 'Breasts' **[Song 1.1]**: apostles.[80]
>
> 'Wine' **[Song 1.1]**: prophets.[81]

The glossator claims, here, that the apostles of the New Covenant are 'better than' the prophets of the Old. The link between apostles and breasts is particularly significant for Canterbury since the bride's two breasts imply two apostles. These must be Saints Peter

---

[76] 'Osculetur me osculo oris sui, quod est aperte dicere, Obsecro non semper ad me erudiendam angelos non prophetas destinet, ueniat iam aliquando ipse qui tamdiu promissus est et praesentiae suae me luce informet ac uelut osculum offerens proprio me alloquens ore confortet […]'. Bede*, Songs*, 1.1; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 38.
[77] 'Vinum quippe feruorem scientiae legalis ubera uero dicit rudimenta euangelicae fidei […]'. Bede*, Songs*, 1.1; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 39.
[78] 1 Corinthans 3.2: (Vulgate) 'lac vobis potum dedi, non escam: nondum enim poteratis […]; Translation from NIV.
[79] Hebrews 5.12: (Vulgate) 'Etenim cum deberetis magistri esse propter tempus, rursum indigetis ut vos doceamini quae sint elementa exordii sermonum Dei: et facti estis quibus lacte opus sit, non solido cibo'; (NIV) 'In fact, though by this time you ought to be teachers, you need someone to teach you the elementary truths of God's word all over again. You need milk, not solid food!'
[80] 'Vbera apostoli': *A*^{I} 8.3, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 58.
[81] 'Vino prophetae': *A*^{I} 8.4, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 58.

and Paul, the chief apostles whose names were assigned to the monastery at Canterbury during Theodore and Hadrian's lifetimes. This monastery was rededicated to Saints Peter, Paul *and* Augustine by Archbishop Dunstan (*d.* 988) in 978 and came to be known primarily as St Augustine's after this time.[82] However, Theodore and Hadrian's students would have felt a strong affinity with Peter and Paul, which seems to have influenced their exegetical outlook.

The metaphor of the breasts is repeated in *Cant-SOS* gloss *A*^{I} 8.11, which does not cite the biblical text itself but comments on a phrase used by Gregory of Elvira (*fl.* 359-385) and Rufinus (*c*. 345–410):

> 'We value your breasts': the confession of the churches; that is, of the bride of the Lord. Young women narrate [this].[83]

A^{I} 8.11 concerns Songs 1.3 ('we rejoice and delight in you; we will praise your breasts more than wine').[84] Once again, therefore, the commentator stresses the pre-eminence of the New Covenant over the Old by valuing the breasts over the wine. Bede does the same, explaining that this biblical passage reflects the joy of the Christian Church, which has witnessed the tempering of the Old Testament law and embraced 'the grace of evangelical faith'.[85]

The closing statement of gloss *A*^{I} 8.11 ('Young women narrate [this]') seems incongruous upon first inspection. Yet its allegorical significance is explained in a subsequent gloss:

---

[82] R. Gem, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norman Churches', in R. Gem (ed.), *St Augustine's Abbey* (London: Batsford; English Heritage, 1997), p. 108.
[83] 'Diligimus ubera tua. confessio ecclesiarum domini sponsae. narrant adolescentulae': *A*^{I} 8.11, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 58. The phrase 'we value your breasts' (*Diligimus ubera tua*) is not found in the Vulgate. It is, however, used by Gregory of Elvira: 'haec sunt propter quae **diligimus ubera tua** super uinum', Gregory of Elvira, *On the Song of Songs: Five Books* (*In Canticum canticorum libri quinque*), CPL 0547, book 1, line 175. The phrase also appears in Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*. Origen, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, 1.110. Thus, it is not possible to know how the Canterbury commentator came into contact with this phrase.
[84] Songs 1.3: (Vulgate) '[…] exsultabimus et laetabimur in te, memores uberum tuorum super vinum […]'; English translation modified from NIV.
[85] Bede, *Songs*, 1.2; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 43.

'Young maidens' **[Song 1.2]** of the Church, or the souls of a number of people.[86]

According to *Cant-SOS*, these young women represent the souls of the faithful. As such, the phrase 'we value your breasts' is depicted as the celebratory declaration of faithful Christians rejoicing at the coming of the New Covenant. Bede's *On the Song of Songs* also equates young maidens with the body of the faithful. He explains that they 'are the souls reborn in Christ who have cast off the uncleanness of the old self [i.e. the Old Covenant]' and 'who by faith in the truth scorned the examples of the ancient sinner [i.e. the Jews] and ran after the rewards of new life with undoubting hope'.[87]

A final reference to breasts appears in *Cant-SOS* gloss *A*^{I} 8.31, which comments on Songs 1.12: 'My beloved is to me a bundle of myrrh; he shall rest between my breasts'.[88] In this instance, the commentator abandons all comparison of the Old Covenant with wine and claims that the two breasts represent the two covenants.[89] The implication is that Christ (the bridegroom) 'rests between' the two covenants, since His presence can be felt in both the Old and New Testaments. This meaning is not adopted by Bede, who perceives the phrase 'he shall rest between my breasts' to indicate that the bride holds her lover close to her heart, or that the Church bears a deep affection for Christ.[90] Thus, although Bede and his Canterburian peer interpreted the same passages in subtly different ways, it is clear that both authors had similar perceptions of the Song of Songs' depiction of the Old and New Covenants.

THE BEAUTY OF THE FAITHFUL AND UGLINESS OF THE REPROBATE

Repeatedly in *Cant-SOS*, the Synagogue is associated with darkness whilst Christ and the Church are linked to light and splendour. This imagery begins in gloss *A*^{I} 8.12, which

[86] 'Adolescentulae ecclesiae uel animae de numero gentium': *A*^{I} 8.8, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 58.
[87] Bede, *Songs*, 1.1; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 41.
[88] Songs 1.12: (Vulgate) 'Fasciculus myrrhae dilectus meus mihi; inter ubera mea commorabitur'; translation modified from DRA.
[89] 'Vbera duo testamenta': *A*^{I} 8.31, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 59.
[90] Bede, *Songs*, 1.4; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 57.

discusses the bride's statement (made in Songs 1.4) 'I am black but beautiful […], like the tents of Cedar, like the pelts of Solomon'.[91] The Canterbury glossator begins by examining its opening phrase ('I am black');

> 'I am black' **[Songs 1.4]**: the voice of the Synagogue or of the penitent.[92]

The bride—who has previously been compared to the Church—now takes on the voice 'of the Synagogue or of the penitent'. This association is continued in two further glosses:

> 'Like the tents of Cedar' **[Songs 1.4]**: which are said to be [made] from black pelts. It speaks [of] the synagogue, which is publicly known to have been filled with people keeping watch of the dead.[93]

> 'The pelts of Solomon' **[Songs 1.4]**: according to a reading [of] the history of Solomon, the lifeless dead, having been gathered together, are united without hope of life [and] covered by black pelts.[94]

By equating the Synagogue with buildings intended to house the dead, the Canterbury commentator sought to highlight the demise of the Old Covenant and the hopelessness of the Jewish faith. In a succeeding gloss, the commentator explains that Christ is the Jews' only hope of redemption:

> 'The sun has discoloured me' **[Songs 1.5]**: The voice of the penitent or the synagogue. They declare themselves to be despised by the sun; that is, by Christ.[95]

---

[91] Songs 1.4: (Vulgate) 'Nigra sum, sed formosa, filiae Jerusalem, sicut tabernacula Cedar, sicut pelles Salomonis'; translation modified from DRA.
[92] 'Nigra sum. Vox sinagogae uel paenitentis': *A*[*I*] 8.12, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 58.
[93] 'Sicut tabernacula cedar. quae de nigris pellibus esse dicuntur. sinagogam dicit. quam mortuorum excubiis pronuntiat esse completam': *A*[*I*] 8.13, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 58.
[94] 'Pelles salomonis. Secundum historiam lectum salomonis nigris pellibus mortuis comparatur exanimis sine spe uitae': *A*[*I*] 8.14, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 58.
[95] 'Decolorauit me sol. Vox penitentis uel sinagogue. profitentur despectos se esse a sole, .i. a xpisto': *A*[*I*] 8.15, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 58.

In this gloss, Christ is portrayed as the sun that will cast away the darkness of the Old Covenant despite the Jews' renouncement of Him.

Bede takes a slightly different approach to Songs 1.4-5. He believes that the statement 'I am black but beautiful' is voiced by the Church, not by the Synagogue. To Bede's mind, this declaration relates to the persecution of Christians. It asserts that the bride (Christian Church) is vile in the eyes of her persecutors yet beautiful in the eyes of her lover (Christ).[96] When examining the biblical passage in its entirety ('I am black but beautiful, like the tents of Cedar, like the curtains of Solomon'), Bede concludes that the blackness of the tents is contrasted with the beauty of the curtains in order to signify the difference between how the Church perceives itself and how it is viewed by others:

> When the church is said to be black like the tents of Cedar, this is asserted not as if it were really so, but according to the opinion of those fools who imagine that she furnishes in herself a dwelling place for vices and for evil spirits, but when she is called beautiful like the curtains of Solomon, this is asserted as if it really is the case, because just as Solomon was accustomed to make tents for himself out of the skins of dead animals, in the same way the Lord gathers the church together to himself from those souls who have learned to renounce carnal desires.[97]

Concerning this passage, therefore, Bede and the Canterbury commentator differ substantially in their interpretations. However, they are united in the belief that faith in Christ denotes light and beauty, whereas faithlessness promises only darkness.

An example of this shared perspective can be seen in both texts' approaches to Songs 2.2: 'Like a lily among thorns, so is my love among the young women'.[98] Gloss *A*[*l*]

---

[96] Bede, *Songs*, 1.2; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 44.
[97] 'Et cum dicitur nigra esse ecclesia sicut tabernacula Cedar sicut non pro ueritate sed pro aestimatione insipientium ponitur qui eam putant mansionem in se uitiis uel malignis spiritibus praebere, cum uero formosa sicut pelles Salomonis appellatur sicut pro ueritate exempli ponitur quia sicut Salomon tentoria sibi de mortuorum pellibus animalium solebat facere ita dominus ecclesiam sibi de illis congregat animabus quae desideriis nouerant renuntiare carnalibus'. Bede, *Songs*, 1.2; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 45.
[98] Songs 2.1: (Vulgate) 'Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias.'; translation modified from NIV.

8.40 of *Cant-SOS* explains that the lily signifies the Church due to its 'whiteness and fragrance'.[99] Thorns, on the other hand, represent the Synagogue.[100] As we have seen, the Canterbury author perceived young women to denote faithful Christians. Since this biblical passage is narrated by the bridegroom (Christ), it is clear that the commentator perceived it as declaration of love made by Christ to his followers. However, it is a simultaneous renunciation of those who belong to the Synagogue; Christ's love is said to extend only to the young women (the Christian community), not to adherents of the Old Covenant.

Like the Canterbury commentator, Bede presents Christ as the narrator of this biblical passage and he paraphrases Christ's meaning as follows:

> […] for I myself have allowed you to share in my brightness, so that you may be compared to a lily, namely, by appearing luminous in the perfection of your deeds and exquisite in the splendour of your pure heart. But […] know that at present it is necessary for you to live among the reprobate and to endure daily the barbs of the wicked, but you should be expecting a rest in the future alone with the elect. For *as a lily among thorns, so is my friend among daughters*, because not only do you have to suffer evil things from those who are strangers to you in every way, both in thought and in profession, but very often you are also sharply goaded by the shamelessness of those same souls that you rejoiced to have accepted among the number of your daughters through the font of rebirth and through faith and the reception of the heavenly sacraments.[101]

---

[99] 'Lilium ecclesia pro candore et odore ("The lily" [Songs 2.1]: the Church, according to [its] whiteness and fragrance)': *A*[*l*] 8.40, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 59.
[100] 'Spinae sinagoga (Thorns: the synagogue)': *A*[*l*] 8.39, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 59.
[101] 'Sed ne forte uelis in hac uita securitatem habere quietis scito tibi in praesenti cum reprobis conuersandum et prauorum cotidie stimulos perferendos at in futuro requiem cum solis electis esse sperandam. Sicut enim lilium inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias quia non solum aduersa pati habes ab his qui a te sunt et mente et professione omnimodis extranei sed illarum quoque animarum saepius improbitate acriter compungeris quas per fontem regenerationis per que fidem ac perceptionem sacramentorum caelestium in filiarum te numero accepisse gaudebas'. Bede*, Songs*, 1.6; Holder, *On the Song of Songs*, p. 64.

The beauty, purity and luminescence of the Church is contrasted with the barbarism of 'the reprobate'. But Bede's interpretation differs from that of the Canterbury author. He aligns the reprobate with deviant Christians (the degenerate 'daughters' of Christ), not with the Synagogue. By specifying that the Church should expect 'a rest in the future alone with the elect', he is highlighting that sinners will not be welcomed into Heaven at the end of time. Yet, he does not condemn the Synagogue in this passage and so, once again, we see a degree of variation in the interpretive stances of Bede and the Canterbury commentator.

CONCLUSION

As the above examples have shown, *Cant-SOS* demonstrates a clear appreciation for allegory that is closely mirrored in the works of Bede, the pre-eminent allegorist of the Anglo-Saxon age. In light of this evidence, it is no longer appropriate to view the Canterbury School as a literalist stronghold and nor, it seems, is it fair to label the School as an adherent of 'Antiochene' tradition. Until scholars reach a consensus as to the true essence of the Alexandrian and Antiochene Schools, the terms 'Alexandrian' and 'Antiochene' should be employed with considerable caution, especially in relation to a time period (the early Anglo-Saxon era) so far removed from the Greek schools of Late Antiquity. Anglo-Saxon England was a sphere shaped by copious intellectual traditions. Forcing such traditions to fit binary categorisation has actively prevented scholars from appreciating their true complexity. By seeking to find, in the Canterbury School, an example of 'Antiochene' literality, we have done a great disservice to the scholarly sophistication of Theodore and Hadrian's illustrious school.

Chapter 4: Canterbury, Bede and the Books of Kings

Since the invention of the printing press in the late fifteenth century, the books of the Old Testament have had what Roger Beckwith terms 'a settled and almost invariable order'.[1] Today, the English Bible divides the Old Testament into four categories: books of Law, History, Poetry (or Wisdom), and Prophecy.[2] This fourfold demarcation developed over centuries, stemming from the Hebrew tradition of grouping works of Scripture according to their proximity to God. In Jewish tradition, the Torah (or Pentateuch) held pre-eminence, and therefore came first in the order of the canon, since it was regarded as a product of direct revelation. The Torah was followed by the books of the Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and The Twelve Minor Prophets), whose authors were viewed as mediators of revelation. Finally, the Writings (Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra/Nehemiah, and Chronicles) came last in the canonical order. They held the least prestige as human reflections on revelation.[3]

---

[1] R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church: and its Background in early Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1985), p. 181.
[2] *Ibid*.
[3] H. Clifford, 'Introduction: A Book about Books', in H. Clifford, D.Earl, R.P. O'Dowd, and L. Tiemeyer (eds), *Companion to the Old Testament: Introduction, Interpretation, Application* (London: SCM Press, 2016), 1-23 (pp. 10-11).

In contrast, the Christian Old Testament was organised according to literary type and following a loosely defined chronological order. It was divided into legal, historical, poetic and prophetic books, all of which laid the groundwork for, and predicted the arrival of, Christ.[4] As Norman Geisler explains:

> The foundation for Christ was firmly laid in the Law, preparation was providentially made in History, and aspiration [for Christ] was spiritually expressed in Poetry. In the books of Prophecy this aspiration came to fruition in the Messianic expectation of Christ.[5]

Medieval Christians believed that the Old Testament could only be deciphered through recourse to the New. Thus, early patristic authors, such as Origen and Cassian, argued that the Old Testament held little value in its own right but was an extended piece of allegory that pointed readers towards the New Testament.[6] Augustine famously wrote that 'in the Old Testament the New is concealed, and in the New the Old is revealed'.[7] In this context, the books of History (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther) gained additional meaning. Not only did they outline the literal history of the Israelites (and, consequently, the exploits of a family line that would one day give rise to Christ) but they also depicted the Kingdom of Israel in proleptic terms as a precursor to the Kingdom of Heaven.[8]

---

[4] *Ibid.*
[5] N. Geisler, *To Understand the Bible Look for Jesus: The Bible Student's Guide to the Bible's Central Theme* (Baker Book House: Grand Rapids, MI, 1979; repr. Wipf and Stock: Eugene, OR, 2002), p. 98.
[6] D. Turner, 'Allegory in Christian Late Antiquity', in R. Copeland and P.T. Struck (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 71-82 (p. 75); M. Sheridan, *Language for God in Patristic Tradition: Wrestling with Biblical Anthropomorphism* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 2015), pp. 154-6.
[7] '[…] in ueteri testamento est occultatio noui, in nouo testamento est manifestatio ueteris': Augustine, *The First Catechetical Instruction* (*De catechizandis rudibus*), chapter 4, part 8; J. P. Christopher (trans.), *The First Catechetical Instruction*, Ancient Christian Writers, 2 (Westminster, MD: Newman Press; London: Longmans, Green, 1946), p. 23.
[8] Matthew 1:1–17 and Luke 3:23–38 state that Joseph (and possibly his wife, Mary, the mother of Jesus) was a descendant of the line of Abraham and King David; Turner, 'Allegory in Christian Late Antiquity', p. 80.

DEFINING THE 'BOOKS OF KINGS'

Among the books that have traditionally been classed as 'historical' are those of Samuel and Kings. The modern English Bible subdivides these texts into four individual books, creating 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings. The Septuagint was the first biblical text to divide Samuel and Kings in this way and it grouped the four books together under the heading the 'Books of Kingdoms' (*bibloi basileion*). When forming the Vulgate, Jerome (d. 420), copied the Septuagint's grouping. However, he changed the overarching title of the four texts to the 'Books of Kings' (*libri regum*).[9]

In the seventh and eighth centuries Anglo-Saxon scholars viewed the Books of Kings as a cohesive unit.[10] Thus, Bede's *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings* covers all four of the biblical texts that modern readers know as 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings. As Trent Foley notes, Bede's '1 Kings corresponds exactly to our 1 Samuel; his 2 Kings to our 2 Samuel; his 3 Kings to our 1 Kings; and his 4 Kings to our 2 Kings'.[11] The same is also true of Canterbury's glosses on the Books of Kings. These glosses, which span four folios of the Milan manuscript, treat 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings as a unified entity.[12] Although the opening gloss of the collection states 'In libro primo regum' (*On the first book of Kings*), no further attempt to distinguish between the individual Books of Kings is made by the Canterbury glossator.[13]

---

[9] C.J. Barber, *The Books of Samuel, Volume 1: The Sovereignty of God Illustrated in the Lives of Samuel, Saul, and David* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003), p. 17.
[10] Marsden has shown that the Latin Vulgate was the pre-eminent biblical text of the Anglo-Saxon period. Thus, Anglo-Saxon exegetes must have been heavily influenced by Jerome's canonical arrangement. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament*; R. Marsden, 'Bible', in M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, and D. Scragg (eds), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edition (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), pp. 68-9. Marsden's view is supported by Bischoff and Lapidge's assessment of the Canterbury glosses, which are 'based principally on the text of the Latin Vulgate'. *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 197.
[11] W. Trent Foley, 'Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings: Introduction', in W. Trent Foley and A. G. Holder (trans.), *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 81.
[12] Canterbury's commentaries on the books of Kings can be found on folios 81v-83r of the manuscript known as Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup.
[13] *A[I]* 4.1, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47.

Students at Canterbury seem to have viewed the four Books of Kings as one indivisible work (just as Bede did), albeit as part of the wider category of 'historical' texts. In his edition of the Canterbury glosses, Vaciago divided the glosses on Kings into four sections, entitled 'I-IV Regum', to help his readers determine which passages of Scripture are under discussion in any given gloss. The present chapter will adopt Vaciago's terminology when discussing the individual books that form Jerome's *libri regum*. Thus, 1 Samuel will be referred to as 'I Regum', 2 Samuel as 'II Regum', and so forth. However, the modern book titles (1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, etc.) will be retained whenever a direct Scriptural citation is referred to. Finally, the collection as a whole will be termed the 'Books of Kings' in order to denote the cohesive nature these four texts held during the Anglo-Saxon era.

ASSESSING CANTERBURY'S HISTORICAL FOCUS

The Canterbury glosses have been perceived as having a historical-literal focus that was heavily influenced by literalist Greek patristic scholars.[14] Yet, as the preceding chapters have shown, the Canterbury School's interests cannot be demarcated so clearly, nor can it be said that Canterbury relied entirely on Greek patristic authors. Chapter 2 has revealed Canterbury's dependence on Latin authors, whilst chapter 3 has proven that students engaged with allegorical, as well as literal, methods of biblical interpretation. Added to this, chapter 3 has strengthened the prevailing view in modern scholarship that traditional conceptions of the 'Alexandrian' and 'Antiochene' Schools are in need of revision. The Canterbury School was not, as Lapidge asserted in 1994, 'Antiochene

[14] This view was first endorsed by Bischoff and Lapidge (Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', pp. 193-5; *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 201-249; Lapidge, 'The career of Archbishop Theodore', pp. 4-8) and has been adopted by subsequent scholars, such as Pheifer (Pheifer, 'Canterbury Bible Glosses': Facts and Problems', p. 293), and has been expressed by O'Brien (O'Brien, *Bede's Temple*, p. 30). See Chapters 2 and 3 for further information on the prevalence of this view.

through and through'.[15] Instead, it was a sophisticated and multi-faceted institution that drew on multiple traditions.

Canterbury's interest in historical-literal interpretation has certainly been overstated in prevailing scholarship. Yet there can be no denying that historical analysis played an important part in the creation of the Canterbury glosses. In their 1994 study, Bischoff and Lapidge chose to examine three biblical commentaries that focus particularly closely on literal interpretation. These three commentaries make minimal use of allegory in direct contrast to Canterbury's glosses on the Song of Songs and those on the Wisdom of Solomon.[16] It is no coincidence that the Canterbury texts containing the most allegory are those that analyse books of Poetry (or Wisdom). Perhaps, therefore, Canterbury's seeming focus on historical-literalism in Bischoff and Lapidge's chosen glosses (which exclusively consider the Pentateuch and the gospels) is symptomatic of the nature of the biblical texts under analysis rather than the Canterbury School's underlying interests.

In accordance with this theory, Canterbury's glosses on the Books of Kings (an overwhelmingly historical segment of Scripture) are predominantly literal in focus. Theodore and Hadrian were obviously keen to emphasise the historical significance of these books and their role as literal depictions of Israel's past. However, it must not be forgotten that the Bible's historical books were often viewed as literal records of past events whilst simultaneously foreshadowing the fulfilment of the Old Testament promises (i.e. the messianic arrival). Thus, it should not be assumed, when studying the Canterbury glosses, that the Canterbury School interpreted the Old Testament from an entirely literal standpoint. Indeed, we shall see from several of Canterbury's glosses on Kings that the School was well aware of the portentous nature of the Books of Kings.

[15] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 249.
[16] See Chapter 3.

Canterbury was not alone in interpreting Kings from a largely literal perspective. In fact, Canterbury's approach is mirrored in the work of one of Anglo-Saxon England's most ardent allegorists, Bede, whose *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings* is unusual among his exegetical works for its focus on historical-literal interpretation. As Trent Foley explains:

> Whereas many of Bede's biblical commentaries elucidate almost exclusively the figurative or allegorical sense of a work of Scripture, the *Thirty Questions* is devoted largely to explicating the plain or historical sense of certain difficult passages in the Book of Kings. In only about five of the thirty questions does Bede attempt any allegorical exegesis at all, and even in those questions, a more literal exposition typically precedes his allegorical interpretation.[17]

It is unclear why Bede, a strong advocate of allegory, should have written such a historically centred text.[18] Indeed, the literal focus of *Thirty Questions* stands in direct contrast to Bede's only other commentary on Kings (the *Commentary on First Samuel*), which is a highly allegorical work of exegesis.[19] However, Bede often shaped his works to fit the interests of his audiences, which seems to explain the disparity between his two treatises on Kings.[20] The *Commentary on First Samuel* was written for Bishop Acca of Hexham (d. 740)—Bede's patron and regular correspondent—who shared Bede's preoccupation with allegory.[21] *Thirty Questions*, on the other hand, was written for the

---

[17] Trent Foley, 'Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings: Introduction', p. 82.
[18] Bede's commitment to allegory was so great that he devoted much of his *De schematibus et tropis* to explaining its merits and proper use. C.B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 9-17; C.B. Kendall, 'Bede and Education', in *CCB*, p. 108; P. Darby, *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 196-8.
[19] Laistner remarks that Bede's *Commentary on First Samuel* 'adopts the allegorical method of interpretation in its most extreme form'. M.L.W. Laistner, with H.H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1943), p. 65. Hardin Brown has also commented on the complexity of this commentary, especially the difficulty of its Latin, which 'demands much of the reader'. G.H. Brown, 'Bede's Neglected Commentary on Samuel', in *Innovation and* Tradition, p. 139.
[20] J.A. Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond', in *CCB*, pp. 202-3.
[21] We know that Bede wrote his *Commentary on First Samuel* for Acca because it contains a dedicatory address to the bishop (in the prologue to book three). Added to this, Bede wrote a

edification of a man named Nothelm (*d*. 739), who would one day rise to become archbishop of Canterbury but who was still operating as a priest of London when *Thirty Questions* was written.[22]

In 1999, Trent Foley proposed that *Thirty Questions* reflects Nothelm's interest in historical-literal interpretation. He suggested that Nothelm was probably educated at Theodore and Hadrian's Canterbury School where he was influenced by the School's literalist approach to exegesis.[23] This assumption is based chiefly on Nothelm's relationship with Albinus, who was certainly educated at Canterbury since Bede tells us as much in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical History*.[24] Yet there is little in Bede's writings to suggest that Nothelm was a student of Canterbury. In fact, *The Ecclesiastical History* explicitly describes Nothelm as a priest of London, not Canterbury. Although Canterbury is geographically close to London, the diocese of Essex was distinct from that of Kent and was led by its own bishop: Ingwald of London.[25] It housed numerous respected

---

letter to Acca, known as *On What Isaiah Says*, which makes it clear that Acca had been troubled by something Bede wrote in his commentary on Samuel. The obsequious nature of Bede's reply (which Holder notes is 'even more deferential than usual') shows that Bede sought Acca's approval of the commentary, probably because Acca was the work's patron. Whitelock has shown—based on Bede's numerous affectionate comments about Acca—that a close friendship existed between the two men. Brown, 'Bede's Neglected Commentary', p. 129; A.G. Holder, 'On What Isaiah Says: Introduction', in W. Trent Foley and A.G. Holder (trans.), *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 35-6; A. Thacker, 'Acca [St Acca] (d. 740)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55 [accessed 25 Nov 2017]; D. Whitelock, 'Bede and His Teachers and Friends', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London: SPCK, 1976), pp. 26-7.

[22] 'I, Bede, send greetings to my most beloved brother Nothhelm. With the Lord's help and to the best of my ability I have taken care to explain, dearest brother, the matters that you sent for personal clarification about the Book of Kings […]'. Bede, *In Regum librum XXX quaestiones*; trans. W. Trent Foley and A.G. Holder (trans.), *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 89-138 (p. 89); Nothelm became archbishop of Canterbury in 735, but Bede describes him as 'religiosum Lundoniensis ecclesiae presbyterum' ('a godly priest of the Church in London') in *The Ecclesiastical History*. Since *Thirty Questions* was written before *The Ecclesiastical History*, Nothelm must still have been a priest of London when *Thirty Questions* was written. *EH*, preface, p. 4; W. Hunt, 'Nothhelm (d. 739)', rev. H. Mayr-Harting, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20368 [accessed 10 Nov 20 17].

[23] Trent Foley, 'Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings: Introduction', p. 83.

[24] *EH*, preface, p. 3

[25] Bede, writing in 731, listed Ingwald of London as 'bishop in the kingdom of Essex' ('prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum Inguald episcopus'). *EH*, 5.23, p. 289. Ingwald was bishop of London from 705x716-745. 'Ingwald 2', Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England, www.pase.ac.uk [accessed 29

monastic communities, including those at Bradwell-on-Sea, Tilbury, Barking, and St Paul's, London.[26] Any of these institutions may have been the setting for Nothelm's schooling, or indeed Nothelm may have relocated to London from outside the region. It is simply not possible to determine, from the evidence available, where Nothelm was educated. However, it is telling that Bede makes no mention of Nothelm having studied at Canterbury. Bede pays special attention to the educational backgrounds of Canterbury's other students, including Albinus, Bishop Tobias of Rochester, and Bishop Oftfor of Worcester.[27] So if Nothelm had been educated at Canterbury, we might expect Bede to have specified as much in *The Ecclesiastical History*. Finally, Trent Foley's theory raises an important question: if Nothelm had been educated at Canterbury (and therefore had had access to Canterbury's teaching on Kings) why would he have felt the need to ask Bede for interpretive guidance?

Trent Foley could only speculate about Canterbury's impact on *Thirty Questions*, since he was unable to consult Canterbury's glosses on Kings for himself.[28] His conclusions were heavily influenced by Canterbury's supposed focus on literalism, which, as we have seen, has been greatly exaggerated in existing scholarship. The present chapter will, therefore, cross-examine Bede's *Thirty Questions* and Canterbury's

---

December 2017]; J. McClure and R. Collins, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 419.

[26] The monasteries of Bradwell-on-Sea (given as 'Ythancæstir' by Bede) and Tilbury ('Tilaburg') were established by Cedd (d. 664), bishop of the East Saxons (*EH*, 3.22), while the monastery at Barking ('Berecingum') was established by Eorcenwald (d. 693), bishop of London, for his sister, Æthelburg. According to Bede, it came to be a double monastery (*EH*, 4.6-10); 'Eorcenwald 1', Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England, www.pase.ac.uk [accessed 29 December 2017]. A monastic community was established at St Paul's in London by Æthelberht of Kent (d. 616) shortly after the Augustinian mission (*EH*, 2.3). Kelly asserts that Nothelm belonged to this community, but his assertion cannot be verified. S.E. Kelly (ed.), *Charters of St Paul's, London* (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 17.

[27] *EH*, preface; 4.23; 5.23. Bede does not mention that Aldhelm was educated at Canterbury, perhaps because he was not aware of this fact. Scholars know about Aldhelm's time in Canterbury thanks to two of Aldhelm's letters: letters 2 and 5 in M. Lapidge and M.W. Herren (eds), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich: D.S. Brewer, 1979). Bede seems to have known little about Aldhelm (only mentioning him briefly in *EH*, 5.18). However, Bede knew Nothelm personally and is therefore likely to have understood Nothelm's educational background.

[28] Bischoff and Lapidge's 1994 edition of the Canterbury glosses does not contain the glosses on Kings whilst Vaciago's 2004 transcription of the Canterbury glosses had yet to be published when Trent Foley was forming his theory about *Thirty Questions*.

glosses on the Books of Kings in order to assess the degree to which Bede's treatise corresponds with the interests and exegetical style of the Canterbury School's interpretation of Kings (hereafter '*Cant-Kings*'). In doing so, it will test Trent Foley's theory that *Thirty Questions* represents a channel of communication between the institutions of Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow. Added to this, it will strengthen the conclusions of preceding chapters about the nuanced and sophisticated nature of the Canterbury glosses and will assert, once again, that clear-cut categories should no longer be applied to the Canterbury School's exegetical style.

Bede's *Commentary on First Samuel* is, of course, relevant to any discussion of *Thirty Questions*, yet it will not be treated in detail in this chapter for the following reasons. Firstly, as a work composed for Bishop Acca, it has no discernible link to Canterbury. Secondly, Bede's *Commentary on First Samuel* only examines 1 Samuel, not the Books of Kings as a whole. Therefore, it can only be compared with the first 80 Canterbury glosses on Kings, whereas *Thirty Questions* can be compared with *Cant-Kings* as a whole. Thirdly, *Thirty Questions* takes the form of a *quaestio*, a literary genre dating back to Antiquity that consists of questions and answers which seek to resolve specific ambiguities or contradictions in Scripture.[29] The *quaestio* is more similar in style to a glossary than a *commentarium* is and so *Thirty Questions* is comparable with *Cant-Kings* in a way that Bede's *Commentary on First Samuel* is not. Finally, very little scholarship has been undertaken on *Thirty Questions* and so this chapter's analysis will focus on Bede's oft-neglected text in order to fill a gap in academic knowledge.

Overlapping Biblical Passages in *Thirty Questions* and *Cant-Kings*

Cant-Kings discusses 174 individual passages from the Books of Kings, whereas Bede's *Thirty Questions* discusses only 41. Of these biblical passages, 10 are examined in both

[29] Trent Foley, 'Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings: Introduction', p. 84.

Thirty Questions and *Cant-Kings*. This means that a significant portion (around twenty-five percent) of Bede's text is directly comparable with *Cant-Kings*. These 10 instances of overlap are outlined in the following table:

Biblical Passage		**Location in *Cant-Kings***	**Location in Bede's *Thirty Questions***
1 Samuel	6.19	*A*^{I} 4.20, p. 47, and *A*^{I} 4.21, p. 47	Question 3, pp. 94-6
	20.17	*A*^{I} 4.69, p. 49	Question 5, pp. 98-9
	25.29	*A*^{I} 4.75, p. 50	Question 6, pp. 100-1
2 Samuel	8.2	*A*^{I} 4.97, p. 50	Question 8, pp. 103-4
1 Kings	6.8	*A*^{I} 4.140, p. 52, and *A*^{I} 4.175, p. 53, and *A*^{I} 4.176, p. 53	Question 12, pp. 107-9
	6.9	*A*^{I} 4.141, p. 52	Question 13, pp. 109-10
	20.11	*A*^{I} 4.180, p. 54	Question 17, pp. 117-8
2 Kings	11.6	*A*^{I} 4.197, p. 55, and *A*^{I} 4.198, p. 55	Question 18, pp. 118-22
	11.12	*A*^{I} 4.199, p. 55, and *A*^{I} 4.200, p. 55	Question 19, p. 123
	23.11	*A*^{I} 4.208, p. 55	Question 28, pp. 133-4

Fig. 9: Biblical passages discussed in both *Cant-Kings* and *Thirty Questions*

At first glance, Bede's explanations of the above passages seem to correspond with those provided by the Canterbury commentator.[30] For instance, both texts agree that the

[30] The only clear difference is that Canterbury's explanations are more concise than Bede's. This is due to a difference of genre, since *Thirty Questions* is an extended treatise whereas *Cant-Kings* is a series of short glosses. See chapter 1 for a fuller explanation of the difference between a commentary and a gloss.

length of cord (*funiculo*) mentioned in 2 Samuel 8.2 should not be interpreted as a literal piece of rope, but represents the orderly arrangement by which David decided who amongst the Moabites would live and who would be put to death.[31] However, close inspection of *Thirty Questions* and *Cant-Kings* highlights a significant degree of interpretive difference between the texts.

Such difference is hardly surprising given the dearth of patristic scholarship available to either text's author. Many of the passages discussed in *Thirty Questions* and *Cant-Kings* had never before been commented on by patristic authors.[32] In fact, patristic scholarship produced very few complete commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament. Until recently, it was believed that Gregory the Great (d. 604) had composed a commentary on 1 Samuel, but Gregory's authorship of this work is now disputed and most scholars agree that the text in question was written in the twelfth century.[33] Scattered references to passages from 1-2 Samuel can be found in works by Origen (*d*. 253/254), Ambrose (*d*. 397), Augustine (*d*. 430), and others, but the first comprehensive assessment of Samuel is Bede's *Commentary on First Samuel*, which covers the entirety of 1 Samuel (book 1, chapter 1 to book 31, chapter 13).[34] Likewise, the earliest complete commentaries on 1-2 Kings are those composed by Rabanus (d.

---

[31] 2 Samuel 8.2: (Vulgate) 'et percussit Moab et mensus est eos funiculo coaequans terrae mensus est autem duos funiculos unum ad occidendum et unum ad vivificandum factusque […]'; (NIV) 'David also defeated the Moabites. He made them lie down on the ground and measured them off with a length of cord. Every two lengths of them were put to death, and the third length was allowed to live […]'; Bede, *In Regum librum xxx quaestiones* (hereafter '*XXX Quaest.*'), Question 8; 'Funiculo .i. dispositione' ('By a rope'; that is, by orderly arrangement'), *A*^{l} 4.97, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 50; translation my own.

[32] Trent Foley, 'Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings: Introduction', p. 85.

[33] A. de Vogüé, 'L'Auteur du commentaire des Rois attribué à S. Grégoire: un moine de Cava?' *Revue Bénédictine*, 106 (1996), 319–31; F. Clark, 'The authorship of the I Regum commentary. Implications of De Vogüé's discovery', *Revue Bénédictine*, 108 (1998), 61–79.

[34] See, for instance, Origen's *Homilia in librum Regum I*, Ambrose's *De Apologia Dauid ad Theodosium Augustum*, and Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*; J.R. Franke (ed.), *Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1-2 Samuel*, T.C. Oden (general ed.), Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Old Testament, volume 4 (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2005) pp. xxvii-xxix; D.L. Jeffrey (general ed.), *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1992), p. 903.

856) and Walafrid Strabo (d. 849).[35] Although Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 458/466) produced a partial commentary on 1-2 Kings, this work is a *catena*, a compilation of extracts from earlier works.[36] Without comprehensive interpretive guidance, therefore, early medieval scholars were forced to scour patristic writings, such as those of Clement of Alexandria (d. 215), Origen, and John Cassian (d. 435), for information on the Books of Kings.[37]

Bede's *Thirty Questions* is informed by extracts from Augustine's *The City of God*, Gregory's *Morals on Job*, Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, and others, but Bede's most prevalent source is Scripture itself. He frequently illuminates difficult aspects of the Books of Kings by citing passages from elsewhere in the Bible.[38] Like Bede, the author of *Cant-Kings* cites relatively few patristic authors and depends heavily on Scriptural citations. Without authoritative exegetical readings to work from, Bede and the Canterbury glossator relied largely on their own ingenuity, and a comprehensive understanding of Scripture, to inform their respective assessments of Kings. For this reason, their interpretations differed in subtle but significant ways.

The similarities and differences between *Thirty Questions* and *Cant-Kings* are brought into sharp relief by a thematic comparison of the two texts. Consequently, the remainder of this chapter will address several pivotal themes—etymology, place names, allegory, New Testament foreshadowing, and Temple architecture—to evaluate the degree of correlation between Bede's and the Canterbury author's assessments of Kings. Let us begin with etymology, which Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) described as the basis

[35] M. Conti (ed.), *1-2 Kings, 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, T.C. Oden (general ed.), Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Old Testament, volume 5 (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2008), p. xxi.
[36] Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *De quaestionibus ambiguis in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, discussed in Conti, *1-2 Kings, 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, p. xxi; xxvi.
[37] See, for instance, Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus*, Origen's *De principiis*, and John Cassian's *Collationes*. Conti, *1-2 Kings, 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther*, pp. xviii-xxvi.
[38] Trent Foley, 'Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings: Introduction', p. 85.

of all textual study when he wrote that 'one's insight into anything is clearer when its etymology is known'.[39]

ETYMOLOGY

Etymology is a subject that clearly fascinated both Bede and the Canterbury commentator. Lapidge has stressed the frequency with which the Canterbury glosses discuss etymology, while numerous scholars have observed that Bede often engaged with etymological issues in his work.[40] This mutual interest in the meaning and origin of words is demonstrated in *Thirty Questions* and *Cant-Kings*.[41] *Cant-Kings* delves, almost immediately, into a discussion of the Greek words used in Jerome's *Prologue to the Book of Kings*.[42] Gloss *A*^{I} 4.3, for instance, explains that ἐκκλησιαστήη (Ekklesiasten), from which the Book of Ecclesiastes derives its name, means 'preacher' (*contionator*), whilst glosses *A*^{I} 4.4-6 consider the meaning of χρονικον (khronikon), παραλειπομένων (paralipomenon), and παραφραστην (paraphrasin).[43] As with many of the Canterbury glosses' etymological explanations, glosses *A*^{I} 4.3 and *A*^{I} 4.4 are influenced by Isidore's

[39] 'Omnis enim rei inspectio etymologia cognita planior est': Isidore, *Etymologies*, 1.29.2; Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 55.
[40] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 247; M. Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub. Co., 1989), p. 185; A.G. Holder, 'Bede and the New Testament', in *CCB*, p. 148; D. Bracken, 'Virgil the Grammarian and Bede: A Preliminary Study', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 35 (2006), 7-21.
[41] *Cant-Kings* is replete with etymological explanations but only the most pertinent to the present study will be discussed in this chapter. Other examples include: 'Palmas .i. similitudines palmarum' ('Palm trees; that is, similar to the palms of a hand'), *A*^{I} 4.148, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 52; 'Anaclifa dicitur. quod ualde eminet. quasi pene non coniungitur' ('It is called 'a scultpure in relief' because it greatly protrudes as though almost not connected'), *A*^{I} 4.147, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 52; 'Lanceolis a lancea diminutiue' (''Lanceolis': a diminutive from 'lancea' (lance/ spear)'), *A*^{I} 4.174, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 53. Translations my own.
[42] 'Ecclesiasten concionator. ΧΡΩΝΙΚΩΝ .i. temporum. Paralipomenon .i. quod minus habuit. ΠΑΡΑΦΡΑΣΤΗΝ .i. non edissertorem non bonum interpretem'. *A*^{I} 4.3-6, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47; 'ΦΡΑΣΙ interpretationem uel locutione'. *A*^{I} 4.9, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47; On the Canterbury glosses' use of Jerome's prefaces to the Vulgate biblical books see Chapter 2, pp. 105-6 and 113.
[43] 'Ecclesiasten concionator'. *A*^{I} 4.3, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47; 'ΧΡΩΝΙΚΩΝ .i. temporum'. *A*^{I} 4.4, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47; 'Paralipomenon .i. quod minus habuit'. *A*^{I} 4.5, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47; 'ΠΑΡΑΦΡΑΣΤΗΝ .i. non edissertorem non bonum interpretem'. *A*^{I} 4.6, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47.

Etymologies, a work which has been greatly underestimated as a source of the Canterbury School's learning.[44]

Like *Cant-Kings*, Bede's *Thirty Questions* is quick to examine etymology. In Question 3 of his *Thirty Questions*, Bede examines the use of *populus* and *plebs* in 1 Samuel 6.19, in which God strikes down the inhabitants of Beth Shemesh because several of them have disrespected the sanctity of the Ark of the Covenant. According to the Vulgate, God struck down seventy *populo* and fifty thousand *plebis* to punish their profanity.[45] Bede recognises that *populus* and *plebs* are both accepted Latin translations of the Greek word λαός ('people' or 'nation'), but he infers that they are used in 1 Samuel 6.19 to denote disparate social groups. Thus, he interprets 1 Samuel 6.19 to mean that 'fifty thousand of the common people' (*uulgari homines quinquaginta milia*) were struck down, whereas only 'seventy of the noblest people' (*optimatibus populi septuaginta*) were afflicted.[46]

Cant-Kings reaches the same conclusion as Bede when analysing 1 Samuel 6.19. However, *Cant-Kings* gives a more concise interpretation of this passage. In two short glosses, *Cant-Kings* equates the seventy *populo* with 'the greater people' (*maiores*) and the fifty thousand *plebis* with 'the lesser people' (*minores*).[47] The comparative adjectives, *maiores* and *minores*, are used to emphasise the social disparity of the two groups in a succinct and highly effective manner, but they essentially impart the same message as Bede's more detailed explanation. This shared understanding of 1 Samuel 6.19 seems to imply that Bede and the Canterbury author had access to a common source. The most

---

[44] *Etymologies*, 5.28.1; 6.2.19; See Chapter 2, pp. 91-104, for a fuller discussion of Canterbury's use of Isidore's *Etymologies*.
[45] 1 Samuel 6.19: (Vulgate) 'percussit autem de viris bethsamitibus eo quod vidissent arcam Domini et percussit de populo septuaginta viros et quinquaginta milia plebis luxitque populus quod percussisset Dominus plebem plaga magna'; (NIV) 'But God struck down some of the inhabitants of Beth Shemesh, putting seventy of them to death because they looked into the ark of the Lord. The people mourned because of the heavy blow the Lord had dealt them'.
[46] 'Viros enim maiores natu significat ut sit sensus quod de optimatibus populi septuaginta sint percussi de ipsa autem turba uulgari homines quinquaginta milia […]'. Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 3; Translation my own.
[47] 'De populo lxx uiros .i. maiores'. *A*^{I} 4.20, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47; 'Quinquaginta milia plebis .i. minores'. *A*^{I} 4.21, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47.

plausible candidate is Isidore's *Etymologies*, which states that a populace (*populus*) 'is distinct from the plebeians (*plebs*), because a populace consists of all the citizens, including the elders of the city. But the plebeians are the remaining people apart from the elders of the city. Therefore the populace is the whole city but the common people (*uulgus*) are the plebeians. […] In Greek the populace is called λαός, from the term 'stone' (*lapis*; cf. Greek λᾶας, 'stone')'.[48]

Bede's interest in Greek is showcased once again in Question 13 of *Thirty Questions*, which discusses the ceiling of Solomon's Temple (described in 1 Kings 6.9).[49] Bede explains that this ceiling (*laquear*) is in fact the roof of the temple, adding that roofs in Palestine are flat structures unlike the beamed roofs more familiar to Anglo-Saxon audiences.[50] He justifies this claim by citing Proverbs 21.9: 'It is better to dwell on the corner of a *doma* than in the same house with a contentious woman'.[51] Bede writes that the *doma* mentioned here is the Greek equivalent of the Latin word *tectum* ('roof').[52] After ascertaining what he believes to be the meaning of *laquear*, Bede embarks on an entirely literal analysis of the Temple's roof. Even when citing biblical passages such as Matthew 10.27, which is rife with symbolism about preaching and enlightenment, Bede emphasises the structural practicalities associated with the Temple's flat roof rather than its allegorical significance.[53]

In this respect, Bede's interpretation is very different from that of *Cant-Kings*, which describes *laquear* as 'the *caelum* that was in the Temple'.[54] In this context, *caelum*

---

[48] Isidore, *Etymologies*, 9.4.5-6; Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 203.
[49] 1 Kings 6.9: (Vulgate) 'et aedificavit domum et consummavit eam texit quoque domum laquearibus cedrinis'; (NIV) 'So he built the temple and completed it, roofing it with beams and cedar planks'.
[50] On Anglo-Saxon roof structures, see: H. Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 17-66; S. James, A. Marshall and M. Millett, 'An Early Medieval Building Tradition', in C.E. Karkov (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic Readings* (New York; London: Garland, 1999), 79-118.
[51] Proverbs 21.9: (Vulgate) 'melius est sedere in angulo domatis quam cum muliere litigiosa et in domo communi'; Translation from Trent Foley and Holder, *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany*, p. 109.
[52] 'Quod enim latine tectum graece dicitur doma'. Bede, *XXX Quaest*., 13.
[53] Matthew 10:27: (NIV) 'What I tell you in the dark, speak in the daylight; what is whispered in your ear, proclaim from the roofs'.
[54] 'Laquearia. caelum quod in templo erat'. *A[1]* 4.141, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 52.

seems to refer to the uppermost part, or vault, of the Temple. In other words, the gloss depicts *laquear* as a ceiling, not a roof. But the commentator's decision to use *caelum* (which has implications of the cosmos or heavens) rather than a more straightforward term, such as *camera* (vaulted room/ ceiling), implies that the commentator equated the Temple with heaven. The notion that Solomon's Temple is an earthly replica of God's heavenly temple is rooted in New Testament imagery. For instance, Hebrews 10.24 describes the Temple as 'a sanctuary made with human hands that was only a copy of the true one'.[55] Through its discussion of *laquear*, therefore, the Canterbury commentator engages with New Testament imagery that Bede decides, for whatever reason, to exclude. As a result, Bede and the Canterbury commentator provide significantly different interpretations of 1 Kings 6.9. From a literal perspective, the two authors do not agree on the architectural significance of *laquear*. But, more importantly, the Canterbury author displays an interest in the symbolic meaning of *laquear* that is not mirrored in Bede's *Thirty Questions*. This strongly contests the notion that Bede intended *Thirty Questions* to correspond with the Canterbury School's teaching on Kings. It also negates Trent Foley's suggestion that the literal focus of *Thirty Questions* was inspired by Canterbury's supposed penchant for literalism.

Cant-Kings and *Thirty Questions* clearly have much in common regarding their use and appreciation of etymology. However, this shared interest is hardly surprising. Etymology was a prevalent concern for all early-medieval exegetes due, in large part, to the popularity of Isidore's *Etymologies*, which has been deemed 'the most influential book, after the Bible, in the learned world of the Latin West for nearly a thousand years'.[56] Bede and the Canterbury glossator were both fascinated by etymology, but their shared fascination is emblematic of the intellectual culture of seventh to eighth-century Christendom and should not be viewed as evidence that a channel of

[55] The idea of heaven taking the form of a temple is also found in Ephesians 2:21, Hebrews 8:5, Revelation 3:12, Revelation 11:19; Revelation 21:22, etc.; O'Brien, *Bede's Temple*, p. 36.
[56] Barney *et al*., *The Etymologies*, p. 3.

communication existed between Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow. On the contrary, *Cant-Kings* reaches conclusions about the etymology of the Bible that differ markedly from Bede's own inferences.

PLACE-NAMES

Bede is well known for his interest in the significance of places, having dedicated two known works to the subject: *On the Holy Places* (*De locis sanctis*) and *On the Resting-Places of the Children of Israel* (*De mansionibus filiorum Israel*).[57] These works demonstrate what Trent Foley has described as 'Bede's intense interest in the physical landscape of the Holy Land'.[58] The study of place-names was a central aspect of early medieval exegesis thanks to the influence of Jerome and Augustine, who believed that understanding place-names was essential to interpreting Scripture. Jerome wrote that 'He […] who knows the sites of ancient cities and places and their names […] will gaze more clearly upon Holy Scripture'.[59]

Thirty Questions, like so many of Bede's works, is deeply concerned with place-names; nine of the thirty questions discuss places mentioned in 1 and 2 Kings.[60] However, none of the places mentioned in 1 and 2 Samuel are discussed in *Thirty Questions*, probably because they had already been treated by Bede in his *Commentary on First Samuel*.[61] The author of *Cant-Kings* was also interested in places but seems to

---

[57] W. Trent Foley, 'On The Holy Places: Introduction', in W. Trent Foley and A. G. Holder (trans.), *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 1-4.
[58] W. Trent Foley, 'Introduction', in W. Trent Foley and A. G. Holder (trans.), *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. xxxi.
[59] '[…] sanctam scripturam lucidius intuebitur qui iudaeam oculis contemplatus est et antiquarum urbium memorias locorum que uel eadem uocabula uel mutata cognouerit': Jerome, *Praefatio in libro Paralipomenon de graeco emendato*. Translation from N. Lozovsky, *'The Earth is Our Book': Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West Ca. 400-1000* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 49; Trent Foley, 'Introduction', pp. xxxi-xxxii.
[60] These nine are: questions 15-16, 21-24, 26-7, and 29. Bede, *XXX Quaest*.
[61] Meyvaert has convincingly argued that Bede interrupted his work on the *Commentary on First Samuel* in order to write *Thirty Questions*. Consequently, the *Commentary on First Samuel* contains analysis of the Books of Samuel that Bede did not feel inclined to repeat in *Thirty Questions*. P. Meyvaert, '"In the Footsteps of the Fathers": The Date of Bede's Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings to Nothelm', in W.E. Klingshirn and M. Vessey (eds), *The Limits of Ancient*

have been less enthralled by this subject than Bede since only ten of *Cant-Kings*' 216 glosses explicitly discuss place-names.[62] These ten glosses are highly succinct and do not examine the deeper meaning behind a given place-name. For instance, gloss A^{I} 4.166 explains that Sheba is an alternative name for Ethiopia but gives no further information about the place.[63] Likewise, A^{I} 4.19 clarifies that the 'great Abel' mentioned in 1 Samuel 6.18 is a stone that derives its name from a place called Abel.[64] But the gloss does not expand on the location of Abel nor its significance to the Biblical narrative, leaving the reader to speculate about whether or not this Abel is the same Abel Beth Maacah mentioned in 2 Samuel 20.14.[65]

Bede's approach in *Thirty Questions* is markedly different. His explanations of places are comprehensive and supported by extensive citations from Jerome, as well as selected passages from Scripture.[66] For instance, Question 15 examines the significance of several places in the region 'from the entrance of Hamath to the brook of Egypt', which is mentioned in 1 Kings 8.65. To elucidate this passage, Bede copies out large chunks of text from Jerome's *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, followed by scriptural citations from Chronicles, Numbers, and Ezekiel. Bede also attaches huge significance to the etymology and allegorical significance of place-names. For example, in Question 16 Bede notes that the Hebrew meaning of Bethel is 'house of God'. He infers from this that the city of Bethel represents the Christian Church and that those who defile the Church,

---

Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 267-86.

[62] These ten are: A^{I} 4.19, A^{I} 4.27, A^{I} 4.33, A^{I} 4.90, A^{I} 4.149, A^{I} 4.166, A^{I} 4.172, A^{I} 4.197, A^{I} 4.198, and A^{I} 4.215. *Glossae Biblicae I*, pp. 47-55.

[63] 'Regina saba. id est ethiopum'. A^{I} 4.166, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 53.

[64] 'Abel magnum nomen loci aliter nomen. proprium. lapidis'. A^{I} 4.19, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47; 1 Samuel 6.18: (Vulgate) '[…]ad Abel magnum super quem posuerunt arcam Domini quae erat usque in illa die in agro Iosue Bethsamitis'; (DRA) '[…] to the great Abel (the stone) whereon they set down the ark of the Lord, which was till that day in the field of Josue the Bethsamite'.

[65] 2 Samuel 20.14: (Vulgate) 'porro ille transierat per omnes tribus Israhel in Abelam et in Bethmacha omnesque electi congregati fuerant ad eum'; (NIV) 'Sheba passed through all the tribes of Israel to Abel Beth Maakah and through the entire region of the Bikrites, who gathered together and followed him'.

[66] Trent Foley, 'Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings: Introduction', pp. 84-6.

through wanton living or the espousal of false doctrine, can be likened to the biblical figure Hiel.[67] Hiel was a native of Bethel but abandoned it to rebuild Jericho and in doing so he fell victim to Joshua's curse (Joshua 6.26), which proclaimed that whoever rebuilt Jericho would lose their firstborn and youngest sons.[68]

Bede and the Canterbury commentator seem to have had differing opinions about the ways in which place-names can inform a reader's understanding of the Bible. *Cant-Kings*' explanations are generally literal, whereas *Thirty Questions* emphasises the figurative value of biblical places. This difference in their approaches is highlighted by the only place-name examined by both texts: Tophet, a location in Jerusalem that was used by idol worshippers to carry out child sacrifice.[69] Tophet is discussed in Question 27 of *Thirty Questions* and in gloss *A*^{I} 4.215 of *Cant-Kings*. Thanks to its association with the burning alive of sacrificial victims, Christian tradition came to employ 'Tophet' as a metaphorical term for hell. Bede cites Isaiah 30.31-3 as evidence of this, asserting that Isaiah 'plainly calls hell "Tophet"' when he states that God will one day strike down the devil (styled as the 'Assyrian' in Isaiah 30.31-3) and send him to perish in Tophet.[70]

The Canterbury author also equates Tophet with hell; gloss *A*^{I} 4.215 gives the meaning of Tophet as 'a wide and spacious hell'. But the glossator does not dwell on this association and is quick to note that Tophet is also 'the name of a temple, or of an idol, or

[67] Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 16, p. 116.
[68] 1 Kings 16.34: (Vulgate) 'in diebus eius aedificavit Ahiel de Bethel Hiericho in Abiram primitivo suo fundavit eam et in Segub novissimo suo posuit portas eius iuxta verbum Domini quod locutus fuerat in manu Iosue filii Nun'; (NIV) 'In Ahab's time, Hiel of Bethel rebuilt Jericho. He laid its foundations at the cost of his firstborn son Abiram, and he set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son Segub, in accordance with the word of the Lord spoken by Joshua son of Nun'.
[69] 2 Kings 23.10: (Vulgate) 'contaminavit quoque Thafeth quod est in convalle filii Ennom ut nemo consecraret filium suum aut filiam per ignem Moloch'; (NIV) 'He desecrated Topheth, which was in the Valley of Ben Hinnom, so no one could use it to sacrifice their son or daughter in the fire to Molek'.
[70] Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 27, pp. 132-3; Isaiah 30.31-3: (Vulgate) 'a voce enim Domini pavebit Assur […] praeparata est enim ab heri Thofeth a rege praeparata profunda et dilatata nutrimenta eius ignis et ligna multa flatus Domini sicut torrens sulphuris succendens eam'; (NIV) 'The voice of the Lord will shatter Assyria […] Topheth has long been prepared; it has been made ready for the king. Its fire pit has been made deep and wide, with an abundance of fire and wood; the breath of the Lord, like a stream of burning sulfur, sets it ablaze'.

of a place'.[71] Although Bede outlines the literal meaning of Tophet as a place in the valley of Hinnom where idol worship took place, he is chiefly interested in proving Tophet's allegorical sense and in showing that Tophet's geographical beauty belies its true iniquity. The notion that outward splendour conceals inner depravity is a common theme in Bede's works and is perhaps most famously expounded in his *Letter to Ecgberht*, in which Bede condemns clerics who outwardly present themselves as good Christians but whose inward desires are corrupt.[72] Thus, *Thirty Questions*' assessment of Tophet is typically Bedan, as is his desire to decipher the allegorical meaning of place-names.

Bede's interest in place-names had been firmly established by the time he composed *Thirty Questions*. One of his earliest works, *Nomina regionum atque locorum de Actibus Apostolorum*, is a dictionary of the places mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.[73] This work appends Bede's *Commentary on Acts* and was probably written between 709 and 716, suggesting that place-names captivated Bede right from the beginning of his scholarly career.[74] Bede's interest was greatly shaped by Jerome, whose works resided in abundance at the library of Wearmouth-Jarrow.[75] As we have seen, Bede was particularly dependent on Jerome's *Commentarii in Ezechielem* for information on the place-names of the Books of Kings. It seems, however, that Canterbury did not have access to Jerome's *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, which may explain why *Thirty Questions* provides so much more information on places than *Cant-*

[71] 'Topheth lata et spaciosa gehenna. uel nomen templi. uel ydoli. uel loci'. *A[l]* 4.215, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 55.
[72] Bede, *Letter to Ecgberht*.
[73] G.H. Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 71-2.
[74] *Ibid*.; Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament*, p. 206; On the dating of Bede's *Commentary on Acts*, see C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896), vol. 1, p. xxxi; and L. Martin, *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, Cistercian Studies Series 117 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1989), p. xviii.
[75] M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 215-7; P. Darby, 'The Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini* and the Gospel Prefaces of Jerome', *Speculum*, 92, no. 2 (2017), 343-371 (p. 350).

Kings does.[76] Although *Cant-Kings* gives some attention to place-names, its author was clearly unwilling or unable to engage with the subject in as much detail as Bede. This implies that, far from catering to the interests of the Canterbury School, Bede sought to impose his own concerns onto *Thirty Questions*. Thus, while place-names affirm that Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow drew on a shared intellectual heritage, they provide no indication that Canterbury was the intended audience of Bede's *Thirty Questions*.

Non-Literal Readings of the Books of Kings

Cant-Kings' approach to place-names does little to dispel Lapidge's portrayal of the Canterbury School as a literalist stronghold. But although many of *Cant-Kings*' glosses are indeed literal—such as glosses *A*^{I} 4.10 and *A*^{I} 4.11, which state that a *fuscinula* (fleshhook) is a fork made of iron and that a *lebes* (a type of basin) is a large cauldron—much of the text shows a deeper understanding of the Books of Kings beyond its literal sense.[77] The following table outlines just some of *Cant-Kings*' non-literal glosses. These will not be analysed in detail in the present chapter, but they highlight the Canterbury author's readiness to step beyond the bounds of literalism:

Canterbury Ref. No.	**Biblical Citation**	**Canterbury Gloss**	**Translation[78]**
A^{I} 4.43, p. 49	1 Samuel 13.4	Clamauit ergo populus post saul .i. secutus est saul uel exercitatus ad pugnam.	*'The people were called together after Saul'; that is, having supported Saul, or even having been trained to fight.*

[76] There is no evidence that the library at Canterbury included Jerome's *Commentarii in Ezechielem*. For a fuller discussion of the works housed at Canterbury, see Chapter 2.
[77] 'Fuscinulas. furcas ferreas'. *A*^{I} 4.10, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47; 'Lebetem maiorem caldariam'. *A*^{I} 4.11, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47.
[78] Translations my own.

A^{I} 4.70, p. 49	1 Samuel 21.5	Vasa puerorum sancta .i. corpora munda.	*'Vessels of the young men, having been made holy'; that is, bodies made clean.*
A^{I} 4.71, p. 49	1 Samuel 21.5	Via polluta propter persequtionem uel luxuriam.	*The way [was] defiled because of vengeance or extravagance.*
A^{I} 4.76, p. 50	1 Samuel 26.19	Odoretur. offeratur pro me sacrificium.	*'Should be made fragrant': a sacrifice should be offered for me.*
A^{I} 4.96, p. 50	2 Samuel 8.1	Frenum .i. dominationem.	*'Bridle'; that is, dominion/ mastery.*
A^{I} 4.101, p. 50	2 Samuel 11.4	Sanctificata concepit et liberata a menstruo.	*'Purified': received [by the Lord] and liberated from menstruation.*
A^{I} 4.107, p. 51	2 Samuel 14.19	Neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram est .i. nec addidi. nec subtraxi de uerbis ioab. sed ipse omnia posuit in ore meo.	*'It is neither on the left hand, nor on the right'; that is, 'I neither added to nor took from the words of Job, but [said] all that he himself specified from my mouth'.*

Many of *Cant-Kings*' glosses rest somewhere between allegory and literalism. For instance, gloss *A*^{I} 4.43 (the first gloss listed in the above table) recognises that the people of Israel were not physically grouped together by Saul in order to fight the Philistines, but were socially unified by their support for the king. This explanation is not allegorical in the traditional sense, but nor is it wholly literal. Likewise, we have already seen how *Cant-Kings*' explanation of *laquear* (the ceiling of Solomon's Temple) hints at the symbolic relationship that existed between God's earthly temple and his

dwelling-place in heaven.[79] Although this gloss discusses a literal feature of the Temple (its ceiling), it also demonstrates the Canterbury School's appreciation for abstract concepts such as God's transcendence.

Numerous other glosses highlight Canterbury's sophisticated reading of Scripture. One such gloss has already been mentioned. Gloss *A[I]* 4.97 discusses the length of cord (*funiculo*) that David used to decide who among his enemies would be put to death. According to the Canterbury commentator, this piece of rope represents the orderly arrangement (*dispositione*) by which David separated the spared from the condemned.[80] Bede reaches a similar conclusion to the Canterbury writer, claiming that the rope 'signifies through allegory that […] David held in his power those whom he could either kill as rebels, or spare as subdued subjects'.[81] Thus, we see in *Cant-Kings* an allegorical reading of Scripture that is just as sophisticated as, albeit more concise than, Bede's own interpretation.

Allegory is also employed to great effect by the Canterbury author in gloss *A[I]* 4.41, which explains the Vulgate's puzzling assertion that 'Saul was a child of one year when he began to reign'.[82] The commentator knew that Saul could not possibly have been one year old when he ascended to the throne, since he is described as a fully-grown man when first introduced to the biblical narrative.[83] Instead the commentator turned to allegory, concluding that Saul is likened to an infant in 1 Samuel 13.1 in order to emphasise his humility.[84]

---

[79] 'Laquearia. caelum quod in templo erat'. *A[I]* 4.141, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 52.
[80] 'Funiculo .i. dispositione'. *A[I]* 4.97, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 50.
[81] Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 3; translation from
[82] 1 Samuel 13.1: (Vulgate) 'filius unius anni Saul cum regnare coepisset […]'; Translation taken from DRA.
[83] 1 Samuel 9.2: (NIV) 'Kish had a son named Saul, as handsome a young man as could be found anywhere in Israel […]'.
[84] 'Filius unius. scilicet. filius cis. unum annum regnans nichil magnum egit sed humilis permansit. unde unius ani filius dicitur propter humilitatem' (''A child of one': certainly 'a child of Kish'. Reigning one year he put into motion nothing great but he remained humble, whence it is said 'a child of one year' on account of humility'). *A[I]* 4.41, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 48; Translation my own.

Another gloss that embraces allegory is *A*^{I} 4.177. This gloss concerns 1 Kings 18, in which the prophet Elijah proves God's pre-eminence over the idol Baal. Elijah invites the worshippers of Baal to meet him on Mount Carmel where he challenges them to a contest. Whichever deity manages to set fire to a sacrificial altar will be deemed the true God. Unsurprisingly, God succeeds whilst Baal fails and the assembled people are persuaded that 'the Lord is God' ('*Dominus ipse est Deus*').[85] Following this scene, Elijah is imbued with divine power. The Vulgate records that 'the hand of the Lord was placed upon Elijah', enabling him to run with unnatural speed.[86] However, the Canterbury glossator records the passage as 'the hand of the Lord was placed upon *Israel*'. The glossator then explains that 'the hand of God' really means 'the Word of God'.[87] In other words, the gloss notes that this passage does not literally refer to God's hand, but to the divine power transmitted through His Word. The replacement of *heliam* (Elijah) with *israhel* (Israel) may be a mistake on the part of a later transcriber, since another witness to this gloss (found in a manuscript from Karlsruhe) gives the same text as the Vulgate.[88] Yet it is also possible that the commentator believed Elijah to represent the people of Israel, perceiving that, through his actions on Mount Carmel, Elijah reaffirmed God's covenant with Israel and brought God's blessing upon the entire nation, not just himself.

A final gloss that demonstrates *Cant-Kings*' appreciation for non-literal readings (and the Canterbury School's seeming detachment from Bede's exegetical views) is *A*^{I} 4.180. This gloss discusses the siege of Samaria by King Ben-Hadad of Aram (Syria), as described in 1 Kings 20. In the biblical narrative, Ben-Hadad arrives at the walls of Samaria and immediately begins to boast about his impending victory. His opponent, King Ahab of Israel, rebuffs Ben-Hadad's assurance of victory, warning in 1 Kings 20.11

[85] 1 Kings 18.16-39.
[86] 1 Kings 18.46: (Vulgate) 'et manus Domini facta est super Heliam accinctisque lumbis currebat ante Ahab donec veniret in Hiezrahel'; Translation modified from DRA.
[87] 'Facta est manus domini super israhel .i. sermo domini'. *A*^{I} 4.177, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 54.
[88] 'Facta est manus domini super helyam .i. sermo domini'. K^{2} 4.60, *Glossae Biblicae II*, p. 133. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. 135, [K^{2}], ff. 96r-105u.

that 'one who puts on his armour should not boast like one who takes it off'.[89] The Canterbury commentator recognised that this statement should be understood idiomatically, not literally. Thus, when Ahab states that 'one who puts on his armour should not boast like one who takes it off', he really means that a well-prepared army should not take pride in destroying vulnerable (i.e. unarmed) forces. The glossator paraphrases Ahab's words, writing 'inermes nos et armati uos' ('we [are] unarmed and you [are] armed'), portraying Ahab's reply as a defensive admonishment.

The commentator then adds that another version ('alia editio') of the biblical text gives Ahab's reply as '[ne glorietur] gibberosus sicut rectus' ('Let the hunchback not boast like a man who stands erect').[90] This rendering, which appears in the Septuagint, affirms the commentator's view that Ahab believed himself morally superior to Ben-Hadad. Patristic tradition, expounded by scholars such as Maximus of Turin, perceived the *gibberosus* (hunchback) to be deformed by sin while the *rectus* (upright man) was a man of virtue.[91] So, according to the Canterbury author, when Ahab claims that a hunchback should not boast like an erect man, he really means that sinful individuals should not place themselves above the righteous. The inclusion of this Septuagint passage is particularly interesting because it strengthens Lapidge's assertion that the Canterbury School had access to a copy of the Septuagint text and that its students were not wholly dependent on the Vulgate.[92]

Bede also comments on 1 Kings 20.11 and—just like the Canterbury writer—he provides an idiomatic explanation for this biblical passage. Yet Bede's interpretation is

---

[89] 1 Kings 20.11: (Vulgate) 'et respondens rex Israhel ait dicite ei ne glorietur accinctus aeque ut discinctus'; (NIV) 'The king of Israel answered, "Tell him: 'One who puts on his armour should not boast like one who takes it off"'.

[90] 'Accinctus aequae et discinctus non aequaliter gloriantur .i. inermes nos et armati uos. Alia editio gibberosus sicut rectus'. *A[I]* 4.180, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 54; 1 Kingdoms 21.11 (LXX): translation taken from St. Athanasius Academy of Orthodox Theology, *The Orthodox Study Bible: Ancient Christianity Speaks to Today's World* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2008), p. 418.

[91] R. McNally, 'The Pseudo-Isidorian "De vetere et novo testamento quaestiones"', *Traditio*, 19 (1963), 37-50 (p. 49, n. 48).

[92] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 197-9.

slightly different. Rather than viewing Ahab's response as a moral rebuke, he perceives it as a didactic warning. According to Bede, Ahab advises Ben-Hadad that he should not boast as though he has already won the battle. He explains that the 'girded' (*accinctus*) have yet to commence battle and cannot know its outcome, while the 'ungirded' (*discinctus*) have taken off their belts and are ready 'either to enter the bath or climb into bed' because they have already fought and are now free to rest.[93] Thus, Bede's perception of the passage is that Ben-Hadad should not celebrate victory until the battle has been fought and, through this reading, Bede teaches his readers that only God can truly know the future.

Although Bede and the Canterbury glossator both recognise the allegorical significance of 1 Kings 20.11, each author interprets the passage in a slightly different way. It seems improbable, therefore, that either author influenced the other when deciphering this passage, casting further doubt on the idea that *Thirty Questions* was written with the Canterbury School in mind. As further proof of this, *Cant-Kings*' many non-literal readings of the Books of Kings make it difficult to countenance Trent Foley's suggestion that Bede employed historical-literal analysis as a means of complementing Canterbury's interests. The author of *Cant-Kings* was more than willing to engage with allegory and nowhere is this more apparent than in the penultimate theme of the chapter: Old Testament foreshadowing.

OLD TESTAMENT FORESHADOWING

For those who chose to accept his teachings, the emergence in the first century of an enigmatic man named Jesus transformed attitudes towards Israel's scriptural texts. For Christian audiences, Jesus' life, death and resurrection fulfilled Scripture's messianic

[93] 'Accinctus namque est qui cingulo circumdatus incedit, discinctus qui cingulum nuper deposuit uerbi gratia balneum intraturus […]'. Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 17, pp. 117-8.

prophecies. Jesus inspired retrospective analysis of Scripture and brought about the creation of a New Testament, which sought (among other things) to prove Jesus' latent presence in the old canon (the Old Testament).[94] A well-known example of this desire to identify Jesus in the Old Testament can be found in 1 Peter 2.5-6, in which Peter claims that the 'cornerstone' (*angularem*) mentioned in Isaiah 28.16 is a metaphorical representation of Christ.[95] New Testament texts depicted the union of God's people (Christian and Jewish) in allegorical terms as a building project, 'built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Jesus Christ himself as the chief cornerstone' (Ephesians 2.20).[96] Hence Augustine's famous statement that 'in the Old Testament the New is concealed, and in the New the Old is revealed'.[97]

In *Thirty Questions* and *Cant-Kings*, we see Augustine's theory put into practice. *Thirty Questions* is littered with references to Old Testament foreshadowing. Indeed, the opening question of Bede's treatise presents Samuel as a harbinger of Christ by illustrating Samuel's many Christ-like properties.[98] Foreshadowing was a favourite consideration of Bede's. To his mind, the story of Israel represented the story of Christ and Israel's past embodied the Christian Church's future as a type of 'new Israel' in which Christians would eventually reap the benefits of the Old Covenant promises.[99] In the final segment of *Thirty Questions*, Bede stresses that 'Jerusalem and the land of Israel' represent 'the city of Christ—which is the Holy Church[100]'. Thus, *Thirty Questions*

---

[94] Hauser and Watson, 'Introduction and Overview', pp. 37-8.
[95] Isaiah 28.16: (NIV) 'So this is what the Sovereign Lord says: "See, I lay a stone in Zion, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone for a sure foundation; the one who relies on it will never be stricken with panic […]"'. 1 Peter 2.5-6: (NIV) '[…] you also, like living stones, are being built into a spiritual house to be a holy priesthood, offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. For in Scripture it says: "See, I lay a stone in Zion, a chosen and precious cornerstone, and the one who trusts in him will never be put to shame."'
[96] Ephesians 2.20. Translation modified from NIV; J. O'Reilly, 'Introduction', in S. Connolly (trans.) *Bede: On the Temple* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), pp. xxii-xxiii.
[97] '[…] in ueteri testamento est occultatio noui, in nouo testamento est manifestatio ueteris': Augustine, *The First Catechetical Instruction*, 4.8; Christopher, *The First Catechetical Instruction*, p. 23.
[98] Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 1.
[99] S. DeGregorio, 'Bede and the Old Testament', in *CCB*, p. 132.
[100] Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 30.

begins and ends by emphasising the prefigurative nature of the Books of Kings, highlighting the centrality of this concept to Bede's exegetical outlook.

Bede is not the only Anglo-Saxon exegete to stress the link between Old Testament and New. *Cant-Kings* employs exactly the same form of biblical cross-referencing favoured by Bede. Throughout his analysis of the Books of Kings, Bede cites passages from the New Testament to prove that Kings foreshadows the New Covenant. For instance, we have already seen how Bede interpreted Hiel—the rebuilder of Jericho's walls—as a metaphor for Christian sinners. Bede cites 1 Corinthians 10.11 as evidence of this analogy, reiterating Paul's statement that the events of the Old Testament are didactic warnings that Christians should learn from.[101] In gloss *A*^{I} 4.62, the Canterbury glossator uses a similar technique, citing examples from the New Testament that mirror events described in 1 Samuel 18.10. In this Old Testament passage, an evil spirit plagues King Saul, causing him to despise his protégé David.[102] *Cant-Kings* draws parallels between the passage and instances of demonic possession found in the New Testament.[103] Although the commentator states that these instances concern Jesus and the Apostle Paul, it is not entirely clear which New Testament passages he has in mind since Jesus and Paul encounter evil spirits on numerous occasions.[104] It is obvious, however, that the commentator sought to stress the cohesiveness of the Old and New Testaments by highlighting the recurring presence of evil spirits throughout the biblical narrative.

---

[101] 1 Corinthians 10.11: (NIV) 'These things happened to them as examples and were written down as warnings for us, on whom the culmination of the ages has come'.
[102] 1 Samuel 18:10: (NIV) 'The next day an evil[a] spirit from God came forcefully on Saul. He was prophesying in his house, while David was playing the lyre, as he usually did. Saul had a spear in his hand'.
[103] 'Prophetabat in medio domus. sicut demones de iehsu et phitonissa de paulo' ('He prophesied in the midst of his house': just as demons concerning Jesus and the witch concerning Paul'). *A*^{I} 4.62, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 49. Translation my own.
[104] For instance, Jesus casts out demons or spirits in: Mark 1.21–28 and Luke 4.31–37; Mark 5.1-13, Luke 8.26-39 and Matthew 8.28-34; Mark 9.14-29, Matthew 17.14-21 and Luke 9.37-49; etc. Paul casts out demons or spirits in: Acts 16.16-18; Acts 19.11-12; etc.

Both Bede and the Canterbury commentator are keen to demonstrate the ways in which Christ's message can be discerned in the Books of Kings. Both authors believe that 1 Samuel 25.29 refers to God's New Covenant promise. In 1 Samuel 25.29, Abigail assures King David that his enemies will never succeed in killing him and that his soul will always remain 'in the bundle of the living' ('*in fasciculo viventium*'). She claims that his enemies will perish 'as with the violence and circling of a sling' ('*quasi in impetu et circulo fundae*').[105] In a lengthy discourse, Bede explains the allegorical significance of this passage. He writes that the 'bundle of the living' signifies the righteous, 'for a bundle is tied so that the whole will abide and be preserved', while David's enemies, which Abigail likens to the stone of a sling, signify the reprobate because they will be cast away at the Last Judgement.[106] He quotes John 10.28 to justify this interpretation, demonstrating (as he often does in *Thirty Questions*) that the Books of Kings are best understood when studied alongside works from the New Testament.[107] Bede associates the bundle (i.e. the righteous) with the elect. Although Canterbury's explanation of 1 Samuel 25.29 is much shorter than Bede's, it imparts the same message. Gloss *A*^{I} 4.75 writes that the 'bundle of the living' represent 'the congregation', i.e. the very same community of the elect that Bede describes.[108] Thus, the Canterbury writer views this Old Testament passage as a foreshadowing of the New Covenant, just as Bede does.

Nevertheless, Bede is undoubtedly more willing to engage with the proleptic quality of the Books of Kings than the Canterbury writer is. Bede repeatedly refers to New Testament symbolism, whereas the author of *Cant-Kings* makes only two explicit

---

[105] 1 Samuel 25.29: (Vulgate) 'si enim surrexerit aliquando homo persequens te et quaerens animam tuam erit anima domini mei custodita quasi in fasciculo viventium apud Dominum Deum tuum porro anima inimicorum tuorum rotabitur quasi in impetu et circulo fundae'; (NIV) 'Even though someone is pursuing you to take your life, the life of my lord will be bound securely in the bundle of the living by the Lord your God, but the lives of your enemies he will hurl away as from the pocket of a sling'.

[106] Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 6.

[107] Bede quotes John 10.28 (NIV: 'I give them eternal life, and they shall never perish; no one will snatch them out of my hand'); Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 6.

[108] 'In fasiculo uiuentium .i. in congregatione' ('In the bundle of the living'; that is, in the congregation'). *A*^{I} 4.75, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 50; translation my own.

references to this theme, both of which appear in the glosses discussed above. Once again, this suggests that Bede shaped *Thirty Questions* according to his own interests, not according to the concerns of the Canterbury School. DeGregorio and others have already shown that Old Testament foreshadowing was a fundamental preoccupation of Bede's, and so it is no surprise to find the subject reiterated in *Thirty Questions*.[109] However, it *is* surprising to find this theme outlined in *Cant-Kings*, since its presence counteracts Canterbury's longstanding reputation for literalism. Although foreshadowing was not at the forefront of Canterbury's teaching on Kings, there can be little doubt that Canterbury embraced the Christian tradition of viewing the Old Testament as an allegorical rendering of the New. This challenges Lapidge's depiction of the Canterbury School as an institution with limited exegetical variety and highlights the need for more nuanced analysis of the Canterbury glosses.

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

Another typically Bedan concern to appear in *Thirty Questions* is his preoccupation with Temple architecture. Five of Bede's thirty questions discuss the construction and design of Solomon's Temple.[110] Bede's acute interest in the Temple has long been acknowledged by scholars.[111] Indeed, he is often thought of as the first Christian exegete to devote so much attention to this subject.[112] His narrow focus 'on the details of the construction of […] Solomon's temple' is considered to be highly unusual.[113] Yet the

[109] DeGregorio, 'Bede and the Old Testament', p. 132; Holder, 'Bede and the New Testament', p. 143.
[110] These are questions 11-14, and 18.
[111] See: A.G. Holder, 'New Treasures and Old in Bede's "De Tabernaculo" and "De Templo"', *Revue Bénédictine*, 99:3-4 (1989), 237–49; A.G. Holder, 'Allegory and History in Bede's Interpretation of Sacred Architecture', *American Benedictine Review*, 40:2 (1989), 115–31; O'Reilly, 'Introduction', pp. xxvii–lv; J. O'Reilly, 'The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow', in P. Binski and W. Noel (eds), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2001), pp. 3–39; etc.
[112] O'Brien, *Bede's Temple*, pp. 3-4.
[113] *Ibid*., p. 3.

Canterbury glosses provide an Anglo-Saxon context to Bede's interest that has never previously been acknowledged.

Cant-Kings is hugely invested in this subject, containing no less than twenty-five glosses assessing the construction and furnishing of Solomon's Temple.[114] These twenty-five glosses are overwhelmingly literal, asserting sentiments such as 'Epistilia capita columnarum' (Architraves [are] the tops of columns.).[115] Yet the inclusion of such architecturally-focused statements provide a context to Bede's own perspective. They imply that, far from being unique within Anglo-Saxon England, Bede's interest in Temple architecture was shaped by a wider tradition expounded by students at Canterbury. A clear parallel can be seen, for instance, between Bede's concern for the spiral staircase of 1 Kings 6.8 and *Cant-Kings'* interest in the same staircase.[116] Likewise, we have already addressed the marked similarity between Bede's and Canterbury's approach to the ceiling (*laquear*) discussed in 1 Kings 6.9. Although more scholarship needs to be undertaken on this issue before firm conclusions can be drawn, *Cant-Kings* seems to reflect a wider Anglo-Saxon interest in Temple architecture that may help to contextualise Bede's fascination. The structural significance of the Temple was obviously more pervasive in early medieval exegesis than has hitherto been recognised, highlighting a valuable avenue for further research.

CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to determine how far Bede's *Thirty Questions* corresponds with Canterbury's teaching on the Books of Kings. The aim of such an assessment was to

---

[114] Glosses *A*[*l*] 4.134-148 and 152-161.
[115] *A*[*l*] 4.137, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 50; translation my own.
[116] 1 Kings 6.8: (Vulgate) 'ostium lateris medii in parte erat domus dexterae et per cocleam ascendebant in medium cenaculum et a medio in tertium'; (NIV) 'The entrance to the lowest floor was on the south side of the temple; a stairway led up to the middle level and from there to the third'; Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 12; 'Per cocleam per ascensum collectum per circuitum' ('By a winding staircase': by an ascent narrowed by circling'). *A*[*l*] 4.140, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 50; translation my own.

evaluate Trent Foley's widespread theory that *Thirty Questions* was written with the interests of the Canterbury School at the forefront of its agenda. The preceding analysis has shown that Bede's *Thirty Questions*—though more literal than many of Bede's exegetical works—bears little similarity to Canterbury's own interpretation of the Books of Kings. *Cant-Kings* and *Thirty Questions* present markedly different opinions on matters of etymology, toponymy, allegory and prefiguration, which collectively refute the notion that Bede gained inspiration for *Thirty Questions* from the scholarly attitudes of the Canterbury School. It is true that the two texts demonstrate overlapping interests; for instance, both works' authors were clearly interested in the prefigurative nature of the Old Testament and the significance of etymology. Yet these shared interests are indicative of a common intellectual heritage rather than any tangible relationship between Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow. When these interests are assessed individually, it becomes clear that Bede and the author of *Cant-Kings* held disparate views, forged from independent readings of Scripture and a lack of cohesive patristic instruction.

This, along with Bede's silence on Nothelm's educational background, means that it impossible to determine whether or not Nothelm received his schooling at Canterbury. Bede may well have shaped *Thirty Questions* to fit the interests of its recipient, but there is no evidence to link Nothelm's interests to those of the Canterbury School. In fact, Question 3 of *Thirty Questions* strongly implies that Nothelm was *not* based at Canterbury since it shows that Nothelm and the author of *Cant-Kings* used different biblical codices. According to Bede, Nothelm's codex recorded 1 Samuel 6.19 as 'populo septuaginta binos' ('seventy-two of the people').[117] Yet the author of *Cant-Kings* gives this passage as 'populo lxx uiros' ('seventy men of the people').[118] *Cant-Kings*' version matches the Vulgate text, whereas the version that Bede ascribes to Nothelm's

[117] '[…] nam quod tuus codex habet "septuaginta binos" omnino mendosum est' ('[…] By the way, what your codex has, "seventy two", is definitely wrong'). Bede, *XXX Quaest.*, 3.
[118] 'De populo lxx uiros .i. maiores'. *A[l]* 4.20, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 47.

monastery is a variation. If Nothelm had been a student of Canterbury, we might expect him to have used the same codex as his peers; the fact that he used a variation suggests that he was educated elsewhere. However, the location of Nothelm's schooling remains, for the present, a mystery.

Although *Cant-Kings* tells us little about Nothelm's background it does support the belief, proposed throughout this thesis, that Lapidge's perception of the literalist nature of the Canterbury School is symptomatic of the texts he decided to include in his 1994 volume and does not reflect the true calibre of this versatile school. Canterbury students were undoubtedly comfortable with allegory and were prepared to use it to illuminate even the most historical biblical books. Thus, it is no longer sufficient to perceive the Canterbury School as a literal-facing institution. Rather than dismissing Canterbury's glosses as literal descriptions, we must examine them more closely to decipher the sophistication of their original meaning.

Conclusion

When Bischoff and Lapidge published their edition of the Canterbury glosses in 1994, their book was hailed as a revolutionary contribution to early medieval studies.[119] Yet, in the twenty-four years that have passed since the work's publication, little effort has been made to develop Bischoff and Lapidge's conclusions. Individuals such as Paul Szarmach have long identified the need to study the Canterbury glosses in their entirety.[120] But few scholars have sought to examine the glosses that Bischoff and Lapidge excluded from their 1994 study. Scholarly dormancy on this matter has maintained a perception of the Canterbury School that is not corroborated by available evidence. As we have seen, Bischoff and Lapidge assigned two pivotal characteristics to the Canterbury School. They believed that the School was: a) dominated by an Antiochene, or literalist, style of exegesis; and b) influenced predominantly by Eastern patristic scholarship (namely the writings of Greek and Syriac theologians). However, the preceding discussion has shown that the School does not conform to clear-cut categorisation. By scrutinising parts of the Canterbury glosses that have hitherto gone

[119] E. Ann Matter described the book as 'the most interesting and informative description of the seventh-century Christian world I have ever read'. E. A. Matter, review of Bernard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge (eds), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (1994), *Speculum*, 72:2 (1997), 435-7.
[120] Szarmach, review of *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 631.

unstudied, this thesis has demonstrated that Canterbury: a) embraced allegorical renderings of Scripture; and b) was shaped by a range of scholarly influences from across Christendom, including Latin sources.

In Chapter 2, we examined sections A^b, A^c and A^l of the Canterbury glosses (known to Bischoff and Lapidge as *PentII*, *PentIII*, *OT glosses*, and *EvII*) in order to gain a better understanding of the sources that influenced Canterbury's students. This portion of the glosses had never previously been assessed for evidence of patristic influence. What it revealed was that Canterbury employed a number of Latin patristic authors—namely Augustine of Hippo, Eucherius of Lyon, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and Jerome—whose significance to Canterbury's curriculum has been hitherto obscured. The chapter also showed that Canterbury gained intellectual inspiration from Ireland through texts such as the anonymous *Liber de ordine creaturarum*. How far Irish scholarship truly influenced Canterbury has yet to be determined and this subject would benefit significantly from further research.

By analysing sections A^b, A^c and A^l of the glosses, we have greatly expanded our knowledge of Canterbury's hypothetical library, adding seventeen texts to Lapidge's previous evaluation of the School's source base.[121] Canterbury's choice of source material tells us much about the students who composed the glosses. It suggests that they were novice clerics preparing for pastoral roles in growing Christian communities. However, we should not assume that Canterbury's sole purpose was the cultivation of preachers. This seems to have been a central aim of the School, but it was only one aspect of a multifaceted curriculum implemented at Canterbury. Bede tells us that the School gave instruction in 'the art of metre, astronomy, and ecclesiastical computation' as well as languages and exegesis.[122] Thus, the Canterbury glosses represent just one mode of study undertaken at Canterbury. The School is likely to have produced other,

[121] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 175-8.
[122] *EH*, 4.2.

more intellectually rigorous works that have since been lost. That being said, the Canterbury glosses themselves attest to a high calibre of learning. They demonstrate students' ability to engage with complex theological debate (i.e. the conflicting views presented on the 'revolving sword' of Genesis 3.24, pp. 89-90 and 93) and ambiguous metaphor, such as that expounded in the Song of Songs.

Chapter 3 focused closely on Canterbury's use of metaphor, analysing the School's glosses on the Song of Songs, which are contained in section *A*[1] of the Canterbury glosses (or *OT glosses* according to Bischoff and Lapidge's terminology). Once again, this is a portion of the Canterbury glosses that has evaded previous study. Analysis of this section reveals that Canterbury adopted a thoroughly allegorical approach to the Song of Songs. This revelation refutes Bischoff and Lapidge's oft-repeated claim that the Canterbury School was wholly literal in orientation.[123] In fact, Canterbury's interpretation of the Song of Songs bears a remarkable similarity to Bede's analysis of the same biblical book. Bede's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* is considered a highly sophisticated work of exegesis, yet the Canterbury glosses show that Bede was not the first in Anglo-Saxon England to carry out in-depth analysis of this text. Bede and Canterbury's students obviously had a shared awareness of ideas famously expounded by Origen, which hints that a common intellectual heritage permeated all of Anglo-Saxon England. However, the exact sources that influenced Canterbury's rendering of the Song of Songs are impossible to pinpoint. Origen's depiction of the Song of Songs as a discussion between Christ and the Church was quickly adopted into Western Christian thought and pervades the works of numerous patristic authors. The Canterbury glosses' discussion of this biblical text consists almost entirely of small glosses and so, without

[123] As evidence of the pervasiveness of Bischoff and Lapidge's viewpoint, Charles D. Wright wrote as recently as 2012 that 'the Canterbury glosses, as Lapidge points out, are manifestly within the Antiochene tradition of exegesis […]'. Wright reached this conclusion despite having had access to Vaciago's full transcription of the Milan manuscript. C. D. Wright, '*Genesis A* ad literam', in M. Fox and M. Sharma (eds), *Old English Literature and the Old Testament* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2012), p. 136.

protracted quotations to cross-reference, we cannot know exactly where the Canterbury commentator gained his inspiration. As a result, it is impossible to know how far Canterbury's sources overlapped with Bede's. Nevertheless, the commentator's ability to convey complex metaphorical analysis through concise glosses demonstrates considerable literary skill. It is a compelling reminder that such glosses should not be dismissed (as has often been the case with the Canterbury glosses) on the basis of preconceived notions about their usefulness.[124]

Perhaps most significantly of all for future studies into the Canterbury glosses, Chapter 3 challenged the use of the terms 'Antiochene' and 'Alexandrian' to denote differences in exegetical style. It argued that the terms are misleading and have caused historians to place authors in rigid categories that do not adequately reflect the interpretive fluidity of early medieval exegesis. As Benedicta Ward has shown:

> It would be difficult to find any commentator on the sacred page who did not employ both the distinctive marks of the so-called school of Antioch, as well as the signs of the so-called school of Alexandria. All commentators looked at the grammatical meaning of their text, at the philological sense, at the historical and geographical setting, as well as the various kinds of typological and spiritual meaning.[125]

As this thesis has shown, Canterbury is an institution that employed characteristics from each of the so-called Antiochene and Alexandrian Schools. Thus, these terms should no longer be rigidly applied to the Canterbury glosses, nor to any work of exegesis. By

[124] For instance, Benedicta Ward argued that the *Commentaries* have limited potential as informative sources: 'They are hardly biblical commentaries in the full sense of the term, but glosses on the text. Whether they significantly add to our understanding of the Scriptures or to patristic exegesis is not at all certain'. B. Ward, review of Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge (eds), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (1994), etc., *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48:1 (1997), 145–8 (pp. 146-7). O'Brien has also dismissed the Canterbury glosses for similar reasons (see discussion on p. 24). O'Brien, *Bede's Temple*, pp. 30-1.

[125] Ward, review of *Biblical Commentaries, etc.*, p. 147.

casting aside such terms, scholars will make room for more nuanced perspectives with greater potential to illuminate medieval mind-sets.

It is clear from Chapter 4 of this thesis that Canterbury's approach to Scripture was informed by many of the scholarly concerns listed by Benedicta Ward. Chapter 4, which discussed the Canterbury glosses' assessment of the Books of Kings (found in section *A[I]/ OT glosses* of the Canterbury glosses), proved that Canterbury considered not just the historical and grammatical significance of Scripture but also the importance of etymology, geography, typology and allegory. This final chapter proved that Canterbury's exegetical texts displays ideas and techniques of equal sophistication to Bede's commentaries. Indeed, on matters such as the ceiling of Solomon's Temple, the Canterbury commentator proposes concepts that Bede seems never to have considered. This fascinating degree of difference strengthens the notion that Canterbury drew on an extensive range of influences, many of which were distinct from Bede's.

This brings us to a question that has pervaded the entire thesis: to what extent did scholarly exchange take place between the institutions of Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow? Indeed, is it even possible to determine the presence or absence of such exchange? The Canterbury glosses clearly espouse many of the same ideas that Bede promoted in his exegetical texts. Additionally, the glosses draw on many of the same patristic sources that Bede employed. Yet there is also considerable interpretive difference between Bede's works and those produced at Canterbury. Much of this difference can, of course, be attributed to variances in style and intent. Bede's works are protracted treatises aimed at scholarly elites, whereas the Canterbury texts are concise glosses that seem to have been written for the edification of novice clerics. Thus, direct comparison is somewhat problematic. However, the available evidence indicates that similarities discernible between Bede's work and the output of the Canterbury School result largely from the diffuse intellectual environment of Anglo-Saxon England and

cannot be attributed to any direct route of communication between the institutions of Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow.

Chapter 2 has highlighted that the libraries of Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow contained many of the same texts. Yet these texts were popular throughout Christendom. Isidore's *Etymologies*, for instance, is recorded in nineteen English manuscripts dating from before the Conquest.[126] There is nothing peculiar, therefore, in Wearmouth-Jarrow and Canterbury each having had access to at least one copy of the texts discussed in Chapter 2. We have seen in Chapter 3 that Bede and his Canterburian counterpart(s) provide similar interpretations of the Song of Songs. Yet, because Canterbury's sources cannot be determined in this instance, and because Origen's theories about the Song of Songs were widespread in early medieval Christendom, it is impossible to know whether either institution influenced the other. The more likely scenario is that Bede and the Canterbury commentator received independent inspiration from sources and theories shared across early medieval Europe. Finally, Chapter 4 has demonstrated that, when it comes to matters of textual content, Bede's *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings* differs markedly from Canterbury's assessment of the biblical Books of Kings. Although these texts display similar thematic interests, their comments on specific biblical passages often disagree. This, along with evidence from chapters 2 and 3, strongly suggests that Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow engaged with a shared intellectual heritage that traversed Anglo-Saxon England but were not directly influenced by one another.

The overarching aim of this thesis was to liberate Canterbury from Bede's shadow. By approaching the Canterbury glosses with a willingness to diverge from Bischoff and Lapidge's pervasive theories, the preceding discussion has proven that Canterbury wholeheartedly deserves its reputation for scholarly excellence. Far from being a one-dimensional institution, the School was a vibrant and sophisticated

[126] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 311.

intellectual centre that played a prominent role in the wider Christian community of Anglo-Saxon England. Our findings have shed light on the character, influences and aims of the Canterbury School. They have also provided insights into the degree of scholarly exchange that took place in early Anglo-Saxon England. It is clear that ideas and interests circulated more widely than has previously been assumed and it is no longer possible, in light of available evidence, to perceive the Canterbury School as an isolated entity shaped by separate influences to the rest of England. Similarly, it is no longer sufficient to view Bede as a solitary scholar operating in a land void of intellectual inspiration. Bede seems to have profited from the same culture of scholarly exchange that benefited Canterbury's students. Bede's connection to the wider Anglo-Saxon cultural sphere has significant ramifications for understanding his outlook, and scholars should be mindful of this when assessing the factors that shaped his ideas.

Appendices

APPENDIX I: THE FOUR SETS AND THEIR CONTENTS

The following table shows the four sets of glossaries that form the Canterbury School biblical glosses. These four sets were amalgamated into one collection—Part A of the *Libellus glossarum ueteris ac noui testamenti* ('the glosses of the Old and New Testament')—in the eleventh-century. The manuscript known as 'Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup.' (M^1) contains the most complete version of the *Libellus glossarum* (i.e. the Canterbury glosses).

	Set	**Biblical books included**
1.	*PentI* + *EvII*[127]	Genesis (59v-64v) Exodus (70v-72v) Leviticus (75r-76r) Numbers (77v-78v) Deuteronomy (80v) Gospels (89r-92r)
2.	*Gn-Ex-EvIa*	Genesis, Exodus and the Gospels (64v-66r)
3.	*PentII* + *OT glosses* + *EvI*	Genesis (67v-69r) Exodus (72v-73v) Leviticus (76r-v) Numbers (78v-79r) Deuteronomy (80r-v) Joshua-Nehemiah (81r-88v) Gospels (88v-89r)
4.	*PentIII*	Genesis (69r-70v) Exodus (73v-75r) Leviticus (76v-77v) Numbers (79r-v) Deuteronomy (79-80r)

[127] This table uses Bischoff and Lapidge's terminology to describe the four sets: *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 285-7.

APPENDIX II: TWO PUBLISHED EDITIONS OF THE *LIBELLUS GLOSSARUM*

The following table outlines the coverage of two published editions of the *Libellus glossarum*, otherwise known as the Canterbury glosses.[128] Column 'A' gives a detailed breakdown of the 24 sections that constitute the *Libellus glossarum* (including Part B, which Vaciago entitled '*A^{II}*' and Bischoff and Lapidge entitled 'Apostrofa glosarum per precedentes libros'). The titles of these sections are given as they appear in M^{1}.[129] Each section title is followed by the folio number(s) it correlates to in M^{1}. Column 'B' lists the titles Bischoff and Lapidge assigned to each of the Canterbury School texts and shows which sections of the *Libellus glossarum* these titles correspond to. Sections highlighted in pink are transcribed and translated in Bischoff and Lapidge's book. Column 'C' outlines the texts included in Vaciago's *Glossae Biblicae: Pars I*. It gives Vaciago's titles for the various Canterbury texts. Sections highlighted in blue are transcribed, but not translated, in Vaciago's edition.

Items 3, 11, 22 and 23 are excluded from both monographs because they are not biblical commentaries. Item 3 is a selection of excerpts from Isidore concerning the names of the months, while item 11 is a treatise on weights and measurements (also drawn from Isidore).[130] Item 22 relates to Augustine's views on the dual nature of Christ, and item 23 is a brief comment on the persecution and death of Christ. These four texts have not received in-depth study and have yet to be transcribed. It is unclear whether or not they derive from the Canterbury School.

[128] These transcriptions are found in *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 298-423; and *Glossae Biblicae I*, pp. 3-224.
[129] Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup.
[130] *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 285.

	A	B	C
	Glossary sections of the *Libellus glossarum*	Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*	Vaciago, *Glossae Biblicae: Pars I*
1.	In Genesi (59v-64v)	*PentI*	A^{a}
2.	Item in Genesi (64v-66r)	*Gn-Ex-EvIa*	Untitled
3.	De mensibus… Ysidorum (66r-67v)	n/a	n/a
4.	Glose de libro Genesi (67v-69r)	*PentII*	A^{b}
5.	In Genesi glose (69r-70v)	*PentIII*	A^{c}
6.	Item in Exodo glose (70v-72v)	*PentI*	A^{a}
7.	In Exodo (72v-73v)	*PentII*	A^{b}
8.	Item in Exodo (73v-75r)	*PentIII*	A^{c}
9.	De libro Leuitico (75r-76r)	*PentI*	A^{a}
10.	In eodem (76r-v)	*PentIII*	A^{b}
11.	De quibusdam ponderibus uel mensuris (76v)	n/a	n/a
12	Item in Leuitico (76v-77v)[131]	*PentIII*	A^{c}
13.	De libro Numerorum (77v-78v)	*PentI*	A^{a}
14.	In eodem (78v-79r)	*PentII*	A^{b}
15.	Item in libro Numeri (79r-v)	*PentIII*	A^{c}
16.	In Deuteronomio (79v-80r)	*PentIII*	A^{c}
17.	In eodem (80r-v)	*PentII*	A^{b}
18.	Item de Deuteronomio (80v)	*PentI*	A^{a}
19.	Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth... (81r-88v)	*OT glosses*	A^{I}
20.	In Marco, Luca... (88v-89r)	*EvI*	A^{I}
21.	In Matheo etc. (89r-92r)	*EvII*	Untitled
22.	Augustinus: Quod Christus... (92r)	n/a	n/a
23.	De morte pessima… (92r-v)	n/a	n/a
24.	Apostrofa glosarum per precedentes libros... (92v-125v)	Untitled	A^{II}

[131] These manuscript references are excluded from Bischoff and Lapidge's list (*Biblical Commentaries*, p. 284). This is presumably a mistake and the reference should be '(76v-77v)'.

APPENDIX III: MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE CANTERBURY GLOSSES

Table A: The *Libellus glossarum*[132]

The following table lists eight major manuscript witnesses to the text of the *Libellus glossarum.*

	Shelf mark	**Sigla**	**Text(s) witnessed**	**Date**	**Suggested provenance**
1	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Grimm 132,2, frg.	B	*PentI* (partial)	Mid-eighth century	Anglo-Saxon centre in Germany with Southumbrian connections
2	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. 135, 96r-105v[133]	K^2	*OT glosses*	First quarter of the tenth century	Reichenau
3	The 'Leiden Glossary': Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossius Lat. Q. 69 (VLQ 69), 39r-v	L^1	*Gen-Ex-EvIa*	Eighth to ninth centuries	St Gallen
4	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup., 59v-125v	M^1	*PentI*, *PentII*, *PentIII*, *EvI*, *EvII*, *Gen-Ex-EvIa*, and *OT glosses*	c. 1080s	Piacenza (Northern Italy)
5	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14470, 121r-121v	M^2	*EvII*	Early ninth century	Bavaria
6	St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 913, pp. 139-45	S	*PentI* (partial)	c. 750-800 (probably c. 790)	Area of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity in Germany
7	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 38, 123v-124r	W^1	*EvII* (partial)	Second third of the ninth century	Würzburg

[132] Information included in table A is taken (unless otherwise stated) from: *Biblical* Commentaries, pp. 287-90 and pp. 533-60.
[133] Information on this manuscript taken from Bremmer and Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries', p. 249.

8	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 47, 71r-73v	W^2	*EvI* and *EvII*	Early ninth century	Area of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity (probably in Germany)

Table B: The Leiden Family[134]

A complete list of all twenty-seven members of the Leiden Family can be found in Lapidge's article, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian'.[135] Table B itemises seven of the most important of these for the present discussion. The first four manuscripts listed are those which Lapidge viewed as being most relevant to the Canterbury glosses.[136] Item 5 is included here because it was recently discussed in an article by Bremmer and Dekker in which its significance was reassessed.[137] Similarly, items 6 and 7 are noted as significant by Bremmer, Dekker and Pheifer.[138]

	Shelf mark	**Sigla**	**Date**	**Suggested provenance**
1	The 'Leiden Glossary': Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossius Lat. Q. 69 (VLQ 69), 20r-36r[139]	L^1	Eighth to ninth centuries	St Gallen
2	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup., 125v-128r	M^1	c. 1080s	Piacenza (Northern Italy)[140]
3	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 99, 37r-52v (dubbed 'Rz' by Holtzmann)[141]	K^1	Eighth century	Reichenau

[134] Information included in table B is taken (unless otherwise stated) from: Michael Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), pp. 67-72.
[135] Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 67-72.
[136] *Biblical* Commentaries, p. 176.
[137] Bremmer and Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries'.
[138] *Ibid*.; Pheifer, 'The Canterbury Bible Glosses'.
[139] There is some overlap between tables A and B (e.g. items 1 and 4 in table A reference the same manuscripts as items 1 and 2 in table B). In these instances, separate folios of the same manuscript contain different materials.
[140] *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 277-84.
[141] A. Holtzmann, 'Die alten Glossare II', *Germania* 8 (1863), 385-414.

4	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2685, 47r-56r	P	Ninth century	Belgium or Holland
5	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus F. 24 (VLF 24), 102v-105v	L^2	c. 900	Western Francia, possibly Tours[142]
6	Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 4. 6., 41ra-44vb	C	Twelfth century	Worcester
7	Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa. 2, 38r-117v	F	Tenth century	Konstanz

[142] Bremmer and Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries', p. 249.

APPENDIX IV: KNOWN REFERENCES TO THEODORE AND HADRIAN IN THE *LIBELLUS GLOSSARUM*

The following table lists all known references to Theodore and Hadrian that can be found in manuscripts pertaining to the *Libellus glossarum*.

	Gloss	**Manuscript**	**Corresponding gloss in M¹**	**Biblical passage glossed**
1	Valuas muros in circuitu templi. **Adrianus** dixit ualuas. **Theodorus** dixit aquę ductus .i. ipse fistulę per quas aqua ducitur.[143]	M¹	N/A	2 Kings 18.16
	Valuas: muros templi. in circuitu; **Adrianus** dicit; Valuas .i. aquę ductus .i. ipsę fistulae per quas aqua decurrit;[144]	K²	*A*ᴵ 4.206, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 55	
2	Stipate stringite. **Adrianus** dicit .i. remissionem peccatorum per baptismum.[145]	M¹	N/A	Songs 2.5
3	Cyneris nablis. id est citharis longiores quam psalterium. nam psalterium triangulum fit. **Theodorus**. dixit;[146]	L¹	*A*ᴵ 10.56, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 64	Sirach 39.20
4	Haec **Theodorus** tradedit. Expositio super matheum.[147]	W¹	None	N/A
5	.xii. cofinos de palmatis factos **Theodorus** se uidisse testatur in Constantinopoli ob memoriam obseruatos ab Elina regina portatos; similiter et hydrias.[148]		None	John 2.6 and 6.13
6	Larum: hragra; **Adrianus** dicit meum esse.[149]	S	*A*ᵇ 32.3, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 30 and *A*ᵇ 34.34, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 32	Leviticus 11.16
	Larum: hragra; **Adrianus** dicit meu esse.[150]	B		

[143] *A*ᴵ 4.206, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 134.
[144] K² 5.28, *Glossae Biblicae II*, p. 134.
[145] *A*ᴵ 8.41, *Glossae Biblicae I*, p. 59.
[146] L¹ 12.41, *Glossae Biblicae II*, p. 79.
[147] W¹, 123v, in *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 549.
[148] W¹, 124r, in *ibid*.
[149] S, p. 143, in *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 535.
[150] B, (frg)r 1, in *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 543.

APPENDIX V: COMPARISON OF WITNESSES TO *EVI*

M[1]: Milan manuscript, M. 79 sup. (folios 88va-89ra):[151]

In marco. luca. iohanne & matheo.

In marco.

1. Alphei de loco dicitur.
2. Syrophenissa de Syris qui in chananea sunt.
3. Grabatum lectulum.
4. Biuio ubi duae uia[e] te conueniunt.
5. Murratum amarum.

In luca.

6. Sycera dicitur omnis potus quo inebriari potest excepto uino.
7. Pugillarem. tabulae quae in pugillo continentur.
8. Diuersorium quo uertitur ad manendum deuia.
9. Ut sisterent eum Domino ut offerrent eum Domino.
10. Ulnas brachia.
11. Sareptha ciuitas.
12. Loculum portatorium de tabulis.
13. Scorpionis. in similitudine cancri cauda acuta.
14. Iuga boum quinque x. boues.
15. De siliquis fructus arboris qui colligitur porcis.
16. Symphonia de tibiis et cornu.
17. Byssus in arbore nascitur ad uestimentum.
18. Decurio decanus .i. princeps super decem homines.

In iohanne

19. Metreta mensura.
20. Salim ciuitas.
21. Super probatica. iuxta probaticam.
22. Cum sacrifitiis eorum .i. idolorum.
23. Catinus discus modicus ligneous uel lapideus.
24. Triclinium. tria lecta.
25. Spiritus ubi uult spirat.i. spiritus sanctus.
26. Subiit in montem ascendit in montem.
27. Encenia noua dedicatio.

[151] As transcribed in '*Glossae Biblicae I*', pp. 77-80.

28. Institis alligaminibus.
29. In peluem uas rotundum ligneum.
30. Lithostratus conpositio lapidum.
31. Hysopo in similitudine absenthii.

In matheo.

32. Palleum uestis lanea circa latera.
33. Decapolim. x ciuitates in una prouintia.
34. Margarita genus gemmae modicum. quasi fabae albo colore inueniuntur in concha.
35. Scriba peritissimus lector. dicitur tamen a scribendo.
36. Publicani quod publicam rem agunt. non quod peccent dicuntur.
37. Cophini de uirgis factae.
38. Tabernacula magna et modica dicuntur etiam de uestimento.
39. Tributum dicitur quod semper fit. Censum quod repente indicitur.
40. Stater tres solidos.
41. Eunuchus castratus.
42. Contra uos iuxta uos.
43. Castillum modica urbs.
44. Uicus magnus. Uilla modica.
45. Exitus uiarum ubi cumque exeunt uiae.
46. Altilia saginata de auibus tantum dicitur.
47. Altilia quasi ali talia .i. uolatilia studio saginata. quae nos manu pasta uocamus.
48. Nummisma solidus.
49. Eugae gaude.
50. Parapsis discus.
51. Pseudo falsi.
52. Signum Filii hominis fulgor ab oriente.
53. Colaphis alapis.
54. Pinnaculum quicquid praeminet.
55. Caminus a caumando dicitur.
56. Clibanus desuper ap[er]tus.
57. Pretorium domus iudicatoria.
58. Tyrus insula.
59. Sidon ciuitas.

W²: Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 47 (folios 71-3):[152]

De marco evangelista.

1. Alfei de loco dicitur.
2. Syrophinisa de Syris qui in Cananea sunt.
3. Grabatum lectulum.
4. Biuio ubi duo uiae conueniunt.
5. Sarepta ciuitas.
6. Murrutum amarum.
7. Pugillarem tabule quae in pugillo contenentur.
8. Diuersorium quo uertitur ad manendum de uia.
9. Ut sisterent eum Domino .i. ut offerent eum Domino.
10. De silicis fructus arboris.
11. Metreta mensura.
12. Catino .i. discus modicus ligneus uel lapideus.
13. Triclinum .i. tria lecta.
14. Enchennia noua dedication.
15. Lithostrotus conpositio uel consternatio lapidum.
16. Hysopo in similitudinem absentis.
17. Caupo [Ecclus. XXVI.28] qui uinum uendidit qui eum torculauit.

De luca evangelista

18. Decapolim .x. ciuitatis in una prouincia.
19. Publicani qui publicam rem agunt.
20. Tabernacula magna uel modica dicuntur etiam de uestimento.
21. Stater .iii. solidos.
22. Castellum modica urbs.
23. Exitus uiarum cumque exeunt uiae.
24. Parapsidis discus.
25. Caminus a caumando dicitur.

[152] As transcribed in *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 553-54.

L[1]: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. Q. 69 (xxiv-xxv):[153]

Incipit in matheum.

1. Fiole in similitudinem calcis.
2. Perna fossa.
3. Umecta gebyraec.
4. Dimitte eam absolue eam.
5. Mocum quasi fabae albo colore inueniuntur in conca.
6. Publicani qui publicam rem faciunt non a peccando.
7. Stater .iii. solidos.
8. Tributum quod semper fit. Censum. quod repente indicitur.
9. Altilia saginata de auibus tantum dicitur.
10. Nomisma solidus.
11. Exolantes mundantes a colendo dicitur.
12. Alabastrum proprium nomen lapidis et uas sic nominatur de illo lapide factum.
13. Tyrus insula.
14. Sidon ciuitas.
15. Caminus a caumando dicitur
16. Clibanus desuper apertus.
17. Pretorium domus iudicaturia.

De marco et luca et iohanne.

18. Catinum discum modicum ligneum uel lapideum.
19. Murratum amarum.
20. Sirofenissa de siriis qui in cananea sunt.
21. Loculum portatorium de tabulis.
22. Scorpiones in similitudine cancri cauda longa.
23. De siliquis fructus arboris. colligitur porcis.
24. Symphonia de tibiis et cornu.
25. Byssus in arbore nascitur ad uestimentum.
26. Decurio princeps super x homines.
27. Salim ciuitas.
28. Enchenia dedicationes.
29. Institis suithelon.

[153] As transcribed in Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, p. 21.

30. In peluem uas rotundum ligneum.
31. Lithostrotus conpositio lapidum.
32. Hysopo in similitudinem absinthi.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Agatho, *Letter of Pope Agatho to Emperor Constantine IV* (*Epistola prima ad Augustos Imperatores*), *PL* 87 (Paris: 1863).

Aldhelm, *Letter to Hadrian* (*Epistola ad Hadrianum*), in Rudolfus Ehwald (ed.), *Aldhelmi Opera*, new edn. (Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1961); Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (eds and trans.), *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Ipswich: D.S. Brewer, 1979).

———, *Letter to Heahfrith* (*Epistola ad Ehfridum*); David R. Howlett, 'Aldhelm and Irish Learning', *Archiuum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 52 (1994), 37–75.

———, *Rhyming Song* (*Carmen rhythmicum*); David R. Howlett, 'Aldhelmi Carmen Rhythmicum', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 53 (1995), 119-40.

Anon., *Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1469*, in P. Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars II*, CCCM, vol. 189B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

———, 'Codex Brixianus', *Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, s.n.*, in *PL* 12 (Paris: 1845).

———, 'Codex Vercellensis', *Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, s.n.*, in *PL* 12 (Paris: 1845).

———, *Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa 2*, in P. Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars II*, CCCM, vol. 189B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

———, *Leiden, Universitätsbibliothek, Voss. Q^{o}. Lat. N^{o}. 69*, in J. H. Hessels (ed.), *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of the Leiden University* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906).

———, *Liber de ordine creaturarum*. Latin text from J. P. Migne (ed.), *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi opera omnia: Romae anno Domini MDCCXCVII excusa recensente Faustino Arevalo, qui Isidoriana praemisit, variorum praefationes, notas, collationes, qua antea editas, qua tunc primum edendas, collegit, veteres editiones et codices mss. Romanos contulit […]* (Lutetiæ Parisiorum: 1862), tomus quintus. English translation modified from M. Smyth, 'The seventh-century Hiberno-Latin treatise Liber de ordine creaturarum. A translation', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 21 (2011), 137-222.

———, *Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana M 79 sup. (A^{b}-A^{c}; A^{l})*, in Paolo Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars I*, CCCM, vol. 189A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

———, *Old Latin Prologue to the Gospel of Matthew* (*Praefatio uel argumentum Mathei*), in John Wordsworth, Henry Julian White, and Hedley Frederick Davis Sparks (eds) *Nouum*

Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine: secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi Vol. 1. Quattuor Euangelia, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889), vol. 1; English translation modified from Ben C. Smith, 'The Latin prologues', *Text Excavation*, www.textexcavation.com/latinprologues.html [accessed 15 May 2017].

———, *Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Archiv des Benediktinerstiftes 82/1*, in Paolo Vaciago (ed.), *Glossae biblicae: Pars I*, CCCM, vol. 189A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

Augustine of Hippo, *Against Gaudentius* (*Contra Gaudentium*), *PL* 43 (Paris: 1841).

———, *The City of God* (*De ciuitate Dei*), *PL* 41 (Paris: 1841); Gerald G. Walsh and Grace Monahan (trans.), *The City of God, Books VIII-XVI* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1952; reprinted 2008).

———, *The First Catechetical Instruction* (*De catechizandis rudibus*); J. P. Christopher (trans.), *The First Catechetical Instruction*, Ancient Christian Writers, 2 (Westminster, MD: Newman Press; London: Longmans, Green, 1946).

———, *The Harmony of the Gospels* (*De consensu euangelistarum*), *PL* 34 (Paris: 1841); Philip Schaff (ed.), *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 14 vols (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), vol. 6.

———, *Letter 93* (*Epistulae 93*), *PL* 33 (Paris: 1841).

———, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis: A Commentary in Twelve Books* (*De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*), *PL* 34 (Paris: 1841); Edmund Hill (trans.) and John E. Rotelle (ed.), *On Genesis*, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, 42 vols (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2002), part 1, vol. 13.

———, *On Christian Teaching* (*De Doctrina Christiana*), *PL* 34 (Paris: 1841).

———, *On Genesis Against the Manichees* (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos*), *PL* 34 (Paris: 1841); R. J. Teske (ed.), *On Genesis: Two Books: On Genesis Against the Manichees and On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Book* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991).

———, *On the Nature of Good* (*De Natura Boni*), *PL* 42 (Paris: 1841).

———, *On the Trinity* (*De Trinitate*), *PL* 42 (Paris: 1841).

———, *Sermon 89*, *Sermons to the People* (*Sermones ad populum*), *PL* 38 (Paris: 1841); Edmund Hill (trans.) and John E. Rotelle (ed.), *Sermons (51-94) on the New Testament*, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, 42 vols (Brooklyn, NY: New City Press, 1991), part 3, vol. 3.

———, *Sermon 138*, *Sermons to the People* (*Sermones ad populum*), *PL* 38 (Paris: 1841).

———, *Sermon 229O*, *Sermons to the People* (*Sermones ad populum*), *PL* 38 (Paris: 1841).

Bede, *Commentary on Revelation* (*Explanatio Apocalypsis*), *PL* 93 (Paris: 1850); Faith Wallis (trans.), *Bede: Commentary on Revelation*, TTH 58 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

———, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*); Latin text and English translation from Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (eds), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

———, *Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine on the Letters of the Blessed Apostle Paul* (*Collectio ex opusculis sancti Augustini in epistulas Pauli apostoli*), CPL 1360; David Hurst (trans.), *Bede the Venerable: Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine and the Letters of the Blessed Apostle Paul*, Cistercian Studies 183 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2006).

———, *Letter to Ecgberht* (*Epistula ad Egbertum*), *PL* 94 (Paris: 1850); Christopher Grocock and Ian N. Wood (trans and eds), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow: Bede's Homily i. 13 on Benedict Biscop; Bede's History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow; The Anonymous Life of Ceolfrith; Bede's Letter to Egbert, Bishop of York* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013).

———, *On Eight Questions* (*De octo quaestionibus*), *PL* 93 (Paris: 1850); Arthur G. Holder (trans.) 'On Eight Questions', in W. Trent Foley and Arthur G. Holder (eds), *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999).

———, *On Genesis* (*Libri quattuor in principium Genesis usque ad natiuitatem Isaac et eiectionem Ismahelis*), *PL* 91 (Paris: 1850); Calvin B. Kendall (trans.), *Bede: On Genesis* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008).

———, *On the Song of Songs* (*In Cantica Canticorum*), *PL* 91 (Paris: 1850); Arthur G. Holder (trans. and ed.), The *Venerable Bede: On the Song of Songs and Selected Writings* (New York; Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2011).

Boniface, (*Letters*) *Epistulae*, in Ephraim Emerton (trans.), *The Letters of Saint Boniface*; with a new introduction and bibliography by Thomas F. X. Noble (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Cú Chuimne of Iona and Ruben of Dairinis (compilers), *Irish Collection of Canon Law* (*Collectio canonum Hibernensis*), in Hermann Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1885).

Diodore of Tarsus, *Commentary on Psalms* (*Commentarii in Psalmos*), Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 6; Robert C. Hill, *Diodore of Tarsus: Commentary on Psalms 1-51* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

Eucherius, *Formulas of Spiritual Intelligence* (*Formulae spiritalis intellegentiae*), *PL* 50 (Paris: 1846); Karen Rae Keck (trans.), *The Formulae of St. Eucherius of Lyons* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2000).

———, *Instructions to Salonius* (*Instructionum ad Salonium libri duo*), *PL* 50 (Paris: 1846).

Eugippius, *Excerpts from Augustine* (*Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*) in Pius Knöll (ed.), *Eugippii Opera. 1, Excerpta ex Operibus S. Augustini*, CSEL 9.1 (Vienna, 1885).

Gaudentius of Brescia, *Tract 21* (*Tractatus XXI)*, *PL* 20 (Paris: 1845).

Gregory of Elvira, *On the Song of Songs: Five Books* (*In Canticum canticorum libri quinque*), CPL 0547.

Gregory the Great, *Morals on Job* (*Moralia in Job*), *PL* 75 (Paris: 1849); James Bliss (trans.), *Morals on the Book of Job*, 3 vols (Oxford: John Henry Parker; London: J. G. F. and J. Rivington, 1844-1850).

Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* (*Aduersus haereses seu Detectio et euersio falso cognominatae Gnoseos – secundum translationem Latinam*), CPL 1154 f (A).

Isidore of Seville, *The Differences between Words* (*De differentiis uerborum*), *PL* 83 (Paris: 1850); Priscilla Throop, *Isidore of Seville's Synonyms (Lamentations of a Sinful Soul) and Differences: An English Translation* […] (Charlotte, VT: MedievalMS, 2012).

———, *Etymologies* (*Etymologiae*), *PL* 82 (Paris: 1850); Stephen A. Barney *et al*. (trans.), *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

———, *On Ecclesiastical Offices* (*De ecclesiasticis officiis*), *PL* 83 (Paris: 1850).

———, *On the Nature of Things* (*De natura rerum*), *PL* 83 (Paris: 1850).

Jerome (Hieronymus), *Commentary on Daniel* (*Commentarii in Danielem*), *PL* 25 (Paris: 1845).

———, *Commentary on Isaiah* (*Commentarii in Isaiam*), *PL* 24 (Paris: 1845); Thomas P Scheck (trans.), *St Jerome: Commentary on Isaiah; Origen: Homilies 1-9 on Isaiah*, Ancient Christian Writers, 68 (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2015).

———, *Commentary on Jeremiah* (*In Hieremiam prophetam libri vi*), *PL* 24 (Paris: 1845).

———, *Commentary on Matthew* (*Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*), *PL* 26 (Paris: 1845); T. P. Scheck (trans.), *Jerome: Commentary on Matthew* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008).

———, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (*Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim*), *PL* 23 (Paris: 1863); C. T. R. Hayward (trans.), *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

———, *The Interpretation of Hebrew Names* (*Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*), in Paul de Lagarde, Germain Morin, and Marcus Adriaen (eds), *S. Hieronymi presbyteri Opera. Pars I, Opera exegetica […]*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959).

———, *Letter 36* (*Epistulae 36*), *Epistulae* (*Letters*), *PL* 22 (Paris: 1845).

———, *On Illustrious Men* (*De uiris illustribus*), *PL* 23 (Paris: 1863).

———, *Preface to the Book of Ezra* (*Praefatio in libro Ezrae*), *PL* 28 (Paris: 1846).

———, *Preface to the Book of Joshua* (*Praefatio in libro Iosue*), *PL* 28 (Paris: 1846).

———, *Preface to Esther* (*Praefatio Hester*), in Robert Weber (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975).

———, *Preface to the Gospels* (*Praefatio in Euangelio*), *PL* 29 (Paris: 1846); K. P. Edgecomb (trans.), 'Jerome, Letter to Pope Damasus: Preface to the Gospels', *The Tertullian Project* (Berkeley, CA: 1999), www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_preface_gospels.htm [accessed 15 May 2017].

———, *Prologue to the Book of Job* (*Prologus in libro Iob de hebraeo translato*), in Robert Weber (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975).

———, *Prologue to the Book of Kings* (*Prologus in libro Regum*), in Robert Weber (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975); R. J. Hexter & D. Townsend (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

———, *Prologue to the Books of Solomon* (*Prologus in libris Salomonis de hebraeo translatis*), *PL* 28 (Paris: 1846).

———, *Prologue to Daniel* (*Prologus in Danihele*), *PL* 25 (Paris: 1845).

———, *Prologue to Judith* (*Prologus Iudith*), in Robert Weber (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975).

———, *Prologue to the Pentateuch* (*Prologus in Pentateucho*), in Robert Weber (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975).

———, *Prologue to the Prophet Ezekiel* (*Prologus Hiezecihelis prophetae*), in Robert Weber (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975).

———, *Prologue to Tobit* (*Prologus Tobiae*), *PL* 29 (Paris: 1846).

Lateran Council (649), *Acta*, in Rudolf Riedinger (ed.), *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984); Richard Price (trans.), with contributions by Phil Booth and Catherine Cubitt, *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*, TTH 61 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014).

Origen, *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (*Commentarium in Canticum Canticorum*) from the Latin translation by Rufinus, CPL 0198 2 (A); R. P. Lawson (trans.), *The Song of Songs: Commentary and Homilies* (New York: Newman Press, 1957).

Sedulius Scottus, *Collected Works on the Apostles* (*Collectaneum in Apostolum*), vol. 2 (the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*), *PL* 103 (Paris: 1851).

Stephen of Ripon, *Life of Wilfrid* (*Vita Sancti Wilfridi*), in J. F. Webb (trans.) and D. H. Farmer (ed.), *The Age of Bede* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998).

Vitalian, *Letter to Theodore*, in Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs (eds), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), vol. 3, 116-7.

Secondary Sources:

Alexander, Philip S., 'The Song of Songs as Historical Allegory', in Kevin J. Cathcart and Michael Maher (eds), *Targumic and Cognate Studies: Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

Altaner, Berthold, *Patrology*; trans. by Hilda C. Graef (Freiburg: Herder, 1960).

Ambrose, Shannon, 'The *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* and the Literature of the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform', *Viator* (2005), 36, 107-118.

Amsler, Mark E., *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1989).

Anderson, G.W., 'Canonical and Non-Canonical', in P. R. Ackroyd & C. F. Evans (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 1: From the Beginnings to Jerome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Ashby, G. W., 'The Hermeneutic Approach of Theodoret of Cyrrhus to the Old Testament', *Studia Patristica*, 15:1 (1984).

Astell, Ann W., *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

Ayres, Lewis, 'Augustine on Redemption', in Mark Vessey (ed.) with Shelley Reid, *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

Badcock, F. J., 'A Portion of an Early Anatolian Prayer-Book', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 33 (1932), 167-80.

Barrow, Julia, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers, c.900- c.1200', *Anglo-Norman Studies 30: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, 2007 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008) 41-61.

———, 'Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800-c.1100', *Brixworth Lecture 2010* (Leicester, 2011).

Bate, H. N., 'Some Technical Terms of Greek Exegesis', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 24:59 (1923).

Behan, Warren P., review of G. F. Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith* (1897), *The American Journal of Theology*, 2:2 (1898), 472-473.

Beretz, Elaine M., 'Anastasius the Persian', in Phyllis G Jestice (ed.), *Holy People of the World: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia: Volume 1, Entries A-G*, 3 vols (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), vol. 1.

Biggs, Frederick M., T. D. Hill and P. E. Szarmach (eds), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 74 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990).

Bischoff, Bernhard, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', in Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966-1967) vol. 1, 205–73; Translation: Bernhard Bischoff, 'Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages', trans. by Colm O'Grady, in Martin McNamara (ed.), *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1976).

Bischoff, Bernhard and Michael Lapidge (eds), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Bishop, Edmund, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918).

———, 'Liturgical Comments and Memoranda', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 14:1 (1912), 23-50.

Blair, John, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Bockmuehl, Markus, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary', in Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz (eds), *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009).

Bodden, Mary Catherine, 'Evidence for knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 17 (1988).

Bollandist Society (eds), *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols, Subsidia Hagiographica 6 (Bollandist Society, 1898-1901); Supplement: Henryk Fros (ed.), *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: Novum Supplementum*, Subsidia Hagiographica 70 (Brussels: Bollandist Society, 1986).

Bolton, Whitney F., *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 597-1066* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967).

Bonner, Gerald, 'Bede and Medieval Civilisation', in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition: Augustine, Pelagianism, and Early Christian Northumbria* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996).

Bonner, Gerald, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989).

Booth, Phil, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 2014).

Bremmer, Rolf H. and Kees Dekker, 'A Maze of Glosses and Glossaries: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLF 24', in Rolf H. Bremmer and Kees Dekker (eds), *Fruits of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, Mediaevalia Groningana, new series, 21 (Leuven; Paris; Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2016).

Brett, Martin, 'Theodore and the Latin Canon Law', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Brock, Sebastian P., 'The Syriac Background', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Brooks, Nicholas, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984).

Brown, Dennis, 'Jerome', in Philip F. Esler (ed.), *The Early Christian World*, vol. 2 (London; New York: Routledge, 2000).

Brown, Michelle P., 'Bede's Life in Context', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

———, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (London: British Library; Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

Brown, Peter, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

Browne, George Forrest, *Theodore and Wilfrith: Lectures Delivered in St. Paul's in December 1896* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1897).

Brubaker, Leslie and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, C. 680-850: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Budge, E. A. Wallis (trans. and ed.), *The Book of the Cave of Treasures: A History of the Patriarchs and the Kings, their Successors, from the Creation to the Crucifixion of Christ, translated from the Syriac text of the British Museum ms. Add. 25875* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1927).

Burghardt, Walter J., 'On Early Christian Exegesis', *Theological Studies*, 11:1 (1950), 78-116.

Cameron, Alan, 'The Last Days of the Academy at Athens', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 195 (1969), 7-29.

Carroll, M. T. A., *The Venerable Bede: His Spiritual Teachings*, The Catholic University of America: Studies in Medieval History, new series, vol. 9 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946).

Catholic University of America (eds), *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn., 15 vols (Detroit; London: Gale, in association with the Catholic University of America, 2003), vol. 3.

Cavallo, Guglielmo, 'Theodore of Tarsus and the Greek Culture of his Time', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Chadwick, Henry, 'Theodore, the English Church and the Monothelete Controversy', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Charles-Edwards, Thomas, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Christensen, Duane L., 'Josephus and the Twenty-Two Book Canon of Sacred Scripture', *The Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 29 (1986), 37-46.

Clark, Francis, 'The authorship of the I Regum commentary. Implications of De Vogüé's discovery', *Revue Bénédictine*, 108 (1998).

Clark, Elizabeth A., 'Origen, the Jews, and the Song of Songs: Allegory and Polemic in Christian Antiquity', in Anselm C. Hagedorn (ed.), *Perspectives on the Song of Songs* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005).

———, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Conti, Marco, 'Translator's Introduction', in Marco Conti (trans.) and Joel C. Elowsky (ed.), *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2010).

Cook, Albert S., 'Hadrian of Africa, Italy, and England', *Philological Quarterly*, 2:4 (1923), 241-58.

———, 'Theodore of Tarsus and Gislenus of Athens', *Philological Quarterly*, 2:1 (1923), 1-25.

Cooper-Marsdin, Arthur C., *The History of the Islands of the Lerins: The Monastery, Saints and Theologians of S. Honorat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913; first paperback edition 2013).

Cubitt, Catherine, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-c. 850* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995).

———, 'Finding the Forger: An Alleged Decree of the 679 Council of Hatfield', *The English Historical Review*, 114:459 (1999), 1217-1248.

Darby, Peter, *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

———, 'Bede, Iconoclasm and the Temple of Solomon', *Early Medieval Europe*, 21:4 (2013), 390–421.

Dawson, David, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1992).

De Vogüé, Adalbert, 'L'Auteur du commentaire des Rois attribué à S. Grégoire: un moine de Cava?' *Revue Bénédictine*, 106 (1996).

Deanesly, Margaret, *A History of the Medieval Church: 590-1500*, 9th edn. (London: Methuen, 1969).

———, *The pre-Conquest Church in England* (London: A. & C. Black, 1961).

Deanesly, Margaret and Paul Grosjean, 'The Canterbury Edition of the Answers of Pope Gregory I to St. Augustine', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 10 (1959), 1-49.

DeGregorio, Scott, 'Bede and the Old Testament', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

———, ‘Bede’s *In Ezram et Neemiam* and the Reform of the Northumbrian Church’, *Speculum*, 79:1 (2004) 1-25.

———, ‘Introduction: The New Bede’, in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006).

———, ‘Monasticism and Reform in Book IV of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61:4 (2010), 673-687.

———, ‘‘Nostrorum socordiam temporum’’: The Reforming Impulse of Bede’s Later Exegesis’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2002), 107–22.

DelCogliano, Mark, ‘Introduction’, in Mark DelCogliano (ed.), *Gregory the Great on the Song of Songs* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012).

Di Sciaccia, Claudia, *Finding the Right Words: Isidore's Synonyma in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

Dumville, David N., ‘The Importation of Mediterranean Manuscripts into Theodore’s England’, in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Dunn, Marilyn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons c. 597-c. 700: Discourses of Life, Death and the Afterlife* (London: Continuum, 2009).

Ekonomou, Andrew J., *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590-752* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

Elliot, Michael, ‘Canon Law Collections in England ca 600–1066: The Manuscript Evidence’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2013).

———, ‘New Evidence for the Influence of Gallic Canon Law in Anglo-Saxon England’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64: 4 (2013), 700–730.

Elliott, Mark W., *The Song of Songs and Christology in the Early Church*: *381 – 451* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

Exum, Jo Cheryl, *The Song of Songs: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005).

Fairbairn, Donald, ‘Patristic Exegesis and Theology: The Cart and the Horse’, *Westminster Theological Journal*, 69:1 (2007), 1-19.

Fear, Andrew and Jamie Wood, ‘Introduction’, in Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (eds), *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming*

Knowledge, Late Antique and Early Medieval Iberia (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016).

Ferguson, Everett, *The Early Church at Work and Worship: Volume 1: Ministry, Ordination, Covenant, and Canon* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2014).

Flechner, Roy. 'The Making of the Canons of Theodore', *Peritia* (2003–04), 17-18, 121–43.

Fleming, Damian, '*Hebraeam scire linguam*: Bede's Rhetoric of the Hebrew Truth', in Samantha Zacher (ed.), *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

Foot, Sarah, 'Church and Monastery in Bede's Northumbria', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Frantzen, Allen J., *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983).

———, 'The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1982), 23-56.

Frassetto, Michael, *The Early Medieval World: From the Fall of Rome to the Time of Charlemagne* (Santa Barbara, CA; Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2013).

Fuiano, Michele, *La cultura a Napoli nell'alto medioevo*, Storia e pensiero, 9 (Naples, 1961).

Fulk, R. D. and Christopher M. Cain, *A History of Old English Literature* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

Fulk, R. D. and Stefan Jurasinski (eds), *The Old English Canons of Theodore, Early English Text Society*, Early English Text Society Supplementary Series, 25 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Gem, Richard, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norman Churches', in Richard Gem (ed.), *St Augustine's Abbey* (London: Batsford; English Heritage, 1997).

Gneuss, Helmut, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 1-60.

Goldenberg, Gideon, *Semitic Languages: Features, Structures, Relations, Processes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Gorman, Michael M., 'A Critique of Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis: the Commentary on Genesis in Munich Clm 6302 ('Wendepunkte' 2)', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 7:1 (1997) 178-233.

———, *Biblical Commentaries from the Early Middle Ages* (Firenze: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2002).

———, 'The Commentary on Kings of Claudius of Turin and Its Two Printed Editions' (Basel, 1531; Bologna, 1751)', *Filologia mediolatina* 4 (1997), 99-131.

Gorman, Michael M. and J.J. Sanford, 'Introduction', in Michael M. Gorman and J.J. Sanford (eds), *Categories: Historical and Systematic Essays* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004).

Gransden, Antonia, 'Bede's Reputation as an Historian in Medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32:4 (1981).

Greer, Rowan A., 'Eustathius of Antioch', in Everett Ferguson, Michael P. McHugh, Frederick W. Norris (eds), *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd edn. (New York; London: Routledge, 1999).

———, 'The Antiochene Christology of Diodore of Tarsus', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 17:2 (1966), 327-41.

Gretsch, Mechthild and Helmut Gneuss, 'Anglo-Saxon Glosses to a Theodorean Poem?', in Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard (eds), *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

Griffith, Sidney H., *Faith Adoring the Mystery: Reading the Bible with St. Ephraem the Syrian* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1997).

Guiley, Rosemary, *The Encyclopedia of Saints* (New York, NY: Facts on File, 2001).

Guillet, Jacques, 'Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche: Conflit ou malentendu?', *Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), 257-302.

Gyug, Richard Francis, 'Early Medieval Bibles, Biblical Books, and the Monastic Liturgy in the Beneventan Region', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (eds), *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, & Performance in Western Christianity* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2011).

Haldon, John F., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Halkin, François (ed.), *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols, 3rd edn., Subsidia Hagiographica 8a (Brussels: Bollandist Society, 1957); Supplement: *ibid., Novum Auctarium*, Subsidia Hagiographica 65 (Brussels: Bollandist Society, 1984).

Hall, Christopher A., *Reading Scripture with the Church Fathers* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998).

Hardy, Edward Rochie (ed.), *Christology of the Later Fathers* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1954).

Häring, Nikolaus M., 'Commentary and Hermeneutics', in Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (eds) with Carol D. Lanham, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

Hauser, Alan J. and Duane F. Watson, 'Introduction and Overview', in Alan J. Hauser and Duane F. Watson (eds), *A History of Biblical Interpretation, Volume 1: The Ancient Period* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003).

Hayward, C. T. R., 'Introduction', in C. T. R. Hayward (trans.), *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Heine, Ronald E., 'The Alexandrians', in Frances Young, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth (eds), with the assistance of Augustine Casiday, *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Herren, Michael W., 'Scholarly Contacts between the Irish and the Southern English in the Seventh Century', *Peritia*, 12 (1998), 24-53.

Herren, Michael W. and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002).

Hidal, Sten, 'Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Antiochene School with its Prevalent Literal and Historical Method', in Magne Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation. Vol. I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300). Part 1: Antiquity* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

Hill, Jonathan, *The History of Christian Thought* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 2003).

Hill, Joyce, 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006).

Hill, Robert C., 'Introduction', in R. C. Hill (trans.), *Diodore of Tarsus: Commentary on Psalms 1-51* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

———, *Reading the Old Testament in Antioch* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005).

Hilliard, Paul, 'The Venerable Bede as Scholar, Gentile and Preacher', in Richard Corradini et al. (eds), *Ego Trouble: Authors and their Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2010).

Hohler, Christopher, 'Theodore and the Liturgy', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Holder, Arthur G., 'Bede and the New Testament', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

———, 'Bede and the Tradition of Patristic Exegesis', *Anglican Theological Review*, 72:4 (1990), 399-411.

———, 'Christ as Incarnate Wisdom in Bede's Commentary on the Song of Songs', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006).

———, 'The Patristic Sources of Bede's Commentary on the Song of Songs', *Studia Patristica* 34 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 370-75.

———, *The Venerable Bede: On the Song of Songs and Selected Writings* (New York; Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2011).

Howlett, David R., 'Aldhelm and Irish Learning', *Archiuum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 52 (1994), 37–75.

Hughes, Kathleen, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London: Sources of History Ltd, 1972).

Hunter, David G., 'Fourth-Century Latin Writers: Hilary, Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Ambrose', in Frances Young, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth (eds), with the assistance of Augustine Casiday, *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Hunter Blair, Peter, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).

Jones, Charles W. (ed.), *Medieval Literature in Translation* (New York; London: Longmans, Green, 1950).

Kaegi, Walter Emil, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

———, 'The Early Muslim Raids into Anatolia and Byzantine Reactions under Emperor Constans II', in Emmanouela Grypeou, Mark Swanson and David Thomas (eds), *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006).

———, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Kannengiesser, Charles, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: the Bible in Ancient Christianity* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004).

Kaufman, Michael, Love, *Marriage, and Family in Jewish Law and Tradition* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1992).

Keel, Othmar, *The Song of Songs: A Continental Commentary*, trans. by Frederick J. Gaiser (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994).

Kelly, J. N. D., revised by Michael J. Walsh, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 2nd edn. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Kelly, Joseph F., *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church: A History* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009).

———, 'Eucherius of Lyons: Harbinger of the Middle Ages', in Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica* (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1989), vol. 23.

———, '*Traditio Patrum* in Early Christian Ireland', in Ronnie J. Rombs & Alexander Y. Hwang (eds), *Tradition and the Rule of Faith in the Early Church* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2010).

Kendall, Calvin B., 'Bede and Islam', in Peter Darby and Faith Wallis (eds), *Bede and the Future* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

Kendall, Calvin B. and Faith Wallis, 'Introduction', in Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis (eds), *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010).

Ker, N. R. (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964).

Keynes, Simon, 'The Councils of Clofesho', *Brixworth Lecture 1993* (Leicester, 1994).

Kirby, D. P. (ed.), *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Oriel Press, 1974).

———, *The Earliest English Kings*, rev. edn. (New York: Routledge, 2000).

———, *The Making of Early England* (London: Batsford, 1967).

Kleist, Aaron J., *Striving With Grace: Views of Free Will in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

Kruger, Michael J., *Canon Revisited: Establishing the Origins and Authority of the New Testament Books* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012).

Laistner, M.L.W., 'Bede as a Classical and Patristic Scholar', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4:16 (1933), 69-94.

———, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', in A.H. Thompson (ed.), *Bede: His Life, Times and Writings: Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935).

Laistner, M. L. W. & H. H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1943).

Lake, Stephen Marcer, 'Knowledge of the Writings of John Cassian in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), 27-41.

Lanfer, Peter Thacher, *Remembering Eden: the Reception History of Genesis 3: 22-24* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Lapidge, Michael, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996).

———, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

———, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 12:36 (2007), 15-69.

———, 'The Career of Archbishop Theodore', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

———, 'The Earliest Anglo-Latin Poet: Lutting of Lindisfarne', Anglo-Saxon England, 42 (2013), 1-26.

———, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), 45-72.

———, 'St Gallen and the "Leiden Glossary"', *Anglia*, 133: 4 (2015), 624–655.

———, 'The Study of Greek at the School of Canterbury in the Seventh Century', in Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown (eds), *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages* (London: King's College, University of London, 1988).

———, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Evidence of Latin Glosses', in Nicholas Brooks (ed.), *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982).

———, 'Theodore and Anglo-Latin Octosyllabic Verse', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Lapidge, Michael and Helmut Gneuss (eds), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Lapidge, Michael, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (eds), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014).

Law, David R., *Kierkegaard's Kenotic Christology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Lawler, Jennifer, *Encyclopedia of the Byzantine Empire* (Jefferson, N.C. and London: McFarland & Company, 2004).

Liebersohn, Yosef Z., *The Dispute Concerning Rhetoric in Hellenistic Thought* (Oakville, CT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010).

Liere, Frans van, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Lindsay, W. M., *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921).

Lockett, Leslie, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

Loewe, Raphael, 'The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate', in G. W. H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

Longman, Tremper, *Song of Songs* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001).

Louth, Andrew, 'The Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century', in Paul Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume I, c.500-c.700*, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), vol. 1.

Love, Rosalind, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', in Richard Gameson, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 1: c.400–1100*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), vol. 1.

———, 'The World of Latin Learning', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Lowe, E. A. (ed.), *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols. and suppl. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934-1971; 2nd edn. of vol. 2, 1972).

Lubac, Henri de, '"Typologie" et "allégorisme"', *Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), 180-226.

Major, Tristan, *Undoing Babel: the Tower of Babel in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018).

Mango, Cyril, *The Oxford History of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Marsden, Richard, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

———, 'Theodore's Bible: the Pentateuch', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Martin, Lawrence T., 'Bede and Preaching', in DeGregorio (ed.), Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Matis, Hannah W., 'Early-Medieval Exegesis of the Song of Songs and the Maternal Language of Clerical Authority', *Speculum*, 89:2 (2014), 358-381.

Matter, E. Ann, review of Bernard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge (eds), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (1994), *Speculum*, 72:2 (1997), 435-7.

Mayr-Harting, Henry, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (London: Batsford, 1991).

McClure, Judith and Roger Collins, 'Introduction', in Judith McClure and Roger Collins (eds), *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

McDaniel, Rhonda L., 'An Unidentified Passage from Jerome in Bede', *Notes and Queries*, 50:4 (2003), 375.

McGurk, Patrick, 'Theodore's Bible: the gospels', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

McKim, Donald K. (ed.), *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998).

McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production', in Erik Kwakkel, Rosamond McKitterick & Rodney Thomson (eds), *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Manuscript* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012).

Meconi, David Vincent and Eleonore Stump, 'Introduction', in David Vincent Meconi and Eleonore Stump (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Mejor, Mieczyslaw, 'Introduction', in Mieczyslaw Mejor, Katarzyna Jazdzewska and Anna Zajchowska (eds), *Glossae, Scholia, Commentarii: Studies on Commenting Texts in Antiquity and Middle Ages*, Warsaw Studies in Classical Literature and Culture, 2 (Frankfurt am Main: PL Academic Research, 2014).

Meyvaert, Paul, *Bede and Gregory the Great* (Jarrow Lecture, 1964), 1-26, in Paul Meyvaert (ed.), *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977).

———, 'The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and His Image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum*, 80:4 (2005), 1087–1133.

Migne, Jacques-Paul (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus: series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1841–1864).

Mills, Watson E. and Roger Aubrey Bullard (eds), *The Mercer Dictionary of the Bible* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1991).

Mitchell, Margaret M., 'Patristic Rhetoric on Allegory: Origen and Eustathius Put 1 Samuel 28 on Trial', *Journal of Religion*, 85:3 (2005), 414-45.

Nassif, Bradley, 'The "Spiritual Exegesis" of Scripture: The School of Antioch Revisited', *Anglican Theological Review*, 75:4 (1993), 437-70.

Neil, Bronwen and Matthew Dal Santo, 'Editors' Preface', in Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo (eds), *A Companion to Gregory the Great* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Niles, John D., *Old English Literature: A Guide to Criticism with Selected Readings* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2016).

Noble, Thomas F.X., 'Rome in the Seventh Century', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Norris, Richard A., 'Antiochene Interpretation', in R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden (eds), *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London: SCM Press, 1990).

———, *The Song of Songs: Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003).

Novikoff, Alex J., *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200* (London: Longman, 1995).

Ó Carragáin, Éamonn, 'Interactions Between Liturgy and Politics in Old Saint Peter's, 670-741: John the Archcantor, Sergius I and Gregory III', in Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story (eds), *Old Saint Peter's, Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univesity Press, 2013).

O'Brien, Conor, *Bede's Temple: An Image and Its Interpretation* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

O'Donnell, James J., 'Bible', in Allan D. Fitzgerald, John C. Cavadini, Marianne Djuth [et al.] (eds), *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999).

———, 'Eugippius', in Allan D. Fitzgerald, John C. Cavadini, Marianne Djuth [et al.] (eds), *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999).

O'Donovan, Oliver and Joan Lockwood O'Donovan (eds), *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thought, 100-1625* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 1999).

O'Keefe, John J., 'Christianizing Malachi: Fifth-Century Insights from Cyril of Alexandria', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 50:2 (1996), 136–158.

———, 'Impassible Suffering? Divine Passion and Fifth-Century Christology', *Theological Studies*, 58:1 (1997), 39-60.

O'Loughlin, Thomas, *Early Medieval Exegesis in the Latin West* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

———, 'Inventing the Apocrypha: The Role of Early Latin Canon Lists', *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 74:1 (2009), 53-74 (p. 65).

———, 'Isidore of Seville (c.560–636)', in George Thomas Kurian (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Christian Civilization* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), vol. 2.

———, 'The Symbol Gives Life: Eucherius of Lyons' Formula for Exegesis', in Thomas Finan and Vincent Twomey (eds), *Scriptural Interpretation in the Fathers: Letter and Spirit* (Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 1995).

O'Meara, John, 'Saint Augustine's Understanding of the Creation and Fall', *The Maynooth Review/ Revieú Mhá Nuad*, 10 (1984), 52-62.

Olbricht, Thomas H., 'Greek Rhetoric and the Allegorical Rhetoric of Philo and Clement of Alexandria', in Stanley E. Porter and Dennis Stamps (eds), *Rhetorical Criticism and the Bible*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series 195 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

Pepino, John M., 'St. Eucherius of Lyons: Rhetorical Adaptation of Message to Intended Audience in Fifth Century Provence' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Catholic University of America, 2009).

Perhai, Richard J., *Antiochene Theoria in the Writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrus* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015).

Pfaff, Richard W., *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Pheifer, J. D., 'The Canterbury Bible Glosses: Facts and Problems', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

———, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 12:16 (1987), 17-44.

———, *Old English Glosses in the Epinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974).

Poleg, Eyal, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

Preus, James S., *From Shadow to Promise: Old Testament Interpretation from Augustine to the Young Luther* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969).

Price, Richard (trans.), with contributions by Phil Booth and Catherine Cubitt, *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*, TTH 61 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014).

Pyper, Hugh, 'Song of Songs', in Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason, and Hugh Pyper (eds), with I. Lawrie and C. Bennett,, *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Ray, Roger, 'Who Did Bede Think He Was?', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006).

Ricci, Cristina, 'Gregory's Missions to the Barbarians', in Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo (eds), *A Companion to Gregory the Great* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Rist, John M., *Augustine: Ancient Thought Baptized* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Rowley, H. H., 'The Interpretation of the Song of Songs', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 38:152 (1937), 337-363.

Salomon, David A., *An Introduction to the 'Glossa Ordinaria' as Medieval Hypertext* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).

Saunders, John Joseph, *A History of Medieval Islam* (London and New York: Routledge, 1965).

Schaefer, Mary M., *Women in Pastoral Office: The Story of Santa Prassede, Rome* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Scheck, Thomas P., 'Introduction', in Thomas P. Scheck (trans. and ed.), *Jerome: Commentary on Matthew*, The Fathers of the Church, 117 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2008).

Sharpe, Richard, 'Vocabulary, Word Formation, and Lexicography', in Frank A. C. Mantello and Arthur G. Rigg (eds), *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996).

Shaw, Richard, 'When Did Augustine of Canterbury Die?', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 67:3 (2016), 473–491.

Siemens, James, 'A Survey of the Christology of Theodore of Tarsus in the *Laterculus Malalianus*', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 60 (2007), 213-225.

———, 'Another Book for Jarrow's Library? Coincidences in Exegesis between Bede and the *Laterculus Malalianus*', *Downside Review*, 131 (2013), 15-34.

———, 'Christ's Restoration of Humankind in the *Laterculus Malalianus*, 14', *Heythrop Journal*, 48 (2007), 18-28.

———, *The Christology of Theodore of Tarsus: the Laterculus Malalianus and the Person and Work of Christ* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

———, 'Preliminary Enquiries Concerning the Place of the *Laterculus Malalianus* among the Chronicles of Late Antiquity', *Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture*, 4 (2010), 68-80.

Simonetti, Manlio, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, trans. by John A. Hughes; edited by Anders Bergquist and Markus Bockmuehl (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994).

Sims-Williams, Patrick, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Smalley, Beryl, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

Smith, Barry, 'Textual Deference', *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 28:1 (1991), 1–12.

Smith, Julia M. H., 'Cursing and Curing, or The Practice of Christianity in Eighth-Century Rome', in Ross Balzaretti, Julia Barrow and Patricia Skinner (eds), *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Smyth, Marina, 'The date and origin of *Liber de ordine creaturarum*', *Peritia*, 17-18 (2003-2004), 1-39.

———, 'The seventh-century Hiberno-Latin treatise *Liber de ordine creaturarum*. A translation', Journal of Medieval Latin, 21 (2011), 137-222.

Spencer, Robert, *Did Muhammad Exist? An Inquiry into Islam's Obscure Origins* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2012).

Spiegel, Flora, 'The *tabernacula* of Gregory the Great and the Conversion of Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 36 (2007), 1–13.

Spijker, Ineke van 't (ed.), *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture: The Role of Exegesis in Early Christian and Medieval Culture* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009).

Stansbury, Mark, 'Irish Biblical Exegesis', in Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion* (London: Palgrave, 2016).

Stevenson, Jane, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

———, 'Theodore and the Laterculus Malalianus', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

Sterkenburg, Piet G. J. van (ed.), *A Practical Guide to Lexicography* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003).

Sterling, G.E., 'General Introduction to the Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series', in A. C. Geljon and D.T. Runia (trans.), *Philo of Alexandria: On Cultivation* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013).

Strong, James, *A Concise Dictionary of the Words in the Greek Testament; with their Renderings in the Authorized English Version* (Nashville & New York: Abingdon Press, 1890).

Story, Joanna, 'Bede, Willibrord and the Letters of Pope Honorius I on the Genesis of the Archbishopric of York', *The English Historical Review*, 127:527 (2012), 783–818.

Suh, Chul Won, *The Creation-Mediatorship of Jesus Christ: A Study in the Relation of the Incarnation and the Creation* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1982).

Szarmach, Paul E., review of Bernard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge (eds), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (1994), *The Journal of Religion*, 76:4 (1996), 631-2.

Thacker, Alan, 'Bede and History', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

———, 'Bede and the Ordering of Understanding', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede* (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006).

———, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', in Stephen Baxter, Catherine E. Karkov, Janet L. Nelson and David Pelteret (eds), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

———, 'Why Did Heresy Matter to Bede? Present and Future Contexts', in Peter Darby and Faith Wallis (eds), *Bede and the Future* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

Tolan, John Victor, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

———, '*Saracens* and *Ifranj*: Rivalries, Emulation, and Convergences', in John Victor Tolan, Gilles Veinstein and Henry Laurens (eds), *Europe and the Islamic World: A History*; trans. by

Jane Marie Todd, with a foreword by John L. Esposito (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Toom, Tarmo, 'Introduction', in Tarmo Toom (ed.), *Patristic Theories of Biblical Interpretation: The Latin Fathers* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Torrance, Alexis, 'Barsanuphius, John, and Dorotheos on Scripture: Voices from the Desert in Sixth-Century Gaza', in Matthew Baker and Mark Mourachian (eds), *What is the Bible? The Patristic Doctrine of Scripture* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2016).

Trigg, Joseph W., 'Eustathius of Antioch's Attack on Origen: What Is at Issue in an Ancient Controversy?', *The Journal of Religion*, 75:2 (1995), 219-238.

Tsumura, David Toshio, *The First Book of Samuel*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007).

Vaciago, Paolo, 'From Canterbury to Sankt Gallen: On the Transmission of Early Medieval Glosses to the Octateuch and the Books of Kings', *Romanobarbarica* 17 (2000), 237-308.

———, 'Old English Glosses to Latin Texts: A Bibliographical Handlist', *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 7:4 (1993), 1-67.

———, 'The Transmission of Early Anglo-Saxon Glossarial Material on the Continent: Texts, Index and Analysis' (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, Oriel College, 1998).

Vircillo Franklin, Carmela, 'Theodore and the *Passio S. Anastasii*', in *Archbishop Theodore*.

———, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian: Hagiographic Translations and Transformations*, Studies and Texts (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004), vol. 147.

Vircillo Franklin, Carmela and Paul Meyvaert, 'Has Bede's version of the Passio S. Anastasii come down to us in BHL 408?', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 100 (1982), 373-400.

Wallace-Hadrill, J.M., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

Wallis, Faith, 'Introduction', in Faith Wallis (trans.), *Bede: Commentary on Revelation*, TTH 58 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

Wand, John W. C., *A History of the Early Church to AD 500*, 4th edn. (London: Methuen, 1963).

Ward, Benedicta, review of Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge (eds), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (1994), Jane Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (1995), and Michael

Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies of His Life and Influence* (1995), *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48:1 (1997), 145–8.

———, review of Jane Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (1995), *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 47:2 (1996), 723-4.

———, *The Venerable Bede* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1998).

Wayman, Benjamin D., 'Diodore on the Politics of Kingship in Psalm 2', in David Vincent Meconi (ed.), *Sacred Scripture and Secular Struggles* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015).

Weidmann, Clemens, 'Augustine's Works in Circulation', in Mark Vessey (ed.) with Shelley Reid, *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

Whitelock, Dorothy, 'Bede and His Teachers and Friends', in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London: SPCK, 1976).

Whitelock, Dorothy, Rosamond McKitterick and David Dumville (eds), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Wieland, Gernot R., 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 153-173.

Wiles, Maurice F., 'Theodore of Mopsuestia as Representative of the Antiochene School', in P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible Volume 1: From the Beginnings to Jerome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Wilken, Robert L., 'Interpreting Job Allegorically: The *Moralia* of Gregory the Great', *Pro Ecclesia*, 10:2 (2001), 213-226.

Winterbottom, Michael, review of Jane Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (1995), *Notes and Queries*, 43:4 (1996), 457–459.

Wood, Ian, 'Missionaries', in Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (eds), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014).

Wormald, Francis, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society 72 (London, 1934).

Wright, Charles D., '*Genesis A* ad literam', in Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (eds), *Old English Literature and the Old Testament* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

Wright, David F., 'Augustine: His Exegesis and Hermeneutics', in Magne Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/ Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation, Volume 1: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

Wright, J. Robert, *A Companion to Bede: A Reader's Commentary on* The Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2008).

———, (ed.), *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon*, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), Old Testament, vol. 9.

Yorke, Barbara A. E., *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990).

———, 'Magic', in Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (eds), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014).

Young, Frances M., 'Alexandrian and Antiochene Exegesis', in Alan J. Hauser, Duane F. Watson (eds), *A History of Biblical Interpretation*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003).

———, 'Alexandrian Interpretation' in R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden (eds), *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London: SCM Press, 1990).

———, 'Alexandrian School', in J. H. Hayes (ed.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999).

———, 'Antiochene School', in J. H. Hayes (ed.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999).

———, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

———, 'Exegetical Method and Biblical Proof—the Bible in Doctrinal Debate', *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989), 297-304.

———, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon: A Guide to the Literature and its Background*, 2nd edn. (London: SCM Press, 2010).

———, 'The Rhetorical Schools and their Influence on Patristic Exegesis', in Rowan Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Zaharopoulos, Dimitri Z., *Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Bible: A Study of His Old Testament Exegesis* (New York: Paulist, 1989).

Online Sources:

'Theodore's Penitential', Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 320, https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/mt087kd8953 [accessed 29 June 2018].

'The Letter of Pope Agatho', *Medieval Sourcebook: Sixth Ecumenical Council: Constantinople III, 680-681*, *Fordham University*, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/const3.asp [accessed 01 Dec 2014].

Oxford Dictionaries, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com [accessed 15 June 2018].

Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England, http://www.pase.ac.uk [accessed 05 Jun 2018].

Bosworth, Joseph and Thomas Northcote Toller (ed.), *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898); Sean Christ, Ondřej Tichý, et al. (eds), 'An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online', http://www.bosworthtoller.com/018810 [accessed 15 June 2018].

Campbell, J., 'Bede [St Bede, Bæda, known as the Venerable Bede] (673/4–735), monk, historian, and theologian', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1922?rskey=M6tvRd&result=1 [accessed 30 Mar 2018].

Coates, S.J., 'Benedict Biscop [St Benedict Biscop] (c. 628–689), abbot of Wearmouth and scholar', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2082 [accessed 13 Apr 2018].

Connor, Steven, *Dumbstruck: A Cultural History of Ventriloquism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Copeland, Rita, 'Gloss and Commentary', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (Oxford University Press, 2012), http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195394016.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780195394016-e-9 [accessed 23 Apr 2017].

Costambeys, Marios, 'Helena (c.248–328/9)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54436 [accessed 20 Jan 2015].

Craig, D. J., 'Oswald [St Oswald] (603/4–642), king of Northumbria', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20916 [accessed 2 Jul 2018].

Farmer, D.H., 'Ceadda (d. 672?)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4970 [accessed 28 Nov 2014].

———, 'Irenaeus of Lyons', *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford University Press, 2011), www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-852 [accessed 10 Jan 2017].

———, 'Thomas Aquinas', *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-1525 [accessed 10 Apr 2018].

Hunt, William, 'Nothhelm (d. 739)', revised by Henry Mayr-Harting, *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20368, [accessed 5 Dec 2016].

Knowles, Elizabeth (ed.), 'Donatus, Aelius', *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 2nd edn (Oxford University Press, 2005), Oxford Reference (2006) http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198609810.001.0001/acref-9780198609810-e-2208 [accessed 27 Mar 2017].

Lapidge, Michael, 'Aldhelm [St Aldhelm] (d. 709/10), abbot of Malmesbury, bishop of Sherborne, and scholar', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/308 [accessed 28 June 2018].

———, 'Hadrian (630x37–709)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39256 [accessed 24 Mar 2015].

———, 'Theodore of Tarsus [St Theodore of Tarsus] (602-690)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27170 [accessed 24 Mar 2015].

Mayr-Harting, Henry, 'Ecgberht (d. 766)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8580 [accessed 19 Apr 2015].

McCormick, Michael, 'Amalarius of Metz', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-0198 [accessed 10 Apr 2018].

Story, Joanna, 'Moore Bede (MS Kk.5.16)', *Cambridge Digital Library*, https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/264 [accessed 15 June 2018].

Thacker, Alan, 'Acca [St Acca] (d. 740)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55 [accessed 2 Jun 2015].

———, 'Wilfrid [St Wilfrid] (c.634–709/10)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29409 [accessed 04 Dec 2014].

Wood, Ian N., 'Boniface [St Boniface] (672x5?–754), archbishop of Mainz, missionary, and martyr', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2843 [accessed 30 Mar 2018].

Wood, Jamie, 'Isidore of Seville', in Roger S. Bagnal [et al.] (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, *Wiley Online Library* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah12218 [accessed 20 Mar 2017].

Yorke, Barbara, 'Cædwalla [Ceadwalla] (c. 659–689), king of the Gewisse', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4323 [accessed 02 July 2018].

———, 'Hædde [St Hædde, Heddi] (d. 705/6), bishop of Winchester', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12858 [accessed 29 June 2018].