Mediations of the Bible in Late Medieval England

Eyal Poleg

Department of History,
Queen Mary, University of London

Submitted as a Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D. in History
November 2007
Declaration of Originality of Work

November 16, 2007

I hereby confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

signed

Eyal Poleg
Abstract

Direct access to the Bible was the exception rather than the rule in medieval Europe. Limitations imposed by cost, sacrality and degrees of literacy determined people's ability to own or consult the Bible. The multitude of events and objects, which offered mediated access to the Bible, stand at the core of the dissertation. From liturgy and sermons to church murals and ornate Gospel Books, a mediated biblical world-view was presented to medieval audiences. A close analysis of these media reveals that, although relying on the Bible as a source of authority, its language and narrative were altered in an attempt to make it palatable and effective to medieval audiences. Analyses of specific test cases, such as Palm Sunday processions and Advent sermons, reveal a constant clerical effort of displaying the Bible and its narratives in visual, vernacular and performative ways.

The Bible can never be divorced from its physical form and shape. Through an extensive survey of biblical manuscripts, their layout and additions, an inner-biblical hierarchy unfolds, in which the book of Psalms took precedence. This reflects not only the reception of the Psalms, but also the place of these manuscripts at the junction between preaching and liturgy. Attitudes towards biblical manuscripts, and especially gospel books, supply additional evidence for use and provenance of Bibles. An examination of veneration of the Bible in civic and ecclesiastical rituals, from the Ordinary of the Mass to oaths in courts of law, leads to a reevaluation of Bibles and gospel books. The dissertation leads to a new understanding of the Bible within the late medieval sacred economy. It shows how ritual behaviour, content and appearance were intertwined to present a complex notion of the Bible, which has endured until modernity.
## Table of Contents

List of Illustrations  
Preface  
List of Abbreviations  
Introduction

### Chapter 1: Liturgy as Biblical Mediation, Palm Sunday Processions
- Introduction  
- The Gospel Narratives  
- Gates, Processions and Graveyards  
- Palms and Books: The Material Culture of Palm Sunday  
- Hosanna and Liturgical Texts  
- Caiphas the Prophet: A Para-Liturgical Moment  
- Gloria Laus and Entry Scenes  
- Liturgical Time at the Entrance to the Church  
- Conclusion

### Chapter 2: The Material Culture of Gospel Books, Liturgy and Law
- Introduction  
- Textus in Rituals and Liturgy  
- The Provenance of Textus  
- Transition: Textus and the Career of Hubert de Burgh  
- Sacred Books in Courts of Law  
- Oaths and Books in Literary Narratives  
- Conclusion  
- Epilogue

### Chapter 3: Layout and Meaning in Biblical Manuscripts
- Introduction
Layout - General p. 163
Inner-Textual Hierarchy: The Psalms as a Test Case p. 174
The Psalms' Superscriptions p. 186
The Interpretations of Hebrew Names p. 194
Extra-Biblical Elements: Liturgical, Biblical and Theological p. 201
Conclusion p. 209

Chapter 4: The Bible in Sermons for the First Sunday of Advent
Introduction p. 213
The Bible in Sermons: The Preachers' View p. 222
On Quotations p. 235
The Interpretations of Hebrew Names in Practice p. 251
Extra-Biblical Narratives p. 258
Application of Biblical Lectio difficilior p. 265
Liturgy and Sermons p. 270
Conclusion p. 277
Epilogue: Wyclif, Sermons and the Bible p. 280
Conclusion p. 284

Appendices
Appendix 1: The Entry to Jerusalem in the Gospels (Chart) p. 294
Appendix 2: The Entry to Jerusalem in the Gospels (Flowchart) p. 295
Appendix 3: A Survey of Late Medieval Bibles p. 296
Appendix 4: Four Advent Sermons p. 307
Bibliography p. 312
List of Illustrations

Figures

**Figure 1** Entry to Jerusalem, Emmanuel College Cam. MS 252 fol. 11v (http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/mi-sampler/jerusalem_noapplet.htm, accessed 26.07.07) p. 43

**Figure 2** Entry to Jerusalem, St. Mary, North Cove (Suffolk), photograph by author p. 43

**Figure 3** Entry to Jerusalem, British Library Royal MS 2.B.vii, fol. 233v, taken from http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/results.asp?image=059690&imagex=6&searchnum=3 (accessed 26.07.07) p. 49

**Figure 4** Distribution of Psalms, Glasgow University MS Gen 999, fol. 1, taken from http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/images/exhibitions/treasures/g999_11.jpg (accessed 26.07.07) p. 52

**Figure 5** Entry to Jerusalem, Oxford, Bodleian Library Latin Liturgical MS d. 42, fol. 8r, taken from http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk DEPT/SEWMSS/WMSS/medieval/jpegsliturg/042/1500/04200755.jpg (accessed 26.07.07) p. 76

**Figure 6** Holy Week Images (Entry, Last Supper, Torments, Crucifixion), St. Mary Fairstead, Essex, photograph by author p. 83

**Figure 7** The First Council of Constantinople, Bibliothèque Nationale Cod. Græc. MS 510, fol. 355r, taken from http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=08001305&E=1&I=112375&M=imageseule (accessed 24.07.07)) p. 94

**Figure 8** The Consecration of Gregory Nazianzus, Bibliothèque Nationale Cod. Græc. MS 510, fol. 452, taken from http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=08007767&E=1&I=112478&M=imageseule (accessed 24.07.07) p. 94

**Figure 9** Christ in Majesty and Crucifixion, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.708 Binding, taken from http://utu.morganlibrary.org/medren/pass_page_through_images_initial.cfm?ms_letter=msm&ms_number=0708&totalcount=9&current=1 (accessed 26.07.07) p. 118

**Figure 10** Crucifix, British Library Stowe MS 15, Back Binding, British Library Imaging Service p. 137

**Figure 11** General Layout of a Late Medieval Bible, V&A Reid MS 21, fols. 230v-231r, photograph by author p. 166
Figure 12 General Layout of a Late Medieval Bible (detail), V&A Reid MS 21 fol. 8r, photograph by author

Figure 13 The Psalms’ Layout in a Late Medieval Bible, V&A Reid MS fols. 258v-259r, photograph by author

Figure 14 The Psalms’ Layout in a Late Medieval Bible (Detail), Oxford Bodleian Latin Bibles MS e. 7, fol. 183r, taken from http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/lat/bib/e/007.htm (accessed 30.07.07)

Figure 15 Crucifixion and Prefaces of Mass in a Late Medieval Bible, MS HM 26061, fols. 178v-179r, taken from http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/hehweb/HM26061.html (accessed 05.11.07)

Figure 16 Psalms’ Layout in a Gutenberg Bible, British Library Grenville copy (vellum), fol. 293r, taken from http://molcat1.bl.uk/gutenberg/search.asp (accessed 30.07.07)

Figure 17 Illumination, Song of Songs, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 138 fol. 198v, taken from http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&Search_Arg=SYSN%20ICA000106551&Search_Code=CMD&CNT=50&HIST=1 (accessed 30.07.07)

Musical Notation


Note 2 Hic est qui de Edom (versicle) and Salve lux mundi (Antiphon), taken from Sandon, Sarum, p. 11

Diagrams

Diagram 1 Based on British Library Add. MS 22,573, binding

Tables

Table 1 The Divisions of the Castle in Odo of Cheriton’s Sermon, based on H. Leith Spencer, “Middle English Sermons”, The Sermon (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, Fascicles 81-3), Beverly Mayne Kienzle (dir.), Turnhout 2000, pp. 597-660 (644-5)
Preface

The roots of this dissertation lay with a leaf from a manuscript, part of a biblical rendering from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, which Prof. B. Z. Kedar had suggested to me as a future project on the last year of my first degree. This had grown, under the careful and generous guidance of Prof. Guy G. Stroumsa, to an interest in religious phenomenology, and especially in the place of the Bible in medieval societies. Consequently, upon embarking on my PhD I set out to explore how the Bible was integrated into medieval mentalité. However, as I quickly came to realise, there was a need for more preliminary work in assessing how diverse audiences in the Middle Ages gained access to the Bible. The result is this dissertation. It has taken me to unexpected places and new fields of study, and was made possible with the help of friends and colleagues. It is a pleasant obligation to thank them. Although my wholehearted thanks are given, any mistakes remain, naturally, my own.

My greatest debt is to my supervisor, Prof. Miri Rubin. Throughout the long and arduous process of researching and writing this dissertation, she has been an indefatigable source of encouragement, criticism and inspiration. She has enabled me to develop the concept of mediation through studies as detached, at least on the surface, from the medieval Bible as popular songs in the Antebellum South, while constantly challenging the basic tenets of my work. This was accompanied by a selfless willingness to read and correct numerous proofs of the dissertation. My work has benefitted from the comments of Dr. Virginia Davis, Dr. Sam Worby, Prof. Susan Boynton and Prof. Kate Lowe, who have read earlier parts of the dissertation.
Entering the world of Christian rites and beliefs has been both challenging and rewarding. Coming from a Jewish background has provided me with an outsider's perspective and enabled me to reexamine key rituals and beliefs. Implicit comparisons have led me to unexpected places, as, for example, I have failed to find parallels to the Jewish laws concerning the sanctity of Bibles, discovering, in their stead, the rituals surrounding gospel books and oath-books. My understanding of Christianity has evolved in long conversations with Father Pino di Luccio, S.J., whose friendship and insights were invaluable during this time. An immersion in the liturgy has led me to understand a unique form of 'living the Bible'. This was made possible by the remarkable hospitality I have experienced in monasteries, which communities allowed me to take part in liturgy and monastic life, although at times they were possibly at odds at my eagerness to attend vigil and matins. My thanks are given to the communities of Latrun Trappist monastery (and especially Father Augustine), Downside Abbey (and especially Father Daniel, for his trust and enthusiasm), Mount St. Bernard Abbey, and St. Hugh's Charterhouse, Parkminster. These retreats have shown me the complexity of biblical mediation and the limits of liturgical and biblical search engines.

Biblical mediums of late medieval England evade the confines of methodologies and academic disciplines. They have led me to engage with new and challenging fields, from biblical scholarship to medieval music and jurisprudence. In this endeavour I was assisted by friends and colleagues. Dr. Sam Mirelman spent hours with me by the piano at Birkbeck common room, teaching medieval notation and modes; Dr. Anne Jeffers shared her knowledge of the Bible and invited me take part in her classes; Dr. Sam Worby offered advice and support, above and beyond the call of friendship and collegiality, in expounding upon medieval legal systems and English grammar, while Dr. Paul Brand and Dr. Chris Briggs highlighted specific instances of the use of oath-
books; Dr. Zefira Entin Rokeah and Dr. Yossi Ziegler gave expert advice on Jewish oath-rituals; Prof. Rita Copeland offered support and kindness, as well as poignant references; Prof. Jim Marrow helped in advice and question; Dr. Bill Cambell shared his meticulous knowledge of the medieval church, and Dr. Ian Forrest his knowledge of heterodox groups. The complex field of liturgy has been made more accessible through the unequivocal knowledge and generosity of Prof. Susan Boynton. A new understanding of liturgical manuscripts was offered by Prof. David Chadd, whose untimely death is lamented by many. A unique group of graduate students has provided a place of discussions and cheer in difficult and happy times. Dr. Marigold Norby, Dr. Catherine Rider, Dr. Kathleen Walker-Meikle and others have been colleagues and friends throughout. My students at Queen Mary and Goldsmiths Colleges have kept challenging my understanding of the medieval Bible.

My debts extend to institutions. The History Department at Queen Mary, University of London, and especially Dr. Virginia Davis, has supported my work. Many libraries assisted this study, and I am thankful for the staff of the following libraries: the British Library (especially the manuscript reading room); the Bodleian Library (especially Duke Humphrey’s reading room); Cambridge University Library; the Library of St. John’s College, Cambridge; the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; the Archives of New College, Oxford; St. Paul’s Cathedral Library (and especially Mr. Wisdom, its most resourceful librarian); Guildhall Library; Lambeth Palace Library; the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum (and especially Dr. Watson, curator of Western manuscripts). The comparative perspectives of this dissertation were explored in a Summer School in Comparative Religion at the Central European University, Budapest, and a Spring School in Comparative History at the Institute for Advanced Studies, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
My greatest institutional debt is to the Institute of Historical Research. It has been my academic home in London, and supplied scholarly and material support during my studies. I was fortunate to take part in its European History Seminar 1150-1550, which conveyors and participants offered, again and again, such support and advice that enabled me to witness true academic pursuit.

This thesis benefitted from the support of several funds and fellowships. Queen Mary College's Westfield Trust and the Overseas Research Students Award Scheme (ORSAS), have financed the first three years of the dissertation, while the Royal Historical Society Marshal Fellowship and an anonymous fellowship assisted through the difficulties of the fourth year. Travel grants from the Royal Historical Society and the Stretton Fund at the Department of History at Queen Mary enabled me to attend schools and conferences abroad, while the Central Research Fund, University of London, facilitated an excursion to view and document murals in the parish churches of East Anglia. The Spalding Trust has provided additional support in time of need.

Lastly, I wish to thank friends and relations who have shared something of the medieval Bible, even though far from their daily lives: to my parents, for their support; to Avner Reshef for his generous help in compiling the bibliography. It is with love and gratitude that I thank Stav Sadot, whose insights illuminated this dissertation. She took upon herself, at times when I became so embedded in biblical mediation that I have began to write my chapters using means of amplification, the onerous task of reminding me that there is life beyond the medieval (and early modern) Bible.
# List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCCM</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis, Turnhout 1966-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCSL</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum, seria Latina, Turnhout 1953-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EETS OS / ES / SS</td>
<td>Early English Text Society Original Series (1864-); Extra Series (1867-1921); Supplementary Series (1970-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBS</td>
<td>Henry Bradshaw Society (1891-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Rolls Series: Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, London 1858-1911</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

Direct access to the Bible was the exception rather than the rule in medieval Europe. Cost of manuscripts and degrees of literacy determined people's ability to own or consult the Christian Scriptures. Yet a variety of events and objects offered occasion for partial access to the Bible. These stand at the core of the dissertation. Through ritual and word, image and object I trace how people gained access to the biblical text, and how, in turn, this access influenced their understanding of the Bible. I will show how language, humor, gestures, scenery and paraphernalia enabled the church to create a new understanding of the Bible, one that simultaneously drew from the depth of the biblical text while integrating Christian faith and biblical exegesis.

The reach of this dissertation is evident: biblical manuscripts have survived in their hundreds and references to the Bible are ubiquitous in medieval accounts. I have refrained from concentrating on a single medium or biblical portion, preferring to preserve the understanding of the Bible as a whole. Rather, I have examined these European phenomena in a specific place and time - late medieval England. The thesis comprises of four investigations into specific mediums1: liturgy, sermons, biblical manuscripts, and the use of Gospel Books in rituals. The diversity of the mediums necessitates the use of different methodologies, from anthropology and comparative religion to literary theory and palaeography. Accordingly, relevant theoretical discussions and surveys of literature accompany each chapter. This introduction will not repeat them, but rather present the rationale and structure of the entire thesis by expounding upon each part of this dissertations' title: Mediations of the Bible in Late Medieval England.

1 I have chosen to employ the plural mediums, rather than media, which is closer to the Latin origin, as to avoid confusion with the modern noun media.
Mediations

A common way of structuring a study on the medieval Bible is to concentrate on a single medium. Such works have traced its significance and influence in law, literature, art or liturgy. In some instances studies of specific mediums were collected into a single volume. The nature of these publications has enabled a deep analysis of individual mediums, but has curbed our understanding of medieval society, in which several mediums functioned simultaneously. The juxtaposition of several mediums, as presented in this thesis, necessitates the adoption of the theoretical concept of mediation, which, although common among researchers, nevertheless deserves further exploration.

The basic tenet of mediation, as its Latin origin reveals, is its position between two realities, with the act of bridging them at its core. The medieval use of mediatio as intercession presents an understanding of the term beyond the connection between equals, but rather, as is the case here, between two very different realities, in an active process which brings elements from the one into the other. Bridging the two realities - the Bible and medieval audiences - also evokes the sacral and authoritative elements of mediation. Each of these two realities is far from monolithic. The complexity of medieval audiences shaped biblical mediation. At some moments and locations biblical mediation addressed several audiences simultaneously, as in church murals or liturgical processions, to which different members of society were exposed, and in which they took part. Often, however, discrete groups were exposed to the Bible differently: lay

---


3 For the place of article collections in the study of the medieval Bible: below pp. 159-160.
patrons and priests had access to biblical manuscripts, devoid of much of the population; university students explored the depths of biblical exegesis, uncommon outside of but a few centres of scholarship; monasteries offered a unique knowledge of the Psalms through the performance of the Divine Office. This notwithstanding, the place of biblical mediation in the divisions of medieval society is far from evident. Were biblical mediums clerical means to educate the laity? Were specific mediums and interpretations suited for specific audiences? Should the concept of biblical mediation be used only in conjunction with lower, illiterate, circles? These questions will guide me in the study of biblical mediation.

As to method, the study of biblical mediation stands in between historically-minded textual criticism and Rezeptionsgeschichte. Each of these disciplines challenges one of the two realities bridged by mediation: textual criticism is the study of the compilation and evolution of the biblical text; reception measures its impact on medieval audiences. The study of the evolution of the biblical text in the Middle Ages has been addressed by several researchers, as is explored in the introduction to the third chapter. The Rezeptionsgeschichte of the medieval Bible, a fascinating and challenging topic, is beyond the scope of this study. Such an endeavor, however, would benefit from the study of biblical mediation, which assesses the basic channels of transmissions that shaped popular perception of the Bible. In this thesis both fields will serve as auxiliary, alluding to the complexity of the Bible, while assessing the impact of various mediums on medieval audiences through biblical references in visual and literary narratives.

Out of the host of biblical mediums in the Middle Ages I have chosen only a few. These mediums shared space, time or actors, thus enabling me to question the both the
unique nature of individual mediums, and their connection to other mediums in internal
and external allusions. I will thus be able to challenge a common assumption on the
exclusiveness of biblical mediation, common among scholars of liturgy and sermons,
and dating back to Gregory the Great's dictum on images as the layman's Bible
(commenting also upon its applicability to a specific audience).4

Two important fields of biblical mediation are used only as supporting evidence
in this thesis: medieval literature and visual images. Both fields exhibit a wide array of
biblical narratives and texts, and both used vernacular and visual means to approach
wide audiences. However, following several important works on these mediums in
recent years, I have chosen to address other channels of transmission, which have
received less attention as biblical mediums. I have also decided to exclude a systematic
study of biblical exegesis, a field which has drawn much attention in the study of the
medieval Bible. The seminal work of Beryl Smalley had paved the way to generations
of students, leading to the recent analyses of Gilbert Dahan and the collection La Bibbia
del XIII secolo.5 Although addressing specific elements of biblical exegesis, an in-depth
analysis of exegetes would have directed this dissertation to the study of a specific and
limited milieu, rather than diverse and less explored forms of biblical mediation.

4 For a reassessment of the dictum: Madeline H. Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were they
Bibles for the Poor?", The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art, B. S. Levy (ed.),
Binghamton (NY) 1992, pp. 103-147. Similar statements on liturgy and preaching are at the beginning of
the relevant chapters.

5 Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 3rd rev. ed., Oxford 1983; Gilbert Dahan,
l'Exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval: XIE-XIVe siècle (patrimoines christianisme),
Paris 1999 (apart from several notes in the introduction); La Bibbia del XIII secolo. Storia del testo, storia
del’esegesi: Convegno della Società Internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo Latino (SISME) Firenze,
1-2 Giugno 2001, Giuseppe Cremascoli and Francesco Santi (eds.), Florence 2004 (and especially Louis
J. Bataillon, "La Bible au XIIIe siècle. Un incitation aux recherches de demain", pp. 3-11). The centrality
of exegesis is also evident in works of more general nature such as William J. Courtenay, "The Bible in
the Fourteenth Century: Some Observations", Church History 54:2 (1985), pp. 176-187 or Pim
Valkenberg, "Readers of Scripture and Hearers of the Word in the Mediaeval Church", Concilium 233
The Bible

One way of defining this study could have been to trace the mediation and reception of a single biblical passage, narrative or book. This would have retained the possibility of juxtaposing several mediums, while enabling an in-depth analysis. Yet, concentrating only on a biblical fraction would have prevented the appreciation of the Bible as beyond the sum of its parts. The Bible, as discovered repeatedly in the course of this study, was a complex concept. In the Middle Ages it was a narrative, which events and protagonists were seen as role-models and which scenes were reenacted in the liturgy; it preserved a unique language and genres, which style was emulated; it was a sacred text, which endowed its mediators with an aura of sacrality and authority; it was a book, with a distinct layout; and lastly it was a sacred object, used and venerated in highly complex rituals. All these facets of the Bible complemented one another to create a single reality. The study of biblical mediation will serve to disentangle this complex definition, and to trace the use of the Bible in its diverse functions.

The complexity of the Bible is evident in its text. The Bible is compiled of distinct books, with their own genres, from the hymns of the Psalter, through the historical narratives of Kings and Chronicles, to the chastising of the Prophets; the Old and the New Testaments differ significantly in language, narrative and applicability to the Christian creed. The Biblical text itself is highly complex, written and edited over an extended period of time. It incorporates earlier strata of polytheistic worship, later interpolations, liturgical echoes and communal myths. These strata are studied nowadays by biblical scholars, as evidence for the evolution of the Bible. One may question the applicability of biblical criticism to the study of the medieval Bible, when the Bible was, by and large, codified, and its text divinely sanctioned in the translation
of Jerome. I wish to suggest, however, that conundrums and inconsistencies, oral elements and editorial remnants, which came into being due to the complex evolution of the Bible, influenced its medieval mediation.

The unique nature of the Bible has led me to adopt a two-fold approach in the study of its mediation. To facilitate some analyses, I have concentrated on the mediation of specific passages in distinct mediums. Recalling that the Bible has a value beyond its text, I have also studied the Bible as a whole - a book and a sacred object. The two parts of this approach often meet: the unique nature of the Psalms, foreign to the biblical corpus, has led me to investigate their place within biblical manuscripts; the importance of the Gospel narrative to Christian faith led to their existence as an independent sacred book.

Late Medieval

This study of biblical mediation ranges from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth (c.1230-c.1409). Although any investigation of religious phenomenology can never ignore the perennial nature of beliefs and rituals, these dates delineate a significant era in the history of biblical mediation. From the formation of a new biblical layout and a new form of preaching at the beginning of this period to the controversies on biblical translation and Archbishop Aunndel's constitutions at its end, this is a time when biblical manuscripts diffused widely, while mediums were still key in facilitating biblical understanding.

The first few decades of the thirteenth century witnessed a change in the medieval church. It was marked by vigorous episcopal activism, the rise of the mendicant orders, with their interest in the Bible and its dissemination, the
establishment of universities, where the study of theology, rhetoric and *sacra pagina* evolved, and the codification of the basic tenets of faith in the Fourth Council of Lateran. It was at that time, and in dialogue with these changes, that key biblical mediums were transformed. Influenced by technological innovations, the late medieval Bible - a single-volume codex with a standard layout - emerged and spread throughout Western Europe. A new form of preaching came into being, which differed from the traditional homily in its use of biblical pericope and proofs.

A period of stability in biblical mediation followed the hectic creativity of the first decades of the thirteenth century. In the second half of the thirteenth century, and throughout the fourteenth, biblical manuscripts were used and copied, but not radically modified. Thus, most paleographical features (e.g. dual columns or 53 lines; the position of first line above the top ruling; red and blue running titles, etc.) present 1230 as a watershed, and the exact dating of a given manuscript afterwards is often difficult. Several forms of preaching were also used throughout this period, with many sermons oscillating between the homiletic and the modern form. Sermons written at the beginning of the period, were used also in its end, as can be seen in appendix 4.

---

6 Periods of change and stagnation in conjunction with the medieval Bible were suggested by: Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century*, Oxford 1960, pp. 30-2. The importance of the beginning of the thirteenth century in the study of the English church of the fourteenth was raised by: W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century; Based on the Birkbeck Lectures, 1948*, Cambridge 1955, pp. 2-3.

Liturgical habits continued those of the twelfth century, with local customs gradually succumbing to the hegemonic Use of Sarum.\(^8\)

This was a period, especially in England, when the Bible was rarely available in the vernacular, despite some biblical renderings in French and Anglo-Norman, and the few Old English translation preserved in monastic libraries. This language barrier necessitated mediation, and assists the modern researcher in identifying biblical echoes in vernacular literature. It also gave a unique place and significance to non-textual elements of biblical mediation, such as performance, scenery, imagery and melody.

The end of the period was marked by the rise of anxiety about religious heterodoxy, which ushered a change in attitudes towards biblical translation. The Wyclifite translation of the Bible led to greater vigilance towards vernacular translations and lay access to the Bible. Thus biblical mediation began a slow transformation, furthered by the advent of print and the Reformation. It was to put translation at its core, and led to arguments, shared by scholars and Reformers, which presented a dichotomous understanding of mediation and direct access to the Bible, an approach which is in many ways foreign to the medieval example. The decision to concentrate on the period up until Archbishop Arundel's constitutions follows also the nature of research. Many works on the Bible in late medieval England, especially its dissemination and mediation, concentrate on the 'Lollard discourse', which contrasts Latin and vernacular and lessens the value of biblical mediation.\(^9\) In highlighting the

---


importance of biblical translation, previous centuries were overshadowed by Wyclif. This is most evident in a recent history of the English Bible that dedicates only ten out of nine hundred and sixty two pages to the period between the Norman Conquest and Wyclif.\textsuperscript{10} The preference for translation and the consequent leap from Old English to the fifteenth century is evident also in works of more scholarly nature.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{England}

England at the time was emerging as an important centre of biblical mediation. In the liturgy local elements, such as the centrality of stone crosses or the use of a consecrated host on Palm Sunday Processions, were incorporated into the dominant Use of Sarum. Some of the earliest late medieval Bibles are of English origin, and scribes and illuminators of identifiable English origins produced them in England as well as the Continent. Furthermore, the biblical scholar to leave the greatest mark on the layout of these Bibles was Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (†1248).

English documents give important testimony to the use of the Bible in ritual and its dissemination among the laity. Middle English literature, such as \textit{Piers Plowman} and the \textit{Canterbury Tales}, is interspersed with references to the Bible and its mediation, as well as descriptions of oath-rituals. Common Law treatises combine with visitation and trial records to shed light on less-known facets of the appearance, provenance and use of Bibles. English preachers were active in England and abroad, leaving numerous sermons in English, Latin or a linguistic hybrid called macaronic or code-sharing. They

\textsuperscript{10} David Daniell, \textit{The Bible in English: Its History and Influence}, New haven 2003, "ch. 4: Romance and Piety, 1066-1350", pp. 56-65. The nature and bias of the work is discernible in remarks such as "William's conquest of those villages [mentioned by Alfred] re-imposed biblical darkness." (p. 56).

also reflected upon their own preaching in *ars predicandi* treatises. In one of these Robert of Basevorn (writing in 1322) identified a unique English variation of the modern form of preaching and named it the ‘Oxford Sermon’.  

These examples reveal the unique nature and abundance of evidence of biblical mediation in England. They also reveal that the English experience cannot be detached from its European context. The biography of Stephen Langton, much like his contemporary, the preacher Odo of Cheriton (†1246), is of a life shared between England and the Continent, with his most lingering contribution to biblical layout - the modern division of chapters - done in Paris. Similarly, English liturgy followed the structure of continental uses, introduced to England in Lanfranc's Constitutions (c.1070) and by numerous French clergy taking office in England. Thus, the most memorable element in Palm Sunday processions - the *Gloria laus et decus* - was written by Theodulf of Orléans († 821) and chanted, with minor melodic variations, throughout Western Europe. Liturgical commentaries, as well as model sermons and canon law treatises, were written in the Continent, and copied, translated and deployed in England. Late medieval Bibles disseminated in the opposite direction, as within a few years of their compilation, these manuscripts spread from England and Northern France to Central and Southern Europe. This was assisted by itinerant scribes and illuminators, some of English origin, and by the transient nature of the friars, a prime audience for


these small and portable manuscripts.\textsuperscript{15} Thus, the provenance of these manuscripts is often as elusive as is their dating, with illuminations and calendars, where extant, assisting in its identification.\textsuperscript{16}

The mediation of the Bible in late medieval England is thus a local variant of a much larger phenomenon. Liturgy, preaching, visual images or sacred books were key in understanding sacred scriptures not only in other parts of Europe at the time, but also in other eras and religions. Some elements of this study lingered beyond its temporal and spatial confines, as, for example, the layout of late medieval Bibles was common throughout Europe, to be replicated in Gutenberg's Bible, and its remnants can be seen in printed Bibles nowadays. Similarly, the preservative nature of the liturgy, its reliance of paraphernalia, location and tune, and the connection between biblical narrative and congregants, can still be experienced throughout Christendom. The appearance and use of sacred books is also of a perennial nature. Arguments regarding the nature of oath-books, for example, were rife in early modern England, especially after the re-introduction of non-Christians into English courts.

The Sequence of Chapters

The complexity of the Bible and the nature of its medieval mediation have led my choice of four biblical mediums. Two chapters trace different ways in which the same biblical text - the gospel narrative of Christ entry to Jerusalem (Mt. 21:1-9 and parallels)


was employed in liturgy and preaching. The material culture of the Bible as a form of biblical mediation is evident in the two remaining chapters, which investigate the Bible as a book, with its unique layout and addenda, and as a sacred object, employed and venerated in courts of law and liturgical rites. The inter-connection between different biblical mediums will be identified throughout the study, and commented upon at length in its conclusion.

*Liturgy as Biblical Mediation*, is an examination of Palm Sunday processions, predominantly in the Sarum Use. It traces the biblical event from the compilation of the Gospels, through its liturgical reenactment in Late Antiquity to the rites prevalent in late medieval England. Liturgical manuscripts and para-liturgical documents are scrutinised with the aim of reconstructing late medieval processions. This enables the identification of chant, scenery, geography, paraphernalia and performance, all key in the recreation of the biblical event. Middle English literary narratives, manuscript illuminations and murals in parish churches assist in tracing the procession in local rites and in the eyes of congregants. The chapter identifies key moments in the procession and examines elements of biblical mediation through each of them. The distribution of palms prior to the procession is indicative of the importance of liturgical paraphernalia in the recreation of the biblical event, as well as local adaptations of the biblical account. The course of the procession led to the construction of sacred topography, as a unique form of biblical exegesis. The first station of the procession supports a close analysis of versicles and antiphons, through melody, performance and location, to identify how liturgical texts emulated biblical language and themes. An extra-liturgical moment - the speech of Caiphas the prophet - serves as evidence for the dissemination of liturgical commentaries and a gap between clergy and laity. The most memorable moment of the liturgy - the singing of the *Gloria laus* - leads to question the reception of the biblical
event, as it was intertwined with its liturgical recreation. The coda of the procession - prior to the Mass - assists in contextualising the procession within sacred time, at the moment when Lent and Holy Week converged. The chapter concludes with a short theoretical discussion and a diachronic model for the mediation of the Bible in liturgy, following Paul Riceour's Biblical Hermeneutics.

A *textus* - Gospel Book carried in Palm Sunday procession - stands at the core of the following chapter: The Material Culture of Gospel Books. It examines how these books were used in highly structured rituals in liturgy and courts of law. It explores how gospel lessons were signaled out in the ordinary of the Mass using performative means, which applied more to the physical object than to the biblical text contained in it. The common definition of a *textus*, as a book containing the four gospels which is essential for the performance of the liturgy, is then confronted with numerous evidences from visitation records, wills and inventories, where an almost complete lack of *textus* in parish churches is discernible. This contradiction necessitates a new definition of a *textus*, which is then corroborated by its descriptions in sacristies of cathedrals and large monastic establishments. *Textus* is thus defined as a book that was judged primarily by its cover. The story of two such *textus*, and their connection to the career of Hubert de Burgh, ends this part of the investigation. A mirror image to the use of *textus* in the liturgy is the place of sacred books in courts of law. Similar questions arise regarding the identity of books used to vouchsafe the veracity of witnesses and litigants. Analysis of court records and legal treatises identifies an emphasis on ritual activities, in which the content of the book was secondary. Few surviving oath-books and Middle English literary accounts assist in assessing the nature of oath-books and, much like the *textus* in the liturgy, reveal that it was a book only loosely connected to the Bible, which
appearance played a major role in its sacrality. A comparison with oaths made by Jews prior to their expulsion from England corroborates this conclusion.

The importance of material aspects to biblical mediation is presented in the following chapter: *Layout and Meaning in Biblical Manuscripts*. From the beginning of the thirteenth century biblical manuscripts were mass-produced in their thousands, predating print in their standard layout. Some of their features have been identified in scholarly works, and an extended survey of literature, ranging from the sixteenth century to the twenty-first, assists in identifying common themes in the study of the medieval Bible. A survey of sixty-one medieval Bibles reveals the uniformity of layout and addenda. The major exception to the common layout was the Book of Psalms, which connected biblical manuscripts and liturgical mediation. Not all aspects of the Psalms' layout replicated the liturgy, and one element - the Psalms' superscriptions - presents a unique feature of late medieval Bibles. The history of these superscriptions in the *longue durée* is charted briefly to reveal one of the least stable biblical elements. It presented a challenge to generations of biblical exegetes, whose solutions influenced exegetical works, biblical manuscripts and liturgical performance. These cryptic verses were re-integrated into late medieval Bibles, as an indication for an interest in the ancient roots of the Bible. This interest stood behind the most common addendum of late medieval Bibles - the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* - a glossary which supplied variant readings for the Hebrew and Aramaic words preserved in the Vulgate. The evolution of this aid reveals how readers, predominantly preachers, used the biblical narrative with additional and variable layers of exegesis. The chapter concludes with a survey of other typical addenda, which sheds light on readers and scribes, provenance and usage.
The last chapter juxtaposes liturgy and biblical manuscripts in an examination of Sermons as a Form of Biblical Mediation. It uses *ars predicandi* treatises and the *prothema* of sermons to trace how preachers, in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, regarded sermons as a form of biblical mediation. An examination of the place of the Bible in four sermons for the first Sunday of Advent follows. These sermons were written by English authors, and range between Latin, English and macaronic. At first biblical references, discrete or woven, are explored using the literary theory of allusion. This theoretical framework also identifies three distinct audiences, for which sermons were written and delivered. The reliance of preachers on the common biblical addendum - the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* - is manifested in the unique place its entries occupy within medieval sermons. Another feature of the biblical text - the gaps within its narratives - are also visible in sermons, and were used by preachers to integrate extra-biblical narratives. Conundrums, internal contradictions and uncertainties, commonly avoided in the liturgy, were celebrated by preachers as an opportunity to explore the biblical *lectio difficile*, and to integrate the tenets of Christian faith into their sermons. The chapter concludes with the discussion of extra-biblical elements, with special emphasis on liturgy, with which sermons shared space, time and actors. Two sermons of Wyclif supply the epilogue with an opportunity to address the comments on the 'corruption' of the Bible in the new form of preaching.
Chapter 1: Liturgy as Biblical Mediation, Palm Sunday Processions

Introduction

"The liturgy was the primary context within which medieval Christians heard, read and understood the Bible”

Modern research habitually sees liturgy as a means through which medieval audiences were acquainted with the Bible. The connection between Bible and liturgy is multifaceted. The Bible served as an inexhaustible source for the liturgy: liturgical time was constructed in commemoration of biblical events, predominantly from the life, death and resurrection of Christ; sacred space reflected biblical symbolism, with churches mirroring Heavenly Jerusalem, and processions retracing the paths of biblical occurrences; rituals reenacted biblical events, chief among them the Last Supper and Crucifixion; Psalms became the backbone of monastic prayer and biblical readings were interspersed throughout mass and office. Liturgy also modified the biblical text: liturgical performances endowed the biblical scenes with a new meaning; biblical texts

---

were subjected to specific performances and tunes; the sacred topography of churches and processions linked biblical locations and medieval landscape. The biblical nucleus of the liturgy, and its modifications in chant, performance, space and object, stand at the core of this chapter.

The axiomatic role of medieval liturgy as a form of biblical mediation has not been corroborated by scholarly work. Historians of the liturgy have preferred to trace the Bible in the the evolution of the liturgy of Late Antiquity rather than the Middle Ages. Such is the work of Jean Daniéllou, which utilises biblical mediation as means to assert the antiquity of the liturgy.2 Daniéllou moves between Late Antiquity (his field of expertise) and modern rituals, in an investigation that is best seen on the background of arguments on the nature of Catholic worship leading to the Second Vatican Council. A similar rationale has guided the editors of Studia Liturgica in publishing a volume dedicated to liturgy and the Bible.3 Most of the volume discusses the connection between modern liturgy and the Bible with few articles about the place of the Bible in earlier rituals. Such too is Klauss-Peter Jörns' analysis of the earliest references to Christian liturgy - the New Testament - which concludes that the growth of the Christian canon was contemporaneous with its use in liturgy.4

Paul F. Bradshaw's article of the same issue explores liturgical history, moving between Late Antiquity and the Reformation.5 His work provides stimulating insights into the incorporation of biblical texts in the liturgy. He identifies four types of biblical

---

2 The Bible and the Liturgy (orig. Bible et Liturgie, Paris 1951), Notre Dame (IN) 1956.
3 Studia Liturgica 22:1 (1992), and in particular: Paul De Clerck, "In the Beginning was the Word: Presidential Address", pp. 1-16.
reading: didactic, which acquainted people with biblical texts; kerygmatic, which supplied a biblical base for a ritual; parabatic, which was community-oriented, and consisted of events such as informal preaching and votive masses; doxological, which offered glory to God (not necessarily in a known language). He takes this analysis further by defining four varieties of biblical language employed in the liturgy: linguistic borrowing, in which biblical words and phrases were scattered to enhance the biblical flavour of prayers and hymns; typological interpretation, which used allegory to refer to contemporary events; complete appropriation, which integrated entire units, such as the Psalms; imitation of biblical events in liturgy, both through the creation of new ceremonies and the reinterpretation of pre-existing ones. These notions assist in tracing the complexity of biblical mediation in the liturgy, and provide a key to an analysis of the textual elements within the liturgy, amalgamated with non-textual elements such as music and performance.

The connection between high medieval liturgy and the Bible is briefly acknowledged by Marie Anne Mayeski. Her article, which appeared in a collection on medieval liturgy, is primarily an examination of the connection between biblical exegesis and homilies. Although homilies were performed in the context of liturgical space and time, they lack many of the traits of liturgical activity, predominantly participatory and non-textual facets. It nevertheless identifies the role of typology in the creation of the liturgy, as means of connecting the Bible to the Sitz im Leben of the ritual.

Two introductory articles do much to fill the lacuna in the study of the Bible in medieval liturgy. Pierre-Marie Gy charted the evolution of medieval liturgy, with

---

6 Mayeski, Reading the Word.
special attention to the place of the Bible in it. Concentrating on the mass and office, he surveyed the incorporation of biblical lessons and chants from Late Antiquity to the Gregorian Reform, with the rise of two influential uses - the Roman and Benedictine. This survey serves as an accurate and concise indication of the importance of the Bible in liturgy, both in form and content. Building on this work, a forthcoming article of Susan Boynton will constitute an examination of the place and function of the Bible in medieval liturgy, through an analysis also of liturgical time and its dramatic reenactments. The performative, musical and textual qualities of the liturgy lead to a re-evaluation of its role in biblical mediation, concluding that: “The liturgy was much more than a simple means of transmission... It [liturgy] was the fundamental framework through which the Bible was experienced as a temporal reality, both daily and through the cycle of the church year. ... with its hermeneutic and performative dimensions, is the key to the medieval Bible as lived experience”. These surveys provide vital information on the place of the Bible within the liturgy; their all-embracing nature has hindered the possibility of a thorough investigation of the function of liturgy as biblical mediation. I will follow in their footsteps to engage in a thorough analysis of a single liturgical event - the Palm Sunday procession in late medieval England.

Palm Sunday provides an outstanding test case for the study of the connection between Bible and liturgy. It was one of the major feasts of the church, situated at the end of Lent and the beginning of Holy Week. The gospel story which it reenacts – the events preceding Christ’s entry to Jerusalem – was manifested in medieval literature and visual images and can be easily identified. The study of Palm Sunday processions

---

7 “La Bible dans la liturgie au Moyen Age”, Le Moyen Age et la Bible (Bible de tous les temps 4), Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (eds.), Paris 1984, pp. 537-552.

8 Boynton, Bible and Liturgy.

9 ibid.
exemplifies the construction of sacred space, combined with the use of numerous liturgical paraphernalia and biblical texts in the creation of a highly memorable event. These processions, primarily in the Sarum Use, which became the most influential and widespread Use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are at the core of my investigation. I shall draw on the wealth of information supplied by the still unparalleled works of Edmund Bishop, Dom H. Philibert Feasey and Herbert Thurston. These works trace the evolution and construction of the medieval ritual, but have rarely questioned the connection between Bible and liturgy, except as a testimony of its antiquity. These works have been taken up by modern researchers such as Eamon Duffy, Mark Spurrell, and Carolyn Malone to reconstruct insular rituals from the high Middle Ages to the Reformation.

My investigation of Palm Sunday processions will commence with an analysis of the original biblical text and selected early uses. This will assist in identifying extrabiblical elements and in establishing an internal biblical hierarchy, in which liturgical traces are visible in the biblical text itself. The analysis of late medieval insular processions will question the spatial characteristics of the ritual with the rise of processions and the creation of sacred topography based on pre-existing landmarks.


12 An interest in the evolution of Palm Sunday liturgy is stated in Bishop, Holy Week, p. 292, and is the rationale behind the structure of Hermann J. Gräf, Palmenweihe und Palmenprozession in der lateinischen Liturgie, (Veröffentlichungen des Missionspriesterseminars St. Augustin, Siegburg, nr. 5) Kaldenkirchen 1959.

The course of Palm Sunday processions will be mined for elements of biblical mediation: liturgical paraphernalia in the blessing and distribution of palms; textual appropriation in the antiphons and versicles of the first station; the gap between clergy and laity in the speech of Caiphas the prophet; the reception of the Bible in the singing of the *gloria laus*; the juxtaposition of text, time and performance in the entrance to the church at the end of the procession. A suggestion for a theoretical framework for the mediation of the Bible in liturgy will conclude this examination.

The importance of the non-textual elements of the liturgy is evident throughout the chapter. Sensual qualities, as argued by Tom Elich, were central to medieval liturgy. The nature of the sources hinders a full appreciation of the performance of Palm Sunday processions, especially in smaller churches. This will be rectified, in part, by the use of liturgical sources alongside literary narratives, visual images and extra-liturgical materials. The musical qualities of the liturgy are presented in modern rendering of medieval notation.

---

The Gospel Narratives

The names *Palm Sunday* or *Christ's Entry to Jerusalem* - common in the Middle Ages as they are nowadays - are somewhat detached from the biblical depiction. The event in question appears in the Four Gospels (Mt 21:1-11; Mk 11:1-11; Lk 19:28-38; Jn 12:12-16) and bridges Christ's activities in Galilee and the Jordan Valley and the events leading to the Passion. A comparison between the four narratives (appendices 1 and 2) shows that they agree on the following sequence of events: after spending some time in the Jordan Valley Christ approached Jerusalem from the East, passing by Mount of Olives; he was met and welcomed by an awaiting crowd and together they entered Jerusalem. The Gospels agree on the timing: the Sunday before the feast of Passover and the Crucifixion. The event took place en-route: it began on Mount of Olives, to the east of Jerusalem, and ended with the entrance to Jerusalem, next to the Temple (Mk 11:11). Its main protagonist was an anonymous crowd, which walked alongside Christ, waved branches, placed them together with garments on the road and shouted exclamations.

The crowd's exclamations reveal a liturgical undertone. In all four gospels the phrase *Benedictus qui venit*¹⁵ *in nomine Domini* was employed, and in three (excluding Luke) the word *Hosanna* appears.¹⁶ These texts were taken from Psalm 117:25-6 (*Obsecro Domine salva obsecro  obsecro Domine prosperare obsecro, Benedictus qui*

---

¹⁵ In the gospel of Matthew the verb is declined as *venturus est*. Both declinations derive from the Hebrew participle קָנֵה, which can be interpreted both in the past and in the future. The version in Matthew corresponds to the Greek translation of the Psalms, as could be seen in Ps. 117:26 in the Septuagint.

¹⁶ One can find both *Osanna* and *Hosanna* in the sources. Following the *OED*, I preferred the spelling of *Hosanna*.
venit in nomine Domini; Benediximus vobis de domo Domini). 17 This Psalm was central to Jewish liturgy, above all the feasts of Tabernacles and Passover. The proclamation Hosanna was the basis for the liturgy of the seventh day of Tabernacles, which became known as Hosanna Raba – the great Hosanna. 18 The verse Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini was employed at times of pilgrimage to the Temple, such as Passover - the time of Christ’s entry to Jerusalem. It established a connection between Christ’s arrival and pilgrimage, a link acknowledged by medieval exegetes. 19

Liturgy resonated in the non-textual elements described in the narrative. The green boughs or branches (frondes i ramos) held by the crowd and described in John as palm branches (ramos palmarum), had a special appeal for a Jewish audience. In Jewish liturgy, palms were an integral part of Feast of the Tabernacle, when they were carried in a procession to the Temple, and waved repeatedly on the day of Hosanna Raba. 20

The word Hosanna was preserved in transliteration in the Greek of the Gospels, as in the Latin of the Vulgate. Much like other words, such as Amen or Halleluiah, it followed the doxological use according to Bradshaw, in which the words served a liturgical function, which preferred sound to meaning, and hence transliteration to

---

17 Jerome’s translation of the Psalms did not preserve the original Hebrew, but rather translated it as salva obscero.

18 Daniélou, Bible and Liturgy, p. 341.


20 For the ritual connection between palms and the hosanna in Second Temple Jerusalem see the Mishna, Tractate Sukkah 3:9,12; 4:4-5 (Pinechas Kehati (ed.), Mishnayot Mevo’aret (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1998, vol. 4, pp. 40-1, 43, 51-3). This was based on Lev. 23:40 (Sumetisqwe vobis die primo fructus arboris pulcherrimae spatulasque palmarum et ramos ligni densarum frondium et salices de torrente et laetabimini coram Domino Deo vestro). The importance of the joy in this feast (laetari) was reiterated in the joy displayed in the entry (Lk. 19:37 - laudare).
This term was not the only liturgical reference offered to a non-Hebrew speaking audience. The description of Christ's reception by the audience drew upon adventus processions of Late Antiquity, in which a triumphant ruler was welcomed by the citizens of a city. In the Greek and Roman adventus, town dignitaries welcomed the ruler, as a personification of a deity, outside the city walls. They carried branches and palms, cast flowers, burned incense and sacrificed in his honour. This is recorded in narrative accounts and visual images such as adventus coins. The gospel narrative alluded to Adventus processions by the carrying of palms, the meeting-place outside the city walls, chanting of psalms, etc. In the Middle Ages adventus processions were recreated, this time drawing upon the gospel narrative, to commemorate the arrival of secular and spiritual dignitaries.

The gospel narrative supplied a fertile ground for subsequent liturgical creativity, but also retained questions and inconsistencies, which were acknowledged in the emerging liturgy: what was an appropriate place to recreate an event, which had taken place en-route? how was a predominantly Jewish liturgy to become Christian? who might act as the crowd of Jews, who welcomed Christ on his arrival, as opposed to the crowd of Jews, who called for Christ's death only a few days later (Mt. 27:22-4 and parallels)?

---


22 On these processions in conjunction with the gospel narrative and later accounts: Sabine MacCormack, "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus", Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte 21 (1972), pp. 721-52, based on Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina", Art Bulletin 26:4 (December 1944), pp. 207-131. Both articles are centred around Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, and make only halfhazard references to the liturgy of Palm Sunday.


24 Kantorowicz, King's Advent. Below pp. 78.
Some answers to these questions were offered in the Jerusalem liturgy of the fourth century. Under the auspices of the Christian Roman Empire the commemoration of Christ's life was reenacted in the original locations. Egeria, a Spanish pilgrim to the Holy Land in the late fourth century, provides one of the first testimonies of that emerging liturgy.\footnote{Egeria's account of Palm Sunday (parts 30-31) could be found in: A. Franceschini and A. Weber (eds.), \textit{Itineraria et Alia Geographica} (CCSL 175-6), Turnhout 1965, pp. 76-7, alongside an account on the text's reception in the Middle Ages. An English translation is: John Wilkinson (ed. \& trans.), \textit{Egeria's Travels to the holy Land}, Jerusalem 1981. A detailed and up to date analysis is Ora Limor, \textit{Holy Land Travels: Christian Pilgrims in Late Antiquity} (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1998. The text was discovered only in the late 19th Century, and was already referred to in: Feasey, \textit{Palm Sundays}, p. 361.} In her account the liturgy of Palm Sunday was performed at several locations between Mount of Olives and Jerusalem: the day began at the Martyrium (the place of the Crucifixion), where a morning prayer was said, continued at the Church of the Aleona (the cave where Jesus taught his disciples) on Mount of Olives, and ended at the Anastasis (the place of the Resurrection). The beginning and end of the day – the Martyrium and the Anastasis - were parts of the complex that is now the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Crucifixion and Resurrection were thus commemorated, adding an additional layer to the gospel narrative that connected Christ's Entry to subsequent events.\footnote{These events were hinted by the messianic undertones of the gospel narrative, such as the allusion to Zechariah 9:9 in Mt. 21:5 and parallels.}

The bulk of the liturgy was not performed at these sites, but rather during a procession from Mount of Olives to Jerusalem. The procession, which enacted Christ's movement from Mount of Olives to Jerusalem, was at the heart of the ritual, and its transient nature was emphasised by Egeria:

\textit{Et statim levat se episcopus et omnis populus, porro inde de summo monte Oliveti totum pedibus itur. nam totus populus ante ipsum cum <h>ymnis vel antiphonis respondentes semper: 'benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini' (2.31.2).}

The procession recreated the biblical event in proclamations and performance - in chanting of 'benedictus qui venit' and psalms, as well as in the carrying of palm
branches. Like the gospel narrative Egeria did not name the occasion, but simply noted its time (*id est dominica, qua intratur in septimana paschale, quam hic appellant septimana maior*). The common name of Palm Sunday (*Domenica in Palmarum*), had little basis in the New Testament, where palms were mentioned only once. The gospel accounts and Egeria paid little attention to the entry to Jerusalem, another common name for the event, and narrated mostly the events on the way to Jerusalem. The titles later attached to the event endowed it with additional meanings, beyond the gospel text.

Palm Sunday liturgy, which has evolved in the eras following Egeria’s account, spread throughout Christendom. The same texts were used and the significance of the moment of entry rose gradually. Local variations, common in the early Middle Ages, such as the Galican, Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites, constituted a transitional stage, in which local traditions were gradually assimilated into a Catholic liturgy. The elements mentioned hitherto - the conundrums and liturgical traces of the gospel narrative, the need to accommodate a liturgical rite in a new symbolic geography, the connection between Passion and joy, and between civic and ecclesiastical rituals - were also at the core of the complex procession of Palm Sunday in late medieval England.

---


Gates, Processions and Graveyards

Two types of Palm Sunday processions developed in post-conquest England: one was church-centred, where the processions circled a specific church or cathedral (such was frequent in the Sarum Use and in York); and the other town-centred, where the procession entered the town’s gates on the way to a church (as in Hereford and Lincoln). Some variations in the course of the procession were made based on the size of the church, as well as the weather. Correspondingly, the York processional offered two options: *cum autem ad portas urbis vel ostium occidentale ecclesiae perventum fuerit...* When the procession exited a city, it was often done nearby its main church, as in medieval Lincoln, where the procession remained by the Minster, keeping mostly within the close.

The distinction between the two types corresponded to a significant rise in importance of the moment of entry in the liturgy. In the gospels, as in Egeria’s account, the entry to Jerusalem was secondary to the journey from the Mount of Olives to

---

29 There are many editions of Palm Sunday liturgy in the Sarum use. Most of them leave something to be desired. For my work I have used J. W. Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, Oxford 1916 in conjunction with the modern musically-oriented Nick Sandon (ed.), *The Use of Salisbury*, vol. 4: *The Masses and Ceremonies of Holy Week*, Newton Abbot 1996, checked against the following manuscripts: British Library Additional MS 57,534 (Sarum use adapted for a Norwich hospital, see Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital; St Giles’s, Norwich*, c. 1249-1550, Stroud 1999, pp. 119-20); BL Add. MS 35,285; BL Harleian MSS 2911; BL Harley. MS 2941; BL Harley. MS 2942; BL Harley. MS 2945. For Norwich: JBL Tolhurst (ed.), *The Customary of the Cathedral Priory of Norwich ms. 465 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (HBS 82), London 1948, pp. 76-8; Cambridge University Library MS Ee.ii.3; Bodleian Library MS 637 (2024) - probably of Winchester; Bodleian Library Liturgical MS 408 (=add. B20); Bodleian Rawlinson Liturgical MSS e. 47. Similar route is found in: J. B. L. Tolhurst and The Abbess of Stanbrook (eds.), *The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary York vol. 2* (HBS 75 for 1936), London 1937, pp. 264-6.

30 W.G. Henderson (ed.), *Missale ad usum percelbris ecclesiae Herfodensis*, Leeds 1874 (repr. Farnborough 1969); BL Harley. MS 2983, fol. 28. This use was discussed by Bishop, *Holy Week*.

31 An interesting attempt at charting the route of Palm Sunday processions in smaller churches was made by: Feasey, *Holy Week*, p. 63, regretfully with no additional information, rendering it difficult to use.

32 W. G. Henderson (ed.), *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, (Surtees Soc. 59), Durham 1874, p. 84.

Jerusalem. It was stated briefly in Matthew and Mark (Mt 21:10; Mk 11:11), and not mentioned altogether in the accounts of Luke and John. Yet, medieval liturgies accorded the moment of entry a prominent place. Its significance and height were emphasised in liturgical manuscripts: York (supra ostium ecclesiae); Hereford ([portas civitatis] in quarum summitate); Sarum (in loco eminentiori); and various monastic uses. Special attention was given to a suitable preparation of the site: Lanfranc’s Constitutions of c.1070 clearly state that the place of entry should be adorned with well-decorated hangings (Locus vero super introitum portarum honeste debet esse paratus cortinis et dorsalibus). In Lincoln a cloth (palla) was offered as a gift, to be hung from the Bail Gate (Porta Ballii) during Palm Sunday procession.

Liturgical customs were connected to church architecture. In churches and cathedrals where the procession was church-centred, elaborate structures were constructed or utilised for this moment in the liturgy. The text and performance of the gloria laus (below, pp. 73-78), linked liturgy and architecture. Several structures on western portals of churches are identified by Feasey as related to the moment of entry and enabled, in his reckoning, the liturgical activity typical of the moment: the children singing gloria laus from a prominent location. A more conclusive argument is made

34 York (The Augustinian Priory of Gisburne) - BL MS Add. 35,285, fol. 344v (locum excelsiorem); Hereford - Missale Herfordensis, p. 80; BL Harl. MS 2983 fol. 28 (portas civitatis claudantur porte in quarum summitate...); Sarum – BL Harl. MS 2942 fol. 38r; BL Add. MS 57,534 fol. 39v.; Bodl. Misc. Lit. MS 408; Bodl. MS 637. In Barking Abbey a high place was designated as well (in eminentiori loco ultra ostium ecclesie), I. B. L. Tolhurst (ed.), The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey Vol. 1, (HBS 65 for 1926), London 1927, p. 86. Two exceptions for the above location are Lanfranc’s Constitutions, where a vague reference was made to a ‘suitable place’ (loco apto) (The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, David Knowles (ed. & trans.), London 1951; revised edition, Christopher N. L. Brooke (ed.), Oxford 2001, p. 38), and the Norwich use, where there is no indication of place.

35 Lanfranc, Constitutions, p. 38.

36 “Item Domenica palmarum debent preparare sedes canoniconum ubicumque processio fiat et debent pendere pallam ad portam ballii vel alibi ubi cantabitur a pueris Gloria laus” (H. Bradshaw & C. Wordsworth (eds.), Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, vol. i, Cambridge 1892, p. 292). Bradshaw identified the hand of this specific part as AA, the first layer of compilation from the beginning of the 14th century. The text is used by: Spurrell, Procession of Palms, p. 132.

37 Feasey, Palm Sundays, p. 378.
in Carolyn Malone’s detailed analysis of the facade of Wells Cathedral. Based on the liturgy and a survey of the facade, Malone identifies a specific place for the performance at the moment of entry. A hidden passage leading to quatrefoils at the facade enabled boys to sing the *gloria laus* hidden from the eyes of spectators. Moreover, busts of angels, one of them holding a palm, were positioned in front of the quatrefoils, thus enhancing the connection between the song of the angels and that of the children; connecting Christ’s entry to Jerusalem with Heavenly Jerusalem, depicted on the facade. A more cautious approach is taken by Mark Spurrell, who argues against the identification of galleries over the west doors at Salisbury, Kilkenny, Wells and Lichfield cathedrals for the performance of the liturgy. Malone’s later work, although not acknowledging Spurrell’s article, nevertheless renders his argument less conclusive, as the connection between the hidden passage, the symbolism of the angels and the iconography of the facade presents a strong argument in favour of the liturgical use of these components. Spurrell, however, is persuasive in his treatment of the liturgical sources; these do not refer explicitly to such structures, but rather to a more general ‘prominent place’. Other sources, especially visual images, present the prominence of the place of entry, its liturgy and actors.

The place of entry captured the eyes and imagination of contemporaries. Its shape and function were depicted time and again in visual images. One can even trace the rise in the significance of the gate/point of entry in the evolution of Palm Sunday iconography. Earlier visual images, such as the reliefs on fourth-century sarcophagi and images from the early Middle Ages, either depicted the gate in the margins or not at

---


The point of entry gradually came to occupy a prominent place, at the centre of diverse activities. Continental visual images make that clear, and insular iconography even more so. The vast majority of images I have examined, from the late tenth-century Benedictional of St. Aethelwold, to high and late medieval images in manuscripts and on murals, depict a gate as a substantial part of the scene. The centrality of the point of entry is plain to see in a leaf of a psalter from the Benedictine abbey of Chertsey, Surrey, of 1220-30 (figure 1). One can clearly view the importance of the gate: it occupies about a third of the entire image; is depicted with an open door, windows and crenellations; in it are figures, which perform the ritual activities of Palm Sunday - waving branches and throwing flowers. The figures exiting the gate represent the crowd exiting Jerusalem to meet Christ.

Murals from parish churches provide visual testimony of a different nature. Several such images from East Anglia in the beginning of the fourteenth century depict the entry as part of the Passion cycle. These images, although cruder in style, contain

---

40 Schiller, Iconography, pp. 18-23; pl. 2, 31, parallels from the Early Middle Ages: pl. 34-37.

41 BL Add. MS 49,598 fol. 45v, produced in Winchester 971-984.

42 This can be clearly seen from images 1-6; the mid-eleventh century Cotton Psalter (Schiller, Iconography, pl. 39); a c.1200 Oxford Psalter (Kauffmann, Biblical Imagery, pl. 121); the Winchester Psalter (BL Cotton MS Nero C.IV, fol. 19= Kristine Edmondson Haney, The Winchester Psalter: An Iconographic Study, Leicester 1986, image 18); this is also evident in various murals from parish churches (see below n. 44). Exceptions are images describing specific moments in the liturgy (e.g. Glasgow University MS Gen 999, fol. 1, below, p. 52), miniatures, which were too small to depict the common iconography (Francis Cheetham, English Medieval Alabaster, Oxford 1984, pp. 220-1) and the Holkham Bible (W. O. Hassall, The Holkham Bible Picture Book, London 1954, fol. 26), where the iconography was probably influenced from the attempt to accommodate both the Entry and Christ's lamentation (Lk. 19:41-4), thus depicting only the origin and not the destination of Christ's journey.


44 St. Mary, Fairstead (Essex); St Mary the Virgin, Wissington (Suffolk); St Botolph, North Cove (Suffolk); All Saints, Crowstright (Norfolk); St. Mary, West Somerton (Norfolk). The images in these churches are discussed briefly by EW Tristram, English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century, London 1955; Anne Marshall (ed.), Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church: A Developing Catalogue, http://paintedchurch.org/subinx2.htm (accessed 26.07.07). I am grateful to the Central Research Fund of the University of London for a grant enabling the examination of these images, and for Rev. John Hall of Fairstead and Mrs. Aldridge of Crowstright for their assistance.
important information on the perception of Palm Sunday liturgy in late medieval
parishes. Gates occupy a central position in these images, as they do in illuminated manuscripts. In five such murals there is a gate, which serves as the site of liturgical action. At St. Mary, North Cove (Suffolk), the gate and Christ on the horse/ass are the two most prominent features (figure 2). Although this mural is located within the chancel, these features are visible from the nave through the screen. The right- and left-most figures above the gate stretch their arms in salutation while the figure in the middle is hanging a cloth, parallel to the evidence from Lincoln Cathedral. Another figure spreads garments underneath the horse/ass, in accordance with the gospel narrative (Mt. 21:8 and parallels). The centrality of gates to the iconography of Christ's Entry is also visible in a mural from St. Mary, Fairstead (Essex, figure 6). There the artist adjusted the image to accommodate the upper most register of an arc utilising a limited space, which enabled him to depict only the quintessential attributes of Palm Sunday. These were Christ on an ass and a raised structure, which tower-like features (i.e. crenellations), were more prominent than its depiction as a gate. The lack of figures above the structure is due, probably, to the physical constraints.

Medieval liturgy drew upon biblical imagery beyond the gospel narratives in the creation of the moment of entry. Psalm 117, evoked in the gospel narrative, referred to the gates of the Temple within a liturgical and moral context: *Aperite mihi portas iustitiae, ingressus eas confitebor Domino; Haec est porta Domini iusti intrabunt in

---

45 The connection between these visual images and the liturgy is rarely explored, and was remarked upon by Tristram, *English Wall Painting*, p. 82 and by M. D. Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches*, Cambridge 1963, p. 21.

46 Even in murals which were badly preserved, such as at Crostwight and West Somerton, one can clearly identify two plains on which figures were placed - thus hinting at the (no longer extant) existence of a tower or a raised structure.

Priests, well-versed in the Psalter, may have seen the gates not only as exemplifying Christ's entry to Jerusalem, but also as endowing their own entry with a moral context. This is explicit in the liturgical commentaries of Johannes Beleth († after 1165) and Guillelmus Durandus († 1296), who compared Christ's Entry with the Israelites' entry into the Promised Land. This comparison underscored the transition from one state to the other: from wilderness to inhabited land in the Old Testament; and into a state of sinlessness in the Psalms; from cemetery or outskirts into a city or church in the medieval procession.

The point of entry was a key location in the Palm Sunday processional ritual. The form of procession preserved the peripatetic nature of the gospel narrative and replicated the terminology of the Gospel of John (procedere, Jn 12:13b). During the Middle Ages the procession transformed from an unfolding occurrence, to one which was structured around fixed locations, the stations. The notion of stations was foreign to the gospel narrative. A transitory phase was the constitutions of Lanfranc, where the word statio was accompanied by facere, combining stationary and transitory elements. Later liturgical texts referred to stations clearly and repeatedly as nouns: locum stationis (Hereford); in prima statione fiat haec... (York); ad locum primae stationis (Sarum).

---

48 above, n. 19.

49 This is parallel to the analysis of the symbolism of Wells' façade in connection with Palm Sunday processions: Malone, Facade as Spectacle, especially pp. 225-7.

50 Herbert Doutrel (ed.), Johannis Beleth Summa de Ecclesiasticis officiis (CCCM 41A), Turnhout 1976, p. 165 (Cap. 94); A. Davril & T.M. Thibodeau (eds.), Guillelmi Durandi Rationale divinorum officiorum (CCCM 140), Turnhout 1995, p. 324 (iv.67.9). This is presented also in the ordinal of the Abbey of Saint Mary York (Tolhurst, Ordinal, p. 263).

51 This transition can be seen through the prism of archetypical thinking suggested by Mircea Eliade, as a shift from caos to order through the restoration of religious meaning (The Sacred and the Profane, Willard R. Trask (Trans.), Harcourt 1959, pp. 20-59).

52 Lanfranc, Constitutions, pp. 34-41.
The centrality of the moment of entry, the third station in the Sarum Use, with its elaborate liturgy and memorable location, was not shared by all stations of the procession. The liturgy of the day reveals a hierarchy of stations, which is reflected in visual and literary sources. In this hierarchy the first station took a central place. It was the place where the main procession, which represented the gospels' crowd, met with a secondary procession, which stood for Christ. This reenactment of the biblical event was accompanied by a highly developed liturgy. Its place was at the cemetery cross, later known as the Palm Cross, outside the church. This location was made explicit in the 1229 constitutions of William de Bleys, Bishop of Worcester, which linked the stone cross to its use on Palm Sunday:

Cap V. De Coemeterio:
...nulla pars coemeterii aedificiis occupata sit, nisi tempore hostilitatis. Crux decens et honesta, vel in ipso coemeterio erecta, ad quam fiet processio ipso die Palmarum, nisi in alio loco consuevit fieri.

Stone crosses, some still present in churches throughout England, existed long before the Norman Conquest and the introduction of the Palm Sunday procession of the high Middle Ages. They towered over churchyards and served as foci for preaching. These crosses influenced the evolution of post-conquest Palm Sunday processions - the prominent and sacred stone crosses were incorporated into the route of the procession,

53 This was suggested, but not developed, by Spurrell, Procession, p. 126.

54 Thurston, Lent and Holy Week, pp. 208-9.


serving as a local interpretation for the meeting place of Christ and the welcoming crowd in the gospels.

Sacred topography influenced Palm Sunday processions and was, in turn, influenced by it. The location of the first station outside of the church created a liminal sacred space. In 1224 the Dean of Sarum visited the Chapel of St. Nicholas in Earley (Berkshire), and noted a stone oratory, without a baptistery, oils or bells. The only liturgical paraphernalia accounted for was a wooden cross, located in that enclosed area for the performance of Palm Sunday liturgy. This case and a similar one in the neighbouring Chapel of St. Bartholomew, indicate that Palm Sunday procession could endow a site with sacrality, using its liturgy as (failed) means to establish religious authority. Thus it is clear that the course of the procession was key in the liturgy of the day. The gospel narrative of Palm Sunday, taking place on the outskirts of Jerusalem, was reenacted in late medieval England. Pre-existing sacred loci served as a liturgical centre, in which key moments of the procession, such as the meeting of Christ and crowd, were performed. Other moments, such as Christ's entry to Jerusalem, which were secondary in the gospels, were created and emphasised in a combination of paraphernalia, memorable location and liturgical activities. The spatial elements changed the entire nature of the procession, transforming it from a transient occurrence to one which was structured around fixed locations - the stations.

Palms and Books: The Material Culture of Palm Sunday

Palm Sunday liturgy endowed the landscape with a new meaning. It also drew symbolic objects, from palms and branches to gospel books and crosses, into its ambit. The importance of liturgical paraphernalia is attested in the name of the feast - Palm Sunday (Dies Palmarum). The palms used in the medieval liturgy had sometimes little to do with 'real' palms (of the Palmae family). The difficulty of procuring palms led to their replacement by indigenous plants, such as branches of yew and willow (with its catkins). The use of 'indigenous palms' became embedded in the liturgy of Palm Sunday to such an extent that as late as the mid-nineteenth century 'indigenous palms' were still being sold in Covent Garden for Palm Sunday59; even today such plants are used in some parish churches on Palm Sunday.60

'Real' palms were known in late medieval England, as trade enabled a limited influx of palms from the East. A Middle English term - Palmer – described a pilgrim returning from the Holy Land, with a branch of 'real' palm.61 Medieval imagery reflected this mixed reality, showing both 'real' palms and indigenous plants in conjunction with Christ's entry to Jerusalem. The Queen Mary Psalter, produced in London in the early fourteenth century, depicted such an indigenous plant (figure 3).62


60 I witnessed the use of catkins alongside ‘real’ palms in a Palm Sunday procession held on 20 April 2005, in the Abbey church of St. Benedict’s, Ealing Broadway, London. There are various discussions regarding this custom in the pages of Notes and Queries (for example: Notes and Queries (2nd Ser.) 5:124 (May 15 1858), pp. 391-2). More systematic discussion was brought by Herbert Thurston, “Palm’s”, The Month: A Catholic Magazine and Review 86 (April 1896), pp. 373-387. For earlier instances see: Feasey, Holy Week, pp. 59-61; Thurston, Palms, 376-8.

61 See the term 'Palmer' in MED; the OED provides examples going back to the thirteenth century.

In Bodl. MS. Lit. D 42 (presented and discussed below, pp. 75-6), ‘real’ palms are depicted alongside indigenous plants, one carried by the apostle behind Christ while the tree in the scene in clearly not a palm tree.

The variety of branches used on Palm Sunday was consistent with the written evidence. Lanfranc’s Constitutions differentiated between two types: clergy and dignitaries were to be given palms, while parishioners only branches (Accedentes secretarii distribuant ea; palmas abbati et prioribus et personis honestioribus, flores et frondes caeteris). Similarly, the ordinal of St. Mary York decreed that the sacrist was to distribute palms to the clergy and the servants branches to the crowds (Distribuuntur palme a sacrista Abbati, Priori et confratribus, et frondes turbe a servientibus ecclesie). The branches served to identify two distinct classes of participants in the liturgy: dignitaries who were given ‘real’ palms and parishioners and lower clergy, who were handed ‘indigenous palms’. This hierarchy might explain the image of Bodl. Lit. MS. D 42 (figure 5), where an Apostle carries a real palm, and other parishioners touch indigenous branches.

The parallel use of two types of branches was expounded in Durandus’ liturgical commentaries, where a different symbolic meaning was assigned to palms, branches and flowers. A Middle English rendering of Durandus’ commentaries suggests why

---

63 Lanfranc, Constitutions, p. 36; Tolhurst, Ordinal, p. 264.
64 Durandus, Rationale, vi.67.9 (Davril ed., 140A p. 324).
were indigenous plants still referred to as palms. By bringing two parallel versions - in Latin for the clergy and in Middle English for the laity - it reveals two types of interpretation. The Latin section followed Durandus to the letter in distinguishing between the various kinds of branches. The Middle English account, however, described all branches as palms, assigning to them the symbolic meaning of victory over the devil. Although clergy and educated laymen were expected to distinguish between palms and branches, most of the laity was informed that the variety of plants used on Palm Sunday were palms.

Blessed palms (real or indigenous) were sometimes kept after the procession, as they were considered to possess magical powers. Durandus' own view of palms as a sign of victory over the devil associated them with supernatural powers, and corresponded to the liturgy in which the palms were blessed:

> Exorcizo te creatura florum vel frondium... Proinde omnis virtus adversarii omnis exercitus diaboli omnis incursio demonum eradicare et explantare ab hac creatura florum et frondium. ut ad deum gratiam festinantium vestigia non sequaris. per eum qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem. Amen.

This blessing assigned to palms and branches a role in the struggle between God and the devil and eradicated all traces of the latter in them. The liturgy and its commentaries suggest that the use of liturgical paraphernalia in personal devotion was part and parcel of orthodox practice, shared by clergy and laymen.

The blessing and distribution of palms influenced medieval depictions of the biblical event. The ritual took place early on the day and engaged priests and laity alike: the priest blessed and distributed the palms, while members of the audience

---

65 The text is supplied and analysed below, pp. 67-72.

66 Thurston, Palms, p. 383.

67 Following the Sarum use - Sandon, Sarum, p. 3.
received, held and waved them throughout the procession, reenacting the gospel narrative in action and object. During the distribution of palms two antiphons were chanted, common in insular and continental uses:

\[\textit{Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes ramos olivarum, obviaverunt domino clamantes: Osanna in excelsis}\]

\[\textit{Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta prosternebant in via et clamabant dicentes: Osanna filio David; Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini}\]

The antiphons assign important role to children: they carry branches, call out or lay garments on the road. This was not part of the gospel narrative, but rather an outgrowth from the subsequent episode, in which Christ was welcomed by children as he entered the Temple (...et pueros clamantes in templo et dicentes osanna Filio David (Mt. 21:15b and parallels)). Although the children were rife in text, they were not part of the ritual. Unlike the \textit{Gloria laus}, when the children were the actors, it was the clergy, which blessed and distributed the palms. Yet children appear as actively distributing palms in figure 4, which accompanies the antiphons in a gradual of the late-fourteenth or early-fifteenth century.

In this image the ritual unfolds not at the gate, but by the trees. The children distribute the branches to parishioners with outstretched arms. An episode which was not mentioned at all in the gospel narrative, was thus expanded in the liturgy, and in turn influenced medieval visualisation of the biblical scene.


\[\textit{69 As can be seen from the ordinal of St. Mary York (Tollhurst, \textit{Ordinal}, p. 264).}\]

\[\textit{70 Glasgow University MS Gen 999, fol. 1. Similar image can be seen from the early fourteenth century Sienna, see Schiller, \textit{Iconography}, figure 49 (present also on: http://gallery.euroweb.hu/html/d/duccio/buonisime/maesta/verso_1/verso01.html (accessed 26.07.07)).}\]

\[\textit{71 This echoes a tradition, brought in Petrus Diaconus's twelfth century treatise on the Holy Land, which identified a tree in the valley of Jehosafat, from where the children had taken palms, shouting \textit{Ihosanna} (Franceschini, \textit{Itineraria} p. 96).}\]
Palms defined the day, but other objects - consecrated host, cross and relics - were also carried in the procession. A secondary procession represented Christ through a cross, textus, relics, and a consecrated host, carried by clerks. The role of the consecrated host was unique to insular liturgy and was central to the representation of Christ. Other objects were mere symbols of Christ: the textus - his words; the cross - the Crucifixion; the relics manifested Christ’s actions in the world. Yet the host, following transubstantiation, was Christ himself - not a representation, but a reality.\textsuperscript{72}

Lanfranc’s Constitutions specifies that textus was to be carried in the secondary procession by two subdeacons.\textsuperscript{73} The exact nature and liturgical function of this book


\textsuperscript{73} Lanfranc, \textit{constitutions}, p. 36.
will be discussed below; for now it is important to note how the authority of the Bible extended beyond its narratives to the book in which it was contained. It was the *textus'* symbolic nature, rather than functionality, which determined its place in the procession: the lesson of the day (Mt. 21:1-9) was read *prior* to the arrival of the secondary procession, which carried the *textus*. The authority of the book is attested in other moments in the procession. In a Middle English speech of Caiphas the book served as a source of authority in the performance of the prophet. Books and scrolls appear in visual images of Palm Sunday, such as the scrolls in mid fifteenth-century alabaster carvings and in early sixteenth-century stained glass images of the Entry to Jerusalem. Yet, one should be wary of ascribing the audience a full understanding of the role of objects. A sixteenth-century account, written by Roger Martin, a churchwarden, reflected on Palm Sunday thus: "A boy [standing on a turret] with a thing at his hand pointed to it, signifying a prophet as I think".

Few references to public attitudes toward liturgical paraphernalia have survived in liturgical manuscripts. Two Sarum processionals digress from a description of the first station to refer to the cross, which was carried in the procession:

*Nota quod ad nullam crucem imponunt flores vel frondes in die palmarum apud Sarum, ne videbantur parare crucem. Sed nam si ista crucis adoratio post passionem lectam esset facta, videretur satis congrue fieri... Et si aliquis opponendo dicat quare adoramus denuodam crucem in introitu ecclesie ante passionem lectam. Respondendum est, quod non crucem sed ipsum crucifixum adoramus, quod evidentur per antiphonam 'Ave rex noster'.*

Here are two conflicting liturgical customs. One is a tradition of adorning the cross, carried in the procession, with flowers and branches. This corresponds to the extensive

---

74 'Chapter 2: The Material Culture of Gospel Books - Liturgy and Law'
75 Francis Cheetham, *Medieval English Alabaster Carvings in the Castle Museum*, Nottingham 1973, pp. 28-9; stained glass from Fairford church, above, n. 47; Caiphas, below, pp. 67-72.
76 William Parker, *The History of Long Melford*, London 1873, p. 72
77 British Library, Additional MS 57,534, fol. 38v, copied in BL Harleian MS 2942, fol. 37r.
use of flowers and branched throughout the day. The tradition was opposed by some who saw in it a contradiction between adornment and the Passion and Agony.\textsuperscript{78} Some processionals included a discussion of this custom, questioning the timing and nature of the adoration with flowers. The use of liturgical reasoning suggests that members of the clergy disagreed, and it reveals an inner tension within Palm Sunday: between the joy of welcoming Christ and the Passion that loomed over Christ’s arrival in Jerusalem. It manifests how liturgical paraphernalia shaped popular and educated notions of Palm Sunday, to become an integral part of the liturgy of the day.

\textsuperscript{78} The tension between the joy of Palm Sunday and the sorrow of the Passion was narrated in a Palm Sunday sermon (preached at Newcastle 1435), alluding to Prov. 14:13a (\textit{Ritus dolore miscetitur}): Siegfried Wenzel, \textit{Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif} (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 53), Cambridge 2005, p. 295.
Hosanna and Liturgical Texts

Liturgy is a textual and oral experience and most extant sources have preserved words and tunes. An analysis of liturgical texts, with their performative and musical strata, reveals that not all texts carried the same weight. A single word stands out in biblical and liturgical accounts of Palm Sunday, and is almost interchangeable with it - Hosanna. The word originates in the Hebrew petition חֲסָדֵי - save us we pray - transliterated in the Gospels, both Greek and Latin. The centrality of this word is revealed in late medieval liturgical texts. In Palm Sunday processions of the Sarum Use, Hosanna was the most frequent liturgical word: it appears twice in the gospel lessons, and seventeen times in antiphons and responsories, interspersed throughout every key moment of the procession. The word Hosanna also plays a prominent part in the central processional hymn - the gloria laus - repeated four times in the recurring versicle.

The word Hosanna was not only sung at all key moments of the liturgy, but was emphasized by its music. In antiphons such as ante sex dies solemnitatis and ante sex dies passionis the word Hosanna was sung in an elaborated melisma around the last syllable of the word (hosanna) against the background of a mainly syllabic tune, as can be seen from a modern rendering of the medieval notations (note 1). One can identify the similarities in the two instances in which the Hosanna appeared in the antiphon. These were clearly the two most elaborate melismas of the antiphon, emphasising the

---


80 This is true both for uses which repeated the entire verse, starting with gloria laus (such as Sarum), and also for those who repeated only its second part - cul puere decus prompsit osanna pium (such as York).

81 This notation is characteristic of both Sarum and York Uses. The notation is taken from Sandon, Sarum, p. 9.
last syllable of the word, differing from the less elaborate melisma of the first *dominus*
(which expands the penultimate syllable).

The centrality of *Hosanna* is evident also in Middle English texts. The Story of the Three Cocks from the Middle English *Gesta Romanorum* retold the events of Palm Sunday: as the audience followed Christ into Jerusalem, they cried: “Osanna filio dauid! benedictus qui venit in nomine domini! Pe sone of dauid make vs safe! blessid be he that comybe in the name of the lord”.\(^2\) Palm Sunday was encapsulated in the *hosanna*.\(^3\) The audience recognised the word’s sound even though it may not have been familiar with its meaning, narrated in the following translation.

\(^2\) Sidney J.H. Herrtage (ed.), *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, London 1879, p. 178. In the 2\(^{nd}\) version only an abridged English version was brought.

\(^3\) The other common catch-phrase – ‘Benedictus qui venit’ will be discussed below 77ff.
Similar patterns appear in the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*, extant in manuscripts from the fourteenth century. In a dialogue between Pilate and the Jews the *Hosanna* appears alongside its translation: "‘Osanna’, quod pilate, ‘what es ḫat forto say?’ ḫai said, ‘it menes algate, Lord, saue vs, we ḫe pray’". Sunday was not the sole occasion in which the word *Hosanna* was chanted in the liturgy. Far from it. It was a sung in the *Sanctus* of the Ordinary of the Mass, one of the most celebrated liturgical texts. Yet it was most closely related with the liturgy of Palm Sunday.

Some Middle English texts attest to the reception of Palm Sunday liturgy at large. The Vision of Piers Plowman, composed in three distinct revisions at the second half of the fourteenth century, has been studied as a source for late medieval liturgy, and supplies an account for the reception of Palm Sunday liturgy. The eighteenth passus of the work is structured as a dream vision. It narrates the events of Holy Week and ends with the dreamer awaken to the bells of Easter Sunday. The vision commences at the end of Lent and Palm Sunday, which is described as: ‘*Of gerlis and of gloria, laus*

---


Pilate: Nowe gode sir, be thi feith, what is ‘Osanna’ to saie?

Bedellus: Sir, constrew it we may be langage of this lande as I leue,

It is als moche to me for to meue-

Youre prelatis in this place can it preue-

Ais, ‘oure sauiour and souerayne thou saue vs we praye’.

85 David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford 1993, pp. 161-165. In the various melodies of this chant the Hosanna is sung syllabically or in inferior melismas.

86 For the revisions and their time: Ralph Hanna III, “On the Versions of Piers Plowman”, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and their Texts*, ibid., Stanford 1996, pp. 203-243. There are several works on the liturgical references in the work, the most relevant for the current study is Bruce Harbert’s analysis of the connection between Piers Plowman and the liturgy of Easter Friday (“Langland’s Easter”, *Langland, the Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition: Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey*, Helen Phillips (ed.), Cambridge 1990, pp. 57-70), concluding that the triumphal tone set by the Palm Sunday narrative is dominating the entire passus, recreating an ancient, glorified view of the Passion. Langland’s acquaintance with, and dependence upon the Sarum use was established by: Robert Adams, “Langland and the Liturgy Revisited”, *Studies in Philology* 73:3 (July 1976), pp. 266-284. A more cautious view in regards to the use of liturgical quotations in the work is advocated by: John A. Alford, *Piers Plowman: A Guide to the Quotations*, Binghamton 1992, pp. 20-1. However, Alford does not apply this cautious view to his study of the quotations themselves, and his differentiation between biblical and liturgical quotations and disregard to performative references weakens his argument.
gretly me dremed.' [Passus 18 line 7]. This short reference to Palm Sunday is liturgically saturated, combining both textual and performative elements. The children are firmly connected to the text they sing, the gloria laus, at the moment of entry. This mirrors the centrality of children in visual images of Palm Sunday. The text continues in a like manner: 'And how osanna by organye olde folk songen' [18:8]. The Hosanna is intertwined with an identification of its performers (olde folk – in contrast with the above-mentioned children) and its musical performance - 'organye'. This uncommon word is difficult to understand in this context, and scholars have argued as to its exact meaning, either a musical instrument or harmonized singing. Both interpretations are dependant on the performance of the liturgy and lack any biblical grounding. Accordingly, in the term Hosanna the text referred to the liturgical act of singing the Hosanna in Palm Sunday liturgy. The biblical account was subordinated to its liturgical performance, attesting to the power of liturgy as a mediator of the Bible.

In Piers Plowman, a synthesis between liturgical and biblical events was established. Faith and the Jews of Jerusalem welcomed Christ with 'At Fili David!' (similar to Osanna Filio David of Mt. 21:9) and 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine

---


89 For the problems in defining this word see 'organie' in the MED. Walter W. Skeat (ed.), The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman in Three Parallel Texts together with Richard the Redeless, London 1886, repr. Oxford 1969, pp. 248-9, N.2, supports the identification of orgnye as a musical instrument. Miceál Vaughan ("The Liturgical Perspectives of Piers Plowman, B, XVI-XIX", Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History NS 3 (1980), pp. 87-155 (p. 127, n.65)) objects to this opinion, taking orgnye to mean harmonized part-singing. Based on the Sarum liturgy, it is possible to see that most of the instances the Hosanna was sung occurred within the church. The only instances appearing after the gloria laus are those taking part after the third station – already inside the church, with the possibility of using a musical instrument. Moreover, only part of the Sarum Use was written as organum – to be sung in two voices. Therefore, I am more inclined to prefer the identification of organum as a musical instrument.

90 Following the footpath of the MED, 'Osanna'.
Domini'. These biblical allusions occurred at a moment, which is negligible in the Gospels but prominent in the liturgy – Christ's entry to Jerusalem. The end of this account used contemporary chivalric vocabulary in connecting biblical events and medieval reality: Christ was likened to a knight who had come to be dubbed in Jerusalem, receiving spurs in an allusion to the Passion ([Withouten spores other spere; spakliche he loked; As is the kynde of a knyght that cometh to be dubbed; To geten hym gilte spores on galoches ycouped. [18:12-14]). This analogy followed the tendency of Gospels and liturgy to connect Palm Sunday to Passion and Resurrection.

These Middle English examples demonstrate how biblical and extra-biblical sources became intertwined in the liturgy. Similarly, liturgical manuscripts distinguished between texts and instructions (by rubricating the latter), but not between biblical and extra-biblical texts. Nor was there any distinction in the performance of the ritual, as no specific gestures, characters or melodies separated one from the other. As a result, one cannot easily distinguish between a purely biblical text, modifications of a biblical text, or external passages. Editors of modern editions of liturgical books have refrained from tracing and identifying all biblical quotations and paraphrases, apart from placing direct quotations in italics. Such a task would inevitably complicate the structure of critical editions of liturgical texts almost beyond recognition; it would also go against the grain of liturgical texts. Any distinction between biblical language and later additions seems artificial in a liturgical setting. A detailed analysis of liturgical

---

91 This excludes biblical manuscripts, which were used in liturgical settings. However, as these books described only part of the liturgy, and were gradually replaced by missals and processions, they were the exception rather than the rule.

92 Thus, Bradshaw's distinction between biblical integration in the liturgy (Use of Bible in Liturgy) is a useful theoretical construct rather than a mirror of medieval (or modern) liturgical practice.

93 For example, the recent edition of: Nicholas Orchard (ed.), The Leofric Missal, (HBS 113-4) London 2002.
texts would even suggest that a conscious act of blurring the distinction between the two was at play.

An examination of six antiphons and versicles of the first station, compared with the biblical text, establishes the connection between biblical and extra-biblical elements. These antiphons and versicle constitute a unit, which bridges the gospel lesson of the first station and the arrival of the secondary procession. From the musical perspective these versicles and antiphons also comprise a single unit.94 typically of antiphons, they all centre on the D note (the Dorian mode), with B flat (note 2).95

V. Hic est qui de Edom

\begin{music}
\begin{musicnote}
\normalfont{V. Hic est qui de Edom venit in citis Bos-ra vestibus, In sto-la su-a for-mo-sus,}
\end{musicnote}
\end{music}

\begin{music}
\begin{musicnote}
\normalfont{gra-di-ens vir-tu-ti-bus, Non in e-quis bel-li-co-si nec in al-tis cur-ri-bus.}
\end{musicnote}
\end{music}

\begin{music}
\begin{musicnote}
\normalfont{A. Salve lux mundi, * rex re-gum, glo-ri-a ce-li, Cu-i ma-net im-pe-
\end{musicnote}
\end{music}

\begin{music}
\begin{musicnote}
\normalfont{ri-um, laus et de-cus, hic et in e-vum.}
\end{musicnote}
\end{music}

Note 2: Hic est qui de Edom (Versicle) and Salve lux mundi (Antiphon)


95 The validity of using the musical dimension in establishing a textual/performative unity is attested also from comparing later, dissimilar pieces – the prophecies of the boy prophet - which are clearly another element performatively, textually and musically (lacking the B flat). For the tones and nature of antiphons and versicles: Hiley, Western Plainchant, pp. 88-99. The notes are taken from Sandon, Sarum, p.11.
Structural similarities between the three antiphons are evident: they start with *salve*; were begun by the officiant, who carried the first two words, and then picked up by the choir. The opening part of the three antiphons is melodically similar: it begins on B flat, descends to F, and rises up again, with the choir picking up either at B flat or at the C above it. The musical and performative unity of the antiphons is complemented by a common theme of praise and petition. The versicles interspersed between them share a performative form as well; they were sung by three clerks. Moreover, two of the versicles begin with the exact same words - *hic est*. In order to analyze the biblical and liturgical elements of these texts, the words shared by the liturgy and the Bible would be in bold typeset.

The first versicle follows the preceding gospel lesson closely:

**V1.** En rex venit mansuetus tibi Syon filia mistica humilis sedens super animalia quem venturum iam predixit lectio *prophetica*.

The reiteration of the gospel lesson, chanted previously, drew on Mt. 21:5 (*Hoc autem factum est ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem; Dicite filiae Sion: Ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus, et sedens super asinam et pullum filium subiugalis*). Here is a clear paraphrase of the Gospel, when the central sense of the scripture – Christ's entry as a fulfillment of a prophecy - is preserved by word repetition: *prophetica, Syon, rex venit*, etc. The term 'lectio' appears in the versicle and not in the original gospel narrative, possibly echoing the liturgical term of the lesson. If so, it equates the liturgical lesson, which reiterates the biblical text, and the text of the New Testament, which relies upon the prophecy of Zechariah.
A1. Salve quem Ihesum testatur plebs hebreorum obvia cum palmis tibi clamans verba salutis

This antiphon follows the previous versicle in emphasizing a prophetic mood through the use of testatur. It also narrates the events of the gospel, without following closely any specific gospel reading. It transmits the sense Christ’s meeting with the crowd by using words denoting the intermediacy of the road (obvia), the receiving crowds (though preferring the general plebs hebreorum to the pueri hebreorum of the distribution of palms), the carried palms (palmis) and importantly - shouting words of salutation. Interestingly, the acclamations themselves – Hosanna, gloria and benedictus qui venit - are only described generically as verba salutis. These ‘words of salutation’ are expanded in the next antiphon in word and structure.

The next versicle diverges from the Gospel narrative to present an important biblical allusion. Its first half seems to follow the biblical text closely, but later digresses from it, in favour of the imagery of Palm Sunday:

V2. Hic est qui de Edom venit tinctis bosra vestibus in stola sua formosus gradiens virtutibus non in equis bellicosis nec in altis curribus.

This versicle relies heavily on the messianic tone of Isaiah 63, which beginning it shares: Quis est iste, qui venit de Edom, tinctis vestibus de Bosra? Iste formosus in stola sua, gradiens in multitudine fortitudinis suæ? Ego qui loquor justitiam, et propugnator sum ad salvandum (Isa. 63:1).96 Minor alterations simplified the biblical text while retaining its most identifiable features: the rhetorical question implied in quis was altered to hic, thereby avoiding the suggestion of dialogue; the preposition de before Bosra was erased, following the obscurity of the Hebrew word.

The second part of the versicle does not follow Isaiah so closely. It describes the simplicity of God who uses neither horses nor carriages. It corresponds with the singularity of God's acts: Torcular calcavi solus, et de gentibus non est vir mecum... (Isa. 63:3); Circumspexi, et non erat auxiliator; quaesivi, et non fuit qui adjuvaret... (Isa. 63:5). The literary device utilised in the antiphon - defining God through unfavourable attributes - is frequent in the Bible and Christian mysticism. 97

The change in the biblical text suppresses the original messianic and apocalyptic tone of Isaiah. It juxtaposes Christ on the ass with the adjectives of the horse and carriage, drawing attention to His divine humility in accordance with later parts of the liturgy. 98 The versicle mirrors the use of Zechariah - with its own apocalyptic undertones - in the Synoptic Gospels, where divinity and humility were juxtaposed. A residue of Isaiah's apocalyptic tone remains in the obscure adjective tinctis, with the original meaning of blood saturated clothes lost in the new context. Distinct words (Edom, tinctis, bosra etc.) enabled only a well-versed audience to appreciate the biblical allusion. Such an audience might have known of the connection between the blood-stained garments and the Passion; exegetes placed this question in the mouth of an Angel, who marvelled at Christ's appearance upon his return to Heaven in the garments


98 The concluding antiphon in the Sarum Use: "...ad imitandum humilitatis exemplum..."
of his Passion.\textsuperscript{99} The parallel between Christ’s torments and blood-drenched cloths was depicted also in numerous visual images.\textsuperscript{100}

A2. \textit{Salve lux mundi, rex regum gloria celi cui manet imperium laus et decus hic et in evum.}

This antiphon, like the other two of this station, follows a fixed melody and opens with the word \textit{Salve}, sung by the officiant, and answered by the choir. Yet, it introduces the use of the second rather than the third person, utilising direct speech in a petition for divine assistance. Using Bradshaw’s classification of biblical readings, mentioned above, this antiphon constitutes a shift towards a doxological function.\textsuperscript{101} It employs common biblical attributes to Christ and God (\textit{Ego sum lux mundi} (Jn. 8:12); \textit{Tu rex regum es: et Deus cæli regnum, et fortitudinem, et imperium, et gloriām dedit tibi} (Dan. 2:37)) and expands on the \textit{verba salutis} of the previous versicle. Thus it draws a parallel between the symbolic audience - the choir - and the people receiving Christ on his way to Jerusalem. It does so by alluding to other liturgical instances of Palm Sunday - \textit{gloria, laus et decus} - chanted in the following station. The composer of the versicle assumes an audience’s acquaintance with later parts of the liturgy, to which he briefly alludes. Accordingly, one can find not only biblical allusions in the liturgy, but also references to the liturgy itself, weaving a web of internal allusions within the liturgical rite.


\textsuperscript{100} For a detailed account of visual and textual representations of the wine-press, Isaiah 63 and the Passion in Northern Europe: James H. Marrow, \textit{Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative}, Kotriijk 1979, pp. 50-2, 83-94.

\textsuperscript{101} Although previous texts cannot be seen as simply supplying a kerygmatic/anamnetic function (Bradshaw, \textit{Use of Bible in Liturgy}).
V3. Hic est ille qui ut agnus insons morti traditur mors mortis inferni morsu morte
donans vivere ut quondam beati vates promiserunt prophetice.

Although it refers directly to the previous versicle (opening with *hic est*, and concluding
with *prophetice*), this versicle introduces a new theme and a new melody. Starting with
a melisma, it retains a less syllabic tone throughout. It serves to emphasise the new
theme of death, presented in a recurring use of the word death (*mors*), which appears
four times within this short versicle. It builds upon an apocryphal text, the Harrowing
of Hell, found in the Gospel of Nicodemus\textsuperscript{102}, while retaining Christ's image as the
Lamb of God (Jn. 1:29b: *Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi*). The
Harrowing of Hell and the centrality of death are linked through the wording of the
liturgy to the time and space of Palm Sunday: the Palm Sunday procession marked the
beginning of Holy Week, which encompassed the Crucifixion and Resurrection - when
the Harrowing of Hell took place.\textsuperscript{103} The space in which these liturgical texts were sung
adds another layer of meaning to their performance. In this moment the procession
stood by the stone cross in the cemetery, surrounded by tangible manifestations of
death.

A3. Salve nostra salus. Pax vera redemptio virtus ultra qui mortis pro nobis iura
subisti.

The concluding antiphon combines elements from previous antiphons and versicles:
beginning with the familiar *salve*, it incorporates supplicatory elements. Using the
theme of redemption, it links the rogation of the previous antiphon with the image of

\textsuperscript{102} Hulme, *Harrowing of Hell*.

\textsuperscript{103} The connection between the Harrowing of Hell and Palm Sunday became evident in a custom, which is
documented in the fifteenth century, in which the priest knocked on the door of the church with the
processional cross, in imitation of Christ's knock on Hell's gates (Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, p. 25).
death of the preceding versicle, preserving structural elements common to all antiphons and serving as a coda to the sequence.

The antiphons and versicles were complemented by the non-textual aspects of the procession. One cannot assume an audience's familiarity with all chanted texts; and the immediate association invoked by 'Hic est qui de Edom venit' would have evaded even some clerical audiences. However, the antiphons and versicles were performed just before the arrival of the secondary procession, with its variety of liturgical paraphernalia representing Christ. These antiphons and versicles were sung by the community as it represented the crowd of Jews awaiting Christ in the secondary procession. Moreover, as the procession stood in the churchyard, the community joined the dead in their graves, awaiting Christ, who was to raise them from their tombs. In this moment, past, present and future merged into a singular liturgical reality: in the past - the procession reenacted a biblical scene from the life of Christ; in the present - it awaited Christ’s immanent arrival with the host and the secondary procession; in an eschatological future - it anticipated the second coming of Christ, surrounded by graves.
Caiphas the Prophet: A Para-Liturgical Moment

The texts analysed thus far were chanted in Latin and have survived in liturgical manuscripts. The ability of the laity to decipher their symbolism was, at best, partial. Liturgical manuscripts preserved texts and instruction for the use of the clergy, but a unique document records a moment in the procession - the speech of Caiphas - in which the boundaries between liturgy and vernacular address collapsed. The speech took part in the first station, and predates a similar performance by boy prophets, which is narrated in liturgical manuscripts of the fifteenth century. This early fourteen-century account has survived in a manuscript of miscellaneous Latin treaties (British Library Sloane MS 2478, fols. 43a-44b). It was printed by Carleton Brown alongside an analysis of its South-West Middle English dialect; he assigns the text to a secular cathedral, probably Wells Cathedral. The speech engaged two audiences simultaneously. Most of its address was in Middle English; some parts of the speech were recorded in Latin, addressing the clergy with complex liturgical commentaries.

Caiphas’ speech provides evidence for a vernacular performance that combined humor with theological instructions. The speech employs rhetorical devices which rendered it most suitable for an oral performance. It is written in short repetitive lines


106 Carleton Brown, “Caliphas as a Palm Sunday Prophet”, Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge, Boston 1913, pp. 105-17. Parts of the speech were brought by Thomas Wright (Reliquae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language, vol. II, London 1843, pp. 241-5). This text has drawn little attention of subsequent researchers, and was mentioned by Erler, Palm Sunday, p. 71.
and retains a clear rhyming pattern of \textit{aabecb} throughout.\textsuperscript{107} The performative nature of the text is manifested in the use of second and first person. Furthermore, throughout the poem continuous references are made to the act of liturgical performance, later to be revealed as Palm Sunday procession:

\begin{verbatim}
Py stondep a stounde and blowep brep
And Yf icham as Yee soep
Ichulle bere me bolde
And synge You sone a lytel song
Ha schal boe schort and noping long
Pat raper ichadd y-tolde. (ll. 13-18).\textsuperscript{108}
\end{verbatim}

This extract shows the performer’s self-awareness as he engaged in dialogue with the audience about the length of his performance. He addressed a question rarely acknowledged in liturgical performances, that of boredom.\textsuperscript{109} The performer was well aware of the risk of boring his audience, and began his address by assuring his audience that he would be brief. The poem is frequently casual and even comic, as the performer did not hesitate to refer to himself light-heartedly. Towards its end, while he searched for his book, he expressed fears that he might not remember his speech by heart, alluding to the authority of the book:

\begin{verbatim}
Ich moste synge & ba go
Schewe me pe bok h\textsuperscript{4} f haddydo
Pe song schal wel an heyY
Ich may noYtsynge hym al bi rote... (ll. 145-8)
\end{verbatim}

The performance began with the identity of the performer:

\begin{verbatim}
So icham my sulf al so
Ich bysschop Cayface
Ich moste her sone synge
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{107} This corresponds also to the layout of the manuscript, emphasising every third line (rhyme b).

\textsuperscript{108} All texts and line numbers are taken from Brown’s edition, after examining it against the manuscript.

\textsuperscript{109} This was well-known to preachers, who valued brevity: Helen L. Spencer, \textit{English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages}, Oxford 1993, p. 92.
Caiphas was a prophet and his role was reinforced by an immediate link to the divine - 'heuene kynge' and grace.

Next follows a brief account of Caiphas in the Gospels, based on the detailed narrative of John. Caiphas’ role as a High Priest in the time of the Crucifixion is expounded upon, with his prophecy of Christ’s life after death:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ich was bysschop of he lawe} \\
\text{P' Yerp’ crist for You was slawe} \\
\text{Ye mowe boe glade perfore} \\
\text{Hit com to sope p' ich po seyde} \\
\text{Betere hit were p' o man deyde} \\
\text{Pan al uolk were y-lore.} \quad (\text{ll. 29-24})
\end{align*}
\]

The speech reiterates both the gospel narrative and the antiphon \textit{Unus autem} of the third station\textsuperscript{10}, supplying an English translation of a future moment in the liturgy. The remainder of the speech diverges from the gospel narrative and develops its own theological message.\textsuperscript{11}

Following the introduction of Caiphas, the manuscript presents a Latin interlude that begins with a short rhymed appeal to the dean. This address combines comic elements in the juxtaposition of biblical and liturgical language:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O Decane reuerende} \\
\text{In adiutorium meum intende} \\
\text{Ad informandum hic astantes} \\
\text{Michi scitis fautorante} \\
\text{Si placet bone domine} \\
\text{Iube benedicere.} \quad (\text{Latin Section, ll. 1-6})
\end{align*}
\]

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Unus autem ex ipsis Caiphas nomine cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetavit dicens expedit vobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo et non tota gens peregat ab illo ergo die cogitaverunt interficere eum dicentes ne forte veniant Romani et tollent nostrum locum et gentem.}

\textsuperscript{11} The gospel-centered address (from the beginning to the Latin) comprises of 36 lines, whereas the Following part (from after the Latin address until the end of the speech) is about four times longer, comprising of 126 lines.
This appeal uses divine attributes. It beseeches the dean to show his mercy on the performer and to inform the audience on his topic.\textsuperscript{112} It invokes Ps. 69:2 (\textit{Deus in adiutorium meum intende...}), used in the office of Matins, where the versicle and response \textit{Deus in adiutorium meum intende; Domine ad adivandum me festina} were chanted daily.\textsuperscript{113} Another allusion was to the Ordinary of the Mass, where the deacon asked for the officiant's blessing prior to the gospel lesson in the words: \textit{Iube, domine, benedicere.}\textsuperscript{114} Thus, the performer used biblical and liturgical allusions to ask for the Dean's favour, comically bridging the gap between high language and a mundane request.

The rhymed address is followed by a Latin prose section that provides allegorical interpretation of Palm Sunday procession, addressed to the clergy (opening with \textit{Karissimi}), and taken verbatim from the liturgical commentaries of Durandus.\textsuperscript{115} A comparison with the commentaries allows me to correct Brown's punctuation and, more importantly, to recover the lacuna in the text.\textsuperscript{116}

The juxtaposition of Latin and Middle English sheds light on the ways in which Palm Sunday liturgy was explained to clerical and lay audiences. The speech aims at explaining the same liturgical event and ascribes devotional importance to objects and gestures of Palm Sunday procession. While the Latin address succinctly lists the

\textsuperscript{112} The stanza's grammar is lacking, but should be seen in conjunction with the rhyming and rhythm of the stanza. However, following the possibility of an insertion of the following text, we cannot overrule the possibility of a continuation, which was lost.


\textsuperscript{115} Durandus, \textit{Rationale}, vi.67 (Davril ed. pp. 321-7).

\textsuperscript{116} The lacuna is on fol. 43v and comprises of Durandus, \textit{Rationale}, vi.67.8. The spelling alteration applies to the essence of various liturgical paraphernalia, Brown, \textit{Caiphas}, p. 107.
physical attributes of the procession in conjunction with their typological interpretation (e.g. carrying green flowers and branches for vigour; carrying palms for victory over the devil, etc.), the vernacular address omits most of this information, to expand only upon carrying branches of palm.

Carrying palms was seen as a didactic device. It assisted in the recreation of the biblical scene and instructed the audience by reminding it of the need for repentance. This is explicit at the beginning of the poem (*All Yee Schulleb beo þe bet* (l. 2)), and is further expanded in the second part: sin was to be fought from baptism (ll. 67-72) through a daily struggle against temptation. The soul is likened to a house, into which Christ should be welcomed (ll. 73-96). This was, Caiphas explains, the essence of Palm Sunday procession:

& hwanne Ye habbeþ ouercome þanne voend
þanne y-metþ cryst Your froend
Wyþ palm and bowes grene
Pat ys a token; þat alle & some
Habbeþ þe deueles al ouercome
Ham to sorwe and toene. (ll. 97-102)

This simplification of Durandus’ commentary condenses all his allegorical devices to a single aim - victory over the Devil.

A description of the biblical events using liturgical imagery follows and assigns a prominent place to the children:

* Nou Yee þi bereþ palm an honde ...  
* As dude þe children of þolde lawe  
* Yyf Ye hym louede Ye scholde wel vawe  
* Boe by tyne schryuwe. (ll. 127-132)
The audience was treated as a distinct community. Its preparation through confession and participation in waving palms and singing was central to the performance of the liturgy.¹¹⁷ Caiphas's speech ends with the words:

\begin{verbatim}
Nou gave hom hit is fordays
Lengere ne tyd You here no pays
Pe belle wol sone rynge
Dop so h' ich cunne You honkes
Wyb bordoun hauteyn menamonkes
Lat me hure You synge. (ll. 157-162)
\end{verbatim}

Bells rang at the end of the ritual and the audience was tired. A song in soprano (hauteyn), probably the gloria laus, was accompanied by the bass (bordoun, also snoring) of the performer. Here, again in a comical way, a core musical moment of the liturgy - the singing of the Gloria Laus by the children - was depicted, characterised by its pitches.¹¹⁸

Caiphas' speech urges the audience to reflect on a complex interpretation of the liturgy. It highlights the gap between laymen and clergy and presented a coherent address to both. In its memorable and comic analysis of Palm Sunday it mediated both liturgical and biblical elements to multiple audiences.

---

¹¹⁷ The importance of confession to the liturgy of Palm Sunday corresponds to the need for a yearly confession decreed by Lateran IV, in conjunction with the need to attend annual communion, at least in Easter (Canon 21 'Omnis utrius sexus fidelis': Norman P. Tanner (ed.), Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: vol. i, Nicaea I to Lateran V, London 1990, p. 245).

¹¹⁸ This is strengthened if we regard the word menamonkes as 'men amonkes' (singing together with an intermediate tone, as suggested by the MED). However, Brown's suggestion (Brown, Caiphas, p. 110 N. 5), seeing this as a playful name for choir boys, adds to the comic element of the speech.
Gloria Laus and Entry Scenes

Christ's arrival marked the end of first station. Anticipation subsided as the crowd joined the secondary procession to make its way to the next station, in imitation of Christ's progress, escorted by the welcoming crowd. If the theme of the previous station may be described as anticipation, that of the second station was the joy in meeting Christ, as expressed by the crowd in the gospel narrative (Lk. 19:37). This moment in the liturgy was celebrated in the processional hymn gloria laus, common in English and continental Uses.\textsuperscript{119} It was characterised by a prominent location and a memorable performance: children stood above gates or on purpose-built platforms and engaged in dialogue with the choir. These features were combined with a distinct text to create a highly memorable liturgical event.

The processional hymn gloria laus was a dialogue between children and choir. The hymn was ascribed to Theodulf of Orléans († 821), who was claimed to have written it during his imprisonment by Louis the Pious.\textsuperscript{120} When he heard the Palm Sunday procession from his cell, he composed the Gloria laus, which immediately led to his release from prison and restoration to his episcopal see. This myth assisted in establishing the authority of the hymn.

The hymn's recurring stanza (repeated five time) offered praises to God:

\begin{quote}
gloria laus et honor tibi sit rex christe redemptor
cui puerile decus prompsit osanna pium.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{119} This event is present in the constitutions of Lanfranc, as in the uses of Sarum, York, Norwich, Hereford, and others. For continental uses: Gröf, Palmenweihe.

The *Hosanna* was incorporated into the hymn, but retained a syllabic tone.\(^\text{121}\) Other biblical allusions were at play too. The hymn emulated the Psalms in its theme of praise and its words drew upon Ps. 65:2 - *Cantate gloriām nomini eius date gloriām laudi eius*. Its opening word - *gloria* - was frequent in the Bible, as in the gospel narrative of Palm Sunday (Lk. 19:38). Another biblical *gloria*, of Lk. 2:14 (*Gloria in alīssimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bona*) was incorporated into the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the Greater Doxology, integral part of mass and office.\(^\text{122}\)

The hymn *Gloria laus* was of `quasi biblical' nature. At first it appears to be a biblical quotation, but a closer analysis proves otherwise. *Gloria laus* incorporates a distinct biblical language while endowing it with extra-biblical meaning. Key biblical words, such as *gloria*, *laus*, *honor* and *osanna* are combined with the second person to emulate the biblical genre of appeal, frequent in the Psalms.\(^\text{123}\)

Biblical and liturgical allusions were reenforced by the performance of the hymn. It was sung by children, as liturgical manuscripts repeatedly report, and was part of the instruction and training of child oblates in monastic establishments such as Cluny.\(^\text{124}\)

Singing the glory of God in high voices from a high place was reminiscent of the song of angels. The song of the Cherubim in Heaven (Is. 6:3= Apoc. 4:8) was recreated in the liturgy of the *Sanctus*. As the hymn unfolded, a direct comparison between the song of the angels above and that of the humans below was presented in the second versicle:

---

121 The syllabic tune, kept throughout the antiphon, might have assisted in its memorability.

122 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 156-161

123 This process is referred to by: Bridget Nichols, *Liturgical Hermeneutics: Interpreting Liturgical Rites in Performance*, Frankfurt am Main 1996, pp. 143-5, where the notion of incorporating biblical language, through the use of single words is discussed, but not developed further.

coetus in excelsis te laudat caelicus omnis
et mortalis homo, cuncta creata simul.

The connection between humans and angels, from below and above, was also reflected in the performance of the hymn: it was sung antiphonally, between the (adult) choir below and the children above. The allusion to heavenly liturgy received its most visual manifestation in the facade of Wells Cathedral, where the children hid behind busts of angels.125

Children appeared in other parts of the liturgy, as in Egeria’s earlier account, or in the antiphons sung when palms were distributed.126 The use of children corresponded with a desire to differentiate between the welcoming crowd and another biblical crowd - that rallying against Christ in answer to Pilate’s question (Mt. 27:11-26 and parallels).127 This understanding was made explicit in Durandus’ commentaries, which distinguished between the children and the Jews: Vel deum corde et ore puerti laudabant, sicut iudei corde et ore conviciabant.128 Thus the image of the children, absent from the gospel narratives, dominated the medieval understanding of the biblical event.

The presence of the children rendered the moment memorable. The combination of performance and elevated location was depicted in numerous late medieval illuminations, such as the historiated initial D in the breviary of Chertsey Abbey (Surrey), from the first quarter of the fourteenth Century (figure 5).129 It shows Christ arriving to a gate riding an ass, followed by an apostle carrying a palm. Christ gestures

---

125 Malone, Façade as Spectacle, pp. 133-40, without referring to the content of the hymn.
126 Egeria, 1.31.3.
127 Part of the dramatic reading of the Passion, which followed the Palm Sunday procession.
128 Durandus, Rationale, vi.67.1 (Davril ed. 140A pp. 321-2). This distinction ignores Mt. 27:25 (and parallels), where the Jews take the blame for Christ’s death on them and on their children.
129 Oxford, Bodleian Library Latin Liturgical MS d. 42, f. 8r. For an earlier example see the 10th century Benedictional of St. Aethelwold, BL MS. Add. 49598, f. 45v. General information on the development of the image of Christ’s entry to Jerusalem from the art historian perspective is brought by Schiller, Iconography, pp. 18-23, where the liturgical influence is alluded to, but not expanded.
Figure 5: Entry to Jerusalem, a Breviary road.

This image of a child is a chain in the evolution of the iconography of Palm Sunday, and follows both liturgical and artistic conventions. The location at the top of the gate corresponds to the place of the children who chanted gloria laus during Palm Sunday processions. The branches being moved aside correspond to a long established iconographical tradition, dating back to the fourth century, which depicts a person, commonly taken to be Zaccheus (Lk. 19:2-6), sitting in a tree as Christ passed by on his way to enter Jerusalem.130 In the Middle Ages this image was transformed to represent a child, and the tree was replaced with an elevated location. The representation of a marginal episode in the gospels was replaced by a depiction of the liturgical recreation of the biblical event.

130 Schiller, Christ’s Entry, pp. 19-21. Schiller’s claim that “The children and often the tree, are missing from the western image of the High Middle Ages.” (p. 21) does not correspond with many insular visual images.
As implied in the image from Chertsey Abbey breviary, children and laymen were more than passive recipients of the liturgy. Visual images depict children’s activities as they distribute palms at the beginning of the procession, cast down a cloth or a scroll from the top of the tower, or throw branches on the approaching Christ and awaiting crowd.\textsuperscript{131} A sixteenth-century account even described children throwing flowers that had been blessed with the palms and ‘singing cakes’ - unconsecrated hosts - on the audience.\textsuperscript{132} Evidence for such extra-liturgical activities is hard to come by, and does not appear in liturgical manuscripts. Another type of sources, however, indicates of such practices.

Royal entries, which were better recorded than the liturgy, imitated the procession of Palm Sunday. Henry V’s entry to London in 1415, after the battle of Agincourt, was described as:

\begin{quote}
[pueri] qui cincinebant in adventu regio suavi vocis modulatione et organis, litteram prosequentes, hanc angelicam cantilenam: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.\textsuperscript{133}
\end{quote}

The parallels are clear - it was the entry of a king, which was welcomed by children resonating angelic voices.\textsuperscript{134} The sung text was the \textit{Benedictus qui venit}, frequent in the gospel narratives and Palm Sunday processions.\textsuperscript{135} This account also describes the activities of the children: they threw jewels and laurel branches on the passing king

\textsuperscript{131} Above, images 1-4.
\textsuperscript{132} Parker, \textit{Long Melford}, p. 72. Description of this custom, as well as of ‘singing cakes’ is in: Feasey, \textit{Holy Week}, pp. 57-8.
\textsuperscript{133} Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (trans. & eds.), \textit{Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth}, Oxford 1975, pp. 104-5. A similar ceremony was narrated by Lydgate, on the London pageant for Henry VI (after his coronation in Paris, 14.02.1432):
Besyde hym an angell bright,
'benefictus' thei gan syngye,
'qui venit in nomine domini' Goddes knyght,
'Gracia Dei' with yow doth sprynge. (ibid., pp. 191-2).
\textsuperscript{134} The term \textit{organum}, discussed above (p. 58), refers here to harmonious singing.
\textsuperscript{135} This phrase was possibly preferred to the \textit{Gloria laus}, with its numerous divine attributes.
while virgins on nearby towers blew golden leaves. The entry combined a lavish civic ritual with biblical imagery. Palm Sunday procession was transformed into a royal ritual, which drew on the comparison between Christ and the king, Jerusalem and London.

This is an intriguing phenomenon. Royal entries echoed the processions of Palm Sunday and gospel narratives. These narratives, in their turn, drew upon the Greco-Roman adventus ceremony, in which citizens of a city welcomed a dignitary (above pp. 35-6). Here is an evolution of a tradition, in which the Bible was a link but not fons et origo.


Liturgical Time at the Entrance to the Church

Palm Sunday was significantly located between Lent and Holy Week. It was near the end of Lent, a time of fast, when images were veiled in churches and the singing of Gloria in Excelsis was prohibited.\(^{138}\) Palm Sunday’s liturgical paraphernalia - flowers, branches and ‘singing cakes’ - highlighted the joy of Lent’s end; its liturgy, especially in the second station, reflected the joy of the people of Jerusalem in receiving Christ into their midst.

Palm Sunday also marked the beginning of Holy Week, which commemorated, above all, Christ’s death on Good Friday and Resurrection on Easter Sunday. A messianic tone permeates the gospel narrative of Palm Sunday, and reverberated in the liturgy alongside references to the Passion: the day began with the prayer Deus cuius filius, which narrated Christ’s descent to earth for the salvation of humanity; it continued in antiphons such as Ante sex dies passionis, which emphasised the looming Passion; and then ended with the prayer Omnipotens sempiterne deus, which told of Christ’s life, death and Resurrection. This culminated in the subsequent mass, when the end of the Gospel of Matthew was read in a dramatic fashion, recreating vividly the last events of Christ’s life. Thus, much like the course of the Jerusalem liturgy of the fourth century, liturgical texts encompassed Palm Sunday with references to the Passion and Resurrection.

The shift from joy to sorrow, from welcoming Christ to meditating on the Passion, became most evident as the procession entered the church. This was done, in

the Sarum Use, in the transition from the third station (just outside the church) to the fourth (in front of the rood), when Christ's entry to Jerusalem was invoked:

R: *Ingrediente domino in sanctam civitatem, Hebraeorum pueri resurrectionem vite pronuntiantes. cum ramis palmarum osanna clamabant in excelsis*

V: *Cumque audisset populus quia Jesus venit Hierosolymam exierunt obviam ei*

R: *Cum ramis palmarum osanna clamabant in excelsis*

This responsory ended the outdoors part of the procession and contains references to all the crowning moments of the procession: to the singing of the *Gloria laus* through references to performance and text; to the *Hosanna*; and to the palms. It contrived of numerous liturgical allusions, summarising the procession and the biblical event it reenacted. The opening phrase, which gave the responsory its name, attests to the inversion which occurred in the liturgical performance at that moment. The ablative absolute of *Ingrediente Domino* reveals that this moment took place after Christ has entered the church. When this responsory was chanted the secondary procession had already been within the church, having entered at an earlier moment. As parishioners made their way into the church, they passed underneath a feretory with relics and eucharist, which was held above the doorway. An inverted sequence was thus established: first the crowd welcomed Christ from a symbolic entry, with the symbolic Christ passing beneath the children; then Christ, through relics or eucharist, welcomed the congregation as it entered into the church, His symbolic body.

This part of the liturgy was seldom represented in visual or literary narratives. Palm Sunday images tend to present the scene outdoors, during the *Gloria laus*. Literary texts frequently echoe the *Gloria laus*, but rarely the responsory *Ingrediente*

---

139 See Sandon, *Sarum*, p. 16; York, f. 28r. (denoting in the margins only the entry to the church, but not the position of the offertory). In other uses, such as Hereford, this responsory accompanied the entry to the city, but the entry to the church afterwards was done under the lifted offertory. How the feretory was raised remains, to my knowledge, an un-answered question.
**domino.** Entering the church was a transition from the outside to the inside, from more memorable images and easily hummed tunes, to a darkened church and complicated chants.\(^{140}\) It was also a transition from the joy of welcoming Christ to the more sombre contemplation of the Passion in front of the rood.

The fourth and last station was in front of the rood, where a dialogue was performed between priest and choir, both on their knees.\(^{141}\) The liturgy of this station differed slightly between the various uses, but generally included the responsory *Circumdederunt me*, emphasizing ideas of torture and redemption. Liturgical manuscripts provide little information about activities of clergy and parishioners at this moment, beyond the injunctions to priest and choir to genuflect and kiss the ground.\(^{142}\) A testimony from the mid-fifteenth century sheds additional light on the activities of parishioners. Reginald Pecock (†c.1459), bishop of Chichester, wrote an anti-Lollard treatise, *The Repressor of very much Blaming of the Clergy*, c.1455.\(^{143}\) In it he provided a detailed description of Palm Sunday liturgy 'as y haue red in dyverse oolde ordinalis of cathedrale chiris and of monasteries in Ynglond'.\(^{144}\) His account of the fourth station describes not only the clergy kneeling to the ground in front of the rood, but also 'al the lay peple in the processioun knelen doun and knocken her brestis and summe fallen so doun that her brestis and mouthis touchen the grounde'.\(^{145}\) As the *Repressor* was an anti-Lollard treatise, the description of the parishioners' behaviour in front of the

---

\(^{140}\) Due to the syllabic nature of the *gloria laus*, unlike the frequent melismas of the *ingredient domino*.

\(^{141}\) This was evident in the constitutions of Lanfranc - *Et ingressi ecclesiam faciant iterum stationem per omnia similem ante crucifixum prius detectum*. (Lanfranc, constitutions, p. 40), and subsequent uses.

\(^{142}\) *officii incipiat antiphonae cum genuflectione... osculando terram incipiat executor officii antiphonam* (BL Add. MS 57534, fols. 40v-41r = BL Harl. MS 2942, fol. 40v); York, fol. 28v.


\(^{144}\) Pecock, *Repressor*, p. 203.

\(^{145}\) *ibid*, p. 207.
rood supplied Pecock's argument. It enabled him to demonstrate the value in worshipping the cross, objected by the Lollards. His claim to have found such evidence in liturgical manuscripts clashes with contents of such books. Pecock's account is, nevertheless, corroborated by that of his contemporary, Margery Kempe (†c.1438). Her account provides insight into the feelings of a congregant on Palm Sunday: she combined the joy of meeting Christ with contemplation of the Passion; she broke down in tears after the entrance into the church, when she saw Christ's agony on the cross. This led to a lengthy meditation on the Passion, which she visualized in the eyes of her mind.146

The crucifix that inspired Margery Kempe so deeply was another visual manifestation of Palm Sunday. Images, such as crucifixes, which were veiled all through Lent, were revealed on Palm Sunday.147 The Passion was recalled orally during mass. Then the last events of Christ's life were reenacted in a dramatic fashion. Three voices - of Christ, Jews and narrator - were employed in reading the gospel narrative (Mt. 26:1-27:61), which told of the Last Supper, the Betrayal, trial, Jews preferring the release of Barabbas, the Passion, Crucifixion and burial.148 The centrality of the mass to Palm Sunday liturgy is manifested in the injunction to adorn the processional cross only after the mass and not during the procession, in commemoration of the Passion, rather than of the joy of welcoming Christ (above, pp. 53-4).

The fourth station was positioned before the rood and incorporated elements of Passion and sorrow - prayers and responsories such as Circumdederunt me, Eripere me and Omnipotens sempiterne Deus provide a grave contemplation of the Passion and

147 Feasey, Holy Week, pp. 29-32, 74.
148 Red marks in a thirteenth-century Bible from Worcester (Cambridge University Library MS Kk. 2. 6, fols. 81vb-84va), were aimed at facilitating the dramatic reading.
Christ's sorrows. The last station incorporated, nevertheless, facets of the liturgy performed hitherto: its opening antiphon, *Ave rex noster*, was rather reminiscent of Christ's redemptive role and repeated familiar phrases such as the *Hosanna* and *benedictus qui venit*. The preservation of Christ's entry during the narration of the Passion was made visible to parishioners at Fairstead, Essex, where the scene of Christ's entry to Jerusalem was portrayed on the same wall, which was probably where the rood was positioned (figure 6). The location of the fourth station thus combined the rood, which told of the Passion, with the joy of Christ's entry to Jerusalem.

Figure 6: Holy Week Images (Entry, Last Supper, Torments, Crucifixion), St. Mary Fairstead, Essex

---

149 I wish to thank Rev. John Hall of Fairstead for indicating this important fact to me.
Conclusion

From this study of Palm Sunday processions liturgy emerges as a powerful mediator of the Bible. The medieval Bible was far from a single entity in the liturgy. It was a sacred object, venerated and processed; a source of a narrative, which was reenacted and reinterpreted over generations; the conveyor of distinct language, which was reiterated and emulated in liturgical texts. All this was done in the course of highly complex rituals, which utilised locations, paraphernalia, texts, music and performance to connect a remote event to its participants. The uniqueness of the Bible, a text which was written and edited over an extended period of time and contains complex symbolism, internal references and multiple strata, influenced the ways in which it was mediated and received.

The Bible was a physical object and its material aspects assisted in mediating its contents. Gospel books were carried in the procession and represented Christ alongside other liturgical paraphernalia, such as relics, crosses, flowers and a blessed host. Palms became the defining object of the day. The use of palms, only briefly alluded to in the gospel accounts, spread throughout Christianity and linked audiences with the biblical event. Not only was Christ represented in the procession, but a nameless biblical crowd was reenacted by parishioners. Members of the laity were active participants in the liturgy. The intricacies of the material setting, such as the parallel use of 'real' and indigenous palms, established a hierarchy of participation and differentiated clergy and laity.

---

150 Some of these categories are suggested by of Gilbert Dahan, *L'Exégèse Chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval: XIIe-XIVe Siècle*, Paris 1999, pp. 7-35 and Bradshaw, *Use of Bible in Liturgy*. 
Palm Sunday liturgy attests to the conservative nature of the liturgy. This influenced the use of palms in Christian liturgy, which followed obsolete Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions. Today, the use of indigenous plants as ‘palms’ on Palm Sunday is a manifestation of the same phenomenon - of preserving liturgical customs, which *raison d'être* has long ago vanished. This conservative nature can be seen in its vigour in the use of biblical language. Hebrew words such as *Hosanna* and *Amen* (and Greek such as *Kyrie Eleison*) were preserved through the liturgy, to find their place in the Greek Gospels, in the Latin Vulgate, and from there in Romance Languages and English. Similarly, liturgical (Latin) catch-phrases were incorporated into (Middle English) texts. Words such as *Hosanna* and *benedictus qui venit* were recalled in conjunction with their performance. This renders the separation of a biblical phrase from its liturgical performance futile, especially in instances when phrases were utilised in a well-known liturgical rite. These allusions had less to do with exact biblical origin and more with the time of their performance, their melodies, musical instruments, performers’ gestures, and their liturgical locations.

The place of the Bible in liturgy transcended the incorporation of biblical texts and imagery. New liturgical texts were composed, based on biblical form and theme, while employing a distinct biblical language. The result was ‘quasi-biblical’ texts, which drew upon the authority of the Bible. This transformed liturgy into a new creation, which merged biblical and extra-biblical texts inseparably. These texts were used to convey ideas that were absent from the biblical accounts, but rather followed medieval theology and the structure of the liturgical event itself.

Liturgy was far from a single entity. An internal liturgical hierarchy can be traced, based not on proximity to the Bible, but rather on memorability and performance:
prominent locations, memorable tunes, unique actors or distinct paraphernalia assisted in the reception of key moments in the liturgy, as manifested in literary narratives and visual images. These liturgical events went beyond mere reenactment of biblical scenes to develop a new sphere of meaning. The meeting of the primary and secondary processions of Palm Sunday, for instance, represented not only the biblical event, but also enabled the community to welcome Christ into their midst in the present and, following liturgical texts and location, symbolised the Second Coming and the Last Judgment. Liturgical texts alluded not only to the Bible, but also to other moments in the liturgy, creating an intricate web of allusions.

The variety of sources used in the examination of the liturgy is complementary. The sacred topography of Palm Sunday, in which the procession moved between central and liminal locations, corresponded with the timing of the event, in between Lent and Holy Week: celebratory elements shifted to contemplation of the Passion with the transition back into the church. Evidence in liturgical manuscripts was corroborated using personal accounts, early modern writings and para-liturgical documents, such as the speech of Caiphas. Moreover, literary narratives and visual sources present an image of the Bible, in which biblical event and its liturgical interpretation are merged. Liturgical paraphernalia accompanied much of the day’s events. Attitudes towards the adoration of the Cross, the place of Palm Sunday crosses in remote chapels or the distribution of palms, serve as manifestations for the tensions embodied in the liturgy of the day.

An analysis of recurrent biblical elements in the liturgy of Palm Sunday reveals several phrases, which were ubiquitous in liturgy and well-known in the Middle Ages, such as Hosanna and benedictus qui venit. The source of these words in the Gospels
was liturgical. Both *Hosanna* and *benedictus qui venit* originated in Psalm 117, which was used profusely in Jewish liturgy. This suggests a new understanding of the reception and mediation of the Bible, based on the work of Paul Ricoeur, which combines general and biblical hermeneutics to produce a model of later reception and mediation of the Bible. His idea can be summarized in the simultaneous existence of two paradigms - speech-writing-speech and writing-speech-writing: oral diffusion (such as the words of the prophets and the teachings of Christ) coexisted with written texts (such as parts of the Old Testament or the growing canon of the New Testament) and used it as a source of authority. These oral elements became in turn written texts, and thus authoritative elements on their own account. Ricoeur saw speech as mediating between two writings (one serving as the base for the other, such as the Christ (Oral) teachings mediating the Old Testament and the Gospels (both written)), and writing as mediating between two acts of speech (such as preaching based on the Prophets - the writing down of the latter enables the necessary distance which gave authority for its use by the former). Ricoeur’s theory is grounded in examples from the New Testament and Early Christianity, and is highly applicable to unearth the complexity of biblical texts and their medieval mediation.

Following in Ricoeur’s footsteps, I wish to suggest a similar model for understanding the connection between Bible and liturgy. This connection can be summarized as the coexistence of textual and liturgical elements: liturgy-text-liturgy. Liturgy depends upon written texts as a source of authority (thus enabling the necessary distance from previous occurrences). Liturgical customs were contemporaneous with

---

the compilation of the Bible (both Old and New Testaments), and thus liturgical traces were inscribed into the biblical text. From the book of Psalms through short liturgical excerpts in the words of the prophets to the historical narratives of Judges, Kings and the Gospels, one can discern distinct liturgical elements, not only in explicit liturgical references, but also in the incorporation of performative elements (e.g. rhythm, short and memorable catch-phrases, inner-biblical allusions etc.). After codification the Bible was used as a source of authority for the creation of a new liturgy, in which these verses were utilised, and their popularity exceeded other biblical verses. This can be seen in the prominent role enjoyed by the Psalms in the liturgy of both Church and Synagogue. Moreover, it is evident in references to minor liturgical components. A phrase such as *benedictus qui venit*, originally connected to Temple pilgrimage, was applied to Christ in the Gospels, and was easily re-applied in medieval Christian liturgy to become a recurring phrase in the Palm Sunday liturgy. In similar manner liturgical terms such as *Hosanna* or *Amen* found their ways into prayers and became, for the former, an embodiment of the entire liturgy of the day. In parts this can be seen through the appeal of extra-temporal supplicatory and edifying language, frequent in early and later liturgies. In other instances it was the remote nature of these foreign words, no longer understood in the language of the liturgy, which supplied the necessary gap, a prerequisite for this transformation. These words were central to the liturgy. The process, in which foreign words became the embodiment of entire liturgical events, is still at play today. Not long ago I picked up a leaflet of the Parish Church of St. Stephen the Martyr (Gloucester Rd., London, SW7), which title read: Lent 2005 – HOSANNA TO ALLELUIA!
Chapter 2: The Material Culture of Gospel Books, Liturgy and Law

Introduction

What is a Bible? What constitutes a gospel book? At first glance there seems to be an obvious answer, in accordance with the etymology of these words: a Bible is a compilation of the books (biblia) of the Old and New Testaments, for Christians, or the Hebrew Canon, for Jews, while gospel books are books containing good tidings, i.e. the four canonical gospels. Both books can thus be defined solely according to their content. This definition is frequently used by historians of the Middle Ages: liturgists identify the textus, a book processed in the liturgy and displayed during the Ordinary of the Mass, as the four gospels, while legal historians regard liber, a book on which oaths were taken, as a copy of the Bible. However, as these books were sacred objects, venerated in complex rituals, one can also ask whether the appearance and function of these books have influenced their definition.

Textus and oath-books as material objects are the subject of this chapter. The common way of classifying a book solely by its content is put aside in favour of a more complex definition that favours form over content, and judges a book by its cover. This will be demonstrated through the analysis of two parallel rituals in which gospel books were prominent. A detailed examination of the Ordinary of the Mass offers an initial understandings of the place of textus within the liturgy, while identifying key performative traits, and suggests a supremacy of the visual to the oral qualities of the
gospel lesson. A survey of textus in parish churches and cathedrals will then follow. The central place of the textus within the Ordinary of the Mass is at odds with its absence from parish churches. This contrast will be resolved when accounts of textus in monasteries and cathedrals are examined, suggesting a supremacy of appearance to contents in the definition of textus. An account for the patronage of one textus by Hubert de Burgh will lead to another textus, used for oath-taking in his house. Other legal examples, based on manorial courts, common and canon law, present oath-taking rituals, in which the contents of the book employed were secondary to the activities of witnesses and litigants in ensuring the veracity of the oath. Surviving oath-books present the supremacy of ritual and appearance to contents in a tangible way. Finally, thirteenth century English Jewry, which presented a challenge to medieval oath-taking, and literary narratives of oath-rituals, sheds additional light on oath-rituals and oath-books. The chapter concludes with a suggestion for viewing gospel books as icons as well as receptacles of sacred texts.

The material culture of books and Bibles has recently become a subject of scholarly interest. The last few years have seen much activity: a multi-disciplinary conference examined the connection between material culture and scholarship; the appearance and function of bibles were inspected in two public lectures: Richard Sharpe’s on early gospel books and their status as reliquaries, and James Marrow’s re-evaluation of the connection between form and meaning in medieval manuscripts. This renewed interest builds upon previous scholarship. The series ‘The Bible as a Book’ has expanded our understanding of the Bible through an examination of manuscripts,

---

incunabula and prints, but has retained the understanding of the Bible as a book, rather than a sacred object, as has Christopher de Hamel’s ‘The Book: A History of the Bible’. The appearance of Bibles has been explored by historians of medieval bindings: Early medieval bindings are described by Patrick McGurk, who combines descriptions of manuscripts with questions of provenance and usage; Frauke Steenbock, Howard Nixon and Mirjam Foot frequently comment upon the materiality of these books, and supply numerous examples of engaging specimens, as well as rituals and occasions in which these objects were displayed.

Modern researchers identify rituals in which gospel books were displayed and venerated. Such were bishops’ consecrations, church councils and even the Cathar ritual of consolamentum, all analysed in-depth by Klaus Schreiner. Gospel books were detached from their practical function to be used as talisman; Jerome reproached mulierculae superstitosiae for carrying small gospel books on their body; the Venerable

---


Bede described the use of Irish codices against snake bites. Irish book-shrines (cumdachs) exemplify use of gospel books as sacred objects - these were sealed and their content venerated, though not used for reading. Some elements of these rituals can be identified in an examination of the Ordinary of the Mass, one of the most common and widely witnessed rituals in medieval Christendom.

An analysis of oaths rituals and books in late medieval England is offered by Richard Firth Green, in his discussion of the concept of truth in late medieval England. His research engages both literary and legal sources and traces mechanisms of oath-taking. He states that “In the late middle ages, England was emerging from more than a millenium of craft-literacy in which the oath-book had been one of the primary emblems of the power of both church and state. In just the same way that scraps of parchment might be used talismanically so too might complete copies of the Gospels themselves”. I wish to expand upon this observation, to embrace both legal and liturgical rituals in a new understanding of the very nature of Bibles and gospel books.


9 ibid., p. 257.
Textus in Rituals and Liturgy

Books were, and still are, carried, displayed and utilised in rituals of diverse religions, from the exaltation of the Torah scroll in Judaism to the sanctity of public recitations of the Qur’an. An analysis of these and similar rituals benefits from the methodologies of Comparative Religion, which questions mechanisms of recitation and canonization. Works such as William A. Graham’s on Islam and Judaism or Daniel J. Sheerin’s on gospel reading in the Ordinary of the Mass, advocate the importance of the sensual dimension of the ritual, which expands from the oral/aural element to sight, touch, smell and taste. This understanding puts in a new light the twelfth-century liturgical commentary of Johannes Beleth, who noted the appeal of the gospel reading to all five senses: “viri reuelato capite debent audire euangelium, ut quinque sensus patuli sint ad audiendum”.

One of the most important roles of the textus was in presiding over church councils. As can be seen in an image from a Byzantine manuscript of the late-ninth century (figure 7), an open gospel book was set on a throne, presiding, in the full sense of the word, over a the First Council of Constantinople (381). The open book had a

---


12 De Ecclesiastico officilis 39:1 (Doutreil ed., p. 73). The highlight is my own.

practical function. During the council several gospel lessons were read to signify the occasion's solemnity. The illumination, however, depicts the textus not during a reading, but rather as it lies open on a throne, in its symbolic function. The textus endowed it with an aura of sacrality and presided over the council as a manifestation of divine presence. This custom prevailed at other church councils, from Ephesus (431) and the Second Council of Constantinople (553), up until the Council of Constance (1414-8).\textsuperscript{14}

\footnotetext{14}{This was noted by Steenbock, Kirchliche Prachteinband, p. 53, and explored in-depth by Schreiner, Buch im Nacken.}
Another ritual, illuminated in the same manuscript (figure 8), is the consecration of Gregory Nazianzus (†432). In this ritual, practiced also in medieval Europe, an open gospel book was held or placed over the neck and head of the ordinand, if he was to become a bishop, or shoulder, if pope. Akin to the previous ritual, the textus fills both functional and symbolic roles. The ritual of consecration encompassed several gospel lessons, which could have been read from the textus, thus linking physically the texts of the ritual with the body of the ordinand. Liturgical commentaries, from Amalarius of Metz’s (†850/1) De ecclesiasticis officiis to Guillelmus Durandus’ Rationale divinorum, likened the textus to Aaron’s tiara (Ex. 28:36-40), to the word of God (Is. 61:1, frequent in ordinations), or to the Holy Ghost descending as a dove (Lk 3:22). These interpretations acknowledged the sanctity of the gospel book not only as a book for reading but also as a sacred object, which touch with the ordinand was key. This ritual, to the best of my knowledge, was not practiced in England, but was known only from liturgical commentaries, which were common in English monastic libraries.

Textus were used also in recurrent rituals such as festive processions. Palm Sunday processions of the Sarum and York Uses provide a fascinating example. On


16 Amalarius of Metz, De ecclesiasticis officiis, 2:14 (PL 105:1092-3); Durandus, 2.xi.7-8 (Davril ed., p. 173).

17 This is clear from surviving library Catalogues. The indices to the recent Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues reveal these commentaries in ten Benedictine abbeys from Westminster to Whitby (Richard Sharpe et al. (eds.), English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues (Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4), London 1996, pp. 15, 86, 183, 274, 343, 423, 485, 638, 628, 669); in eight colleges of Cambridge University (Peter D. Clarke (ed.), The University and College Libraries of Cambridge (Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 10), London 2002. For popular renderings of Durandus’ commentary, below, p. 98.

18 A full examination of the procession in the various uses is brought in: ‘Chapter 1: Liturgy as Biblical Mediation, Palm Sunday Processions’.
the morning of the day, following the consecration of palms and flowers, congregants and priests exited the church. They gathered at the nearby churchyard cross, where they represented the crowd awaiting Christ on the outskirts of Jerusalem. Christ and the disciples were embodied by a secondary procession, which had left the church earlier that day. The secondary procession comprised of priests, who carried a textus alongside a blessed Eucharist and relics, all of which represented Christ. The consecrated Eucharist was, according to the theory of transubstantiation, Christ in the flesh; the relics were evidence for his activities in the world, through saints and martyrs; the textus symbolised his presence through the sacrálity of its text. Yet the textus here differs from those of consecrations ceremonies and church councils, mentioned above: in Palm Sunday processions the textus had only a symbolic function. An examination of Palm Sunday processions reveals that the only gospel lesson read during the procession (Mt. 21:1-9) was at the first station, prior to the arrival of the secondary procession and its textus. Accordingly, the textus carried by the secondary procession served a purely symbolic function; another book, possibly of lesser value, served the practical function of supplying the text for the lesson.

The most recurrent ritual in which a textus was employed was the Ordinary of the Mass. Its significance and frequency exceeds any other ritual in which textus were displayed. Passages from the Gospels, as well as from the Epistles and Old Testament, were read as lessons (lectiones) during Mass, following the yearly cycles of temporale

---

and the sanctorale. It was one of a few occasions enabling the laity to witness the Bible as text and book.

Missals facilitated most of the ritual of the Mass. They supplied readings, hymns, antiphons and responsorios, as well as rubrics on the activities of the clergy.

The most prevalent English Use, the Sarum Use, occurs in numerous manuscripts, incunabula, and early prints. There is no critical edition of the Sarum missal, and many of the current editions rely heavily on early sixteenth-century printed versions (in which extended rubrics depict many of the activities of the clergy) and do not differentiate clearly between their various sources. This was caused by the scarcity of data in late medieval liturgical manuscripts, as these were aimed at trained professionals, and routine elements of the ritual were frequently omitted. I have therefore chosen to rely on two editions of the Sarum Missal by J. Wickham Legg, which are based primarily on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts of ordinaries and missals, while investigating several liturgical manuscripts as well. I have also consulted other Uses,

---


22 One can witness the difference between the type of information for recurring rituals and rare liturgical occasions from a comparison between missals, which rubrics are few and interspersed, and a coronation order, which detailed rubrics clearly identify different actors and their roles (such as: Liber Regalis Seu Ordo consecrandi regem solum; Ordo consecrandi reginam cum rege; Ordo consecrandi reginam solam; Rubrica de regis exequiis. E codice Westmonasteriensi editus, Frederick Lygon, Earl Beauchamp (ed.), London 1870).

23 J. Wickham Legg, Tracts on the Mass (HBS 27), London 1904; ibid., The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts, Oxford 1916 (Repr. 1969). The manuscripts consulted are: Cambridge University Library MS Dd.i.15 fol. 99v; British Library Harl. MS 4919, fol. 15v; British Library Harl. MS 2787 fols. 13v-14r.
both in print and in manuscript form. Apart from liturgical manuals, explicit information on the conduct of the mass was presented in liturgical commentaries, such as those of Beleth and Durandus. These commentaries supply detailed accounts of the liturgy used in the creation of intricate allegorical interpretations. Two problems arise from the use of these commentaries: the relevance of continental authors for English Uses, and discrepancies between the commentaries' normative description and practice. The first objection is answered by the diffusion of the commentaries in English libraries, and their influence on English liturgical works. Two extra-liturgical compilations, from Wells Cathedral and St. Mary York, relied on these commentaries in offering simplified explanations of the liturgy. As to the second objection, liturgical commentaries and liturgical manuscripts alike portray the ideal rather than the practice of a ritual; an analysis of the evidence from parish churches (105 ff.) will locate this gap and show that liturgical manuscripts present an ideal ritual, which was performed only on occasion and in well-endowed churches.

According to liturgical manuscripts and commentaries, the first glimpse of the textus was as it was carried prior to the lesson. This took the form of a small procession


26 above, n. 17.

27 The Wells' composition is the speech of Caiphas, addressed at length in the previous chapter (Brown, Caliphas = British Library Sloane MS 2478 fols. 43a-44b); The York ordinal contains a simplified version of the liturgical commentaries regarding the deacon crossing himself and the book (St. Mary Ordinal, p. 118)

28 The gap between liturgical manuscripts and liturgical reality was suggested by David Chadd, “The Ritual of Palm Sunday: Nidaros in Context”, The Medieval Cathedral of Trondheim: Architectural and Ritual Constructions in their European Context, Margrete Syrstad Andås et al. (eds.), Turnhout 2007, pp. 253-78. I thank Prof. Chadd for supplying me with an early copy of his paper.
in which the deacon carrying the *textus* was preceded by acolytes carrying incense, candles, and a cross.29 Its position at the rear of the procession was one of veneration, following the interpretation of Durandus. The *textus* was seen as the culmination of a narrative, represented in the preceding objects: the incense - Christ's deeds preceding his doctrine; the acolytes bearing candles - the apostles entering cities before Christ (Lk. 10:1 and parallels); the cross - the end of Christ's earthly life, and its essence.30 Moreover, just as in church processions dignitaries were placed at the rear, this position, according to Rupert of Deutz († 1129) and Durandus, emphasised the supremacy of the gospel reading over other lessons of the mass.31 Thus, even before the book was read, it was singled out in ritual action and liturgical paraphernalia.

The *textus* was carried ceremoniously, laid upon the altar, and incensed prior to reading. The deacon made the sign of the cross before reading the gospel lesson. In some liturgies, such as Hereford and St. Mary York, the priest crossed himself three times: on the brow, mouth and chest. The Ordinal of St. Mary York followed liturgical commentaries in assigning symbolic meaning to this act: the priest made the sign of the cross on the brow, as he removed his shyness before proclaiming the message of the Gospels (in an allusion to Romans 1:16 - *Non enim erubesco Evangelium*); on the mouth, in preparation to utter the Gospels; on the chest, as a sign of faith in its message, with an additional explanation of preventing the devil from removing that faith:

> *Et hoc dicens [sequentia sancti evangelii...] signat principium Evangelii in libro et seipsum in fronte, in ore, et in pectore suo ne diabolus qui bonis operibus semper*

---

29 Such in Sarum, St. Mary, York and continental uses (Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, Oxford 1933, p. 27). In the *York Missal* the procession takes place after the reading and during the Creed.


insidiatur tollat ei per erubescentiam vel alia quamvis fraude devotionem de corde vel sermonem rectum de ore.\textsuperscript{32}

These actions corresponded to the dialogue between officiant and deacon prior to the reading. In this dialogue (common in Sarum and many continental Uses) the deacon asked for the officiant’s blessing: \textit{iube domne benedicere}. The officiant replied in blessing the deacon that God should dwell in his heart and mouth during the reading:

\textit{Dominus sit in corde tuo et in ore tuo [or labiis tuis] ad pronuntiandum sanctum Evangelium Dei. In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen}\textsuperscript{33}

The words of the officiant reflected the physical act - just as the blessing identified the mouth and chest as places in which God’s word dwelt, so did the sign of the cross identified these locations in gesture. A similar blessing, in the York use, emphasized the sensual qualities of the liturgy even further:

\textbf{Officiant:} *Dominus aperiat tibi os ad legendum et nobis aures ad intelligendum sanctum evangelium Dei. Pacis in nomine Patris ... Amen.  

\textbf{Deacon:} *Da mihi Domine sermonem rectum et bene sonantem in os meum ut placeant tibi verba mea et omnibus audientibus propter nomen tuum in vitam aeternam. Amen  

Here a dual blessing was made and accepted: over the ears of the congregants (clergy and laity alike) and the mouth of the deacon, thus clearly identifying both oral (\textit{sonantem}) and aural (\textit{aures, audientibus}) qualities of the liturgy.

These actions differentiated between Gospel lessons and other parts of the liturgy, including the preceding lessons. As the officiant appealed for God’s presence in the

\textsuperscript{32} St. Mary’s Ordinal, p. 118, corresponding to Beleth De ecclesiasticis 39:d (Douteil ed., p. 71); Durandus Rationale iv.24.27 (Davril ed. pp. 352-3) - based on Innocent III’s De sacro altaris mysterio II: 43 (PL vol. 217 col. 824). A comparison between the Ordinal and Durandus will reveal both a reliance and method of reduction: Deinde signal [Diaconus] se in fronte, in ore pariter et in pectore seu in corde, ne dyabolus, qui bonus operibus insidiatur, tollat ei per erubescentiam devotionem de corde vel sermonem de ore, ac si dicas: Ego Christi crucem non erubesco, sed eam ore predico et corde credo: Quia corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem [Rom. 10:10].

gospel lesson, he implicitly distinguished it from any other lesson, read during Mass. Even though the gospel reading was preceded by readings from the Epistles, a new connection was forged between the reader-deacon and God, for the duration of the gospel reading. This hierarchy of lessons, in which the Gospels took precedence, had a physical manifestation: according to the rubrics of a Hereford missal the gospel was read from a higher step than the Epistle.

The activities of deacon and officiant were mirrored by those of congregants. The Hereford and York missals provide some information on the activities of audience, as they noted the requirement to stand during the reading of the Gospels. Liturgical commentaries and the Lay Folk Mass Book, written in French c. 1150 and translated to Middle English in the beginning of the fourteenth century, followed this imperative in ordering people to stand up, unsupported if possible. Congregants were also meant to uncover their heads, although women were exempt for reasons of modesty. The Lay Folk Mass Book went beyond a narration of audience's behaviour to supply a glimpse into congregants' mindset in contemplation of the Passion. Congregants were active participants in the ritual as they responded with bene to the reading and made the sign

34 This is noted by Rupert of Deutz, and explained by the nature of the revelation - hidden in the prophets and laws, and visible in the Gospels and Epistles (creating a distinction between the readers and not the read texts): Mittit namque sacerdos diaconum ad legendum sanctum euangellum petitant dando benedictionem, quod subdiacono prius epistolam non facerat. Legem enim et prophetas inuisibilis inuisibiliter misit; apostolos autem et euangelistas, quorum diaconus personam gerit, uisibilis factus et sanctam ecclesiam sponsam uidelicet suam osculans osculo oris sui uisibiliter misit et docuit. 1:36 (Haacke cd., p. 29)

35 Deinde legatur Epistola super lectrinum a Subdiacono ad gradum Chori, et Euangellium a Diacono super superiorem gradum cessoron...

36 Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordiensis, pp. 116-7; Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis, pp. 170-1.

37 Beleth, op. cit. p. 73; Durandus op. cit. p. 351. The Lay Folk Mass Book implicitly suggest so, as it orders the congregants to kneel, "til denken or prest bo gospel rede." (Thomas F. Simmons (ed.), The Lay-Folks Mass-Book or the Manner for Hearing Mass, with Rubrics and Devotions for the People, in Four Texts and Office in English According to the Use of York from Manuscripts from the Xth to the XVth Century with Appendix, Notes, and Glossary (EETS 71), London 1879, pp. 16-7)

38 Durandus op. cit.; Lay Folk 18-9, Beleth, above, n. 12.
of the cross. These activities functioned on two levels: they differentiated the Gospel lesson from other parts of the liturgy and connected clergy and congregants, as both performed similar acts, such as the making of the cross and the kiss.

The importance the Gospels was evident also in a comment made by Petrus Comestor († 1178/9) in his first lecture on St. Matthew. He identified several gestures (lifting one’s head, remaining in silence during the lesson and ending the reading on a higher note) as differentiating this lesson from other reading. Furthermore, Comestor provided an allegorical interpretation of these gestures, contrasting the Old Testament and the Gospels, seeing the latter as the revelation of the mysteries of the former, the fulfilment of its promises and prophecies, and the shift from terrestrial to celestial elements. He compared the silence of the crowd while the Gospel was being read to that of children, once they were given an apple, promised by their mother.

The verbal proclamations of the deacon assisted in circumscribing the gospel lesson: the lesson was identified prior to the reading (Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum ... Gloria tibi domine), and preceded by - in illo tempore. After the reading a short confirmation Amen or benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, was uttered. In some instances it was to be the audience itself, rather than the officiant, that responded with bene or deo gratias.

39 Smalley, Bible in Middle Ages, p. 240, based on a marginal note in Oxford Bodleian Library Laud. Misc. MS 291 fol. 1ra. Smalley’s transcription was truncated two-thirds through the quotation.

40 “Unde evangelium veteri testamento in tribus antecellit scilicet in revelatione figurarum, in impletione promissorum, in magnitudine premiorum. Ad insinuandam hanc triplicem evangelii preeminentiam, tria facit ecclesia cum legitur evangelium. Ad ostendendum enim quod per evangelium facta est figurarum revelatio, audit evangelium capite revelato; ad ostendendum quod in evangelio facta est promissorum impletio, audit evangelium cum silentio, ac si ipso silentio dicit: iam optime promissa. Solent enim pueri silere postquam tenent poma. Ad ostendendum a[mp]litudinem premiorum, terminat evangelium voce elevata plenam gratie et veritatis, contra lectiones veteris testamenti terminentur voce remissa; ac si dicatur ibi promitiebantur terrena, hic superna”.

41 Beleth, op. cit. p. 72; Durandus, op. cit. pp. 354-5; The priest’s proclamation appears at York (Lay-folk p. 98).
The acts of clergy and congregants differentiated between the gospel lesson and any other lesson. Music, however, was not used for this aim. Other moments in the liturgy, such as antiphons or hymns, used intricate melismas and tonal equalities to highlight texts and moments in the liturgy.\(^{42}\) During Mass, however, the various lessons frequently shared a simple, mainly syllabic, chanting tone, which did not single out the gospel lesson from other lessons of Mass and office, apart from the rising note at its end, mentioned by the Comestor.\(^{43}\) This is not to say that music was not used to identify specific lessons. On major feasts, such as Christmas and Easter, elaborate tones were employed, characterised by melismas and intonation, and served to differentiate between festive and ordinary time. The lack of emphasis on the ordinary tone of the gospel lessons is indicative of the place of the gospel reading in the Mass. The sanctity of the Gospels drew upon its narratives, which recounted the life of Christ. These narratives, however, were recited syllabically in Latin and understood by a few. Ritual activities and liturgical objects manifested the importance of the gospel, with a content that was overshadowed by the activities of priests and congregants.

The significance of the gospel book as a physical object, beyond its functional value, was manifested in the conclusion of the lesson, when it was kissed by the deacon.\(^{44}\) This kiss, much like the signing of the cross on the book, functioned on three levels: it connected the spoken text, the sacred narrative of Christ’s life, with the book.

\(^{42}\) Above, *Gloria Laus and Entry Scenes*, pp. 73-9.


\(^{44}\) According to the Uses of Hereford, York, Eynsham, as well as continental and later Sarum Uses. The signing of the cross on the book is evident, for example, in *St. Mary’s Ordinal*, p. 120. Interestingly, the *Lay Folk Mass Book* gives evidence for a kiss, made by the audience after crossing themselves (“*when hit is done, you make a cross, and kiss hit sone*”, pp. 18-9). This was seen by Jungmann (Mass, p. 449) as an evidence for the kissing of the *textus* by laymen. However, following the wording of the source, as well as the scarcity of gospel books, this is questionable. It is more likely, in my opinion, that the pronoun *hit* refers to the cross made by the parishioners.
from which it was read; it constituted an intimate link between deacon and book;\(^{45}\) lastly, the kiss marked a boundary between clergy and laity.\(^{46}\) Although some liturgical sources noted that congregants echoed the activities of the deacon, by making a sign of the cross and kissing it, lay people were deprived of an unmediated contact with the textus. The kiss established the sacrality both of textus, as receptacle of the divine word, and of priest, as its mediator.

The hierarchy of lessons was reflected in the books used in the liturgy. Whereas other lessons and prayers were read from general liturgical books, such as missal, lectionary or epistolary, the Gospels were to be read from a book of less-functional nature. Mass manuals frequently referred to this book as: ...Textum, scilicet librum Evangeliorum.\(^{47}\) In liturgical manuscripts the two definitions of textus and liber evangeliorum are interchangeable, and refer to the same thing - a book of the Gospels, employed in the liturgy.\(^{48}\) The parallel use of missal and textus is clear in the Use of York: Et dimisso libro evangelii in sede, missale ponit ingremio sacerdotis.\(^{49}\)

---

\(^{45}\) Most research on kisses in the Middle Ages concentrate on kissing between people, rather than inanimate objects: Yannick Carré, Le Baiser sur la bouche au Moyen Age: Rites, symboles, mentalités, à travers les textes et les images XP-XV\(^{t}\) siècles, Paris 1993 or Nicolas J. Perella, The Kiss Sacred and Profane: An interpretative History of Kiss Symbolism and Related Religio-Erotic Themes, Berkeley 1969, p. 278, n. 27. The usage of the kiss as mark of sacrality is similar to its role in Judaism in creating sacred space, as manifested in connection with Bibles, liturgical books, articles of clothes and mezuzahs.


\(^{47}\) Young, Drama, p. 27; Hereford; Sarum.

\(^{48}\) Nick Sandon differentiates between textus and gospel book, in what appears to be an erroneous interpretation of the Sarum missal: “The deacon takes the text [from the middle of the altar. The Subdeacon moves the Missal ... and takes the Gospel-book from the cedence] turning to the celebrant” (Sandon, Ordinary, p. 21); “The deacon carries the text against his breast [and the subdeacon carries the Gospel-book]” (ibid., p. 23). The text in square brackets is Sandon’s addition and does not reflect any manuscript, nor any printed edition of the Sarum missal I have consulted. It might have originated from the use of two textus or relics in double feasts, noted in the first prints of the Sarum missal: si autem episcopus celebraverit et duplex festum fuerit: duo pueri venient cum thuribulis et duo subdiaconis cum duobus textibus vel religuis (Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Richard Pynson (ed.), London 1512, fol. 70v).

\(^{49}\) St. Mary’s, York, p. 118.
The Provenance of Textus

The importance of the textus as a distinct liturgical object contrasts sharply with evidence for its existence, especially in parish churches and chapels. In Neil Ker's detailed survey of manuscripts formerly owned by parish churches and chapels, the number of textus found is surprisingly low. From over a hundred manuscripts, which Ker and Watson traced back to parish churches, Bibles and the Gospels account for less than eight percent, and none was labeled as a textus. This highly fragmentary evidence is complemented by other sources. In a survey of books bequeathed by private people, Susan Cavanaugh was able to trace only a handful of Bibles, and only three textus: a silver textus, donated by Martin of St. Cross († 1259), Master of the Hospital SS Lazarus, Mary & Martha at Sherborne (Durham), to that house for use at the altar; and two textus bequeathed by John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter († 1369), for the high altar of the cathedral. These records complement the descriptions in liturgical manuscripts, as they suggest a strong connection between the textus and liturgical function, through the identification of a place in which the liturgical activity was to take place.

---


51 Textum meum argentum lego Domui de Schyreburn, et rogo quatenus, quotienscunque ad ornatum altaris deferatur, et mariolae mea similiter ibidem remanentes... (James Raine the Younger (ed.), Testamenta Eboracensia; or, Wills registered at York, Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics, &c., of the Province of York, from the Year MCCC. downwards (Surtees Society 4), vol. i, Durham 1836, pp. 6-7).

Records of visitations are possibly the best source for tracing Bibles and textus in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century parish churches. They provide an account of a church's possessions at a specific moment, when the bishop's representative inquired into the state of the church, its possessions and the capacities of its clergy. The late medieval visitation records from the diocese of Ely provide evidence for 164 churches, chapels and hospitals.\(^{53}\) They were compiled all through the fourteenth century, with notes in numerous hands added to the original records of c. 1280. Only three of the recorded churches held a textus: St. Benedict, Cambridge (without further description, visited c. 1350); the church of Burrough Green, Cambridgeshire (\textit{ unus textus deauratus cum lapidibus cristalinis, ex dono domini Iohannis de Borw}\(^ {54}\), added to the record c. 1365-c.1390); and the church of Fowlmere, Cambridgeshire (\textit{textus bene apparatus de imaginibus deauratis, added 1316-1340}). Another church - St. John’s in Mill Street (\textit{melnestrete}), Cambridge - was one of the most affluent churches in the record. It had sixteen books, among them, according to a later addition (1365-1390), a lectionary, described as: \textit{Lectionarium (?) cum v gaud’ in rasura}. This was interpreted by the modern editors as a textus: “i.e. a textus (q.v.) with 5 jewels or enameled bosses on the cover”.\(^ {55}\) Apart from this evidence, four gospel books (\textit{Liber Evangeliorum}) were recorded, one of them in the above-mentioned church of St. John in Melnestrete. Accordingly, even if the definition of textus is expanded to accommodate \textit{legendae}, out of the 164 churches visited, less than ten possessed such a book; those that did typically owned more books than others (above ten items).


\(^{54}\) John de Borw died in 1384. The effigy of Catherine, his second wife, is still to be found in the same church (St. Augustine’s) to which the textus was donated (\textit{Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis}, p. 234; C. H. Evelyn-White, \textit{The Churches of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely} (Country Churches), London 1911, pp. 11-2.

\(^{55}\) \textit{Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis}, p. 35.
A similar picture arises from the visitation record of the diocese of Exeter. Out of twenty five churches visited and recorded, only the church at Sidbury, Devon, visited in 1301, held any textus, described as *duo textus decentes*.\(^{56}\) These textus were not written down among other church books, but rather as part of the liturgical paraphernalia, between the pyxes and the pegs.\(^{57}\)

The visitation record of the Dean of Sarum Cathedral, 1220, notes two churches, out of ten visited, to have a *textus*.\(^{58}\) The church St. Andrew's at Sonning-on-Thames, Berkshire, held *'Unus textus coopertus argento continens Evangelia anni'*, referring to the liturgical reading cycle, and hence following a liturgical, rather than consecutive, order. The record for the church of Mere, Wiltshire, notes a *textus* under the rubric of ornaments, between a candelabra and a copper processional cross: *item liber evangeliorum vetus et attritus*. The visitation record of churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral made at 1297 identifies only one church out of fifteen as holding a textus.\(^{59}\) The record for the church of Furneaux Pelham (Hertfordshire) notes, alongside other church ornaments, *'textum de ligno' - possibly alluding to a wooden binding.*

A survey of the diocese of Norwich from the mid-fourteenth century contains highly detailed inventories.\(^{60}\) From the 358 parish churches visited in the diocese of Norfolk, not a single item was described as *textus*. Few Bibles were held by these parish churches: only six full Bibles and four gospel books (two of them together with


\(^{57}\) This type of information is unavailable for the Ely visitation records, which were added at a later date, and do not form a part of the original inventory.


the Epistles) and in total c. 3% of all churches investigated. The absence of textus contrasts with records of covers for textus in several churches. Some churches, such as Great Witchingham or Scarning, Norfolk, had no textus (other than a general legendae), but are recorded as having textus binding (Tabula Textus) in these very churches.61

Why were textus, so frequently mentioned in liturgical manuscripts and commentaries, so rarely present in parish churches? The survey conducted above gives evidence for 576 churches. Of which twelve had a textus or its equivalent, scarcely more than 2%. Clearly the lack of textus was not seen as a problem: deficiencies and discrepancies were noted by the bishop’s representatives, but no such comments were made in regards to a textus.62

The late thirteenth-century statutes, attributed to John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury († 1292), followed the synodal statutes of Worcester III (1240) and Wells (c. 1258), in laying down the liturgical paraphernalia and books necessary for the liturgy of parish churches. These were widely diffused and re-confirmed in subsequent church councils.63 They list seven books required for the liturgy: legenda[m], antiphonare, graduale, psalterium, troparium, ordinale, missale (an additional manual appears in a York list). Visitation records show that parish churches followed the statutes’ requirements. Textus (as distinct from legenda), copies of the Gospels or full Bibles,

61 Inventory temp. Edward III, pp. 74, 106. This was noted by the modern editor of the records: ibid., vol. ii, p. xxxv, n. 2

62 Such as the use of an out-dated missal in the chapel of Twyford (ibid., vol. i, p. 5).

63 Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church, vol. 2, A.D. 1205-1313, Frederick M. Powicke and Christopher R. Cheney (eds.), Oxford 1964, pp. 1385 N.o (Variant - J), 1387 (the Statutes of Pecham); 296 (Worcester III); 379 (Salisbury II); 599 (Wells); 1005-6 (Exeter II). For reassessment of these statutes: Christopher R. Cheney, "The So-Called Statutes of John Pecham and Robert Winhelsey", Journal of Ecclesiastical History 12 (1961), pp. 14-34 (18-9). The list was copied, inter alia, by a late fourteenth-century hand (F3) in the register of the Bishops of Ely (Liber Archdiaconi Eliensis p. 150) and in the register of Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York († 1255), although in a later copy - Liber Pontificalis Christopheri Bainbridge, Archiepiscopi Eboracensis (Surtees Society 61 for 1873), William G. Henderson (ed.), Durham 1875, pp. 371-2.
were not deemed necessary for the performance of the liturgy, and consequently were rarely found in parish churches.

Pecham’s Statutes addressed the needs of the liturgy; using a full Bible or a gospel book during the liturgy was - and still is - most cumbersome, for it required the use of numerous bookmarks for the appropriate passages, frequent leafing through the book, with much preliminary preparation, consultation of liturgical calendars and tables of reading. Designated liturgical books, such as missals or lectionaries, provided the various readings according to the liturgical occasion rather than the biblical sequence, thus enabling a priest to simply follow the lessons provided for each occasion. Surviving missals preserve full gospel lessons. A visitation record from Exeter explicitly notes that a priest came to hold mass and read the gospels at the manor of Norton in Newton-St. Cyres, where only a missal, breviary, manual and psalter were kept. The examination of wills of parish priests further shows that textus were not owned by them privately.

The absence of textus from parish churches suggests an understanding of the Mass performed in these churches, Low Mass, as different in nature than that celebrated in

---

64 I thank father Pino di Luccio, SJ, for his assistance in this matter.

65 For the evolution of the Missal: Palazzo, History of Liturgical Books, in particular pp. 107-10. This is evident in numerous manuscripts of missals. Of particular interest are ones belonging to Parish churches, such as British Library Harleian MS 4919; Harl. MS 2787.


67 Cavanaugh, Study of Books. Another possibility, suggested recently by Stacey Gee ("Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England", Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad, Sarah Rees Jones (ed.), Turnhout 2003, pp. 199-222 (210-1, 220-1)), is a re-evaluation of the nature of the sources in advocating a significantly higher number of books in parish churches. The nature of visitation records, many of which omitted from Gee’s analysis, renders such a conclusion inconclusive.
better-endowed churches and cathedrals.\textsuperscript{68} There is very partial evidence regarding the Low Mass. Most surviving liturgical manuscripts originate from cathedrals and monasteries. Even manuscripts which can be traced to parish churches or chapels usually describe the Mass ritual as a High Mass. Thus, British Library Harleian MS 4919 (Colwich, Stratfordshire) and Harl. MS 2787 (Maldon, Essex) assign liturgical paraphernalia of the High Mass, including a \textit{textus}, even to minor feasts, such as the first Sunday of Advent (fols. 15v and 13v respectively). This is indicative of the nature of liturgical manuscripts, which present an ideal ritual, usually copied from a liturgical book, rather than a record of rituals celebrated in parish churches.\textsuperscript{69} One of the main characteristics of Low Mass is that the officiant was unassisted. Thus it is easy to understand the use of a single book for both lessons of Epistles and Gospels, for reasons of practicality.

The conflict between liturgical manuscripts and other evidence requires a new definition of the \textit{textus} and its place in liturgy. As seen above, the \textit{textus} is frequently regarded as an essential book for the performance of the liturgy. In a late nineteenth-century survey of liturgical books, David Chambers described it as “the most necessary book”, while defining it as: “\textit{texus}, i.e. the Four Gospels”.\textsuperscript{70} This definition is frequent in dictionaries and accepted by liturgists and historians, as can be seen in a more recent example:

\begin{quote}
68 There is little research on the Low Mass, and key works are still: Arthur S. Barnes, \textit{Low Mass in England before the Reformation: A Paper Read before the Society of Saint Osmund, and Published at their Request}, London 1905 and Jungmann, \textit{Mass}, §5 “From Domestic Eucharist to Private Mass”, pp. 212-33

69 See above, n. 28.

\end{quote}
"... the word textus came to refer almost exclusively to the Gospels, both in their ceremonial, liturgical form, and in the direct notion of composed and woven meaning."

Similar definitions guided the editors of visitations records, who defined textus as "liber seu Codex Evangeliorum" (Hingeston-Randolph); "a complete copy of the four gospels, beautifully illuminated with costly binding, although sometimes applied to parts of the Gospels, as were read throughout the year" (Rich Jones); or "the gospel books in their original sequence, used in the liturgy, but different from a liturgically oriented gospel book" (Watkin). However, a different definition was suggested by Du Cange and taken up by Brian Stock. It placed an emphasis on the binding, connecting form and content: "Textus, liber seu codex Evangeliorum, qui inter cimelia ecclesiastica reponi solet, auro gemmisque ut plurimum exornatus, aureis etiam interdum characteribus exaratus."

Du Cange’s definition captures the essence of the textus as preserved in the above-mentioned examples. I will argue that his definition can even be taken further to suggest a supremacy of form over content in our understanding of the medieval textus. The few textus discussed above, owned by parish churches, support this hypothesis. All entries, with no exception, describe textus in regards to its physical attributes rather than content: gilt with crystals (Burrough Green); a textus well supplied [with] golden images (Fowlmere); silver gilt (St. Andrew’s, Sonning-on-Thames). Even the

---


72 Register of Walter de Stapeldon, p. 368 (following d'Arnis Lexicon); Register of S. Osmund, p. 117 n. 1 (referring to Maskel and Rock); Inventory of Church Goods, vol. ii, p. xxxv.

73 Charles du Fresne du Cange et al., Glossarium Medii et Infimae Latinitatis, vol. 8 (new ed., Paris 1887), pp. 91-2 s.v. textus, adopted by: Brian Stock, Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past, Baltimore 1990, p. 41. This definition was truncated in the above example of Lesley Smith.
more modest textus were still described according to their appearance: decent (Sidbury) or wooden (Furneaux Pelham). This understanding of textus was implicitly adopted by the editors of the Ely visitation record, as they regarded the lectionary of St. John Church, Melnestrete, as textus, owing to its physical attributes (five jewels or enamelled bosses on the cover). In order to examine the supremacy of the textus' form to content, we must examine textus not in their absence, but where they abound in record and practice, cathedrals and large monastic establishments.

Attempts to locate textus in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century library catalogues are futile. Although the libraries of Reading Abbey, Dover Priory, York Austin Friars' or Christchurch, Canterbury, held numerous manuscripts of the Bible, some of which were of the New Testament, none was defined in the catalogues as textus. Moreover, many catalogue entries are of glossed Bibles for scholarly rather than liturgical use. The records of Rochester Cathedral present this clearly. British Library Cotton Manuscript Vespasian A 12 lists various donors to the cathedral alongside their bequests. Several textus appear in the list, following the already established convention of physical description: a textus bequeathed by bishop Ernulfus (1115), a golden textus donated by Bishop Walter (1148), and another golden textus by Prior Elias (c. 1200). The latter textus may be the one bequeathed by Countess Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor, and redeemed from pawn by the Prior. The endmost textus was still present in the cathedral at the time of the Dissolution, and is now British Library Royal Manuscript

---


1. D. iii, unfortunately lacking its original binding. In the library catalogue of 1202, neither this textus, nor any other, appear. Historical data from Rochester shows that no fire nor other catastrophe befell the cathedral between these dates. One must therefore conclude that these textus were kept in an alternative location, one which better suited their function and appearance.

Objects cherished for their material or sacral value were usually kept in treasuries. There, among relics, jeweled crosses and chalices, textus are also to be found. Accordingly, the 1222 register of St. Osmund, Sarum, recorded textus as 'inventa in Thesauraria', alongside other liturgical paraphernalia. The first textus on the list is a prime example for a lavish physical object, containing dozens of precious stones in its binding:

Textus unus aureus magnus continens saphiros xx., et smaragdos vi., et thopasios viii., et alemandinas xviii., et gernettas viii., et perlas xii.

Item unus Evangelicus bene deauratus cum lapidibus viii.;

Item textus unus parvus cum ymagine beatae Mariae cum lapidibus xix.;

Item texti [sic] quatuor cooperti argento, deaurati omnes praeter unum;

Item texti [sic] duo sine argento.

---

76 This is a quarto volume, containing the Four Gospels with tables, Eusebian canons and Ammonian sections in the margin. Some musical notation (e.g. Exultate iam angelica with a basic syllabic tune in a later hand on f. 7b) suggests a liturgical use, but the lack of chapter and verse numbers possibly inhibited its use for reading. Further information is on the library's Catalogue: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.asp?Path=html/38028.htm&Search=1.d.iii&Highlight=F (accessed 24.07.07).


79 This was noted by several scholars, such as Francis Wormald, "The Monastic Library", The English Library Before 1700: Studies on its History, ibid. and C. E. Wright (eds.), London 1958, pp. 15-31 (16-7), and Eric Palazzo, "Le livres dans trésors du Moyen Age: Contribution à l'histoire de la Memoria médiévale", Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales 52:1 (1997), 93-118.

These entries describe the textus solely according to physical attributes, and lack any reference to their content.

The connection between textus and relics was not limited to cohabitation of treasuries, and the boundaries between the two are often blurred. Medieval Irish textus were frequently treated as relics: kept in book-shrines or cumdachs; venerated; recorded as performing miracles. These books were not used for reading, as the cumdachs were sealed. Another connection between relics and textus can be seen in a fourteenth-century sacrist's inventory from Glastonbury. There, two textus were described as holding not only images, but also relics, probably embedded within, or affixed to their binding. One of these textus contained three relics, and the other no less than fifty two:

In textu cuius superiori parte et inferiori sunt ymagines regum et in utroque latere ymagines uirginum continentur hee reliquie.
De Apostolis
De Sancto Petro    De Sancto Georgio
De Sancto Paulo    De Sancto Dyonisio...

In textu cum leonibus et aquilis in auro continentur hee reliquie
De Dancto Oswaldo rege
De Sancta Hylda
De Sancto Uincentio

No reference was made to the content of the books, and these textus thus functioned as reliquaries. Vezin argues that textus were receptacles for the sacred text of the gospels, parallel to a reliquary. As seen in Glastonbury, textus also served as reliquaries in the common sense, carriers of remaining of saints and martyrs. Another textus in which relics were imbedded was taken from Nigel, Bishop of Ely and supporter of Empress Matilda, by the soldiers of King Stephen, in the course of the civil war (c. 1140). It was

---

81 Above, n. 7.
83 Vezin, livres utilisés, pp. 102, 105-12.
described as a golden textus, with relics affixed to its binding (textus de auro cum reliquis), and was taken alongside other liturgical paraphernalia, which Nigel was carrying on his way to Rome. Relics were not only sacred, but expensive too. The juxtaposition of relics and textus, as well as the materials from which these bindings were made, linked the sacred and mundane value of textus.

The supremacy of form over content in textus is evident in other inventories. Opulent textus were recorded in the inventories of St. Paul’s, Durham Abbey, Canterbury Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and the smaller, though well endowed, St. George Chapel at Windsor Castle. The materiality of textus is also attested in historical episodes, such as in the theft from Nigel, Bishop of Ely, or a late twelfth-century account, in which William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and chief justiciar, sold several textus for the redemption of Richard I:

pro qua quidem redemptione subscripta deficiunt in ecclesia Elyensi, ix. textus mediocres, & iii parvi, quinque Cruces argenteae... item unus textus Edgari Regis magni pretii.

The most detailed account of textus is probably that of the 1328 catalogue and inventory of Christchurch, Canterbury, preserved as British Library Cotton MS Galba E.
IV, fols. 112-147v. It is important to note that as in the 1295 inventory of St. Paul's, this catalogue distinguishes between three categories of books: general books, kept in the library; liturgical books, kept in the choir; and textus, which were kept in the treasury. Entries from the inventory correspond to previous examples in portraying textus as predominantly physical objects:

*Item textus argento de auro coopertus, cum crucifixo, Maria et Iohannes pictortis.*

*Item textus cupro de auro coopertus cum majesty in medio et tribus imaginibus in tabernaculis et duobus angelis argentis et de auro iii evanglistis in quatuor angulis...* (fol. 122v)

Two of the entries name specific textus, using either its donor, or a general name:

*Item textus magus qui dicitur domus dei argento cooprtus et gemmis ornatus cum crucifixo...*

*Item textus Edmundi Comitis Cornubie argento deaurato coopertus et gemmis ornatus...* (fol. 122)

Edmund is probably the Edmund of Almain, second earl of Cornwall (†1300), who made numerous bequests to churches and religious establishments. Another of his bequests - a precious stone - is mentioned in the same inventory. The textus called the House of God (*Domus Dei*, a common designation of churches following Gen. 28:17) is more enigmatic. Lack of additional information and its standard iconography (Crucifixion, Evangelists in four corner) hinders further identification.

The common description of textus based solely on physical appearance and characteristics of binding, raises the possibility that the term textus referred to a binding,
which could have been affixed to any given book. This is disproven by the following entries of the same catalogue, which describe a book-less textus:

*Item textus sine libro in medio auro coopertus et gemmis ornatus cum crucifixo eburneo et maria et Johanne eborneis et auro fibulatus*

*Textus ligneus sine libro argento de auro coopertus et gemmis ornatus...*

*Textus ligneus sine libro coopertus...* (fols. 122r-v)

A different entry even described a lavish textus with the Psalter of St. Thomas of Canterbury:

*Item Textus cum psalterio Sancti Thome argento coopertus gemmis ornalus...* (fol. 122v.)

These examples touch on the very nature of the textus. Although several textus existed without a text, these were the exception rather than the rule, and such textus were clearly noted, and marked out from the majority of textus, which did contain a text. Moreover, the text contained in them was normally known: a textus containing a Psalter was signalled out. The catalogues, inventories and visitation records described hitherto reveal that the standard text of a textus was that of the Gospels. However, as the wording of the various entries informs us, the text was secondary to appearance and text-less textus were not rejected by sacrists.

The luxurious binding of the textus frequently hindered their survival. During the Middle Ages they were pawned, sold or stolen. Most English textus were seized during the Dissolution, melted for gold and taken apart for their precious stones. Few textus still survive intact, two of which are now Pierpont Morgan Library MSS M.708 and M.

---

90 This was noted by Legg, *Inventories*, pp. 28-9 and Chambers, *Divine Worship*, p. 276, without further comments.

91 Another example of a textus, which contained other books, is recorded in the inventory of Sarum treasurer, Abrahaham, c. 1214-22 (Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 178): "Item texti [sic] ii ex utraque parte cooperti argento; de dono eiusdem [Herbert Poor, Bishop of Sarum †1217], quorum unus continens evangelia et alius epistolas". The use of both books in the course of the liturgy possibly influenced the connection between the two, though this is the only instance I am aware of, where an Epistolary was named textus.
709. These textus, as can be seen from the front binding of M.708 (figure 9) fit the
descriptions of textus in church treasuries: in the upper register Christ is depicted in
majesty alongside the cherubim, and in the lower the Crucifixion is depicted, with Mary
and St. John at the foot of the Cross. 92 This imagery is common among medieval textus, as
can be seen in the inventory of Christchurch, Canterbury, where Christ in Majesty
appears on twelve textus and the Crucifixion with Mary and St. John on seven. 93 The choice of images may have resulted from its
liturgical function. The image of Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the cherubim, is a

92 For a description of the binding and their provenance, between England and Flanders: Marvin C. Ross,
Kirchliche Prachtbindung, §77 (pp. 169-71); Paul Needham, Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings,

93 For the summary: Legg, Inventories, pp. 28-9
visual representation of the Sanctus, an integral part of the Canon of the Mass, in which the clergy imitates the song of the cherubim in heaven (Is. 6:3= Apoc. 4:8). The Crucifixion is at the heart of the Mass. Thus the imagery of the textus reflected its function in the liturgy. These textus were highly memorable and sophisticated objects, icons separated from, yet linked to, the gospel text.

The history of Pierpont Morgan Library MSS M.708 and M.709, exemplifies the use and provenance of medieval textus. These manuscripts, analysed in depth by Patrick McGurk, are part of a group of four gospel books extant today (the other two, lacking their original binding, are Fulda, Hessiche Landesbibliothek MS Aa 21 and Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia MS 437). These were written in England in the eleventh century, under the patronage of Judith of Flanders (†1094/5). Judith had come to England following her marriage to Tostig Godwinson, Earl of Northumbria, in 1051, and went into exile in Flanders in 1065. On March 1094, just before her death, she bequeathed numerous liturgical items, among them textus and other liturgical books, to the monastery of Weingarten. Three of the gospel books (the Pierpont Morgan and Fulda manuscripts) were, in all probability, part of the bequest, and remained in the monastery until the end of the eighteenth century. McGurk's description of the manuscripts fits our argument for supremacy of form over content. Out of the four manuscripts, only one (M.709) has the full text of all four Gospels; the others have numerous lacunae, which originated from the time of their compilation, yet they all share the narratives of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. This has led McGurk to adopt an hypothesis of combined liturgical use, in which all four Gospels Books were used at

94 The most detailed discussion of the history and compilation of the manuscripts is: Patrick McGurk and Jane Rosenthal, "The Anglo-Saxon Gospelbooks of Judith, Countess of Flanders: Their Text, Make-Up and Function", Anglo-Saxon England 24 (1995), pp. 251-308 (=Patrick McGurk, Gospel Books and Early Latin Manuscripts, Ashgate, 1998, §15). This article was written mainly by McGurk, and, while providing a detailed analysis of content, hands and history, lacks an in-depth analysis of binding and function, which were to be discussed at a later date.
the same chapel, for different occasions. Numerous uncorrected errors in the text of the Gospels have led McGurk to suggest also an alternative hypothesis, in which "The books may have been made essentially for a symbolic or ceremonial use for the members of a household or capella". Such symbolic use, in which the text of the textus was secondary, may have led to scribal carelessness. From the period the manuscripts were kept at Weingarten, there are traces for partial usage, based on damage to the spine. McGurk rejects the plausibility of using these books for reading, due to numerous scribal errors and lack of Eusebian Canon divisions, which would have facilitated their reading. He does not, however, suggest an alternative liturgical use.

The evidence for their use as open books - affecting the state of the spine - may have resulted from a limited use during lessons, as can also be inferred from the few corrections to the manuscripts and the addition of the reading from the Gospel of John at the end of the Fulda manuscript. However, the damage to the spine may have occurred when it was used as an icon, rather than a container of texts. A limited use of these manuscripts in the course of rituals, in which they were seen as luxurious and sacred objects, lifted and opened, did not require a corrected text, and thus could have caused the slight damage to the spine. These manuscripts bear traces of another ritual.

As both the the Fulda and M.708 manuscripts contain donations and charters, it is possible that these manuscripts were used as receptacles of important documents or in oath-taking ceremonies. This view corresponds with Eric Palazzo’s understanding of the textus as an essential part of the collective memory of monastic establishments.

---

95 ibid., p. 275.
96 ibid., n. 56 p. 274; p. 277-9.
97 Palazzo, Livres dans trésors.
Transition: Textus and the Career of Hubert de Burgh

The register of Sarum Cathedral records that on 2 October 1225 Hubert de Burgh (†1243), the Chief Justiciar and possibly the most powerful man in the kingdom at the time, gave a silver textus with precious stones and relics in honour of the Virgin Mary to the cathedral. The following day, the Dean went to retrieve the textus from London, and placed it in the church’s treasury. Towards the end of that year, the same textus was recalled. After attending the Mass of the Holy Innocents at Salisbury, Henry III, still a minor, ordered that his gift to the cathedral - a precious stone and gold from a ring - be inserted into the textus. The two acts show how donating and adorning a textus went beyond mere pious deeds. Although the motives of Hubert and the young King accord with devotional practices and acknowledge the sanctity of the cathedral, Virgin Mary and the text of the Gospels, the connection between the two acts also reflects a temporal balance of power. At the time of these donations the rivalry between Hubert and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, had nearly escalated to a civil war. Hubert was victorious in this contest, and became one of the strongest men in Henry’s court.

Accordingly, the attachment of Henry’s ring to the textus donated by Hubert expressed...
Henry's affinity to Hubert. The connection was made through the medium of a *textus* (again, with regards to binding rather than content), which was treasured by the cathedral. The 1536 Dissolution inventory described it as: "A text after John, gilt with gold, having precious stones and the relicks of dyvers saints, Ex dono Huberti de Burgo Justiciarij Domini regis Henrici III (3.10.1225)." 102

The *textus* preserved in Sarum may have served as a remnant from the height of Hubert's career. Another *textus*, however, bears witness to Hubert's downfall. On 2 July 1232, on the way from Henry's pilgrimage to the relic of the True Cross at Bromhold, Henry lodged at Hubert's house at Burgh (Norfolk). The King had a special affinity to the relics of Bromhold and had made the pilgrimage on at least four other occasions. This pilgrimage of 1232 was made following the readmission of Peter des Roches to the affinity of the King, with whom the King had spent the previous Christmas. 103 During his travels Henry had sworn a solemn oath on a *textus*, and promised various honours to both Hubert and his wife. 104 The precise location of the oath is debated today: Powicke considers it to have taken place at Bromhold (naming it 'The Oath of Bromhold'), and Carpenter concludes that the oath took place at Burgh (and accordingly refers to it as 'The Oath of Burgh'). What is beyond dispute is that less than a month after the oath was taken Henry wrote to Pope Gregory IX seeking its annulment. Hubert fell from grace, his land were confiscated, and he was imprisoned. In the light of these events, it is noteworthy that Henry's oath was not taken on the relics of the True Cross, to which he had had access on the previous day, but on a *textus*. The


103 Frederick M. Powicke, "The Oath of Bromholm", *English Historical Review* 56:224 (1941), pp. 529-534 (531-3)

choice not to swear on the relics may suggest an attempt to downplay the sanctity of the oath, based on the objects used to facilitate the oath - one to which the King was less connected to, and which was less sacred than the few precious relics of the True Cross.
Sacred Books in Courts of Law

The incident between Hubert de Burgh and Henry III shows that the sanctity of the textus and its use as a sacred object were not confined to liturgy. A mirror image of its liturgical use was its place within courts of law. Here too a book of biblical content acquired a unique status as a sacred object, upon which oaths were made. Many similarities can be discerned between liturgy and law, as both placed the sacred book in the context of highly structured rituals, appealing to the divine in acts of devotion or as guarantee of truth. Similar questions and methodologies can be employed in the analysis of both rituals through gestures, speech and paraphernalia. The tension between appearance and content, so prevalent in the liturgical understanding of the textus, also prevailed in oath rituals.

Most legal records, similar to liturgical manuals, make only passing reference, if at all, to the presence of a textus, gospel book or a Bible. The few entries that discuss it are brief but revealing. Accounts of common and canon law alike usually only indicate that witnesses or litigants took an oath. One record, which supplies additional information, is from the manor court of Great Horwood, Buckinghamshire, dated 8 April 1356. In a prolonged dispute between the Prior of Newton Longville and his unfree tenants, the tenants were charged with defaming the Prior by accusing him of injuriously taking £100 from them. In order to clear themselves from this accusation they appeared before him at Newton Longville and swore thus:

---

105 This can be seen in examples from court records, such as those found in: M. Clare Coleman (ed.), Court Roll of the Manor of Downham 1310-1327 (Cambridgeshire Record Society 11), Cambridge 1996, as well as general introductory books, such as J.H. Baker, An Introduction to English Legal History, 4th ed., London 2002, pp. 4-5, 71-3.

106 Oxford, New College Archives 3914 m. 62d. A similar instance appears in a preceding entry for 5 Feb. 1356 (Oxford, New College Archives 3914 m.62). I am thankful for Dr Chris Briggs for this reference and his assistance.
Johannes et alii tacti sacrosanctis evangeliis corporaliter prestiterunt sacram, quod de cetero erint iusticiabiles domino suo secundum quod status suum et tenura sua requirit.

In this instance, the book used for the oath was clearly defined as a gospel book (evangeliis), with the adjective sacrosanctis, a combination common in legal formulae. This brief account supplies us with further indication as to the ritual of the oath. The word corporaliter emphasises the physical connection between the defendants and the book on which the oath was taken. The succinct account leads us to consider the centrality of physical touch in the ritual of the oath. A similar account is found in the records of a private indenture from 1316, where Peter de Uvedale was retained to the service of Henry Despenser in an oath of alliance. The account resembles the previous record in highlighting the physical touch between Peter and the Gospels (sur les seintz Evangelies Dieu corporament touchez de sa maynestre toute noue). It furthers our understanding of the oath ritual by mentioning that the Gospels were to be touched by the right hand.

The emphasis on the physical touch (corporaliter/corporament), prevalent in the preceding examples and in others, also occurs in a short common law treatise from fourteenth century England, preserved in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.1.71, f. 2v:

Qui jurat super librum tria facit. Primo quasi diceret: omnia que scripta sunt in hoc libro nunquam mihi proficiant, neque lex nova neque vetus, si mentiam in hoc juramento. Secundo apponit manum super librum: quasi diceret nunquam bona opera que feci michi proficiant aut faciem Jesu Christi, nisi veritatem dicam quam per manum significantur opera. Tercio et ultimo osculatur librum quasi diceret nunquam [oracijones neque preces quas per os meum dixi mihi ad salutem animi valeant si falsitatem in hoc juramento michi apposito dicam.108


108 I am grateful for Dr. Paul Brand for this reference. The same text (with minor alterations) appears in: Cambridge, St. John's College, MS B.14 fol. 28v col. a.
This treatise expounds on the touch, by presenting a tripartide division of the oath. This division was based not on the texts employed, but rather on the actions surrounding the oath ritual. First, the witness was simply said to swear upon a book. The (implied) oath formula which he uttered carried a deeper meaning: neither the content of the book on which he swore, nor the Old or New Law would assist him, if he perjured. The book itself is not named, but the mentioning of Old and New Law suggests that it was the Bible - the Old and the New Testaments. Yet this stands at odds with the preceding examples, where Gospels were used as a common oath-book.

The second level of meaning arises from touching the book. The oath, and the trial in which it was given, were likened to the Last Judgement, when Christ would seal the verdict of the perjurer. The ritual activity connected with this image was the touch of the witness’s hand with the book. His hand was seen as representing all his good deeds, which would not suffice in case of perjury. The third level of meaning was manifested in a kiss. The kiss was seen as a reference to oral devotional activities, which would not assist the perjurer. In each level of the tripartite division the connection between book and witness intensified: at first he merely acknowledged it in his words, then he touched it with his hands, and finally he kissed it. The sacrality of the book, its form and content are taken for granted, and receive only passing attention. The oath ritual itself took precedence, and assigned meaning to the oath.

A common law treatise, preserved as British Library Egerton MS 656, fol. 191, presents a similar narrative. An oath was given by a seneschal to a bailiff; he put his hand on the book, said the oath and kissed the book (et sera chargee en ceste maniere

---

109 This is reminiscent of the sacrality and intimacy achieved by the clergy when kissing the textus in the course of the ordinary of the mass.

110 This text was referred to by: John S. Beckerman, "Procedural Innovation and Institutional Change in Medieval English Manorial Courts", Law and History Review 10:2 (1992), pp. 197-252 (204, 211). I thank Dr. Marigold A. Norby for her assistance in the transcription.
par le seneschal tut soul et mettra sa meyn sur le lyvere et dirra issinc: Serement - 'Ceo oyey vous Baylyf que ieo tel jour ne ... en ceste court si deu mey eyde et ly seynx' et puys beysera le lyvere et s'en irra). The basic tenets of the oath-rituals discussed hitherto - touch, word and kiss - are included. The treatise proceeds to list the circumstances in which the oath would be invalid - if the hand was removed from the book during oath, or the book was not kissed afterwards, or the wrong words were used - the oath could be annulled. The ritual form was vital to the oath’s success.

Such oath rituals bear strong resemblance to the Ordinary of the Mass. In both instances the utterance of the holder of the book (deacon/witness) was specified, as well as the ways in which the truth of the utterance (lesson/oath) was vouchsafed by the sanctity of the book as a sacred object. The connection between the person and the book was determined through a series of public ritual acts, and under the examination of a senior member (officiant/judge and clerics). Unlike the liturgy, in which only the clergy was allowed to gain immediate access to the book, in courts of law it was experienced by all witnesses and supplied laymen with access to the sacred object. The connection between legal procedure and ecclesiastical personae was prevalent in canon law, and is manifested in a visitation record of the Bishop of Exeter from the church of Aleborne in 1309, where an oath had been made on the Gospels in front of the bishop’s representatives, in the course of a inheritance procedure: “jurans ad sacrosancta dei evangelia, coram nobis corporaliter tacta, se contra premissa, vel eorum aliqua, de cetero non venturum”.

Canon law provides much insight into oath formulae and rituals. John of Bologna (Johannes bonoiensis), a notary of the papal curia, joined the staff of the

---

111 Above, p. 124; Register of Walter de Stapeldon, pp. 29-30.
Archbishop of Canterbury, John Pecham, and accompanied him to England in 1279. After returning to the Continent he composed a treatise on notarial writing, dedicated to his patron, and intended for the education of English notaries. He discussed the manner in which a notary must question an oath bearer:

Tu iurabis ad sancta dei evangelia, dicere et respondere... Et faciat [callumpnie] ipsum manum apponere super librum, et in propria persona dicere verba predicta... Et faciat notarius quod tam actor quam rears tangendo librum in propria persona proferat dicta verba.

Here too touch is central to the oath-ritual. John of Bologna emphasised not only placing the hand on the book (tangendo), but also the need to perform it in person (in propria persona). A precise oath formula was required, as in the legal treatise of the Egerton manuscript. The most common formulae, both in canon and common law, as well as in manorial courts, concluded with the phrase - Sic me Deus adiuvet et hec sancta Dei evangelia.

When oaths were taken by a group of people a shorter formula was used, which preserved this phrase in full. This proclamation equates God and the Gospels, as the adiuvet depends on both and the conjunction et does not prefer one to the other (unlike a possible use of per or ab, which would have indicated a subjection of the latter to the former). The hec of the formula connects the verbal oath with the text of the gospels and the book, parallel to the ritual acts.

---


113 Bononiensis, Summa Notarie, p. 664. A similar account is brought in regards to swearing witnesses, ibid., p. 671.


115 Bononiensis, Summa Notarie, p. 672.
The connection between oath, text and object led to an objection to swearing on the gospels, which was recorded, and answered, in Gratian’s Decretals (c. 1140):


The solution is clear: God is the cause of all creation, and the source of the gospels’ authority, which did not contain an independent source of sanctity. Yet this does not disguise the fact that the gospel book had an authority of its own. Every oath acknowledged the book’s sacrality, strengthened by ritual acts. One can argue that in order to ensure the solemnity of the occasion, and consequently the veracity of the oath, the book had to be presented as a sacred object, and as such, one that only relies, but not dependent upon, God.

Heterodox groups objected to the use of gospel books in courts of law. An extreme view was expressed by the followers of Wycliff. Wyclif warned against taking the name of God in vain (following Mt. 5:34-7, which is an expansion of the third commandment), and his followers rejected oaths, especially those on gospel books. This was a challenge to the rule of the law. In a recent article on oaths in early modern England, John Spurr identifies the centrality of oaths and the threat posed to the legal system by withdrawal from them. This discussion is relevant to late medieval England too, where oaths linked belief and governance. An example from an early-

---


fifteenth century denunciation of Lollardy makes this clear. A chaplain named John Edward was suspected of Lollardy and forced to recant publicly outside Norwich Cathedral on Palm Sunday 1405.\textsuperscript{119} After each article of false doctrine, the document records his statement in English:

\begin{quote}
I sey that this article is fals and erronee and by fals informacion y held it... renounce and aske foryeuenesse ther of and swere to these holi evangelies by me bodily touched that fro this tyme forward y shal it never prechin techin ne holdyn priueliche ne in apert.
\end{quote}

Here is dual renunciation of heretic doctrine: not only did the chaplain denounce the heretical articles of Lollardy, but by swearing on the gospels he rejected them physically. As one of the articles denounced was the inability of clergy to force a person to take an oath on God’s creatures or the Gospels (\textit{Item quod pape nec aluquis prelatus neque ordinarius potest aliquem compellere ad iurandum per aliquam creaturam dei nec ad sancta Dei evangelia}), the chaplain negated it in word and act. As we note that John Edward was a chaplain, an additional layer of meaning unfolds. According to both lay and ecclesiastical laws, when priests took an oath, they were exempt from touching the book. A ritual in which a clergyman was forced to touch the gospels had an additional aspect of his public correction, in not humiliation.

Priests’ oaths were discussed in the treatise by John of Bologna: \textit{Si vero presbyter est qui iurat, non debet tangere librum, set tantum manum apponere super librum.}\textsuperscript{120} Priests, unlike laymen, enjoyed direct contact with sacred books in the course of the liturgy, and had merely to acknowledge their existence when giving oaths.

The unique status of the priesthood, as exemplified by their relations with the physical

\textsuperscript{119} This account is preserved in the register of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lambeth Palace, i, fols. 390r-v. An analysis of the record is: Ian Forrest, \textit{The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England}, NY and Oxford 2005, pp. 145-50; 217-8 (for a later incident). For other instances, above, n. 117.

\textsuperscript{120} Bononiensis, \textit{Summa notarie}, p. 663. In several manuscripts \textit{episcopo} is written instead of \textit{presbyter}. 
object, is indicative of problems stemming from the appearance of priests in a courts of law, a cause of continuous friction between the church and secular authorities.\textsuperscript{121} Again, the tension was manifested in attitude towards the book as a physical object with its ritual activities.

The performance of the oath ritual is narrated repeatedly in the sources. The identification of the physical object used in the ritual is not always so. Several entries already discussed refer to a gospel book, one to an old and new law, while others to a book (\textit{liber / liuere}). Legal and literary historians have often equated the two, identifying the \textit{book} as as a Bible.\textsuperscript{122} This is reflected in the definition of the \textit{Oxford Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources}, which sees \textit{Liber} as: § 6. Bible (as used in oath-taking): a. (Latin Bible as used by Christians); b. (Hebrew Torah as used by Jews).\textsuperscript{123} Having followed up the examples given in the dictionary, as well as other court records which refer to a \textit{book}, I have failed to find a single example that explicitly identifies a book used in courts of law as a Bible.\textsuperscript{124}

The evidence provided by the \textit{Oxford Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources} on Jews further widens the gulf between definition and sources.\textsuperscript{125} Jews


\textsuperscript{124} John Amphlett (ed.), \textit{Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales, 1270-1308} (Worcestershire Historical Society), Oxford 1912, pp. 352-3 (super librum in inquisitione); Steward-Brown, \textit{Jurybook}, pp. 268-9 (Jurybook). The reference to the Curia Regis Rolls is unfortunately inaccurate. The only example which may support the identification of a book as a Bible is the above mentioned legal treatise, in alluding to old and new law (above, p. 125).

\textsuperscript{125} This definition was also adopted by J. M. Rigg (ed.), \textit{Select Pleas, Stars, and Other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, A.D. 1220-1284} (Selden Soc. 15), London 1902, p. xii, seeing \textit{Liber} as the Pentateuch.
presented the medieval legal system with a challenge, as the oaths of Jews on Christian Scriptures were deemed ineffectual if not offensive. Special arrangements were therefore made to enable Jews to take oaths. A 1201 charter of liberties to the Jews, preserved in the records of the Exchequer of the Jews, specifies the ways in which Jews were to take an oath:

\[ Et si Judeus ab aliquo appellatus fuerit sine teste, de illo appellatu erit quietus solo sacramento suo super Librum suum. Et de appellatu illarum rerum que ad Coronam nostram pertinent similiter quietus erit solo sacramento suo super Rotulum suum. \]

Two types of oaths are discernible: one which applied to general cases involving Christians, and the other to cases when the crown was involved (rerum que ad Coronam nostram pertinent). In the first instance the Jews were to swear on their own books (super librum suum). In the second instance, Jews were to swear on their 'scroll' (rotulum suum). This presented a hierarchy of oaths, based on the physical object used in the ritual rather than on a formula or an act. I disagree with the editors of the Oxford Dictionary in understanding the liber of this entry as the Torah. In Judaism the very notion of the Torah as a sacred object is entwined with its existence as a scroll. The scroll of the Pentateuch was and is revered as a sacred object, surpassing in its sanctity any other book (including other parts of the Bible), and subjected to a different set of rituals concerning its compilation and usage. Thus liber cannot be the Torah in

---


128 See the highly influential composition of Maimonides (†1204), Mishneh Torah, the Book of Love, the Laws of Tefilin, Mezuzah and the Book of the Torah, ch. 7-9, and especially chapter 10, on laws regarding usage and veneration of the torah scroll (Maimonides, The Mishneh Torah: Edited according to the Bodleian (Oxford) Codex..., Moses Hyamson (ed.), NY 1949, pp. 129a-140a).
this instance, but the *rotulus* upon which oaths to the crown were given. The Jewish hierarchy assigned a higher level of sanctity to the scroll and so it was used in cases involving the crown. The *liber*, book of Jewish Laws, might have been a copy of the Talmud or a designated Jewish oath-book, as suggested by Ziegler.\(^{129}\)

Other records confirm this understanding. In 1275 Abraham son of Deulecresse the Jew of Norwich, was described as taking an oath against a Christian, placing his hand on his own book, according to the custom of the Jews ("venit and fecit legem suam, se sola manu super Librum suum de lege Judaica...").\(^{130}\) This was specified again in the entry, emphasising the correct procedure:

\[
Et quia dictus Judaeus fecit legem suam, sicut Judaeus facere debet versus Christianum, videlicet, se sola manu super Librum suum, idio consideratum est, quod predictus Abraham inde recedat quietus.
\]

The outcome of the trial showed that proper procedure had been followed, as the Jew was acquitted based on his oath. In late April 1278 the Royal Justice - Hamo Hauteyn - visited the Jewish community of York and placed the sergeant (serviens) of the York Jewry in mercy for not having the books of Jewish Law used in oaths ("Idem Meyrot [Meyrot de Staunford judeus] quia serviens est judaismi Ebor' et non habuit librum legis judaice super quem judei potuerunt sacramentum [suum] facere in

---

\(^{129}\) Ziegler, Reflections, pp. 209-10, 217-8; ibid., "Oath, Jewish", Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia, Norman Roth (ed.), NY 2003, pp. 483-7 (486), refers to an image from Lérida, showing Jews swearing on the codex of the Ten Commandments. The confusion between books used by Jews for oaths is evident in other sources. Such is the narrative of a well-poisoning accusation from the time of the Black Death in Geneva, where the scroll used by the tortured Jew to verify his testimony was understood by the 17th century editor to be the Talmud: "Et hace omnia per ea quae in quinque libris moysi & Judaeorum rodulo continentur, confessus fait esse vera = Und daß dieses alles macht sein hat er behaht ben allen was in den funff Büchern Mosis und der Juden ihrem Rodel (Talmud) enthalten."

\(^{130}\) Rigg, Select Pleas, pp. 88-9.
This is an indication of both the importance of oath-books to the legal procedure, and the mechanism of supplying them, namely through officials of the Jewish community, under the supervision of the Crown. However, as Dobson has remarked, the content of Jewish oath-books, much like their Christian counterparts, remains a mystery. None of these books have survived, and the sources are silent regarding their content.

The Jewish example is indicative of Christian usage. As seen above, ritual activities were key to the validity of the oath. Following the evidence, it is possible to suppose that the contents of the book were of lesser importance. Legal treatises discussed at length ritual aspects of the oath but failed to refer to the book used. I wish to suggest that the mere existence of a book, endowed with sacred qualities, sufficed for it to become a key object in oath-rituals.

The contents of oath-books lead us to reflect on provenance and supply. References to the provision of oath-books in courts of law are fragmentary. Paul Brand narrates two such occurrences: in the Warwickshire eyre at 1212, essoiners were required to bring the book upon which they would swear (debet secum deferre librum super quem jurare debet) and in Gloucestershire, an attorney presenting an essoin brought his book with him (venit cum libro suo).132

An extract from the county court of Chester of 10 December 1398 supplies additional information on the provision of oath-books.133 During a session of the court

---


133 Steward-Brown, Jurybook.
the absence of an oath-book hindered the litigants' oath-taking. The book, clearly identified by the record, was habitually provided by the abbots of the nearby St. Werburgh's Abbey, in a custom that appears generations-old:

[problem of inability to swear emanating from] quod non habetur librum vocatum 'Jurybook' ... [all those present in court said] quod Abbas Monasterii sancte Werburge Cesteriensis et omnes predecessores sui abbates loci predicti predictum librum ad serviendum in Curia Domini Regis hic ad omnes Comitatus hic tentos sive tenendos invenire tententur. Et quod dominus Rex Anglie modo princeps Cesterienses et omnes progenitores sui comites Cesterienses necnon omnes comites Cesterienses tempore quo non extat memoria de predicto libro ad serviendum hic in Curia [supplied by the Bishop and his predecessors]...

The book, named 'Jurybook', was used from 'time before memory', at least several generations. It appears that custom had endowed the book with sanctity. Its absence inhibited the legal procedures, as no other book could had been be a suitable substitute. As no library record or treasury account survived from the abbey, the contents of the book remains unknown.134

Descriptions of oath-books are scarce, but display similar traits to those of the textus in liturgy. The 1220 of the church of Mere, Wiltshire, recorded one such oath-book: Item liber vetustissimus habens crucem superpositam super quam juratur.135 The description of this oath-book is solely according to its physical attributes - a very old book, with a cross affixed to it. The physical attributes assisted in rendering the book a sacred object. Its age (as in the case of the oath-book of Chester) and the cross on its binding endowed it with an aura of sanctity, beyond its contents.

If evidence of oath-books is rare, surviving oath-books used in secular courts are almost non-existant. I have yet to find such a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century manuscript, but two fifteenth-century manuscripts bear close resemblance to the oath-

135 Above, p. 107
book of Mere church. British Library Stowe manuscript 15 once belonged to the Exchequer, where it was used for oath bearing. Its contents are a textual miscellany. It used some earlier liturgical manuscripts: a liturgical calendar (fols. 20-25v, fourteenth-century hand, with several additions for dates of Easter in the fourteenth century, the marriage of Anne of Bohemia to Richard II (20.01.1382), earthquake in London (21.05.1382), obits of Archbishop Sudbury (14.06.1382 [should be 1381]) and the chief Baron of the Exchequer (William Lasingby, 2.08.1419), among others); an earlier manuscript of gospel lessons alongside an almost complete Gospel of John, from its beginning to chapter 20 verse 19 (fols. 26-82v, twelfth century). It also contains noted liturgical texts for the vigil of the Ascension, St. Catherine and of St. Nicholas (fol. 9v-12) in a very clear late fourteenth/early fifteenth-century hand. To this array of sacred texts were added miscellaneous notes in hands from the thirteenth to the sixteenth, ranging from extracts from the Red Book of the Exchequer (fols. 13r-15, 83-84v), dues from various counties (fols. 15v-18v, 85-88v), to signatures and historical information (e.g. fol. 19, the capture of Berwick 30.03.1296).136

Upon viewing and touching the manuscript it is evident that its contents were secondary to its appearance. Its pages are encompassed by a thick binding (the text is about one third of the breadth of the volume) and an impressive crucifix takes up almost all of the back binding (figure 10).137 The binding was made using two leaves of a fourteenth-century theological treatise, which supplies a terminus a quo. The position of the crucifix on the back-binding reminds us of luxurious liturgical books which were left closed on a lectern, showing an elaborated back binding.138 The appearance of this

136 Detailed description of the manuscript: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/IIITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/20176.htm&Search=15&Highlight=F (accessed 23.07.07)

137 The width of the text is less than 2 cm, and that of the covers is 1.4 (front) and 2 (back). The dimensions of the crucifix are 14.3*10.5*1.9, from a cover sized 18.5*11.7*2.

138 Nixon and Foot, Decorated Bookbinding, p. 19.
manuscript bears a strong resemblance to the oath-book of Mere church. ‘An old book, on which a cross is superimposed’, describes this oath-book well. Much like its liturgical equivalent it was judged by its cover rather than its content. The aura of sanctity emanated not only from the sacred texts but also from its appearance, with its sacred imagery rendering it similar to an icon.

Another fifteenth-century oath-book is British Library Additional manuscript 22,573. It does not contain a full gospel but rather a liturgical calendar (fols. 3-8v) and several gospel lessons (fols. 9-9v = Jn 1:1-14; 9v-10 = Lk 1:26b-38a; 10-11 = Mk 16:14-20; 11r = Mt 20:17-19), possibly taken from a liturgical manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The empty folios at the back (12-16v), as well as the flyleaves and blank space between the liturgical texts, are interspersed with signatures and pen-tests in various hands. This manuscript contains even fewer folios than the
Stone, a mere sixteen, and most of these are filled with liturgical and biblical texts. It has its original leather binding, without any attachment. A close examination of the binding reveals, nevertheless, traces of a device previously attached to it. Several holes and dents on the binding were in all probability made by the removal of that device. Metal pins which once held the device were sawn off, but their traces are still visible.\textsuperscript{139} Two such pins form a horizontal line in the upper half of the binding, while three other form a vertical line approximately in its middle (diagram 1 - indicated by circles). This alignment corresponds with a way of affixing a crucifix, and is similar to the pins used to support the crucifix on the Stowe oath-book. The attachment of a cross is less likely as it would have required an additional pin on the upper part of the binding (indicated by a dotted diamond in diagram 1). Thus all three manuscripts for which there is physical evidence, share similar characteristics: all have a crucifix attached to them.

Oath-books used by private associations are similar to court-books. Guilds and livery companies used oath-books on admission of new members to their ranks. One such book is the fifteenth-century Guildhall Library MS 04645 (Company of Weavers, lacking its original binding), which contains oath formulae (fols. 7v, 13v), ordinance of the company (fols. 1-7) and extracts from the gospels (fols. 10-11). The gospel extracts were copied by the original scribe; they contain the first verses from each of the Four Gospels. This corresponds to the oath-books already discussed, in giving preferences to the beginning of the Gospels, Crucifixion or Resurrection. The use of key moment from Christ’s life or the beginning of the Gospels in oath-books echoes the place of

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{diagram}
\end{center}

Diagram 1: BL Add. MS 22,573, binding

\textsuperscript{139} An example for the use of cut pins and holes to identify a previous binding: Nixon and Foot, \textit{Decorated Bookbinding}, pp. 22-3
these texts in magical and talismanic functions. Thus, the first verses of the Gospel of John (Jn. 1:1-14), which are to be found in several extant oath-books, were routinely used in incantations and engraved on amulets.\textsuperscript{140}

Oaths and Books in Literary Narratives

Legal evidence is frequently concise and supplies little information on oath-taking rituals. Literary narratives may assist in shedding additional light on medieval oaths. Middle English literature from the fourteenth century frequently engaged with questions of literacy and authority. These served as the basis for Richard Firth Green's examination, which combines literary and legal accounts in presenting a complex concept of truth. He identifies a change in evidence and proof, contemporaneous with the rise of a written, bureaucratic, culture. The applicability of literary narratives to the study of legal procedures stands also at the centre of the recent collection of articles 'The Letter of the Law', which challenges the separation of the two disciplines.

Emma Lipton's article in the volume analyses incidents of staged courts of law in literary accounts, and highlights the applicability of literary methodologies (such as the evolution of the narrative from an earlier account) in their study. Such work can be extended to question appearance and use of books in fictional courts of law, providing a mirror image to the legal evidence.

The verse romance of Richard Coeur de Lion, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, supplies a narrative account, in which, following Richard's request, three knights swore an oath of alliance not to forsake him:

\[
\text{On be book pey layde here hand,} \\
\text{To pat forewarde for to stand} \\
\text{And kyste hem penne alle pree}
\]

---

141 Green, Crisis of Truth. His work explicitly builds upon Clanchy, Memory to Written Record.

142 Emily Steiner and Candace Barrington (eds.), The Letter of the Law: Legal Practice and Literary Production in Medieval England, Ithaca 2002. Much on the methodology is to be found in the introduction (pp. 1-11).

This brief account differs from legal sources in employing literary devices and by not adhering to a common vocabulary, such as an oath formula or the emphasis on the physical touch. However, the basic tenets of the oath ritual are present in the account: placing the hand on the book while uttering the oath and kissing the book thereafter. In accordance with the legal evidence, the book used is unnamed (book) and the emphasis lays with ritual gestures.

Another oath was narrated in the late fourteenth-century Earl of Toulouse. There, the Earl gives an oath with a reference to an unnamed book: *Y swere by boke and by belle...* (l. 190). The origin of this formula was a common proverb - to swear by book and bell - frequent in Middle English literature. It appeared both in connection with oaths, and also with their counterparts - curses. The *Cursor Mundi*, a fourteenth-century English rendering of Petrus Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, applies this proverb in the context of a curse, laid on those who attempted to withhold the book from its owner: *Curced in kirc pan sal pai be wit candil, boke, and bell.* Here the proverb was expanded to include book, bell, candle and church. These are all marks of the liturgy, and more specifically of the Mass, when the bell was rang, the book was read and the candle lit. The connection between oath and Mass was, in effect, a

---


146 As an oath can be seen as a self-curse, to be employed in the possibility of a perjury (Spurr, *Strongest Bond*, p. 157).

147 Richard Morris (ed.), *Cursor Mundi (the Cursor of the World): A Northumbrian Poem of the XVI Century in Four Versions*, vol. ii (EETS 62), London 1876, p. 979. See also the entries for Book (n §5b) and Bell (n.1 §8) in the OED.
connection between two rituals, which utilised a similar array of sacred objects, not the least - the hallowed book.

Two Middle English compositions further the connection between oaths and Mass by identifying the book as a mass-book, in all probability a missal. This is one of the only references to the content of an oath-book, and suggests a book different from, though reliant upon, the text of the Bible and particularly the gospels. The late thirteenth-century Havelok the Dane recounts how king Athelwold prepared various instruments of Mass, to facilitate Earl Godric’s oath to protect the king’s young daughter:

Pe king was payed of that rede;
A wel fair cloth bringen he dede,
And heron leyde pe messebok,
Pe caliz, and pe pateyn ok,
... [promising to give his daughter to the best man]
Pat dede he him sweren on he bok. (lines 184-201)\textsuperscript{148}

The account lists liturgical paraphernalia: cloth, mass-book, chalice and paten. The oath was taken on the missal, even though the chalice and paten enjoyed a closer proximity to Christ’s flesh and blood.

A similar account is present in the fourteenth-century English rendering of Ywain and Gawain of Chrétien de Troyes. There Lunet had also prepared an array of sacred objects in preparation of an oath. It follows the previous account in presenting the chalice and mass-book, but expanded upon it by adding relics to the list of liturgical paraphernalia (Lunet than riche relikes toke; The chalis and the mes-boke).\textsuperscript{149} Despite the obvious sanctity of the relics, the oath was taken on the book, and it was to be kissed

\textsuperscript{148}French and Hales, Middle English, pp. 81-2.

at its conclusion (*Hir hand opon the boke sho laid ... The boke sho gert hir lady kys* (lines 3911, 3922)). This follows not a hierarchy of sanctity, but one of common legal procedure.\textsuperscript{150}

Chaucer's Canterbury Tales give evidence for two very different oaths, each using a distinct book. In the Man of Law's Tale, a knight falsely accused Constance of murder. To judge in the case, King Alla asked for a book. A gospel book was brought, upon which the knight swore his false oath, and was immediately struck from the heavens:

\begin{quote}
"Now hastily do fecche a book," quod he,
"And if this knyght wol sweren how that she
This womman slow, yet wol we us avyse,
Whom that we wole, that shal been oure justise."
\end{quote}

\textit{A Britoun book, written with Evaungiles,}
\textit{Was fet, and on this book he swoor anoon}
\textit{She gilty was, and in the meene whiles}
\textit{An hand hym smoot upon the nekke-boon}\textsuperscript{151},
\textit{That doun he fil atones as a stoon...}(lines 662-70)\textsuperscript{152}

The false oath sworn upon the gospel book led to a divine punishment of the perjurer. The perjurer was smitten from above, a heavenly voice proclaimed his guilt, and he was subsequently executed by the King, who, following the miracle, converted with his household. This incident fits the Tale's narrator - the Man of Law, who was well versed in legal procedure.\textsuperscript{153} Chaucer depicted an ideal scenario of an oath ritual, in which the veracity of the oath was asserted by an unmediated divine intervention, and the

\textsuperscript{150} Compare with Henry III's preference of a gospel book to the relics of the True Cross in the Oath of Bromhold / Burgh (above, pp. 122-3).

\textsuperscript{151} The identification of the neck-bone might be a distant echo of the church custom, represented in various visual images, of placing a gospel book on the neck of ordained bishops (Schreiner, \textit{Buch im Nacken}).

\textsuperscript{152} The Riverside Chaucer, Larry D. Benson (gen. ed.), 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed., Boston (MA) 1988, p. 96.

\textsuperscript{153} For the legal knowledge of Chaucer and the centrality of the teller to the Man of Law's tale, see: Maura Nolan, ""Acquiteth yow now": Textual Construction and Legal Disclosure in the Man of Law's Introduction", \textit{Letter of the Law}, pp. 136-153.
punishment handed by the secular authorities. The miraculous nature of the oath is parallel to Thomas of Elmham’s story on a countryman, who swore falsely on the *textus* of St. Mildred, and as a result lost his sight. The use of the gospel book nevertheless presents two questions, which are addressed in an article by Don-John Dugas: the presence of a Christian book in the pagan household of King Alla, and the description of the book as ‘Britoun book’, alluding to an Old-English Bible, or a Bible from Roman Britain. Dugas sees the ‘Britoun book’ as means of supplying an imperial and divine authority to King Offa through an allusion to a glorified past (Felix Brutus), dignified present (the ‘natural Christianity’ of the King) and pious future (predating Augustine’s arrival England). In the context of an oath-ritual, one can also understand this as reference to the book’s antiquity in the eyes of a fourteenth-century reader.

A different oath appears in the Shipman’s Tale, where a pact was signed between the monk and the merchant’s wife:

“For on my porthors I make an ooth
That nevere in my lyf, for lief ne looth,
Ne shal I of no conseil yow biwreye.”

“The same agayn to yow”, quod she, “I seye.
By God and by this porthors I swere,
Though men me wolde al into pieces tere,
Ne shal I nevere, for to goon to helle...” (lines 131-7)

---


157 *Riverside Chaucer*, p. 204
The wording of the oath echoes legal oath-formulae in establishing a connection between the book and the divinity, as well as stating the consequences of breaking the oath. The book used, however, was not a textus, but another liturgical book - the monk's breviary (porthors). Did these incidents present two different types of oaths, manifested in the sacrality of the book? The textus was used in a solemn oath, in the presence of a king, and induced divine punishment for the perjurer. The breviary, on the other hand, vouchsafed an oath between a lascivious monk and unfaithful wife. The custom of swearing on a breviary, nevertheless, did not appear as foreign or unusual to the narrator. Even though the parties to the oath were less than righteous, and the oath was not taken on a gospel book, the oath was nevertheless legitimate and binding. The oath was kept by its bearers until the end, although subsequent events have changed the way the oath and its bearers were seen. Both wife and monk cunningly used the wording of the oath to further their acts of deceit and adultery. One may see in these two accounts distinct types of oaths: one performed in court, under the aegis of the king, and upon a gospel book; the other, as part of a private transaction between two parties. This distinction mirrors that between the two types of Jewish oath, and attests to the role of the physical object in determining the sacrality of an oath.
Conclusion

The material aspect of the Bible was central to late medieval rituals. The nature of the sources denies us the possibility of knowing exactly which books were employed in rituals, and the true content of oath-books such as the 'Jurybook' of Chester or the book of the church of Mere. We can, however, say with a degree of confidence that their appearance was as important as their contents. Descriptions of textus with their elaborated metalwork and precious stones, historical records which refer to bequests and adoration of such books, legal treatises, which highlight the physical touch, or literary narratives which suggest a different use of liturgical books, all combine to show that the contents of these books were secondary to their appearance and usage.

The examination of the Ordinary of the Mass assigns a prominent place to ritual activities connected to textus, in which reading was secondary to acts of priests and congregants that connected object, ordinand and the divinity. A supremacy of appearance guided the compilers of visitation records and inventories, in which textus were described almost solely by their physical appearance, to the extent that a book-less textus was not a conundrum. The material evidence, predominantly from parish churches, is at odds with liturgical manuscripts, and necessitates a re-evaluation of the latter as portraying an ideal ritual, rather than daily practice. The centrality of ritual activities was at the core of legal treatises expounding on medieval oaths. These rituals vouchsafed the veracity of witnesses and litigants, utilising the sacrality of books. Moreover, as the example of the Chester 'Jurybook' reveals, ritual activities, hallowed by time and tradition, also served to endow oath-books with an aura of sacrality. Literary accounts narrate the performance of oath-ritual and suggest alternative oath-books in the form of liturgical manuscripts. Liturgy and law are bound together in these
narratives through descriptions of oath-rituals performed as part of the Mass. These narratives demonstrate how the two parts of the present chapter, liturgy and law, intertwine not only in theory but in the lives of contemporaries. Liturgy and law encompassed similar rituals, in which books were endowed with an aura of sacrality, dependant upon, but also removed from their contents. Books used in Mass could thus facilitate an oath-ritual. The conjunction of liturgy and law is evident also in deeds and oaths embedded into medieval textus, which sacrality vouchsafed their fulfilment for future generations.\textsuperscript{158}

The variety of sources employed in this investigation has compensated for the scant information supplied by liturgical and legal documents. Visitation records, inventories, a few surviving oath-books, literary accounts and Jewish oaths have allowed us to explore the medieval rituals. The value of these sources, some less frequently used by historians, is in enabling us a glimpse into a society where book-less textus existed and legal procedures depended on ritual activities. The juxtaposition of legal and liturgical accounts tells a single story about the sacrality of books used in the course of carefully constructed rituals. The secular and religious spheres cannot be separated; they shared rituals, paraphernalia and acknowledged similar mechanisms of sacrality and authorisation.

The centrality of form to Christian Scripture predates medieval rituals. Its origin lays in the shift from scroll to codex in Early Christianity. Christian communities in Late Antiquity emphasised the materiality of their books and linked the recent

\textsuperscript{158} Such as the York Gospels (W. H. Stevenson, "Yorkshire Surveys and Other Eleventh-Century Documents in the York Gospels", The English Historical Review 27:105 (1912), pp. 1-25 (1)) or the Bury Gospels (British Library Harleian MS 76).
technological innovation of the codex to the new message recorded in them. The successful assimilation of codices into Christian libraries may have had an unexpected result. The need to delineate a hierarchy of sacrality for canonical texts was to become a problem in Christian rituals. Whereas in Judaism a distinction was drawn between texts preserved on the ancient format of a scroll - predominantly the Torah - and codices of lesser sacrality, in Western Christianity all sacred books were codices. Luxurious bindings or ancient traditions substituted this dichotomy as marks of sacrality. The importance of the material culture of the book was not abandoned even in the Reformation. Although a proclaimed supremacy was given to the unmediated word of God, physical attributes of Bibles were still prevalent, as can be seen in the incorporation of monumental Bibles in English parish churches. The size of these Bibles was far beyond useful function, and had a symbolic worth, as it distinguished personal devotion, manifested in family Bibles, and large communal Bibles, employed in the context of the liturgy.

Epilogue

Many questions remain to be answered on the sacratity and identification of books in liturgy and law, but I wish to conclude with a story that attests to the function of material culture in endowing books with sacratity. Several years ago I was travelling in the North of Israel together with a colleague, an orthodox Jew. Outside one of the churches on Mt. Tabor, we read from an old and battered copy of the New Testament I had bought for use on an introductory course to the New Testament. My colleague, who held the book, dropped it inadvertently. She picked it up and kissed it. In a minute, she realized she had kissed a Christian text, which is considered profane in her religious convictions. Only later did I notice that the appearance of the book, an old and battered volume with thin pages, resembled that of a Siddur, the Jewish prayer book, a book that should be kissed, according to tradition, if it happened to fall on the ground. Much like the textus of the Middle Ages, the appearance of the book, combined with its usage, were key factors in determining my colleague’s attitude, rather than its content.
Chapter 3: Layout and Meaning in Biblical Manuscripts

Introduction

Biblical manuscripts were accessible to a narrow elite in late medieval England. Limitations of price and degrees of literacy denied the majority of the population direct access. They relied on mediations of the Bible in liturgy, sermons, visual images and other forms. However, even the few Latin readers were not presented with the Bible as a ‘naked text’. *Mise en page*, changes in ink, script, position on a page and common addenda facilitated a specific understanding of the Bible. This chapter will analyse the layout of biblical manuscripts. It will approach late medieval Bibles not as individual manuscripts but as manifestations of a specific genre, which was mass-produced and disseminated throughout Western Europe. Thus a layout, common to the vast majority of these Bibles, will be analysed as a medium with its distinctive visual qualities. This analysis will demonstrate the dependency of layout on biblical exegesis, oral mediation and expected readership. These manuscripts will be shown to be the precursors of early modern Bibles, not only in their wide dissemination and uniformity, but also in an interest in the origins of the Bible and its Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic vocabulary.

Biblical manuscripts of the later Middle Ages provide an ocean of information about readers, scribes and institutions, arising from their appearance, layout, addenda, marginal comments, tie-marks, borders and illuminations. The sheer number of surviving manuscripts renders futile any exhaustive attempt at analysing them. In order
to trace biblical layout as mediation, I shall concentrate on specific elements in these manuscripts. Based on an examination of dozens of biblical manuscripts, I shall give priority to elements which were written by the original scribe(s) and rubricator. This will lead to the evaluation of an intricate retrieval system, and its major exception, the Book of Psalms. The layout of this book will be analysed in depth, tracing its unique characteristics in extra-biblical uses as well as the complexity of its text. The history of its least stable element - the superscriptions - will lead us to a better understanding of biblical manuscripts' place between liturgy and scholarship. The most common addendum - a glossary of foreign terms under the name of the Interpretations of Hebrew Names - will be linked to subsequent reception of these manuscripts among preachers. The chapter will conclude with a short reevaluation of common extra-biblical elements in late medieval biblical manuscripts, of predominantly theological, biblical and liturgical nature. It will show how these manuscripts were made to accommodate specific readership.

The layout of late medieval Bibles has rarely been addressed in the books on the medieval Bible. Most works have preferred its evolution in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Works on late medieval Bibles have frequently addressed specific topics: source, accuracy, order, prologues to the biblical text, or chapter numbers. A survey of the literature assists in identifying the origins of these interests and their own evolution.

One of the earliest comments to engage critically with late medieval Bibles was made shortly after such Bibles, with their distinct layout and wide dissemination, began to proliferate in France and England. Writing at 1267, by his own reckoning about forty years after the first appearance of such Bibles, Roger Bacon (†1294) was highly critical
of the production and accuracy of these Bibles. Bacon believed that it led to falsification of the literal sense and to a need for providing a corrected exemplar - a source from which new Bibles were to be copied. Bacon questioned whether late medieval Bibles relied on bona-fide ancient sources, placing this Bible as a (weak) link in a chain of biblical transmission. In his account, the Bibles in question originated among the lay stationers of Paris, who supplied the university, and were disseminated through the use of exemplaria - mass production enabled by repeated copying of few manuscripts. This view has led to the naming of late medieval Bible as the ‘Paris Bible’ or the ‘university Bible’, and has been recently refuted. The questions raised by Bacon have nevertheless guided scholars of the medieval Bible for centuries.

Another early comment on the late medieval Bible was made about two hundred years later. In the 1548 survey of illustrious Britons, the reforming bishop John Bale (†1563) discussed Stephan Langton. After remarking upon his biblical scholarship, he asserted that Langton had divided the Bible into chapters, which were still in use. The attribution to Langton is accepted by modern scholars, and the langtonian chapter

---

1 The two main comments are: Roger Bacon, *Opus minus, quintum peccatum*: “Nam circa quadraginta annos [sunt] multi theologi infiniti et stationarii Parisius parum videntes hoc proposuerunt exemplar. Qui cum illiterati fuerint et uxorati, non curantes, nee scientes cogitare de veritate Textum Sacri proposuerunt exemplaria vitiosissima et scriptores infiniti addiderunt ad corruptionem multas mutationes... [about the correctoria of the mendicant orders]” (*Opus minus* (RS 15), John S. Brewer (ed.), London 1895, p. 333); ibid., *Opus maius*, tertia pars (de utilitate grammaticae): “[on the Greek and Hebrew Bible] Et quoniam periculosius erratur in textu Dei quam in textu philosophiae... Nam litera ubique in exemplari vulgato falsa est, & si litera sit falsa vel dubia, tunc sensus literalis & spiritualis falsitatem & dubitationem ineffabilem continebit, quod volo nunc ostendere sine contradictione possibili. ... [Augustine] Sed omnes antiquae Biblie que jacent in monasteriis, quæ non sunt adhuc glossata nee tacticæ, habent veritatem translationis, quam sacrosancta a principio recepit Romana Ecclesia, & jussit per omnes Ecclesias divulgari. Sed hæ in infinitum distant ab exemplari Parisiensi; igitur hoc exemplar magna indiget correctione per antiqua. [need to correct the exemplar according to the Bibles closer to the Greek and Hebrew versions; the correctoria of the mendicants]” (*Opus maius*, Samuel Jebb (cd.), London 1733, p. 49).

2 Bacon’s comment was recently addressed in a volume which subtitle was taken from the very same comment: Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500: Illiterati et uxorati*, Turnhout 2000, vol. 1, pp. 32-3.

division, which appears in modern editions of the Bible, has been seen as a major attribute of the late medieval Bible ever since.

The views of Bacon and Bale were merged in 1705. In a summary of previous works on the origins of the Bible, Humphrey Hody provided a highly influential comment for the study of the late medieval Bible:

"De exemplari Bibliorum Parisiensi non memini me alibi legisse. Nec quis fuerit ille sapientissimus, quem scripturarum versione emendadæ tantum operæ impendisse scribit Baconus, compertum habeo. Testatus Balæus Stephanum Langtonum, Cancellarium sive Rectorem Academiarum Parisiensis, Archiepiscopum postea Cantuariensem, qui ob. 1228. omnes Bibliorum libros distinxisse per Capita, quibus adhuc Ecclesia utitur. Nec dubium videtur, quin eodem tempore exemplar sic in Capita distinctum, aliquatenus fuerit correctum. Num liceat conjecturam inire, ab illis temporibus originem habuisse Exemplar Parisiense dictum? Verum hac de re quaerant alii"  

Hody accepted Bale’s attribution of the langtonian chapter division, and refers to the endurance of this division in modern editions. Following Bacon’s description of the Paris exemplar, Hody concluded that it was that exemplar which assisted in disseminating the langtonian chapter division. Hody did more than just juxtapose two early comments. Much of the research done ever since can be seen to derive from the emphasis visible in Hody’s short analysis: antiquity and originality as yardstick in the analysis of medieval Bibles has left the study of the late medieval Bible in the shadow of its predecessors; the Paris exemplar as the point of origin for late medieval Bible; the novelty of the late medieval Bible, exemplified in the newly-integrated chapter division, which was to endure the test of time.

Hody was known to scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, who began to appreciate the medieval Bible on its own accord. Scholars such as Berger,

---


5 For analysis of Bacon’s comment: Hody, *De Bibliorum*, pp. 419-430.
Martin, Quentin and Glunz raised the awareness to the medieval Bible, while being aware of the novelty of their act. This is explicit in the words of Glunz, the latest of the four:

“The history of the Vulgate Text from the ninth century onwards has not hitherto been investigated at any length. The main reason for this is that textual criticism, seeking to reconstruct the original of St. Jerome, has found it of no practical value, and therefore, of little interest”.

These scholars engaged in thorough-going discussions on the connection between Carolingian biblical editions (Berger) or the evolution of the Latin text of the Bible against the background of medieval exegesis (Glunz). Their works still displayed a residue of the very same textual criticism, which preferred the origins of the biblical text to its later manifestations. This has guided Martin’s analysis of Bacon and the ‘Paris text’ to provide an image of a proto-researcher striving for an urtext. Textual clarity was also at the basis of Quentin’s project of establishing a textual hierarchy of the Latin Bible, by comparing biblical manuscripts to the authorized text of the Vulgate.

These works preferred the early to the high and late Middle Ages, as a conduit to earlier strata of the Vulgate. Berger’s main body of work centered on the Carolingian period, with few pages dedicated to the Bible of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Quentin did not investigate any manuscripts later than the mid-thirteenth century and his survey of the ‘Groupe de l’Université de Paris’ is four-pages long and based on four manuscripts. Even Glunz, who raised important questions on production,

---


7 Glunz, History of the Vulgate, p. 1.

8 Quentin, Mémoire, pp. 385-8.
dissemination and use of biblical manuscripts, displays a textual bias. He adopted Martin's terminology of the 'Paris text' and his methodology of comparing textual variants.  

Although these early scholars investigated the biblical text, they nevertheless identified the importance of appearance to thirteenth-century Bibles. Berger, paraphrasing Bale and Hody, advocated seeing the 'Paris Bible' as the precursor of the modern Bible, and claimed that its new division of chapters was central to its success. This division was acknowledged by Glunz, who commented on the appearance of these manuscripts, which used thinner parchment and smaller script; he discussed marginalia and addenda and their connection to biblical scholarship. Martin went as far as to advocate a supremacy of the physical elements ("...signe extérieur, un signe palpable et visible...") in the classification of the 'Paris text'. He saw in the langtonian chapter division their prime characteristic.

Similar understandings inform more recent works. Raphael Loewe's article in The Cambridge History of the Bible is heavily dependent on earlier works, and shows affinity to their methodology and conclusions. Loewe's interest is firmly in textual criticism, and his analysis of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Bibles stands in the shadow of the examination of early medieval Bibles; he dedicates only a few pages to the 'Paris text'. This perpetuated an asymmetrical equation, in which the most wide-

---

9 For example: Glunz, History of the Vulgate, pp. 270-1.
10 Berger, Vulgate en France, pp. 9-16.
12 Martin, Texte Parisien, p. 446.
spread Bibles, owned and used by hundreds if not thousands, were marginalised in favour of the few survivals from the Carolingian era.

A very different rationale guided a B. Litt. Dissertation submitted a few years before the publication of Lowe’s article. Josephine Case Schnurman’s work, although unpublished, contains an abundance of information on late medieval Bibles, their appearance and provenance. It addresses questions of size, layout, scripts, illuminations and addenda, based on four hundred and twenty biblical manuscripts. The nature of the work, which relies much on descriptions in secondary sources and is more descriptive than analytic, does not prevent it from being one of the most important examinations of appearance and use of biblical manuscripts in the late Middle Ages. Its wealth of information on manuscripts and their users is yet unmet by any other scholarly work, and presents an appeal for a uniformity within this group of manuscripts. Although delineating a smaller group of ‘Pocket Bibles’, it is clear that Schnurman’s interest lays in a more general layout, shared by manuscripts of diverse dimensions. This is implicit in the problems Schnurman faces with measuring the size of medieval Bibles based on their modern bindings, the inability to determine style, provenance or date based on size and a lack of Psalters in manuscripts large and small. The examination of colophons and addenda enables Schnurman to conclude with a suggestion for two possible audiences - academic and mendicant.

The first article to concentrate on the thirteenth-century Bible was published in 1984. Based on a close analysis of numerous biblical manuscripts, Laura Light re-evaluates previous works and established the history of the ‘Paris Bible’, supplemented


15 Schnurman, Studies in Medieval Book Trade, pp. 56-9, 49-52, 133.
later by two additional articles.16 These articles are still the standard reference for any discussion on the creation and evolution of the thirteenth-century Bible, known as the 'Paris Bible'.17 In an inversion of previous works, Light utilises Carolingian and monastic Bibles of the high Middle Ages to place the thirteenth-century Bible in context. Light re-examines Bacon's comment, and furthers the questions Glunz had raised earlier to conclude that there never was a single exemplar of a Bible produced and sanctioned by Paris University. Only few Bibles display marks of the pecia system, and no early thirteenth-century Bible can be connected exclusively to one family of texts or to a single scriptorium.18 Rather, one should see the appearance of the new form of biblical manuscripts as an evolution, gradually taking place in the first three decades of the thirteenth century.

Light's argument for a lack of a single exemplar does not inhibit her from delineating a very narrow group of 'Paris Bibles'. Rejecting previous scholars, such as Martin, who termed numerous thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Bibles as the 'Paris text', Light argues that only strict textual criteria, and not even Parisian origins, can grant admittance to that group.19 These textual criteria are a specific sequence of books, 64 prologues, 'modern' chapter numbers, and the Interpretations of Hebrew Names, alongside the exclusion of the earlier Eusebian Canons and summary of books.20

---


17 This would probably be superseded with the forthcoming publication of the second volume of the New Cambridge History of the Bible, E. Ann Matter and Richard Mardsen (eds.).


19 This argument is brought in Light, Versions et révisions, pp. 79-88 and expanded in ibid., French Bibles.

20 See below, p. 163.
Light’s analysis of late medieval Bibles moves between the narrow, well-defined group of ‘Paris Bibles’, and a more amorphous group of late medieval Bibles. Bibles in the latter group share one or more characteristics of the former, but do not adhere to all its qualities. The latter group is the one behind Light’s survey of physical changes in the production of biblical manuscripts, namely smaller hand and thinner parchment, which were not exclusive to a group narrowly defined by textual criteria. Thus Light follows Martin to emphasise the centrality of appearance. She acknowledges that “the textual history of the bible can not be divorced from its history as a physical object”\(^{21}\), and utilises appearance, addenda and marginalia in ascertaining the provenance of late medieval biblical manuscripts (beyond the narrow Parisian group). Light advances Loewe’s idea of a typical user of the late medieval Bible (a ‘wandering scholar’) to trace the evolution of biblical manuscripts in conjunction with their use.\(^{22}\) The giant monastic Bibles of the twelfth century are seen as communal books, venerated for their sacred and symbolic function, while the new thirteenth-century Bibles manifested the triumph of utility and practicality.\(^{23}\) She quintessentially argues for dual authorship: from the textual perspective these Bibles were a product of classrooms, utilising new chapter divisions, which facilitated the use of extra-biblical tools, and displayed new prologues. Their appearance as a single-volume, meant they could be easily carried to class. The pocket Bible was born in the needs of itinerant preachers, especially with the rise of the mendicants, for a portable Bible that could easily serve as a reference tool.\(^{24}\) The connection between the new Bibles and preachers is explored by Light, who also

---

\(^{21}\) Light, *Thirteenth-Century Bible*, p. 275.

\(^{22}\) Loewe, *Medieval History*, p. 146.


\(^{24}\) The connection between the pocket Bible and the mendicants was explored also by Glunz, *History of the Vulgate*, 273ff.
identifies collections of biblical passages integrated into biblical manuscripts and aimed at refuting heretics.\textsuperscript{25}

Subsequent works have developed Light's understanding of the importance of the physical and textual history of the late medieval Bible. None, however, can be described as the history of the 'thirteenth-century Bible', which Light and other have noted its inexistent.\textsuperscript{26} No single scholarly work, apart from Schnurman's thesis, investigates the materiality, layout and appearance of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Bibles. Works on the late medieval Bible are usually integrated into larger collections, which present a diachronic or synchronic investigation of biblical manuscripts, and inhibit an in-depth analysis of the late medieval Bible. Thus, Loewe's article is part of a volume which ranges from the compilation of the Old Testament through Late Antiquity to Erasmus, while addressing questions of exegesis, liturgy, the place of the Bible in Judaism, biblical illustrations and vernaculars traditions. The volume in which Light's first article was published displays similar traits, with articles on biblical glosses, concordances, exegesis (both Christian and Jewish), preaching, liturgy, political life and more. A recent series of books on the Bible - \textit{The Bible as Book} - investigates the Bible's physical and textual qualities. It displays a breadth of research, which eventually inhibits an exhaustive examination of biblical manuscripts. This is especially true for the volume on the medieval Bible. Whereas other books of the series examine precise moments in the history of the Bible (the Dead Sea Scrolls; Greek Bibles of Late Antiquity; Early Prints (1450 to 1520); Reformation), the book most pertinent to the study of the medieval bible, \textit{The Manuscript Tradition}, attempts at

\textsuperscript{25} Light, \textit{Thirteenth-Century Bible}.

covering all Bibles in manuscript form, and ranges from the Dead Sea Scrolls to the late Middle Ages, while dealing with illuminations, theology and the Jewish traditions, with not a single article on the Late Medieval Bible. It is in the volume *The First Printed Editions*, that important information on late medieval Bibles is provided.

*The Early Medieval Bible* is an example of a collection of articles that avoids the lure of an all-embracing investigation. The juxtaposition of articles on the evolution of the Paris Bible, French Psalters and an early thirteenth-century German Bible, assists in evaluating the scope of biblical creativity in the first half of the thirteenth century, with a preference to its decorative schemes. Another recent collection, *La Bibbia del XIII secolo*, has identified the importance of the thirteenth century in the evolution of the Bible, predominantly in the study of biblical exegesis. Two short and pungent articles in the volume shed new light on late medieval biblical manuscripts: building upon the work of Light, Guy Lobrichon re-examines the place and evolution of the 'University Bible'; Rosanna Miriello supplies, for the first time, an annotated survey of pocket Bibles of Italian origin, and addresses questions of script, parchment and layout in them.

---


Very recently the evolution and use of the late medieval Bible has been assessed at a conference at Columbia University. Papers aimed to connect appearance and use, from the monastic atlas Bibles of the twelfth century to the portable Bibles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Two addresses, of Laura Light and Paul Saenger, have examined the evolution of the late medieval Bible: the former identified an important transitional phase and the latter suggested an English origin for its chapter division.

One work is an exception to the general lack of interest in the material culture of the Bible. This is Christopher de Hamel's *The Book: A History of the Bible*, an introduction to the history of the Bible, through appearance and provenance, from Late Antiquity to the twentieth century. De Hamel's medieval expertise is demonstrated in a clear and engaging chapter on thirteenth-century biblical manuscripts. Avoiding Light's restrictive definition of 'Paris Bibles', and preferring the material to the textual, he adequately names the chapter 'Portable Bibles of the Thirteenth Century'. His longue durée view of manuscripts and prints enables him to reiterate the conclusion of previous researchers with more valour, stating that the thirteenth century Bible was "... the turning point of the whole story, for then the Bible was for the first time assembled into a size, order and format which is still in use". De Hamel's introductory format, accompanied by numerous illustrations, is well-suited for presenting the unique features of the late medieval Bible.

The state of research has led me away from the evolution of the Paris Bible. Rather, I shall examine the standard layout, which numerous biblical manuscripts

---

32 Performing and Presenting the Word: Medieval Bibles in Context, Conference held by Columbia University and the Museum of Biblical Art (MOBIA), New York, 27 April 2007. I am grateful for the Department of History at Queen Mary, University of London, and the Stretton Fund for enabling me to take part in this conference, as well as to Professor Susan Boynton, for her much-appreciated assistance.

presented to readers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and question the ways in which they mediated the biblical text. By paying close attention to specific aspects of layout, I wish to demonstrate not only the uniqueness and novelty of the Paris Bible but also the integration of archaic elements, which demonstrate the transition from communal and symbolic Bibles to the practical and individual reference books. Lastly, as seen above, the terminology for the group of Bibles in questions is far from evident. Some scholars have used the term 'University Text' or the Bible of the university, a term which is being gradually replaced, following evidence for use beyond the academic confines.34 For my analysis neither Light's restrictive textual group, not the portability implicit in Schnurman's and de Hamel's definitions, offer a good fit. My interests lay in the general layout, common throughout Europe in manuscripts diverse in size and textual variants. Consequently the term I wish to employ follows a temporal attribute - 'the late medieval Bible'.

34 The term was used by: Alexander, *English or French*; Margaret T. Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West* (The medieval book 1), Notre Dame (IN) 1993, pp. 10-12, 59-67.
Scholars of the medieval Bible have identified unique textual elements in the Bible, which quickly spread throughout Western Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century. The order of the books of the Bible was altered. Jeromé's sequence, which had been based on the Hebrew Bible, was dismissed in favour of the Septuagint order, accepted by Augustine. The new order followed more closely the literal sense: it established a historical continuity from Creation, through the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings, Chronicles (sometimes followed by the apocryphal prayer of Menasses), Ezra, Tobit, and Judith; the doctrinal books came next with Job, Psalms, Sapiential Books, and the major and minor prophets; the Old Testament concluded with the Books of Maccabees, possibly following their place in biblical history; the New Testament began with the Gospels, followed by the Pauline Epistles, Acts, Catholic Epistles (James, I-II Peter; I-III John, Jude) and the Apocalypse.

Theological reasonings stood behind another change to affect many late medieval Bibles - the modification of the Prologues. Prologues to biblical books were in existence from the translation of the Vulgate and reproduced Jeromé's writings. These were modified in the beginning of the thirteenth century, replacing some of Jeromé's prologues with more contemporary works. Comparing the new prologues with theological treatises of the time, Light argues that this change was indicative of a

35 Jeromé's rationale is presented in his prologue to Kings (Stegmüller §323) and his letter to Paulinus (Stegmüller §3306-7). The new sequence of books, as well as the standard prologues is presented in: Neil Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, vol. I: London, Oxford 1969, pp. 96-7; De Hamel, The Book, p. 120-1. For an analysis: Light, French Bibles, 159-163.

transformation in the nature of biblical exegesis. The prologues, in Gilbert Dahan's words, presented the Bible not as a 'naked text' but as one with added layers of interpretation that connected the reader to Christian dogma.

The uniqueness of the late medieval Bible becomes evident even without opening a single manuscript. The sheer size of these manuscripts constituted a revolution in the formation and dissemination of biblical manuscripts. Late medieval Bibles varied considerably in size. There are enormous volumes, much like any 'Giant Bible' of preceding centuries. Size had symbolic value, as can be seen, for example, in a lavish Bible, which was probably executed in Germany and arguably arrived in England for the marriage of Anne of Bohemia to Richard II (1382, British Library Royal MS 1.E.ix). The size of this atlas volume (measuring (closed) 63*45 cm and weighing more than can easily be carried by a single person), was accompanied by a carefully executed plan of illuminations. Unlike Bibles of the early and high Middle Ages, the size of this volume was a matter of choice rather than a necessity, adding to the luxurious nature of the manuscript.

37 Light, French Bibles, 163-8.
38 A description of the prologues, together with a short analysis and a concrete example is brought by: Dahan, l'exégèse chrétienne, pp. 8-11.
39 The size of late medieval Bibles, the technological changes which had enabled it and similar features in earlier manuscripts, as well as manuscripts of other contents, are addressed by: Miriello, Bibbia portabile, and briefly by Schnurman, Studies in Medieval Book Trade, pp. 49-67.
40 Late medieval Bibles of similar size are BL Royal MS 1.E.i or Cambridge University Library Dd.I.14. Multi-volume Bibles of the Early and High Middle Ages are, for example, BL Harleian MS 4772-3 (Montpellier Bible, Southern France, 1st quarter of 12th century, 51*37 cm) or BL Royal MSS 1.E.vii-viii (written in Christchurch, Canterbury, c. 950, and used up to the fourteenth century, 55.9*35 cm). The later has been addressed by Diane J. Reilly, "French Romanesque Giant Bibles and their English Relatives: Blood Relations or Adopted Children?" Scriptorium 56 (2002), pp. 294-311, in connection with the spread of continental Bibles in post-conquest England. For more information on the earlier 'Giant Bibles', especially in connection with monastic use: ibid., "The Cluniac Giant Bible and the Ordo liberorum ad legendum: A Reassessment of Monastic Bible Reading and Cluniac Customary Instructions", From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Cluniac Customs (Disciplina Monastica 3), Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), Turnhout 2005, pp. 163-189; De Hamel, The Book, ch. 3 "Giant Bibles of the Early Middle Ages", pp. 64-91.
Until the thirteenth century there had been very few single-volume Bibles. Bibles were frequently large (and expensive) manuscripts, broken down to several volumes. The size and price of these volumes fitted communal use rather than private ownership, and marks of use usually indicate readings for choir and refractory. Some single-volume Bibles existed, and these were inevitably large and cumbersome books, such as a tenth-century Bible of Spanish (?) origin, written for Theodulf of Orléans (†821), today British Library Additional MS 24,142.\(^{41}\)

All this changed in the first three decades of the thirteenth century, thanks to several technological innovations that led to a new layout of biblical manuscripts. These changes are manifested in countless manuscripts, compiled and used throughout Western Europe. Figure 11, from one such Bible, probably produced in England between 1250 and 1350 (V&A Reid MS 21, fols. 230v-231r = Job 5:1-8:21), provides a typical example.\(^{42}\)

The size of the manuscript derives from a combination of minute gothic hand with extremely thin vellum, which enabled the accommodation of long texts in limited space. In this manuscript the text area is 10.7*7 cm, written in double columns, each of 44 lines, at about four lines per centimeter.\(^{43}\) Such a minute hand was practiced by professional scribes and benefitted from the introduction of magnifying glasses.\(^{44}\) Thin vellum enabled the compressing of numerous folios into a single volume. This

\(^{41}\) For the importance of this Bible from the textual and physical perspectives: Light, Versions et révisions, pp. 59-65. This is the same author of the Palm Sunday processional hymn Gloria, laus et honor.

\(^{42}\) The manuscripts is described in: Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, vol. i, p. 380.

\(^{43}\) The modern equivalent would be typeset Times New Roman, size 8, space 0.75.

\(^{44}\) Rouse and Rouse, Wandering Scribes; De Hamel, The Book, pp. 118-9. A re-evaluation of means of mass-production and dissemination of manuscripts, with connection to their survival rates is: David d’Avray, “Printing, Mass Communication and Religious Reformation: The Middle Ages and After”, The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700, Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds.), Cambridge 2004, pp. 50-70. D’Avray’s conclusion on the survival rates of manuscripts is possibly less-applicable for biblical manuscripts, which remained a treasured possession even after the Reformation.
manuscripts, which width is 5.3 cm (detracting the bindings), contains 565 folios. Thus, the manuscripts measures (in its modern binding) 17.3*12.5*6 cm. It enables the text of the entire Vulgate, with its prologues and the Interpretations of Hebrew Names - more than seven hundred thousand words - to fit easily into a large pocket or a small pack.

This size is by no means exceptional to late medieval Bibles. Other Bibles, such as V&A MS L. 2060-1948, Cambridge University Library MS Dd.XIII.6, Downside Abbey MS 83548, British Library Additional MS 39629, BL Arundel MS 303, Cambridge, St. John’s College MSS N8, N11 are but few example of Bibles of similar size.45 A few Bibles were of even smaller dimensions, and Cambridge University Library Li vi.22, is comparable to modern pocket books, measuring only 14*10 cm.

---

45 Appendix 3. Bibles of similar size are described in: Miriello, Bibbia portabile, Tabelle I&II, pp. 61-69, with the definition of a portable Bible as measuring less than 20cm in length; the same length was used to delineate a group of pocket Bibles by Schnurman, who even identified Bibles measuring only 11.5*7 cm (Studies in Medieval Book Trade, pp. 49-63).
The rise of portable Bibles resulted not only from a technological capacity, but also from growing demand. With the rise of the mendicant orders a new market was born for smaller books, predominantly preachers' aids, breviaries and Bibles.\textsuperscript{46} Itinerant friars needed \textit{vademecum} books for performing the liturgy, biblical study, refuting heretics and composing sermons. Bibles, small and portable, with a highly developed retrieval system, suited such tasks perfectly. The place of books in the bags of itinerant friars is witnessed by the clause \textit{De itinerantibus} (II:14) in a Dominican revision of the Benedictine regula attributed to the third Master General - Raymond de Peñafort (1238-40):

\begin{quote}
\textit{Euntes ad predicationis officium exercendum vel alias itinerantes, aurum, argentum, pecuni\ae\ au\ mus excepto victu et necessarioris indumentis et libris, nec accipient nec portabunt.}\textsuperscript{47}
\end{quote}

Books were some of the few items which friars were allowed to take on their way. As poverty dictated that friars refrain from using horses and prefer walking by foot, in imitation of Christ, small manuscripts were easily stored in their bags, and used on the road.\textsuperscript{48}


One should not, however, over-estimate the importance of size to late medieval Bibles. These Bibles existed in various sizes including the atlantic and quarto.\(^{49}\) Moreover, the appearance of late medieval Bibles nowadays is often misleading. Modern binders did often truncate the margins of medieval manuscripts. This is evident, for example, in V&A Reid MS 21, where the marginalia was slightly truncated by the modern binder (evident in fols. 78v-82v, 274-276v, and 285-287v).\(^{50}\) The *mise en page* of these manuscripts further suggests that size was not of the outmost importance for scribes and patrons.\(^{51}\) Margins, still extant in modern bindings, occupy a significant part of the folio. Thus, V&A Reid MS 21, which margins were by no means exceptionally large, has a textual area of 74.9 cm\(^2\), while the margins (omitting the inner margins necessary for binding and even after modern truncation) comprise of 85.2 cm\(^2\). This size exceeds significantly that necessary for binding and leafing. Moreover, in Reid MS 21, as in numerous other late medieval Bibles, the marginal space was divided by double ruling lines beyond those delineating the written area.\(^{52}\) This suggests an interest in the marginal space *per se*. In it corrections were written by scribe and readers, with tie marks connecting them to the relevant passage. Other marginal comments linked the text with other parts of the Bible or served as a study-aid for academic study (such, for example, are the comments of Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. MS. D.4.9).

\(^{49}\) Atlantic - the above mentioned BL Royal MS 1.E.IX; Quarto - Cambridge University Library MS Ee.I.9, Cambridge, St. John's MSS N1, C24.

\(^{50}\) It is difficult to determine the cropping and its extent, especially with Bibles which lacks any marginal notations. Bibles where such cropping is discernible are: Downside Abbey MS 83548, BL Add. MS 39,629 and the Bible of the Parish church of St. Peter-upon-Cornhill (on Permanent deposit in London Guildhall = MS 4158A), with evidence for provenance at the parish church from c. 1425. This is also evident in images, as in V&A MS L. 2060-1948, where an initial P (fol. 23v) extends for two centimeters below the current page.

\(^{51}\) This was noted by Miriello, *Bibbia portabile*, pp. 56-7; Schnurman, *Studies in Medieval Book Trade*, p. 63.

\(^{52}\) For other examples: Miriello, *Bibbia portabile*, scheme a-c, pp. 75-7.
The marginal space of late medieval Bibles offers a rationale for their compilation. Miriello suggests that this was done for decorative purposes, enhancing the contrast between the whiteness of the page and the black ink. Another possibility comes to mind. The empty margins of late medieval Bibles attest to a gap between production and use. Extensive marginal space, divided by double ruling lines, existed in manuscripts used by academics. Manuscripts of Lombard’s Sentences or those of the *glossa ordinaria*, used wide margins for the creation of commentaries, added by scribes and readers. Such an opportunity, however, was not taken up in numerous biblical manuscripts, and may attest to a gap between ideal and practice, as well as patterns of use outside the sphere and interests of the classroom.

The influence of university textbooks was manifested not only in the marginal space but also in the layout of the main text. Some features, such as running titles, rubrication of chapter titles, alternating red and blue initials and paragraph marks were traced by Rouse and Rouse to the University of Paris at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. These combined with the newly-integrated chapter divisions and sub-divisions to transform the late medieval Bible into a reference

---

53 Miriello, *Bibbia portatile*, p. 56.

54 The similarities between Bibles and textbooks were noted by de Hamel (*The Book*, p. 129). On the rise of marginal commentators in the twelfth century: Rouse and Rouse, *Statim invenire*, pp. 205-9. Examples for marginal notation in Lombard's Sentences: Columbia University Plimpton MS 61 (http://www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/indiv/rare/images/img0050/) (accessed 30.07.07). A biblical manuscript, which demonstrates the process of adding the *glossa ordinaria* is BL Add. MS 15,253, where several books of the Bible were commented upon fully, by several hands (Gen.-Lev. 7 (fols. 1-28v); Job (142r-149r); Isaiah (188v-200v); Jeremiah and minor prophets (partial, 201v-230); Matthew to John (264v-294v)), while others were left wanting.

55 Such are the empty margins in: BL Egerton MS 2867 (page 21*14.5cm / writing area 12*8.5cm); BL Royal MS 1.B.xii (30.5*20.5*20*12.5); BL Royal MS 1.B.iii (27*18.5; 16*10.4); BL Royal MS 1.D.IV (31.8*22/19*12.5); Cambridge University Library MS Ee.II.23 (33.3*21/18.9*12.2); Cambridge University Library MS II.vi.22 (14*10/8.5*6).

56 Rouse and Rouse, *Statim invenire*, pp. 205-9, with reference to the late medieval Bible on p. 221.
book, with an intricate retrieval system that enabled the reader to identify a passage with ease. Figure 12, a detail from V&A Reid MS 21 fol. 8r (Gen. 12:8b-13:8a) is a good example. Above the bounding lines at the top of the folio a running title in alternating red and blue identifies the biblical books (in figure 12 this is the second part of Genesis, continuing the title *Gene* of the preceding verso). The next feature, the chapter numbers, has widely been acknowledged by researchers to be the most important trait of the late medieval Bible. Until the beginning of the thirteenth century chapters were divided into *capitula*, identified in the text by paragraph breaks and marks, and accompanied by lists of *capitula* (with their first lines) at the beginning of each biblical book. The introduction of chapter numbers is commonly attributed to Stephen Langton (teacher at the University of Paris and Archbishop of Canterbury, †1228) and the University of Paris, from where it quickly spread.

---

throughout Western Europe. Paul Saenger, advocating recently an English origin of the division, raised an hypothesis of a Jewish origin, based on similarities between the langtonian chapter division and the lists of the *sedarim* (sub-divisions of the Pentateuch, meant to facilitate its reading in Synagogues).

Some manuscripts bear witness to a transitional stage, in which the new chapter divisions coexisted with the older *capitula* lists. In other instances, the langtonian chapter division was superimposed on an existing manuscript. Such incidents attest to the significance of this retrieval system, which has been seen as one of the reasons for the success of the late medieval Bible. A unique example for superimposing this retrieval system on a biblical manuscript of a very different nature is Cambridge, St. John’s MS A1. This manuscript is a Hebrew Bible, written (as attested by a rhymed colophon) in 1260 for Rabbi Levi, the scribe’s brother. The manuscript contains the Pentateuch, Five Scrolls (Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther), Job, Proverbs and Lessons from the Prophets, attesting to both a personal choice and a liturgical applicability (the Pentateuch and Five Scrolls were read throughout the year, accompanied by the lessons of the Prophets). Although meant for a Jewish patron, soon after its production the manuscript passed into the hands of a Christian scholar (James suggested a Franciscan, based on the order’s affinity to Hebrew studies). The later reader commented upon the biblical text in Latin and superimposed the langtonian

---

58 A connection between chapter division and lectures at Paris University was made by: Smalley, *Study*, 222-4, who, while acknowledging Langton role in the integration of the chapter division, nevertheless noted their lack in Langton’s own references, concluding that these were possibly introduced towards the end of his teaching, c. 1203.


60 Such is BL Add. MS 15,452.

61 This manuscript has evaded the attention of scholars of the medieval Bible. It was described by Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John’s College, Cambridge*, Cambridge 1913, pp. 1-2.
chapter division on this Hebrew manuscript with chapter numbers in alternating blue and red at its margins. This enabled him not only to locate a passage quickly, but also to read in the Hebrew Bible alongside a manuscript of the Vulgate.

The chapter was the smallest textual division common to all late medieval Bibles, as verse numbers were introduced only in printed editions of the sixteenth century. Several manuscripts (such as V&A Reid MS 21, BL Stowe MS 1, Arundel MS 303 or Royal MSS 1.A.xix and 1.B.iii) indicate the beginning of each verse by a red dot at the first letter of the verse. This device may have been added to a pre-existing layout; it assisted reading, but did not facilitate the retrieval of biblical elements, since it was not accompanied by verse numbers.

Several biblical manuscripts contain a sub-division of biblical chapters. Several types of such a division existed, indicated by the marginal letters A-D / A-G / A-H. There are two sources for these sub-divisions, originating at different times and facilitating different uses. The A-H division antedated the modern chapter division and facilitated the monastic lectio divina. The A-G division was a visible manifestation of a virtual division of the langtonian chapters, utilised by Hugh of St. Cher (†1263) and in Dominican concordances. The latter system appears in biblical aids, which utilised these letters to identify specific parts of biblical chapters. These letters did not originally correspond to a biblical layout, as readers were to divide the chapter unaided.

---

62 Saenger, Impact.

63 There is no authoritative study of these sub-divisions. The best investigation is Saenger, Impact, pp. 35-6, although the distinction between the various systems is vague, and some of the references are to A-E system (Paul Saenger, A Catalogue of the pre-1500 Western Manuscript Books at the Newberry Library, Chicago 1989, pp. 35-6, 38). The A-G sub-division in Dominican concordance is addressed by: Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Verbal Concordance of Scriptures", Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 44 (1974), pp. 5-30 (22-3); cad., Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the 'Manipulus forum' of Thomas of Ireland (Studies and Texts 47), Toronto 1979, pp. 9-14. The former article was re-assessed by Michael Albaric to suggest a 4th revision of the concordance, utilising an A-D sub-division of chapters ("Hugues de Saint-Cher et les concordances bibliques latines (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles)", Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263) bibliste et théologien (Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du moyen âge 1), Louis-Jacques Bataillon et al. (eds.), Turnhout 2004, pp. 467-479 (472)).
In a possible variety of this system, smaller chapters were to be divided into only four sections (A-D). Some late medieval Bibles, such as V&A Reid MS 21 incorporated A-G marginal letters, possibly providing a physical manifestation for a virtual division. This sub-division was utilised also in preachers' handbooks and in a unique medieval bookmark, identified by de Hamel.⁶⁴ A singular sub-division is found in Cambridge University Library MS Ee.II.23.⁶⁵ There the biblical text was divided by the early A-H system, which does not sub-divide chapters, but rather lengthier pericopes. The A-H division is sometimes replaced by A-C division, although not necessarily for shorter pericopes. Marginals letters of P, S, or T appear alongside the A-H/A-C letters of the sub-division. These assisted in facilitating reading at the refectory as an additional sub-division of first, second and third (Primum, Secundum, Tertium), differentiating between readings for week-days and for Sundays. This intricate system facilitated the reading at the refectory for different liturgical cycles, as was made explicit in a note, at the beginning of the book of Ezekiel (fol. 255):

\[\text{nota quod anno quo A est littera domenicalis Ezechiel prophetam legitur per tres ebdomadas et per tres dies. Et illo anno utimur terminationibus notatis per A B C per Domenicas primas ebdomadas, et postea per P S T. Nec habentur nisi quinque terminationes infra ebdomadam; per hac tres septimanas et eciam illo anno legitur una terminatio in refectorio in festo sancti martini quod tunc accidit in sabbato. In aliis semper annis utimur terminationibus notatis per P S T; et legitur prophetam idem totus in domicabuses ebdomadibus et tribus diebus. Item anno quo A est littera domenicalis habet idem prophetam terminationes xxi. In aliis semper annis habet idem prophetam tantum modo terminationes xvi.}\]

⁶⁴ De Hamel (The Book, pp. 130, 133), though not differentiating between short and long chapters. For an example of preachers' handbooks, which incorporated such sub-division: Servus of Sint Anthonis, "Preaching in the Thirteenth Century: A note on MS Gonville and Caius 439", Collectanea Franciscana 32 (1962), pp. 310-24 (311).

⁶⁵ Rubrics throughout the manuscript indicate communal reading: Exod. 1-3:11 (fol. 17v-18 - Domenica in LX; in refectorio); Leviticus 1:1, 4:13 (fols. 30v-31- Domenica in Quinagesima lectio; in refectorio); Jer. 33 (fol.243 - Dominica in ramis - lectio prima). The manuscript is more appropriate for communal reading as it is written on a thick parchment in a large hand.
Inner-textual Hierarchy - the Psalms as a Test Case

Late medieval Bibles presented a remarkable uniformity of layout. The vast majority of manuscripts were written in double columns with running titles and wide margins, and the langtonian chapter division was integrated in virtually all late medieval Bibles. However, this layout did not apply to all parts of the Bible. A close examination of biblical layout reveals important exceptions - elements to which the newly employed retrieval systems did not apply. Sub-division of chapters sometimes avoided those books of the Bible, which orthodoxy was disputed, such as some of the books of Ezra. These books attracted less commentary, were rarely read in refectories or used in preaching, and so did not require the device. Similarly, the Prologues, although marked by rubrics and capitals, were not divided into chapters nor subjected to an alphabetic sub-division.

The layout of other biblical books, of orthodox nature and integral part of the Bible, displays exceptional features. Such elements can be seen in the first four chapters of Lamentations, where a consecutive letter of the Hebrew Alphabet (in Latin transliteration, i.e. Alpeh, Beth...) was written in red before each verse. The origins of this device lay not in a late medieval retrieval system, but rather with a mnemonic aid or decorative scheme, dated to the compilation of the Old Testament. This device assisted the oral recitation of the biblical text, as the first letter of each verse began with

---

66 For example, the lack of A-G division in i-iv Ezra (V&A Reid MS 21, fols. 195r-212v).

67 This casts doubt on De Hamel's assertion that the Prologues became equivalent to any other book of the Bible in the Late Middle Ages (The Book, p. 116).

68 Schnurman, Studies in Medieval Book Trade, p. 83. In unique instances these were drawn in the Hebrew form (Saenger, Anglo-Hebraic Origins).

a consecutive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The Vulgate, although no longer preserving the essence of this device (as the Latin words did not follow an alphabetic sequence), nevertheless preserved the Hebrew letter’s name, which was marked in red and offered another mnemonic device, of graphic rather than oral nature.

The Song of Songs is another book with a unique layout linked with the complexity of its text. From an early stage this love poem was subjected to allegorical exegesis, which interpreted its exclamations of love as manifestations of a more sublime affection. In the early Middle Ages Christian exegesis was incorporated in rubrics of biblical manuscripts. Short rubrics were interspersed throughout the Song of Songs, connecting its text to Christian belief. Donatien de Bruyne, at the beginning of the twentieth century, surveyed these rubrics and identified six distinct cycles. These cycles and their variants sometimes appear in late medieval Bibles. Thus, for example, the voices of the lovers are identified as church (Vox Ecclesie) and Christ (Vox Christi) in British Library Royal MS 1.B.viii, fols. 252ra-253ra, a transitional Bible of a possible English origin. These were marked in red and differentiated from the body of the text.

In an earlier cycle the rubrics merely identified the various speakers of the biblical text (i.e. adolescents sponsa narrat de sponso, sponsa custodibus, sponsus ad sponsam, etc.), in conjunction with an imagined narrative. A variation of this cycle appears in some late medieval Bibles, such as Cambridge, St. John's MS N8 or Cambridge University Library MSS Ee.II.23 and Ii.vi.22. These rubrics offered a solution to a problem, inherent in the biblical text, in which the speakers were

---

70 Denys Turner, Eros and Allegory: Medieval Exegesis of the Song of Songs (Cistercian Studies Series 156), Kalamazoo (MA) 1995

71 Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine, Namur 1914, pp. 558-562. de Bruyne did not analyse the data, and no biblical scholar, to the best of my knowledge, has addressed this phenomenon.

72 For other examples see appendix 3.
frequently not identified, and their dialogues remained obscure to the reader or listener. The success of the original rubrics and later cycles lays not only in accommodating an erotic poem to Christian morality, but as a reading aid. The need for such a device is evident in BL Burney MS 5 and Cambridge University Library MS Dd.XIII.6, where red marks identify the change of speakers, and in the incorporation of a similar device in some modern Bibles.73

The most significant variant of biblical layout is the Book of Psalms. A variety of devices signaled the Psalms out from any other biblical books. They existed at multiple levels: over the entire book (lack of running titles, large initials for key Psalms); in individual chapters (lack of chapter numbers, superscriptions); and in verses (marked initials, punctus elevatus). These features became the standard layout for the Book of Psalms in late medieval Bibles, were reproduced in early prints, and their remnants are visible even in modern editions of the Bible. In the manuscripts surveyed, an overwhelming majority presented the Psalms in a unique layout, and out of fifty late medieval Bibles to contain the Book of Psalms, only two manuscripts (4%) presented the Psalms in the layout of any other biblical book.74

The unique layout of the Psalms has rarely been discussed by researchers. Brief descriptions appear in the works of de Hamel and Saenger. Partial analysis has led De Hamel to claim that the layout of the Psalms resulted from their independent existence as a discrete liturgical book, and from a lack of the Book of Psalms in the Bibles used


74 These are BL Royal MS 1.D.i; BL Arundel MS 303.
originally for the chapter numbering.75 Both these assertions are not sufficiently supported, and the second alludes to the lost Paris exemplar, which de Hamel himself has negated.76 The lack of interest in the Psalms is indicative of views of the late medieval Bible as an agent of reform, common among researchers. De Hamel presents the Psalms' layout as an archaic remnant, in contrast to the innovative layout of other biblical books. Saenger's interest in the development of verse numbers in early printed Bibles has led him to re-examine the Psalms in late medieval Bibles, using the later innovation to project back on earlier features, concluding that the seeds of verse numbering lay in the Psalms' nature and unique layout. A full examination of the Psalms' layout will demonstrate the inadequacy of the reform/remnant dichotomy. Instead, an amalgam of mnemonic functions, retrieval system and liturgical echoes, combined with visual representation of the complexity of the Psalms' text, will be presented.

As can be seen in figure 13 (V&A Reid MS fols. 258v-259r) a feature of the Psalms' layout is the absence of running titles. In contrast to other biblical books, where the name was written in alternating blue and red letters at the head of the page, the Psalms lacked any such heading.77 The removal of running titles decreased the similarity between the layout of the Psalms and that of other books of the Bible and

75 "The design of the Psalms is so visibly different from that of other books of the Bible that there must be some reason why they were exempted from the new reforms. The Psalms were always exceptional text in the canon of the medieval Bible, for the Psalter also circulated independently as a liturgical book."; “It might be that the original copies of the Bible which were first used to mark up the chapter numbers did not include the Psalms”, De Hamel, The Book, pp. 128-9.


77 As can be seen in Appendix 3, there are but few exceptions to this, in which Psalterium or Psalmus David were used as running titles (Cambridge University Library MS Ec.ii.23, Cambridge St. John's MS C24, BL Arundel MS 78).
increased its resemblance to liturgically manuscripts, such as Psalters and Books of Hours.\textsuperscript{78}

Figure 13: The Psalms' Layout in a Late Medieval Bible

The second unique feature of the layout is the singling out of specific Psalms. These were depicted with larger initials, serving as their incipit. Thus, Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97 and 109 began with a distinct initial, equal in size and grandeur to initials opening other books of the Bible (figure 13 - Ps. 97 \textit{Cantate Domino}). In illuminated

These initials are a mnemonic device, which assists in dividing the longest book of the Bible into parts of approximately equal length. The Place of the Psalms in liturgy offers an additional explanation. Psalms have been the cornerstone of Christian liturgy.

Figure 14: The Psalms' Layout in a Late Medieval Bible (Detail)

79 The image is taken from the Bodleian Library's digital images of medieval manuscripts: http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwms/wmss/medieval/mss/lat/bib/e/007.htm (accessed 30.07.07). For information on the manuscript: Alexander, French or English, based on - Bodleian Library record 9:vi (1978), pp. 357-8. Illuminations assist in identifying its illuminator as William de Brailes, who worked in Catte Street, Oxford, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Based on its calendar, the Bible seems to have been made for a Dominican, sometime between the establishment of the Oxford House (1221) and the canonisation of St. Dominic (1234). The Bible's lavish illuminations, rich in Gold and Blue, are slightly at odds with its Dominican provenance.
ever since its beginning and were said and heard daily all over Christendom. The Psalms were chanted throughout the day, punctuated by the hours of the Divine Office. The entire Psalter was thus chanted in weekly or bi-weekly cycles, based on a division of the Book of Psalms. This very same division is the one found in biblical manuscripts: Psalm 1 was the first Psalm of Matins on Sunday, Psalm 26 on Mondays, Psalm 38 on Tuesday, et cetera. Thus, the internal division of biblical manuscripts reflected both an inner logic, subdividing the Psalms, but also echoed an external element, the chanting of Psalms in the liturgy.

Another significant feature of the Psalms' layout is the absence of chapter numbers. This is evident in the vast majority of late medieval biblical manuscripts and was sometimes amended by later users who supplied marginal numeration. The reason for this omission is not obvious. The langtonian chapter division was widely-diffused and provided an outstanding retrieval system. Applying numbers to the Psalms would have been less arduous than to any other book of the Bible, as each Psalm was already acknowledged as an independent unit. De Hamel's assertion that the Psalms were absent from the manuscripts used for the numbering of chapters is interesting, though far from convincing. Saenger's alternative is far more challenging. He concludes that the lack of Psalms' numbers in biblical manuscript derived from the way in which they were known in the Middle Ages. Academics were supposed to retain

---


81 Leroquais, Psautiers manuscrits, vol. i pp. i-xxvi; Pierre-Marie Gy, “La Bible dans la liturgie au Moyen Âge”, Le Moyen Age et la Bible (Bible de tous les temps 4), Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (eds.), Paris 1984, pp. 537-552 (543-550) with charts for the division of Psalms in the Roman and Benedictine uses. Psalm 109 marked the beginning of the sequence of Vespers on Sundays.

82 Integral numbers are found in the two manuscripts, in which the Psalms followed common layout (above, n. 74), those of added numbers are: 'De Brailes Bible' (near contemporary hand), BL Royal MSS 1.B.xii, 1.B.iii, V&A Reid MS 21 (all in early modern hands).

83 Saenger, Impact, pp. 41-2.
the Psalms in their memory, and consequently memorised the Psalms by their incipits, rendering their numbering ineffectual. Examples supplied by Saenger, from the writings of Peter the Venerable, from ordinals, breviaries and Books of Hours, complement similar examples encountered in the course of this dissertation, in liturgical books, model sermons and *ars predicandi*, to support this assumption: all these extra-biblical materials identify the Psalms by their incipit rather than number.\textsuperscript{84} Saenger alludes to Mary Carruther's *Book of Memory* in advocating the supremacy of this type of mnemonics in the compilation of the Psalms unique layout.\textsuperscript{85}

A close analysis of the role of Psalms in liturgy and mnemonics furthers Saenger's analysis. Liturgy was the most frequent occasion in which the Psalms were used and known. However liturgy offered a specific way to memorise the Psalms: as oral compilations, with added musical and performative strata. This was one type of memorisation, which essence was linear and oral. As described by Carruthers, this type of memory was considered inferior to the visual, as it enabled a recollection only in sequence, without the possibility to retrieve specific elements, nor to recall out of sequence. Accordingly, medieval tracts on memory, when treating the memorisation of the Psalms, did not follow their incipits, but rather emphasised their numbers, which were lacking in most biblical and liturgical manuscripts. Hugh of St. Victor (†1142) advocated learning the Psalms by their numbers, which were to be retained on a mental

\textsuperscript{84} Examples for this are spread throughout the dissertation. One such work is: Helen L. Spencer, "Middle English Sermons", *The Sermon* (Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental, Fasc. 81-3), Beverly Mayne Kienzle (dir.), Turnhout 2000, pp. 597-660 (639-660).

grid, without any reference to their role in the liturgy nor to their oral or musical qualities. 86

Biblical manuscripts did not follow treatises on mnemonics but rather liturgical customs in their layout. Psalms were known through the liturgy, depicted as such in liturgical manuscripts and as such were transferred to late medieval Bibles, which did not serve as liturgical manuscripts per se. 87 The connection between liturgy and the Psalms’ layout continued beyond the Middle Ages, and attests to a reality in which the Psalms were known orally and identified by their incipits. This knowledge outlived even the move to vernacular Bibles and liturgy at the Reformation. In English Bibles of the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries the Psalms, as any other text, were written English. Their incipits, however, still retained the text of the Vulgate. Each Psalm was thus preceded by a Latin line, frequently in italics, which identified the Psalm according to the way it was known in the liturgy - through its Latin incipit. 88 This is a testimony


87 As can be seen from the frequent lack of other liturgical aids, their minute script and thin parchment which preferred use in scriptoria rather than dimly-lit chapels.

88 Such is the first of the ‘Great Bibles’: The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the Content of all the Holy Scrypture, bothe of ye Olde and Newe Testament, truly translated after the Vertye of the Hebreu and Greke Textes, by ye Dylygent Stude of Dyuere Excellent Learned Men, Expert in the Forsayde Tonges, London (printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch) 1539; The Bible: That is the Holy Scriptures, London, printed by Christopher Barker, 1581; The whole Booke of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins ... and others ..., London, printed for the Companie of Stationers, 1609.
to their memorability and suggests a means of retrieval which was based on the oral echo rather than on a number.

The connection between layout and oral or liturgical mediation is visible in another unique feature of the Psalms, the writing of individual verses. On the few occasions where verses were identified in biblical manuscripts, this was done by a red dot in the first letter of the verse. Verses of the Psalms, however, were marked as a rule in late medieval Bibles. This was done not with a red mark, but rather by slightly enlarging the first letter of each verse, in alternating blue and red. Marking each verse distinct can be seen as a retrieval and sorting system, which assists the reader in locating a verse. This explanation does not account for the investment in labour and materials, nor for its absence from other biblical books. Liturgical function must again be borne in mind. In the course of the liturgy, Psalms were chanted antiphonally, as verses routinely alternated between two choirs, and punctuated by refrains in between each two verses. Marking the beginning of each verse (especially in alternating colours) accorded with liturgical practice and was common in liturgical manuscripts. The layout of late medieval bibles and liturgical manuscripts corresponded to the structure of the Psalms themselves. The Hebrew Psalms, as well as their Greek and Latin translations, were

---

89 These colours were common among medieval scribes, but also carried an additional devotional echo, as these colours were ascribed to the Virgin Mary (I thank Prof. Larry Hurtado for this observation).

90 Terence Bailey, “Psalm: II. Latin Monophonic Psalmody”, Grove Music Online, L. Macy (ed.), http://www.grovemusic.com (Accessed 30.07.07). This can be discerned in the various melodies ascribed to Psalm 94 (Venite Exultemus) in a thirteenth-century missal: BL Add. MS 35,285 fols. 217v-221v. An early modern example for an antiphonal psalmody is to be found in the Hebrides of Scotland, where each verse was first read and then chanted antiphonally. These were expanded upon by Christopher Marsh, “Music and ritual in English parish churches 1550-1700 - singing the Psalms”, a paper delivered at the Fourth Warwick Symposium on Parish Research 20 May 2006. Modern recordings was made at the Back Free Church on the Isle of Lewis, Scotland, as: Salm: Gaelic Psalms from the Hebrides of Scotland, CD 1-2, Ridge Records, Aberdeen 2004 (excerpts and information are available on: http://www.gaelicpsalmsinging.com/index.jsp, accessed 30.07.07).

91 Above, n 78.
written with each verse as an independent unit. This was depicted in earlier biblical manuscripts by writing each verse on a separate line (*per cola et commata*).  

The conjunction of performance and layout influenced not only the application of colours and rubrics but also the Psalms' punctuation. In the Hebrew Psalms each verse was divided in two distinct units. This is evident in the grammar of the Hebrew verses and in the layout of early Hebrew Bibles, where the Psalms were written in two columns and each verse was broken in the middle. In medieval Europe this element was preserved in layout and performance. Psalms were chanted with a distinct break in the midst of each verse. The role and significance of this pause had been expounded upon in liturgical and musical commentaries. This corresponds to the layout of biblical manuscripts, where a *punctus elevatus* marks a break in the middle of each verse. This punctuation both reflects and facilitates liturgical performance, blurring the distinction between oral and textual mediation.

The unique elements displayed hitherto singled out the Psalms' layout. These features - identification of key Psalms, lack of running titles and chapter numbers, alternating blue and red initials of verses and a break in the midst of each verse - were common in extra-biblical manuscripts, be they psalters and breviaries or Books of Hours. Such features were also traits of the Psalms in earlier biblical manuscripts. Thus, the lack of interest in the Psalms' layout among researchers can be explained, as a

---


95 For a similar phenomenon: Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origin of Silent Reading*, Stanford (CA) 1997.

96 Such as two tenth-century biblical manuscripts: BL Royal MS 1.E.viii (Christ Church, Canterbury) and BL Add. MS 24,142 (Mont St. Hubri in Arduenna).
viewing them as a remnant of earlier, as well as extra-biblical, customs. However, one feature of the Psalms - their superscriptions - necessitates a new understanding of the Psalms' layout, as it did neither follow earlier manuscripts nor liturgical customs.
The Psalms’ Superscriptions

The Psalms Superscriptions are yet another challenging aspect of the layout of late medieval Bibles. They are short verses, which were juxtaposed to the body of the Psalms, and yet remained a foreign element. They were known as tituli in the Middle Ages, and are called nowadays superscriptions (or superscripts) by biblical scholars. Late medieval Bibles had these verses as rubrics adjacent to Psalms, and in doing so marked a boundary between them and earlier Bibles and liturgical manuscripts alike. This unique feature of the Psalms has not been studied by scholars of the medieval Bible, and has rarely been addressed in the study of medieval manuscripts. The superscriptions constitute one of the least stable elements of the Bible. Their history is yet to be written, and what will follow is an attempt to chart this longue durée history, with its impact on the study of the medieval reception and mediation of the Bible.

Superscriptions are short verses, commonly found at the beginning of a Psalm, but which remain a distinct textual unit. Whereas the Psalms themselves are typically a-historical devotional hymns, the superscriptions identify specific moments in biblical history, Temple worship, or Israelite literature. Thus, to give but a few examples, Psalm 3 (Domine, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me), which describes God as a shield against one’s enemies, is preceded by a superscription alluding to the biblical narrative of David’s flight from Absalom (II Sam 11) - Psalmus David, cum fugeret a facie Absalom filii sui (Ps. 3:1); Psalm 11 (Salvum me fac, Domine), beseeching God to rise

97 I have preferred the term Superscriptions in order to avoid confusion with the medieval christological tituli and to better represent their indecisive function within the biblical text.

against the impious, begins with *In finem, pro octava. Psalmus David* (Ps 11:1), alluding to Temple worship; Psalm 38 (*Dixi : Custodiam vias meas*), a prayer of petition, is preceded by *- In finem, ipsi Idithun. Canticum David* (Ps. 38:1) - alluding to a lesser family of the Levites (I Chr 9:16).

The origin of the superscriptions is unknown. An analysis of their text in connection to the Psalms reveals a distinct vocabulary, which separates them from the body of the Psalms, and which has given rise to several hypotheses regarding their origin and function. They are seen as contemporary to the compilation of the Psalms, or as part of a later editorial process, which aimed at accommodating Canaanite texts or liturgical customs into the canon of an emergent religion. Any hypothesis is hindered by a lack of information on their vocabulary and the circumstances of their compilation. Even the location of the superscriptions within the book of Psalms is unclear, as an analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls (2nd century BC - 1st century AD) and of similar appearances in near eastern literature, reveals a possibility of their existence as postscripts of the preceding Psalms. The unique vocabulary of the superscriptions had already troubled the translators of the Septuagint in the second century BC, in which some words were either transliterated or translated in a way questioned by modern biblical scholars. Many of these terms were kept in transliteration in the Vulgate.

---


The enigmatic nature of the superscriptions and their loose connection to the body of the Psalms had challenged a number of Christian exegetes. One way of addressing the problem was to supply them with an allegorical interpretation. Early Christian theologians, such as Athanasius (†373) or Augustine, provided such interpretations of the superscriptions. The most prolific of these was Gregory of Nyssa († c.395), who compiled a treatise on these introductory verses - *Commentary on the Inscriptions of the Psalms* - which furnished them with a predominantly christological interpretation.

Another way to ease the tension between superscriptions and Psalms was to replace them. From the Early Middle Ages there have been in existence series of *tituli*, which were inscribed instead of the superscriptions in biblical and liturgical manuscripts. These were studied by Pierre Salmon, who, based on biblical manuscripts leading to the 12th century, identified six distinct series of *tituli*: Columba (ser. I), Augustine of Canterbury (II), Jerome (III), Eusebius of Cesarea (IV), Origen (V) and Cassiodorus-Bede (VI). These series were based on diverse exegetical works and range in size and sense. Let us take for example the various *tituli* to Psalm 3 (*Domine, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me*). The petition for divine assistance against one's enemies was loosely connected to its superscription (*Psalmus David, cum fugeret a facie Absalom filii sui*) and the narrative of David fleeing from Absalom. The various *tituli* to Psalm 3 are:


I Vox Christi ad Patrem de Judeis dicit
II Ad passionem Christi pertinet
III Ecclesia contra Judeos ceterosque hereticos et gentiles interpellat; et Christus de ressurectione sua dicit
IV Prophetatio David de quibus passus est
V Quod ipse pro nobis in mortis somno obdormiat et resurgat
VI Christus ad Patrem de persecutoribus suis loquitur; instruiturque fidelis populus ne mortem formidet, quia actio eius resurgendo spem ei verae resurrectionis exhibuit

These exemplify a loose connections between Psalm and titulus. Building upon the sense of persecution, the tituli present the torments and enemies of Christ (Crucifixion and Resurrection), church history (Jewish-Christian tensions, Martyrs and Apostles), personal devotion (confession) or the End of Days. These tituli served two functions. At first they removed an element of textual uncertainty with its unfamiliar terminology, which bound Psalms with obsolete notions of Jewish liturgy and history. They then connected the Psalms, which were in-essence a-historical, devotional hymns, to a Christian environment. This was done not through lengthy biblical exegesis (though it was based on such), but rather in imitation of the original superscriptions - the interpolation of short phrases, which connected Psalms, dogma and liturgy. No new tituli were written in the high Middle Ages, and existing series were rarely copied into biblical manuscripts after the fourteenth century.

The third way in which the tension between superscriptions and Psalms was resolved was by their total removal. Although Psalms were used profusely in the course of the liturgy, there is little to suggest that superscriptions, as well as tituli, were uttered verbally.104 It was the incipit of the Psalm, its first verse following superscription or

---

titulus, that was the beginning of the Psalm in chant. This is evident in liturgical and devotional manuscripts, from liturgical Psalters to missals, breviaries and Books of Hours. It influenced the way Psalms were known in the Middle Ages and beyond. They were identified by the first line of the main body of their text, rather than their superscriptions.

Another means of superseding the superscriptions was evident in oral, rather than textual transmission. In the course of the liturgy the superscriptions were not chanted. They were, nevertheless, substituted by oral proclamations. First among these was the Lesser Doxology, which was chanted before each Psalm. Thus it served a similar function to superscription or titulus. It connected the Psalm, performed as personal or communal prayer, to the tenets of Catholic dogma. It situated the a-historical hymns within a Christian environment.

Late medieval Bibles broke away from liturgical manuscripts and many earlier Bibles in returning to the superscriptions of the Psalms. The majority of manuscripts examined portray the original superscriptions as preserved in the Masoretic text and extant in modern editions of the Vulgate. Superscriptions were not, however, incorporated into the main body of the Psalms, but rather were singled out as rubrics.

---

105 This became a feature of psalmody also in Eastern Churches, such as the Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox and Melkite. I thank Dr. Regina Randhofer for this information.

106 Such are, to give but a handful: *Queen Mary's Psalter*; St. Alban's Psalter - (http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/index.shtml, accessed 30.07.07); BL Add. MS 63,592; BL Add. MS 28,681; the musical notations for Psalm 94 in a thirteenth-century missal (BL Add. MS 35,285 fols. 217v-221v); a Breviary of York (Andrew Hughes (ed.), *Lambeth Palace Sion College ms. LI: The Noted Breviary of York*, Vol. i, Ottawa 2000); see also above n. 78.

107 Above, pp. 180-2. This applied also to the Jewish example, where Psalms were identified by their incipit rather than superscription, with suggestion to the performance of Temple worship: Mishna, Tractate Tamid 7:4 (Pinechas Kehati (ed.), *Mishnayot Mevo'arot* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1998, vol. 10, pp. 58-9).


109 This has occurred to me while being immersed in the Divine Office at the Trappist monastery of Latrun. I am in debt for the brothers there, and especially to Fr. Augustine, for their warm hospitality.
(figures 13 and 14). This created a boundary between superscription and Psalm. The rubrication of superscriptions can be understood in two ways. One is as a remnant from earlier customs, in which the *tituli* were written. This layout persisted, even though superscriptions did not offer the same key to understanding the Psalms as did the *tituli*. The second way is to understand the Bible as a complex text, in which the superscriptions were different from the body of the Psalms and were accordingly singled out. This layout assisted in directing the reader to the Psalms' incipits, which were also written with a large initial. Thus, the means of identifying and recalling Psalms into memory was quickly discernible in late medieval Bibles.

The incorporation and rubrication of superscriptions in late medieval Bibles presented a layout which was also a conundrum of sorts. By adding these numerous rubrics to the Psalms, their layout became reminiscent of liturgical manuscripts. Though rubricated, superscriptions were still far removed from liturgical rubrics. The function of liturgical rubrics was to facilitate the ritual. A priest, trained in the days before Vatican II, recalled a liturgical instructor, who stated that he should 'read out loud and not understand the body of the text', while the rubrics were 'not to be read out loud, but to be understood and followed'.

This was the function of rubrics in liturgical manuscripts and in the few liturgical texts which were inserted into late medieval Bibles, such as the mass-texts in Cambridge St. John's MS N1 fols. 381-388v. Superscriptions, on the other hand, did not offer any means of understanding the Psalms. While Psalms were easily understood and identified as hymns of prayer, the superscriptions were enigmatic and alluded to long-forgotten customs in an unknown language.

---

110 I thank Cardinal Carlomaria Martini, SJ, for this observation.
The superscriptions were an unstable element within the biblical text. This was reflected in late medieval Bibles, in which they consist one of the largest variation in layout. In some late medieval Bibles they were omitted altogether, while few manuscripts provide a generic superscription - *Psalmus David* - to all Psalms. A moment of transition can be seen in BL Add. MS 15,253, a manuscript of French origins. In this manuscript most superscriptions are of the standard, modern, type. However, some of the Psalms, whose superscriptions are either extremely short or lacking in the biblical text, are preceded by *tituli*. Thus, in Psalm 102 (*benedic anima mea domino*, fol. 160ra) the superscription *Ipsi David* was replaced by *Vox ecclesie ad populum*, the relevant *titulus* of Salmon’s series I. In some instances the appearance of *tituli* and the Psalms’ layout is indicative to a tension between scribe and rubricator. In Cambridge St. John’s MSS I28 and C24, the space left by the scribe in between the Psalms was not filled by the rubricator, and remains empty.

These exceptions did not inhibit the re-integration of the superscriptions in the vast majority of manuscripts. Out of forty eight manuscripts which adhere to a distinct Psalms’ layout, thirty four (c. 71%) provide full superscriptions, or space in which these were to be written; eleven (c. 23%) omit superscriptions altogether, and 2 (c. 4%) present generic superscriptions. The re-integration of this unique and cryptic element back into late medieval Bibles can be seen in light of a renewed interest in the original

---

111 See appendix 3. Manuscripts which lack superscriptions are: BL Harl. MS 613, BL Add. MS 11842, BL Royal MS 1.A.xix, Cambridge University Library MS Hh.i.3, BL Lans. MS 438, BL Royal MS 1.B.xii, BL Arundel MS 78, BL Add. MS 23,935. These manuscripts did not share a common provenance nor were written at the same time: The first two MSS are earlier, while the other adhere to a common layout; Royal 1.B.xii and Arundel 78 are of English origin, while others, such as Add. 23,935 are of French origin. Manuscripts in which a generic superscription was applied, are: BL Lans. MS 453 and Cambridge, St. John’s MS N11.
biblical text, one which is evident in its commonest addendum - the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*. 
The Interpretations of Hebrew Names

Among the various addenda found in biblical manuscripts none stands out so clearly as the Interpretations of Hebrew Names (Interpretationes nominum hebraeorum, Stegmüller §7709). This glossary, which provides multiple definitions for Hebrew (as well as Aramaic and Greek) words in the Vulgate, became a standard feature of late medieval Bibles. The vast number of biblical manuscripts that contained the Interpretations exemplifies its popularity. Out of fifty seven late medieval Bibles investigated, thirty seven manuscripts held the Interpretations, a staggering 65 percent.

If we allow for the removal of the Interpretations from biblical manuscripts at a later date, the true percentage is even more impressive. Similar ratio is advocated by d'Esneval and Rouse and Rouse in their analyses of the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.112

The Interpretations were examined by Amaury d'Esneval, in a study which has not yet been surpassed.113 His work charts the evolution of the Interpretations, ascribing it to a university setting. D'esneval reliance on the theory of the Paris

---

112 D’esneval estimated that there are more than 500 copies of the Interpretations (the Aaz rendering) nowadays, showing that out of the first 200 items at the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, about fifty contained the Interpretations - Amaury d’Esneval, “Le perfectionnement d’un instrument de travail au début du XIIIe Siècle: Les trois glossaires bibliques d’Etienne Langton”, Culture et travail intellectuel dans l’Occident médiéval, Geneviève Hasenohr and Jean Longère (eds.), Paris 1981, pp. 163-175 (p. 164 n. 12). A similar methodology was practiced by Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse to conclude that the Interpretations “... appearing in virtually all Bibles thereafter [1200].” (Statim invenire p. 221) based on the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, where 81/91 thirteenth-century full Bibles contain a version of the Interpretations. The discrepancy in numbers, although probably relying on the same catalogue (as d’Esneval did not reference his inquiry), is due to the scope of the investigation - the first 200 for d’Esneval, and the entire first volume for Rouse and Rouse.

Exemplar (which was repudiated by Light few years afterwards), does not lessen his originality in identifying distinct renderings of the Interpretations, their evolution and nature. Building upon his work I wish to explore the ways by which the Interpretations were incorporated into late medieval Bibles and their possible uses.

The Interpretations originated with Jerome’s translation of the Vulgate. Some foreign names, predominantly in Hebrew, but also in Greek and Aramaic, were not translated by Jerome, but rather transliterated. In order to assist in their understanding, Jerome drew upon the Onomasticon of Eusebius of Caesarea († c.330), to compile a glossary of the various names of the Bible - the Liber interpretationis. He expanded Eusebius’s work to include not only place-names but also proper names. Jerome’s work circulated widely in the Middle Ages, and served as the basis for the Interpretations, attributed to Stephan Langton and written in Paris at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. There are three distinct renderings of the Interpretations, which are usually identified by their first entry - Adam, Aaron, Aaz. Each of these renderings became more elaborate, and encompassed more and more biblical names, defining also names of biblical personae of little significance. Thus, the last rendering ranged from Aaz (grandfather of a lower priest in Neh 11:13) to Zuzim (a Canaanite tribe, Gen. 14:5).

Two modifications of the Interpretations facilitated its use and provenance. The first was a transition from a classification by-book to a single glossary. This can be seen as a gradual process: Jerome's work was divided to individual books of the Bible, each sub-divided alphabetically (e.g. Genesis A-Z, Exodus A-Z etc.). This was altered in the

---

114 Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum (CCSL 72), Paul Antin (ed.), Turnhout 1959, pp. 57-161.

115 This was based, inter alia, on an inscription in Université de Médecine a Montpellier MS 341 fol. 81, quoted by D'esneval, instrument de travail, n. 12, p. 165. De Hamel (The Book, p. 113) raises doubts regarding this attribution, without additional information.
first rendering of the *Interpretations* (*Adam*), to form an alphabetical sequence subdivided by biblical books within each letter (i.e. A: Gen-Apoc., B: Gen-Apoc, etc.).

The latest rendering, and the one common in late medieval biblical manuscripts (*Aaz*), followed a single alphabetic sequence, combining all books of the Bible into one glossary.

The second change was not in the nature of the *Interpretations*, but rather in its location. The *Interpretations*, much like Jerome's *Liber interpretationis*, initially circulated independently and was to be found in miscellanies among other biblical aids. With the introduction of the late medieval Bible, the *Interpretations* became its standard feature, and was located either at the beginning of the manuscript (as in Cambridge University Library MS Ee.I.16 or BL Royal MS Royal 1.E.ix), or more commonly at its end. D'esneval sees the rise of the *Interpretations* as parallel to an academic shift towards systemisation of knowledge, which also gave rise to the newly integrated chapter numbers. The change in the nature of the *Interpretations* also emanated from changes in the compilation of Bibles. The appearance and success of single-volume Bibles rendered the *Liber interpretationis* and earlier versions of the *Interpretations* obsolete. The division of the glossary to biblical books befitted Bibles of multiple volumes, which became antiquated by the middle of the thirteenth century. A single glossary, combined with a single-volume Bible enabled a quick and efficient usage.

---


117 This change, and the appeal of the *Interpretations* at large, can be seen on the background of the rise of alphabetic aids in the twelfth century: Rouse and Rouse, *Statim invenire*, pp. 210-2.


What information did these glossaries supply? How were they used, and by whom? Answers to these questions are to be found in the entries of the *Interpretations*, in marginal notations and in evidence for its use outside biblical manuscripts. The medieval name *Interpretationes nominum hebraeorum* attests to their function in deciphering the cryptic words of the Vulgate. This was not, however, accomplished by the *Interpretations*, at least not in the way we would imagine a glossary today. From the strictest perspective the *Interpretations* does not assist in understanding the biblical narrative. The history of the post-exilic Jewish community does not require the identification of *Aaz* as one who grasps or as capture (*apprehendens vel apprehensio*), and defining *Aron* as a strong mountain (*mons fortis vel mons fortitudinis sive montanus*) does not shed light on the obscure elements in the story of Moses. The *Interpretations* provides little or no additional information on the biblical narrative, and does not constitute a gazetteer nor a compendium to biblical personae. It does provide multiple definitions which go beyond the literal sense of the text.

The success of this aid and its appeal to medieval audiences was unequivocal. Its importance was told in explicit statements, such as the one, brought by d'Esneval from a marginal note in a thirteenth-century miscellany of biblical aids:

> "Interpretationes igitur nominum scire tam necessaria res quam clavi domui reserandae. Absque tali clave in domum nechota non introitur, id est domum aromatum...".\(^{121}\)

This statement likens the *Interpretations* to a key. Following 2 Kgs. 20:13 (*laetatus est autem in adventum eorum Ezechias et ostendit eis domum aromatum et aurum et*

---

\(^{120}\) There is no critical edition of the *Interpretations*, and the last printed edition is of the seventeenth century. I have therefore relied on several manuscripts: BL. Add. MS 39,629, fol 560ra-604va (560ra), corroborated with BL Stowe MS 1, fols. 426ra-465va and V&A Reid MS 21, fol. 530r-565r.

\(^{121}\) D'esneval, *Instrument de travail*, p. 163 n.5. For information on the manuscript - Henry Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France: Paris), vol. i, Paris 1885, pp. 49-50. Regretfully I was not yet to examine the manuscript in person.
argentum et pigmenta varia unguenta...) it depicts it as a vital tool for entering the biblical text. As argued by d’Esneval, the comment was written by a biblical scholar, as the Hebrew term Nechota does appear in the Vulgate. This statement exemplifies the true function of the Interpretations. The term Nechota supports an allegorical interpretation, in which the closed space symbolises esoteric knowledge.\textsuperscript{122}

This is the true value of the Interpretations and the reason for its overwhelming preeminence. It assisted not the understanding of the Bible as text, but as a manifestation of theological thought. It provided definitions which enabled the reader to connect a specific narrative to the tenets of Catholic dogma in a way that opened numerous possibilities, rather that dictate a single alternative. As opposed to the tituli of the Psalms, it did not provide a fixed allegorical interpretation, which would have limited the user’s capacity to modify it to a specific context. Rather it created tension between the original text and the interpretation of the word, tension which could then be utilised by the reader/exegete/preacher to his own needs. In other words, the Interpretations did not supply explicit tropological, allegorical or anagogical exegesis, but rather a basis which could accommodate all three. As shown by d’Esneval, such interpretations were frequently employed by medieval exegetes.\textsuperscript{123} The applicability of the Interpretations went beyond the confines of universities, and was used profusely by preachers, an important user-group of late medieval Bibles. The mechanisms of employing the Interpretations in sermons are discussed elsewhere (Chapter 4: Sermons as Biblical Mediation, The Interpretations of Hebrew Names in Practice, below, pp.

\textsuperscript{122} In an echo of Sg 4:12-5, which was frequently likened to recondite knowledge (Glossa Ordinaria, vol. ii, pp. 716-7).

\textsuperscript{123} D’esneval, Instrument de travail, p. 164.
251-8). Their applicability in other occasions was suggested by a note in a 1234 Bible, which expressed hopes that this aid will contribute to the conversion of the Jews.\textsuperscript{124}

Before going further, it would be beneficial to return to d'Esneval's remark on the word \textit{Nechota}. His assertion that the word was not to be found in the Vulgate is corroborated by an examination of biblical search-engines, concordances and several late medieval Bibles. The two places in which the Hebrew term appears (Is. 39:2 and 2 Kgs 20:13) were translated in the Vulgate: the former as \textit{cellam aromatum} and the latter as \textit{domum aromatum}.\textsuperscript{125} The term \textit{Nechota}, nevertheless, appears in the Interpretations, where it was identified as: \textit{Aroma vel thuniama sive storax euis aut aromatizatio eius}.\textsuperscript{126} This puts the \textit{Interpretations} in a completely different light. It is a glossary of Hebrew words attached to the Vulgate, which contains words no longer extant in it. An alternative use of the \textit{Interpretations} comes to mind. Instead of a glossary, to which the reader turned when confronted with a foreign word, it can be seen as a first port of call, to where a reader, interested in authoritative use of the Bible, would go. A trace for this type of reading can be seen in BL Royal MS 1.B.viii (a thirteenth-century Bible of English provenance), where chapter numbers were added to the \textit{Interpretations} (in the \textit{Aaron} rendering). This enabled the reader either to compare occurrences of a specific word, or, perhaps more importantly, to start with a desirable definition and then follow it with a relevant biblical quotation.

The popularity of the \textit{Interpretations} attests to an interest in the Bible beyond its narrative qualities. The value of individual words was highlighted, disconnected from the narrative in which these words originally appeared. It corresponded with the new

\textsuperscript{124} De Hamel, \textit{The Book}, p. 123.

\textsuperscript{125} This follows Jerome's \textit{Liber interpretationis}, p. 117. See for example BL Add. MS 39,629 fol. 592rb.

\textsuperscript{126} Add. 39,629 fol. 592rb and parallels.
style of preaching, which preferred the *thema* - a single sentence or a lone word - as the core of sermons, to entire biblical narratives. Moreover, much like the re-appearance of the Psalms’ superscriptions, it pointed the readers’ attention to the *lectio difficilior* of the Vulgate. It celebrated conflicting readings, and presented the reader with multiple definitions, cryptic words and contradictions. It also reminded readers that the Vulgate was not the original form of God’s word. It can thus be seen as an important stepping-stone in the rising interest in the origins of the Bible, celebrated by Humanists and Reformers alike.
Extra-Biblical Elements: Liturgical, Biblical and Theological

In this chapter I have studied layout, addenda and appearance that were common to the vast majority of late medieval Bibles. Yet, presenting only these elements may give a misleading idea of the uniformity of these Bibles, as it ignores the uniqueness of each. These were distinct manuscripts, frequently personal, and no one is fully like the other. The various addenda, ranging from liturgical to theological and biblical aids, assisted in accommodating Bibles for specific needs, and could be examined, with questions of location and nature, to supplement out understanding of the layout of late medieval Bibles. Following my interest in late medieval Bibles as a specific genre, the most common addenda will be explored, emphasising the addenda written by the original scribe(s) of the manuscripts. 127

A crime committed more than seven hundred years ago sheds unexpected light on the 'personalisation' of Bibles in late medieval England. Around the feast of St. Margaret (20 July), 1253, a Bible was stolen from Reading Abbey. In an attempt to prevent its sale, the sacrist of the Abbey, Alured of Dover, sent letters with detailed description to ward off potential buyers. Unlike library catalogues, the letter, a copy of which was filed in the Abbey's archives, was as detailed as possible, in an attempt to single the Bible out. 128 The Bible was first identified by its small measurements - only c.15 cm in length (biblia una parva mensure quasi unius palmi et dimidii). Later, and in

127 The most detailed survey of addenda to late medieval Bibles is still Schnurman, Studies in Medieval Book Trade, pp. 143-8.

order to firmly identify the Bible, the various addenda were enumerated. No reference was made to its layout, as it followed, in all probability, the late medieval standard.

The stolen Bible contained extra-biblical elements in four clusters: in its beginning (*in principio libri*) it held Robert Grosseteste’s *Templum Domini* (Stegmüller §7404,4), *De sex alis cherubim* (Alan of Lille’s (?), Stegmüller §949), treatise on the candelabra, Peter of Poitiers’s *Genealogia historiarum* (Stegmüller §6778); between Psalms and Proverbs (*item post Psalterium ante Parabolas Salomonis*) a calendar; between the Old and New Testaments (*item in fine Ecclesiastici, scilicet ante novum testamentum*, showing an order of books not common among ‘Paris Bibles’) a list of Gospel and Epistle readings for the liturgical year; at the end of the Bible (*post bybliam*) were written an excerpt from Peter of Riga’s *Aurora* (stegmüller §6823-6825), the *Interpretations* (attributed to Remigius of Auxerre), concordance (possibly Stegmüller §3605-6), diffinciones (?) in alphabetical order129, verses on the Evangelists and Pseudo-Augustine’s *Liber de spiritu et anima* (PL 40:779-832).

The various additions range between theological treatises to liturgical and biblical aids. Their number surpasses those found in biblical manuscripts nowadays. It is difficult to know how and when these addenda were incorporated into the Bible, but on one of these elements there appears to be additional information. Pseudo-Augustine’s *De spiritu et anima* did not constitute a part of the original Bible, but rather was added at the Abbey in a later date. A list of labours of another brother of the Abbey, W[illiam] of Wycombe, enumerated various tasks he was given, unwillingly. Among these tasks was the copying of the said tract and its insertion into a Bible, which had been

129 This could possibly be erroneously copied *distinctiones*.
purchased previously by Alured.\textsuperscript{130} This explains Alured’s interest in retrieving the Bible and is an indication of the personalisation and alteration of a Bible following its acquisition.

Not only the content, but also the location of the addenda is important. The beginning and end of a manuscript were pragmatic locations, easily accessed by the users. The transition between Old and New Testaments was less functional, but constituted a major break in the biblical corpus. Moreover, it placed the list of lessons near the Gospels and Epistles to which it referred. The fourth location, between Psalms and Proverbs, was less evident. It might have followed a pragmatic rationale, as the Psalms were located approximately in the middle of the Bible.\textsuperscript{131} Following the distinct layout and function of the Psalms, an alternative possibility comes to mind. The Psalms were written in a distinct layout, which differentiated them from any other book of the Bible. Moreover, they were mediated orally, in the course of liturgy, to a degree unparalleled by any other biblical book. Thus, the location of an addendum of liturgical nature - a calendar - adjacent to the Psalms may have followed a logic beyond pragmatism. Such a connection was not restricted to Alured’s Bible, and the vicinity of the Psalms appears to be a preferred position for addenda of liturgical nature in several late medieval Bibles.\textsuperscript{132}


\textsuperscript{131} Such a possibility (in conjunction with another manuscript) was suggested in: C. W. Dutschke with the assistance of R. H. Rouse et al., \textit{Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library}, San Marino 1989, HM 26061 (http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/scriptorium/cheweb/HM26061.html, accessed 26.06.07).

\textsuperscript{132} For example: Lambeth Palace MS 533 (calendar before the Psalms); Lambeth Palace MS 534 (short liturgical treatise following the Psalms); Cambridge University Library MS Ee.V1.26 (Calendar before the Psalms); Cambridge, St. John’s MS N8 (hymns before Psalms); Cambridge St. John’s MS 128 (prayers and pseudo-Augustine’s \textit{Canticum Psalmonum animas decorat} (Stegmüller §369) before Psalms); Canterbury Cathedral, Law Society MS 3 (prefaces and canon of mass after Psalms); ‘De Brailes Bible’ (Oxford Bodl. MS. Lat. bib. e. 7, Mass-texts after Psalms); British Library MS Add. 35085 (ferial readings after the Psalms); Huntington Library MS HM 26061 (Mass-texts after Psalms).
The calendar was one of the most popular liturgical aids integrated into late medieval Bibles. Similar devices became standard features in liturgical manuscripts such as breviaries, psalters and Books of Hours. It enabled users to identify liturgical feasts, especially those of the Sanctorale and the non-moveable feasts of the Temporale, with the dates of Easter for specific years provided in some calendars. Calendars facilitated the performance of the liturgy, identifying feasts and leading users to trace relevant prayers and lessons in liturgical manuscripts. They were also personal items. Not all calendars supplied the same information, and they frequently noted saints’ days of a specific order, country or place, as well as obits and important dates connected to individuals and communities. Thus, such a device assisted liturgical and extra-liturgical activities alike.

Tables of reading are another liturgical device frequent in late medieval Bibles. A calendar established the connection between a certain date and liturgical occurrences. The nature of the ritual to be performed on that day was supplied elsewhere. Breviaries and missals provided detailed descriptions of the Masses and Divine Office celebrated on specific dates. Tables of readings enabled the reader to identify the biblical passages read on each day. These passages were easily located with the new retrieval system, integrated into late medieval Bibles, and noted in tables of readings. The appearance of tables of reading does not necessarily indicate that these Bibles were read from, during a


134 The nature of the calendar, contrasted with rigid liturgical texts was explored by Pfaff, Bishop Baldock’s Book, p. 14. An example for a liturgical calendar, which incorporated also civic dates: BL Stowe MS 15 fols. 20-25v.

135 Tables of reading can be seen on: V&A MS Reid 22, Cambridge University Library MSS Dd.X.29, Mm.L.2 (both in later hands), BL Add. MS 35,085 (Dominican), BL Arundel MS 303 (Dominican); BL Add. MS 11,842; The Bible of St. Peter-upon-Cornhill (later hand).
public celebration of the liturgy. Some Bibles, such as Cambridge University Library Ee.II.23, BL Add. MS 11,842 and the Bible of St. Peter-upon-Cornhill were adequate for public recitation, based on their size, liturgical sub-division, colophons and parchment. Other bibles to hold these tables, such as BL Add. MS 35,085 and BL Arundel MS 303, were minute manuscripts, more suitable for personal use. The Dominican provenance of these Bibles suggests another function of the calendar. Preachers had to locate the relevant liturgical lessons not only for communal (or personal) prayer, but also in order to prepare their sermons. Thus, calendars and tables of reading were of use both in the liturgy and in the preparation of sermons. These devices are invaluable also for modern scholars, as they are of the few elements in late medieval Bibles which were of personal (or local) nature, and can thus assist in determining date and provenance.

An element of a clear liturgical nature are the Mass-texts. Although far from a standard addition, Mass-texts were an integral part of three late medieval Bibles I have studied, and were added to two other manuscripts.136 When the Mass-texts were written by the original scribe(s) of the manuscript, it was placed near the Psalms. Mass-texts which were written at a later date were placed at the end of the manuscript. Their contents ranged from full Masses to Prefaces and the Canon of the Mass, and their layout from noted text (Law Society MS 3) or full-page illumination of the crucifixion (Huntington Library MS HM 26061), in integral Mass-texts, to text in inferior hands, when Masses were added at a later stage. Even biblical manuscripts which incorporated Masses were far from self-sufficient liturgical books, such as breviaries or missals.

136 Of the first type are: Canterbury Cathedral, Law Society MS 3 prefaces, Canon of Mass (notation), votive masses, prayer & antiphons for burial (13th century French?); 'De Brailes Bible' - Canon of the Mass (mid-thirteenth century, Oxford); Huntington Library MS HM 26061 with Collect, secret and postcommunion for various masses for the dead and full services for parts of the temporale and little of the sanctorale (mid-thirteenth century, England). Of the second type: Cambridge University Library MS Ih. I. 3, with the Canon of the Mass (14th century?); Cambridge St. John's MS N1 with the prefaces and Canon of the Mass (13th century English Gilbertine House).
Rather, they supplied the reader with key elements of repetitive rites, which enabled infrequent prayers or a single Mass. These liturgical additions may serve as evidence for private devotion, as in an image of Huntington Library MS HM 26061, fols. 178v-179r (figure 15). The image of the Crucifix was intended for the eyes of the reader, and a smear at the face of Christ could have been caused by his hand, rubbing the image, while reading the prayers on the adjacent folio. 137

Figure 15 : Crucifixion and Prefaces of Mass in a Late Medieval Bible

Biblical aids and theological treatises join liturgical devices to constitute the major categories of biblical addenda. Most works that fall into the category of biblical aids did not befit academic usage, either in the study of theology or sacra pagina. University students relied upon exegetical works, which circulated independently, or on quires from the glossa ordinaria, a distinct category of manuscripts. Biblical aids

137 The image is taken from Dutschke et al., Manuscripts in the Huntington Library (http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/hehweb/HM26061.html, accessed 05.11.07), where a description of the manuscript is also to be found. A further investigation of the manuscript is needed to ascertain these suggestion.
affixed to late medieval Bibles were frequently simplifications of biblical texts or summaries of their content. Such is the Song of the Gospels - Versus de canonibus evangeliorum - ("quator est primus...", Stegmüller §850), or Robert de Sorbonne's (†1274) Glosse divinorum librorum, which relied upon the interpretations of names in its presentation of the biblical narrative, as well as other metrical and prose summaries.¹³⁸ Such summaries were common in early medieval Bibles, to an extent that Laura Light saw in their removal a trait of the 'Paris Bibles' group.¹³⁹ In late medieval Bibles, however, not only did such aids appear, but some even followed the newly incorporated langtonian chapter division. These aids enabled readers, less fluent in the Bible, to quickly locate a biblical episode, and provided them with a summary of biblical books. They eased the shift from capitula lists, which filled a similar function, to the new, numerical, chapter division.

There is still much to be said on late medieval Bibles. Marginal notation in some of these Bibles, such as Huntington Library MS HM 26061 or Oxford Bodl. Auct. MS D.4.9, were made in the context of university studies, and can be used to further the understanding of medieval exegesis. Other notes, of different nature, were made by scribes. They left recipes for ink, common in other manuscripts of more secular nature, commented upon the piety of their deeds (unlike brother William of Reading Abbey), or made lighthearted remarks connecting the pious and mundane aspects of their

¹³⁸ The Song of Gospels: Cambridge University Library MSS Dd.VIII.12 fols. 459r-460v, Mm.I.2, fols. 601v-603r, Lambeth Palace MS 533, fols. 484r-487v; Glose divinorum librorum: Stowe 1 fol. 466r-478v; Other summaries: Lambeth Palace MS 534 ("summaria compilatio metrificata...", ascribed to Alexander de Vila Dei), BL MS Royal 1.E.ix, fols. 338r-350r ("incipiunt libri genesis...", Stegmüller §9653). The Glose divinorum librorum was printed in: Giovanni Stefano Menochio, Commentarii totius Sacrae Scripturae ex optimis quibusque auctoribus collecti... tom. 3, Venice 1758, pp. 429-440.

¹³⁹ Light, Versions et révisions, p. 79. An example for these capitula lists is BL Royal MSS 1.E.vii-viii (an early medieval Bible) or Cambridge University Library MS Dd.VIII.12 (late medieval Bible).
labours. The study of these comments and materials are, regrettably, beyond the scope of this chapter. For now it will suffice to conclude with the work of an English scribe - Raulinus of Fremington - who has been studied by Richard and Mary Rouse. This indefatigable scribe incorporated numerous comments into a Bible he was copying in Italy, in which he imitated biblical language in lamenting his stolen cloak and even inserted a harlot by the name of Vilana into the Interpretations. All this notwithstanding, he dedicated the Bible and his labour to the Virgin Mary.

---

140 Ink recipe (“Ad incaustum nigrum faciendum. Accipe unam libram aquae stagnalis & duas uncias gallorum & duas uncias coprose viridis et unam unciam gumi et duuidiam”) - Cambridge University Library MS Dd.VIII.12, fol. 216v; Pious comments (“Ex thurrentona liber hic perscriptus hebetur; Qui scripsit dona scriptor de iure meretur; Non laus. nee probitas operis. non gloria rerum; Exigit. ac caritas solito pro labore dierum.” - V&A MS L. 2060-1948, fol. 116r); Lighthearted remarks (“finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo; et nunc pro scripto reddatur cena magistro”) - Cambridge University Library MS Dd.X. 29. Similar remarks were identified by: Schnurman, *Studies in Medieval Book Trade*, pp. 157-169.

141 Rouse and Rouse, *Wandering Scribes*. Very regrettably, I was not yet able to examine this manuscript.
Conclusion

The layout of late medieval Bibles, as well as the uniqueness of the Book of Psalms, withstood the advent of print. Figure 16, a leaf from a Gutenberg Bible (Psalms 1-4, BL Grenville copy (vellum), fol. 293r) displays the distinct features of the Psalms - the absence of running titles, large initials, indication of verses, and rubrication of superscriptions. Some of these features were retained even after the introduction of vernacular Bibles, and biblical editions nowadays signal out superscriptions - printed in italic typeset or capital letters.

Thus, it was not only the chapter numbers and the format of a single-volume Bible which persisted from the layout of late medieval Bibles to modern editions.

The layout of late medieval Bibles highlights the complexity of the biblical text, as well as echoes of oral mediation. It enables us to draw some conclusions regarding their expected audience and use. The introduction of chapter numbers, sequence of

---

142 The image is taken from: http://molecat1.bl.uk/gutenberg/search.asp (accessed 30.07.07), where a comparison with a paper copy (BL King’s copy) is available.
books, subdivisions and, importantly, the Interpretations, rendered this new type of book a highly useful reference book. The ability of a reader to quickly and efficiently locate a specific passage, to which he was directed by a biblical aid, preacher's manual or table of readings, was unparalleled. Identifying these Bibles as reference books assists in understanding minute volumes, which are sometime still in pristine condition. These manuscripts show few traces of use, but were not necessarily mere decorative objects. Although not suitable for continuous reading, even with magnifying glasses in well-lit scriptoria, they were still highly useful for the location of a specific verse, or going over the day's pericope. The nature of addenda suggests a use connected with biblical exegesis, but not necessarily by biblical scholars. Rather, it assisted its dissemination in sermons. The Interpretations' entries appear repeatedly in sermons and supplied preachers with a fountain of proofs to be woven into their arguments. The Interpretations, containing words that no longer existed in the Vulgate, was used not only as a glossary, but rather (to borrow from a medieval scholar) as a key, through which to identify and disseminate the tenets of Christianity, which were then superimposed on the Old and New Testaments. Preachers used them as a first port of call, much like some readers nowadays, who begin reading a book from its index.

The Interpretations is indicative of an interest in the Bible beyond its narratives. It engages with unique and cryptic words, while supplying them with a meaning often detached from their original context. It was words, rather than stories, which this aid approached. It raised an awareness to the complexity of the biblical text, and, as it frequently identified the language from which the word was taken (e.g. Abba ... syrum est non hebreum)\(^\text{143}\), connected the Latin Vulgate to its semitic origins.

\(^{143}\) BL Add. MS 39,629 fol. 560ra and parallels.
The same phenomenon stood behind the re-introduction of the Psalms' superscriptions. They were a testimony for an earlier, less known, part of the Bible. They displayed words, which meaning was lost a millennium earlier, and referred to a Jewish liturgy no longer practiced by Christians, or, for that matter, by Jews. It was an element which detached the late medieval Bible from liturgical practices. The new retrieval system also widened the gap between these manuscripts and the liturgy. In the liturgy biblical sections were identified by their incipit, a custom reflected in capitula lists of early medieval Bibles. This division was substituted in late medieval manuscripts by numerical values. Chapter numbers and subdividing letters (later supplemented by verse numbers), rather than short phrases, began to identify specific passages. It eased the use of the Bible by novices, and has been incorporated into biblical editions ever since. The major exception for this evolution was the Book of Psalms: chapters were not numbered; superscriptions were supplied, but rubricated; verses were written distinctly, with marked pause in their midst, testifying to their performance in chant; Key Psalms were marked by large initials - mirroring the division of the Divine Office. It took several centuries, the Reformation, use of print and spread of Bibles, until the Psalms were subjected to the common retrieval system.

The study of biblical layout and its variants contributes to the works of previous scholars. They have identified a transitional phase in the compilation of late medieval Bibles through sequence of books, integration of prologues, as well as the langtonian chapter division, running titles and removal of capitula. The layout and its variants can assist in this process. Although variants in layout did not belong to a specific moment in the evolution of late medieval Bibles, they can nevertheless assist in the impossible task of tracing the stemmata of biblical manuscripts and copying relations. Thus, the rubricated voices of the lovers in the Song of Songs, the use of generic superscriptions
or the interpolation of *tituli* instead of superscriptions, can be used to ascertain copying relations between manuscripts.

Late medieval manuscripts preceded the printing press by achieving a high level of uniformity. Mass-produced and widely disseminated, these manuscripts spread throughout Western Europe. Their popular devices, and chiefly the langtonian chapter division, were integrated into Bibles and became a standard feature even in printed Hebrew Bibles. This layout reflects a wide interest in the origins of the Bible, which predates works of Humanists and Reformers alike, and ascertain that even the narrow, Latin-literate, minority in late medieval England, which had had access to biblical manuscripts, approached its text through an intricate layout - a unique and significant biblical medium.
Chapter 4: The Bible in Sermons for the First Sunday of Advent

Introduction

"Pour la plupart des fidèles, les sermons ont dû constituer le lieu principal, sinon exclusif, de leur initiation à ce qui était écrit dans la Bible."¹

The importance of sermons for the dissemination of the Bible cannot be overestimated. Preaching was one of the few occasions in which the laity could hear the Bible in the spoken language, from preachers who aimed to bridge the gap between audience and text. Sermons were accommodated to specific audiences, with needs and capacities guiding preachers in their mediation of the biblical text. The Bible stands at the centre of preaching. Not only did it supply the text, elaborated upon in the sermon, but it also served as a source of proofs, narratives and images, which were woven into the text of the sermon. This notwithstanding, the place of the Bible in sermons is far from straightforward. Following Bériou's words, we may ask how sermons mediated the Bible to laity and clergy. Was the ultimate goal of sermons to elucidate a biblical text? Was there a connection between the numerous biblical texts woven together by the preacher? Can one differentiate between biblical and extra-biblical quotations or narratives? Did the Bible serve medieval preachers as an authoritative narrative or as a collection of archaic words? These and other questions will guide this discussion of sermons as biblical mediation.

Late medieval sermons are a stage in the evolution of biblical mediation. In Late Antiquity, as well as in the early Middle Ages, sermons expanded upon the entire pericope - the biblical reading assigned for a specific day - which was read in the course of the liturgy. Commentaries, exempla and biblical quotations intertwined with the pericope, in an attempt to elucidate the biblical text and to connect it to liturgical or contemporary events. By the thirteenth century a new form of preaching had evolved. It used only part of the pericope - a line or even a word - at its core. This core, known as a thema, was then developed through an array of biblical and extra-biblical allusions and quotations. The variety of amplifications, the ways of expanding the thema, were described in ars predicandi treatises. This 'modern sermon' adhered, at least in theory, to a rigid structure: it began with protheme, which commented upon preaching in general; then came the thema, sometimes accompanied by the headings of the major divisions; an appeal for divine assistance followed, known as antetheme or prologue; then a repetition of the thema and short introduction preceded major division to which the thema was broken, accompanied by their own sub-divisions, each verified by a proof; lastly, the sermon concluded with a repetition of the thema, a short admonition and a prayer. The rise of the universities and of the mendicant orders, which established a cadre of dedicated preachers and provided opportunities for their education, assisted in the dissemination of this form of preaching with the.

Four sermons, which share the same pericope, will form the basis of an examination of biblical mediation by preachers. The pericope is Matthew 21:1-9, the narrative of Christ's way from Mount of Olives to the outskirts of Jerusalem. It was read in the Sarum and Roman Uses on two occasions: on the First Sunday of Advent it


3 Summaries of the sermons and biographies of their authors are supplied as appendix 4.
mirrored the Incarnation; on Palm Sunday it accompanied the liturgical re-enactment of
the narrative. The sermons were written by English authors, and are distinct from one
another: the earliest, written by Odo of Cheriton (†1246) at the beginning of the
thirteenth century, was in Latin and followed the earlier homiletic form, although with
some modern traits (such as the centrality of verbal agreement or tripartite divisions).
The second sermon was written at the end of the thirteenth century in macaronic (or
code-switching mode), in which Latin and English were used simultaneously. The
sermon follows the modern form in a tripartite division of Mt. 21:9b (Benedictus qui
venit in nomine domini). Its author is not known, and it is found in an early fourteenth-
century Franciscan sermon collection. The third sermon was written by John Waldeby
(† after 1372), an Austin Friar, for his students at the episcopal school at York. It
follows the entire pericope of the day and offers a quadruple division, based on the
gospel narrative, the qualities of its protagonists and moral injunctions. The latest of the
sermons was written in Middle English at the beginning of the fifteenth century,
probably by a moderate adherent of Wyclif. It is a revision of Odo of Cheriton's
sermon, but constitutes a separate entity by its choices, elaborations, omissions and
emphases. It is important to note that although all sermons were written by English
authors, they cannot be seen as independently English. The dissemination of model
sermons and preachers’ manuals on both sides of the Channel and the lives of authors,
who frequently worked both on the Continent and in England, renders these sermon a
local variant of a western European phenomenon.4

---

4 This can be seen by the use of (continental) model sermons in England (Helen L. Spencer, English
Preaching in the Late Middle Ages, Oxford 1993, 21ff), as well as the similarity between some of the
materials discussed below and French counterparts (compare with Bériou, L'avènement des maîtres, p.
489). In this I agree with Akae's evaluation that the differences between the Oxford and Paris styles,
presented by Basevorm, are not of major importance (Yuichi Akae, A Study of the Sermon Collection of
We begin with reflections on biblical mediation, found in sermons and artes predicandi. These manifestations of self-awareness, which are lacking in liturgy or visual images, provide a glimpse into the ways by which preachers of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages wished to communicate the Bible to their audience. Then, shifting to the biblical building-blocks of the sermon, the techniques of biblical quotation will be discussed. This will be followed by three sections, each explaining an element from Mt. 21:1-9, while addressing specific aspects in biblical mediation: Mt. 21:1a (Et cum adpropinquassent Hierosolymis et venissent Bethsage ad montem Oliveti) demonstrates how the commonest addendum of late medieval Bibles - the Interpretations of Hebrew Names - was incorporated into sermons; the gaps in the narrative of Mt. 21:1b-2 (tune Iesus misit duos discipulos dicens eis: ite in castellum quod contra vos est et statim invenietis asinam alligatam et pullum cum ea solvite et adducite mihi) show how extra-biblical narratives were woven into the fabric of sermons; internal contradictions and conundrums, manifested in Mt 21:4-5 (Hoc autem factum est ut implanteretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem: dicite filiae Sion ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus et sedens super asinam et pullum filium subiugalis), allow us to examine how preachers not only acknowledged, but also explored and celebrated biblical lectio difficilior. Lastly, extra-biblical elements are addressed briefly, with special emphasis on liturgy, another biblical medium closely related to preaching. An epilogue addresses the comments on the 'corruption' of the Bible in the new form of preaching in two Latin sermons by Wyclif.

Historians of the medieval Bible have habitually highlighted the importance of sermons as manifestation of biblical exegesis. This reflects the prominent place of
exegesis among modern scholars of the medieval Bible, as well as the medieval reality, in which the academic study of the *sacra pagina* was aimed at the education of preachers. Students learned by attending sermons of masters, were expected to deliver a public sermon upon graduation, and disseminated their exegetical studies in their own sermons. Smalley was able to trace this process by identifying how annotations and indices helped in the preparation of lectures notes for sermons, the re-organisation of lectures notes according to the liturgical year, and the evolution of lectures on the Book of Lamentation - delivered in Oxford by John Lathbury’s (†1362) - into sermons.

The integration of exegesis into medieval sermons has been addressed in several articles by Louis-Jacques Bataillon. He identifies the centrality of preaching to the study of the Bible, claiming that even the earliest commentaries - those of Origen, Chrysostom and Augustine - were aimed at preachers. His analysis of continental sermons of the thirteenth century (by Thomas Aquinas (†1274) or Guillaume de Mailly (= Gérard de Mailly, 132)), aims at identifying traces of exegesis. Questioning the place of the four senses of scripture in these sermons, Bataillon concludes that the tropological and literal senses predominated, with only few instances of the allegorical

---

5 The connection between the study of exegesis and the education of preachers was explored by: Beryl Smalley, English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century, Oxford 1960, pp. 28-44. Although the work was considered by Smalley to be an ‘ambush’, taking her away from biblical studies (p. 1), its applicability to the study of the medieval Bible is evident. On lecturing at the universities: ibid., *The Bible in Middle Ages*, pp. 208-213.

6 Smalley, English Friars, pp. 34-6, 369-373.

or analogical. A similar approach can be seen in the work of Marie Anne Mayeski, who examines high medieval homilies and identifies a supremacy of the typological understanding of scripture to conclude that homilies cannot be distinguished from biblical exegesis.

Smalley and Bataillon display similar traits in their work. They broke new grounds by questioning the connection between exegetes and preachers. The implementation of biblical exegesis in sermons was proven beyond all doubts, through the analysis of extant sermons, preachers aids and university teaching.

Several articles go beyond biblical exegesis to trace biblical mediation and the connection between the Bible and its audience within specific sermons. The sermons analysed fall into two categories: homilies or sermons for specific audiences and occasions (ad status). Homilies are analysed with close attention to the use of the Bible, modification in its text, and audience's understanding. The second type of sermons - ad status - is mined for comparisons between current events and biblical exempla. The few remaining sermons, in which contemporary events were addressed, prove to be a repository of instances that bridged biblical and contemporary events. Sermons


10 The inverse of this connection, the integration of preaching into medieval exegesis, has not been researched hitherto, nor would be done in this chapter. The influence of preaching on other biblical aids has been explored in works such as Thomas Falmagne, "Les instruments de travail d'un prédicateur cistercien", *De l'homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales: Textes, études, congrès 14), Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Harmand (eds.), Louvain-la-Neuve 1993, pp. 183-236.

preached at St. Paul's cross, for example, compared Rehobam tormenting the people (1 Kgs 12) with Richard II replacing his counselors with his friends (in a sermon of Thomas Wimbledon, preached on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1388), or saw losses in the war with France as a manifestation of God's wrath at English arrogance (Thomas Brinton †1389). Another ad status sermon immersed in biblical language was delivered by Henry de Harkeley (†1317), Chancellor of the University of Oxford, on 29.12.1314. On the feast of Thomas Becket it addressed the state of the kingdom, likening the preacher with Jeremiah, St. Thomas with Josiah, and the reign of Edward II with that of Rehoboam. Biblical mediation of this kind is explicit, and has supplied researchers with fertile ground for examining biblical mediation to the laity in the Middle Ages. These sermons, however, were the exception rather than the rule, and very few have survived, as their emphasis on actuality rendered them less valuable for future generations of preachers. The majority of surviving sermons refer to the liturgical cycle, and make little reference to world events.

One of the most helpful discussions of the Bible in late medieval sermons is Nicole Bériou's study of preaching in late medieval Paris. Drawing upon a variety of sources, from sermons and artes predicandi to exegetical works, visual images and shorthand accounts of sermon deliveries, she has re-examined the connection between the Bible and the new form of preaching. She discusses the gap between written accounts and performances, claiming that the pericope was expanded in the vernacular in sermons, although frequently omitted in written sermons. An important difference is


14 Bériou, L'avènement des maîtres, Ch. VII "Communiquer la Parole de Dieu (1272-1273)", pp. 475-595.
drawn between the Bible as *thema*, narrated in the beginning and used as a leitmotif, and its use as proof, which occurred between ten and thirty times in a single sermon. Specific biblical *themata* were deemed appropriate for specific occasions or audiences: the Chosen People were preached for Louis IX's crusading army at Mansura, and the Magi were preached in front of pilgrims. Bériou also identifies the role of other mediums, predominantly visual images, in facilitating both the audience's understanding of the Bible and the preacher's mediation of the biblical text.

An implicit argument is discernible in Bériou's formulation: "Les textes de l'Écriture continuaient à fonder, orienter et nourrir l'enseignement des prédicateurs, initiés par leur apprentissage dans les écoles à une authentique théologie biblique". The apologetic tone of Bériou's argument does not confront any contradictory argument in her work, but directs our attention to arguments regarding the place of the Bible in the new form of preaching, which go beyond mere academic pursuit. Researchers who write on this topic can sound as blunt as radical church reformers: "The sacred page had clearly fallen, in the general decadence of preaching, to the mere level of any hand-book of collected narrations or moralized Properties of Things. Its living historic continuity of thought and action was being ruthlessly ignored. Its various characters and objects were being wrenched from their context, distorted or mutilated into mere passive conveniences for moral dilation, a mere lifeless framework to be set up and arranged, as the preacher pleases, to suit the formal superstructure of his discourse". This view was taken to reflect on the morality of the preachers, as in Woodburn Ross's words: "[on the comfort of the new rigid form for less competent preachers] And in the hands of those who were more interested in the formal beauty of their sermons than in the

15 Ibid., p. 506.

souls of the members of their audiences it offered amazing opportunities for the juggling of words and ideas.”¹⁷ A similar remark on the late medieval sermon: “... a copy of vain glory and crafty connexion of words, to satisfy the most part of the audience and to flatter the richest; wrestling and writing the simple verity of God’s words into as many forms and divers sentences, as be vain and carnal affections wrought within his ungodly heart”, was made by the Reformer bishop John Hooper (†1555).¹⁸ In this investigation I shall try to refrain from defending or blaming the mediation of the Bible in late medieval sermons, but rather expand upon the mechanisms which stood at the background of this mediation.

¹⁷ Woodburn O. Ross (ed.), Middle English Sermons edited from British Museum MS. Royal 18B. xxiii. (EETS OS 209), London 1940, p. 1
The Bible in Sermons: The Preachers’ View

Reflections on preaching and especially on the role of the preacher as mediator of the Bible were expressed in sermons. Unlike liturgy, where the ritual precluded lengthy digressions, specific parts of sermons - above all the protheme - enabled the preacher to reflect upon his activities. Other self-reflections were interspersed throughout sermons, appearing especially in conjunction with biblical verses that brought preaching to the author’s mind. An example of the latter is to be found in the macaronic sermon. The feast that welcomes Christ the messenger was interpreted allegorically as acts of merit, devotion and prayer. The feast was made not of physical provisions, but rather of God’s words, following the Gospel of John:

Macaronic

"Quartum, quia: ‘qui ex Deo est verba Dei audit’. Nota: casus appetitus est signum infirmatis”

Jn. 8:47

Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit.
Propterea vos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis

Feasting was seen as hearing God’s words. Lack of appetite was therefore as a sign of sickness, both physical and spiritual. Such a remark was aimed at the preacher’s audience, warning them lest they would be indifferent to the preacher’s word. As the preacher’s words were intertwined with those of the Bible they required the audience’s full attention.

---

The role of preachers was made explicit in Odo's sermon. The Apostles, sent by Christ to retrieve the ass and colt, were recognised as preachers. At first their qualities - love of God and neighbour - were seen as prerequisites for preachers ("Per binarium geminam caritatem intelligimus: dilectionem Dei scilicet et proximi, que necessaria est cuilibet officium predicationes assumpsit..."). The Apostles prefigured the medieval preacher, a comparison which served to exhort preachers not to prefer worldly goods over virtue. The sermon's Middle English rendering made this chastisement explicit, as it scolded preachers who performed their duties solely for material gain ("... þey þat don not her message for beggery of erþely reward, bot for þese two lofes and heuenly rewarde."). This addition was in line with other late-fourteenth century attacks on the clergy, particularly on the friars. Later, the Apostles' loosening of the ropes that bound the animals was likened by Odo to the role of preachers, untying the ropes of sin with their sermons. The biblical narrative was linked to the immediate context of the sermon. The Apostles' authority inspired preachers, who carried on the mission of the Apostles in spirit.

The recognition of preachers in the biblical narrative appeared elsewhere in Odo's sermon, in a part not copied in its later version. Matthew's quotation of Zechariah was seen by Odo as an imperative to preachers: "Sequitur Dicite filie Syon, id est, O predicatores, dicite civitati Jerusalem..." (Spencer, Sermon, p. 649). Here Odo saw Matthew's use of Zechariah as a sermon on the Bible. Preachers were thus


prefigured not only by the Apostles, but also by the prophets of the Old and New Testaments.

Waldeby’s first Advent sermon clearly establishes the importance of preaching the Bible in its protheme. Prior to the presentation of the thema, it followed the modern form in commenting upon the nature of preaching:


These are the preacher’s own words on the role of the Bible in sermons. According to Waldeby the preacher had a twofold role: to offer exegesis and to preach. The mediation of the Bible touched upon preacher and hearer alike. It was deemed valuable for both as an array of biblical examples shows: first Christ’s words to the Apostles, whom Odo likened to preachers, were seen as an imperative for the preacher; then the hearers of the sermon were addressed: if the preacher simply followed Scriptures, the audience benefitted from God’s blessing; thirdly both speaker and hearer benefitted from Scriptures, following the etymology of the Gospels - containing good news. The protheme ended by connecting the merits of the Gospel and the pericope of the day. The protheme is also revealing about Waldeby’s audience. The sermon was aimed at biblical mediators - future preachers - probably students in the episcopal school of York. The ultimate goal of the sermon was the student’s own audience - the laity.

---

22 Bodleian Library Laud misc. Ms. 77 (=D), fol. 26r-26v; with minor alterations Bodleian Library Bodley MS 687 (=B), fol. 79ra.
Short references to the value of mediating the Bible in sermons were expanded in specialised preaching treatises. From early Christianity writers were aware of the value of preaching as mediation of the Bible, and commented upon how this was to be done most efficiently, in applying the classical artes to Christian preaching. In Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages these treatises were incorporated into theological and pastoral works. In the high Middle Ages a new genre was formed - the ars predicandi. 23

An early and highly influential evaluation of the Christian art of preaching was contained in the fourth book of Augustine’s (†430) De doctrina Christiana. 24 The book was divided into two parts - interpretation and dissemination (modus inveniendi and modus proferendi). This reflected the dual nature of biblical mediation in preaching - as alluded to by Waldeby - exegesis and preaching, awareness of text as well as of audience. Augustine addressed the tension between form and content, which was to occupy so many medieval preachers and theorists. In a polemic with Christian and Pagan contemporaries, he advocates the value of rhetoric in expounding God’s words. One without the other would be futile, as the truth on its own can bore the audience (“...isti [Christiani] pro veritate lenti frigidique dormitenti...”, §4, pp. 196-9). Both form and content are to be found in the Bible. Consequently, he devotes a substantial part of his treatise (§31-58, pp. 208-221) to demonstrating the Bible’s eloquence as exemplified in the words of the prophets. Predicting objection to his approach Augustine asserted

---


that the obscurity of the Bible, which necessitated interpretation and preaching, was deliberate, in accordance with God's injunction.

The tension between form and content, God's word and eloquence, mirrored a tension between pagans and Christians. Rhetoric was practiced by pagan orators, and, as Augustine lamented, Christian sometimes found the truth of their message sufficient, without reflecting on effective modes of delivery. Augustine attempted to end this dichotomy in a plea for eloquent sermons that employed pagan skills for the benefit of the Christian message. The new emphasis on eloquence was accompanied by a raised awareness of the sermon's audience (§14, pp. 200-3). A preacher should be eloquent and delight his audience in order to transform hearers into receptacles of sacred words. Making an audience listen intently to a sermon was considered by Augustine the test of a good orator. The centrality of audience to successful preaching was also addressed by Gregory the Great (†604) in his Cura pastoralis.

Both these treatises were known throughout the Middle Ages and served as the basis for medieval artes predicandi. These later guides provide practical advice on the compilation of sermons and are interspersed with numerous examples. Theoretical discussion on the nature of preaching are often provided as an introduction. One of the

---

25 This is in accordance with the idea of pagan philosophy as the 'spoils of Egypt' (based on Ex. 12:35-6), for example, book 2 §144 (pp. 124/5).

earliest treatises is *Summa de arte praedicatoria* (c.1199), by Alain of Lille (†1203). It follows Gregory in stating the need to accommodate diverse audiences, and provides each with adequate theme (e.g. poor - praising poverty; rich - almsgiving, etc.).

The *Summa de arte praedicatoria* employs the biblical image of Jacob's Ladder (Gen. 28:10-22) in its discussion of the preacher as a mediator of the Bible. First, the prologue likens the hierarchy of the Ladder's scales to a man's ascent in faith: confession to prayer, thanksgiving, study of scriptures, of Church Fathers, biblical exegesis, and lastly - preaching. The details of the biblical story are then recalled (§1), with the angels ascending and descending the Ladder. These are likened to the act of preaching itself: the ascending angels preach of heavenly things while the descending ones preach moral things ("quod significatur per angelos ascendentes et descendentes: angeli enim hi sunt praedicatores, qui tunc ascendunt cum caelestia praedicant; descendunt, quando per moralia se inferioribus conformant"). In a highly visual image, preachers were depicted as mediators *par excellence*. Like angels, they stood at the meeting point of heaven and earth, of biblical texts and audience. Moreover, they were in constant motion, actively bridging the gap between the two realities. They were like the sermons they delivered that moved between lower and extra-biblical elements, from morality to the higher eternal truths hidden in the biblical text.

Alain of Lille followed this imagery with a discussion of biblical texts used as *thema* and proof. He accepted pagan authorities as legitimate proofs, while limiting those books of the Bible that could serve as *thema*. He suggested that a preacher should rely solely on the Gospels, Psalms, Paul's Epistles and the Books of Solomon for his *thema*. These were considered books of moral instructions, which enabled preachers to

---

instruct effectively in faith and morals. The Bible was a tool for the descending angels, preachers admonishing their audience.

Another early treatise, *De artificioso modo predicandi*, was composed around 1200 by Alain’s English contemporary Alexander of Ashby (†1208/1214).28 It follows much of the previous work and relies heavily on Augustine and Gregory. The treatise begins, echoing Augustine, in an appeal for the use of pagan *artes*. Ashby predicted his readers’ resentment and therefore deployed Augustine’s allegory, comparing these *artes* with the spoils of Egypt (p. 24). He continued with a detailed explanation of how a sermon might be made more efficient, emphasising the importance of the audience in a quote from Gregory. He advised dividing the sermon into four parts: prologue, in which the audience was rendered docile, benevolent and attentive; division of the biblical *thema*; confirmation of each part of the division, with either authorities or reason (“... singula membra divisionis confirmentur auctoritatibus vel rationibus...”); and conclusion with brief recapitulation, admonition and prayer. At the centre of the treatise is the audience and the admonition of its sins. The Bible, as was implicit in Alain of Lille’s *De arte praedicatione*, was means for achieving these goals. To use Augustine’s division, the *modus inveniendi* was subjected to the *modus proferendi*.

Alain of Lille and Alexander of Ashby marked the beginning of a new era. The first decades of the thirteenth century witnessed the rise of a new form of sermon, known sometimes as the university sermon, which structure was expounded in the *de artificioso modo predicandi*. This change was accompanied by the proliferation of *artes predicandi*, both in England and the Continent. Although many such *artes* were connected to universities, and in England to Oxford, and although the new form of

---

28 Alexandri Essebiensis *Opera theologica* (CCCM 188:1), Franco Morenzoni and Thomas H. Bestul (eds.), Turnhout 2004, pp. 1-71 (full version), 73-104 (abbreviated). The treatise was discussed by: Murphy, *Rhetoric*, p. 313. The dating suggested by Murphy is accepted by Morenzoni.
preaching was manifested in academic milieu, the connection between these treatises and the universities is still obscure. Murphy has shown that *artes predicandi* were not part of the official curriculum at Oxford, where the formal study of rhetoric became prominent only at the beginning of the fifteenth century. However Camargo and Ward have recently argued that such studies were common in universities, if not in designated faculties, then in grammar schools, mendicant *studia*, or in the course of theological studies. If the connection between *artes predicandi* and universities remains somewhat unclear, their connection to the friars is not, as stated clearly by Briscoe: “It is not surprising, then, that after Alan, almost all the identified medieval authors of *artes praedicandi* were members of one or another of the new mendicant orders”.

Thomas of Chobham’s (also known as Thomas of Salisbury, †c.1236 ) *Summa de arte praedicandi* was compiled in the first decades of the thirteenth century. Unlike Ashby, Chobham saw the Bible as the principal source of authority. It was not only the rationale behind the structure of sermons (such as the salutation and the prayer of the preacher, pp. 261, 364), but also the source of all sciences, including rhetoric (p. 267). This understanding corresponds to the place of the Bible in a late thirteenth-century

---


30 Martin Camargo, “The Long and the Short of Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi”, *Speculum* 74:4 (1999), pp. 935-955; ibid., “Beyond the Libri Cantoniani: models of Latin Prose Style at Oxford University ca. 1400”, *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994), 165-187 (182-3); John O. Ward, “Rhetoric in the Faculty of Arts at the Universities of Paris and Oxford in the Middle Ages: A Summary of the Evidence”, *Bulletin Du Cange: Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 54 (1996), pp. 159-231. All these articles concentrate more on the theoretical aspect of rhetoric than its implementation in the *ars predicandi*. Thus, Ward uses the works of Alain of Lille to prove his knowledge of classic rhetoric (p. 196), or a quote of Bonaventure on the conjunction of rhetoric and preaching (p. 203), to demonstrate knowledge of classic rhetoric. I thank Prof. Rita Copeland for her assistance in the matter.


32 Thomas de Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi* (CCCM 82), Franco Morenzoni (ed.), Turnhout 1988. Morenzoni (pp. xxxvi-xxxviii) suggests that the treatise, which survives in a single manuscript, might have been written before Lateran IV, and possibly before Chobham’s return to study theology in Paris (1221/2).
treatise, the *Forma praedicandi*, attributed to John of Wales (†1302). In this treatise, the Bible was seen as the prime source of authority, and it was deemed the Bible alone could serve as proof, while works of Church Fathers or exempla could only assist in clarification.

A short anonymous Franciscan treatise of the thirteenth century expands upon the amplifications of the *thema*. It enumerates ten ways by which the *thema* should be expounded. These combine structural elements such as division and argument, scrutinising the biblical text (i.e. interpretation of each word in the *thema* or alluding to its context), biblical exegesis (the four senses of the Scriptures, through the well-known example of Jerusalem), and extra-biblical sources, such as Church Fathers or Hagiography. This practical treatise was followed in the manuscript with biblical *themata* for diverse audiences (i.e. *ad moniales*, *ad nautas navigantes* etc.), sins and feast days (including nineteen *themata* for the feast of St. Francis).

A widespread English *ars predicandi* which discusses the Bible at length was composed, possibly in Oxford, in 1322. The only details of its author are known from an acrostic, which identifies him as Robert of Basevorn and his addressee as the Abbot of Basingwerk in Flint. Much like Alain of Lille Basevorn acknowledged the value of using *themata* from the Gospels and Epistles (§27). This notwithstanding, he asserted


34 "... omnia membra subdivisionis per auctoritates Biblie sunt probanda seu confirmanda, & ille auctoritates sic adducte per auctoritates sanctorum doctorum debent explanari usque ad finem. Et ut hce clarius videantur, ponamus exemplum. & proponatur hoc thema: beatus vir qui timet Dominum.... Post hce debet thema a capite repeti & per auctoritatem Biblie, vel alicuius doctorum, vel per rationem, vel per exemplum, vel alico alio modo introducti, verbi gratia." (Ross, *Brief Forma*, pp. 341-2.


that any genuine book of the Bible can be used as thema, since they were all inspired by
the Holy Ghost ("Nunc eliminandus est error quorumdam qui dicunt quod præceipue de
hiis: Quatuor evangeliis, Psalmis, Epistolis Pauli et libri Salomonis, sunt themata
eligenda; quia tota Scriptura Sacra ex Spiritu Sancto tanquam ex auctore dependet, qui
nec mentiri errare potest, qui nec majoribus auctoritatis est in uno [libro] quam in alio,
immo in omni libro [sentetias summe] motivas inserit si sit qui intelligat." §26).
Basevorn's analysis of the Bible differs from that of Alain de Lille. Instead of dividing
it according to moral usefulness, Basevorn suggested a division based on truth. In
doing so he followed rules of exegesis rather than those of rhetoric. His analysis utilises
Jerome's prologues and other Church Fathers to determine authorship and sacrality. He
questioned the authority of Third and Fourth Esdras, some of the Psalms, Hermas
Shepherd (liber pastoris), Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans, Ecclesiasticus and the
Epistle of Jude, and raised doubts regarding Menasse's and Jeremiah's Prayers, Judith
and Tobit, and the Greek nature of Wisdom and the Books of Maccabees. This in-depth
exploration ends with asserting the applicability of all biblical books for themata, apart
from Third and Fourth Esdras, the said Psalms, Hermas's Shepherd and Paul to the
Laodiceans.37

Augustine advocated the eloquence of the Bible. Basevorn saw the Bible as a
template for preaching. After enumerating the various methods of preaching, he
concluded, in parallel to Thomas of Chobham, that all these were exemplified in the
preaching of Christ (§1). This follows Mt. 4:17 - Exinde coepit Jesus predicare, et
dicere: Poenitentiam agite; appropinquavit enim regnum caelorum. Much like a
medieval preacher, so goes Basevorn's argument, Christ had compiled a brief sermon

37 This is parallel to the renewed interest in and stabilisation of the biblical canon, as evident in the
compilation of biblical manuscripts (de Hamel, The Book, pp. 120-1)
taking 'Poenitentiam agite' as his thema. The thema, as required, was of a biblical quotation. These were the words of John the Baptist, in an earlier incident in the same Gospel (Mt. 3:2 Poenitentiam agite: appropinquavit enim regnum caelorum). When this example was brought again, Basevorn acknowledged this dependency, advocating a reliance on one's predecessors:

"Et tantem ipse, corpus humanum & animam in unitate suppositi assumens, veniens praeedicavit etiam idem thema quod praeco suus prius praeceperat, ut habetur Matth. 4" (§6)

Christ the preacher had used the words of his predecessor as his thema. The Bible was thus presented as a complex text, which served as a source for its own narratives. This example assisted Basevorn in advocating a preacher's need to rely on his predecessors. Christ's supremacy over John the Baptist was evident, hence Christ's willingness to rely on his (inferior) predecessor was an example for all preachers, who occasionally avoided references to their predecessors out of pride. The great predecessors, following Basevorn, were Christ, Paul, Augustine, Gregory and Bernard; Christ was thus inserted into a line of preachers as fons et origo boni.

Basevorn's quote from Matthew served to exemplify the value of verbatim quotation from the Bible. Throughout the treatise, he repeatedly rejected any alterations to the biblical text that served as thema. He dismissed even minor alterations that did not affect meaning. Thus, veni should not be altered to veniendi nor Domine to Salvator. This understanding views the Bible as a sacred text, which was authoritative not only in content, but also in form and text. And it was the biblical text, rather than narrative or personae, which Basevorn advocated using. It was to serve as a thema, supplying the rationale for an entire sermon, or as proofs, validating a single argument.

38 §7, §15, §31.
Although he did not discuss this explicitly, Basevorn's argument reflects a watershed in the place of Bibles within sermons. On the one hand there was the *thema*. It was to be taken solely from the Bible, without altering a single word, even when this was merely a grammatical change. On the other there were proofs, taken either exclusively from the Bible (as is in the Paris school (§31) and the *Forma praedicandi*), or, as Basevorn advocated, utilised also from extra-biblical materials. Thus, while he opposed *themata* taken from the liturgy (§16), he accepted proofs constructed from exempla, syllogisms or natural phenomena (§31).

Basevorn's means of constructing a sermon, in accordance with the anonymous Franciscan treatise, included the use of amplification, where a single word is developed into an argument (§39). This could be done by defining a noun, dividing a word according to its multiple meanings, using concordances, verbal agreement and others. Many of these means of amplification furthered Basevorn's understanding of the Bible as a text, as they treated individual words as a basis of authority, as the basic unit of meaning and authority. As proofs, extra-biblical elements were limited to three of each kind in the sermon (§49), a restriction which did not apply to biblical quotations and proofs.39

The Bible as text also formed the basis for use of single-word *themata* (§21), which was inevitably detached from its literary and historical context. The sanctity and authority of the word derived from the authority of the Bible as a text, rather than as a narrative. This is not to say that Basevorn supported a functionalist view of the Bible; in the same chapter he promoted the deep understanding of the biblical mysteries by preachers (“Clausa est enim Sancta Scriptura per secretorum mysteria, sed aperta per

---

39 This is in line with criticism of the integration of extra-biblical elements into sermons, which found its strongest voice among Lollards (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 269-270), as well as early modern critics of medieval piety (Spencer, *English Preaching*, pp. 321-334).
praedicatorum ministeria, quia "declaratio sermonis Dei illuminat et intellectum dat parvulis"). Yet, tensions which were raised by preachers and theorists alike, between content and form, *thema* and proof, text and narrative, persisted in all sermons investigated here.
On Quotations

The place of the Bible in sermons was depicted by medieval preachers and theorists as a series of tensions, relating to the very definition of the Bible. In order to examine their assumptions, I now turn to the sermons themselves, through the biblical building stones of quotations and allusions. The pericope of the day will supply both an example for inner-biblical allusions, as well as a theoretical background for allusions, which would assist in understanding how the Bible engaged different audiences simultaneously, in thematic, verbal and formal manners.

The pericope for the first Sunday of Advent (Mt. 21:1-9) displays elements of allusions and intertextuality. The gospel narrative is made of two distinct parts: 21:1-4 and 21:6-9. In the break between the two lies a biblical allusion, which supplies the rationale for the entire pericope. The reason for Christ’s commandment and the Apostles’ task is revealed through a quotation from the book of Zechariah:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mt. 21:5</th>
<th>Zc. 9:9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dicite filiae Sion</em></td>
<td><em>Exsulta satis, filia Sion; jubila, filia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus</em></td>
<td><em>Jerusalem:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>et sedens super asinam et pullum filium</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>subiugalis</em></td>
<td><em>ecce rex tuus veniet tibi justus, et</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>salvator: ipse pauper, et ascendens super</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>asinam et super pullum filium asinæ.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This quotation is made by the narrator, and fills a critical role in understanding the activities of Christ and the Apostles. It is preceded by an explicit citation formula (Mt. 21:4 *hoc autem factum est ut iimpleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem*), which helps the reader/hearer identify the allusion and also foretells its importance. In an analysis of allusions to Zechariah in Matthew, Foster convincingly claims that the
pericope was constructed upon the quotation of Zechariah, and that it is a pre-requisite
to understand the less-than-obvious need for an ass and colt. Foster demonstrates how
the first part of the verse of Zechariah was suppressed in order to advocate Christ's
contradictory nature: human and divine, a king riding an ass.

In order to assess the place of the quotation in the gospel narrative, Foster turns to
the theory of allusions, which supports his intricate analysis of inner-biblical allusions.
He follows Michael Thompson's study of intertextuality in the New Testament, which
relies on the theoretical works of Carmela Perri. Foster accepts the distinction
between a direct quotation, accompanied by explicit citation formulae, and an allusion,
a statement intended to remind audiences of known traditions. He does not juxtapose
explicit citations and allusions, but rather sees them as features of a single expression, in
which the nature and memorability of key words (i.e. recognition of a citation) affect
successful identification of key qualities (i.e. recognition of an allusion). This argument
relies on Thompson's criteria for the identification of allusions, and seeks verbal,
conceptual and formal agreements. Thompson locates the place of a specific allusion in
a tradition, and aims to identify the motivation of the author, to contrast the allusion
with other sources, and to trace the exegetical value of each allusion.

These criteria follow Perri's identification of the mechanism of an allusion, which
has also been accepted by a later generation of literary scholars. Perri claims the
function of an allusion to be (in Thompson's useful simplification): "1. use of a sign or

---

40 Paul Foster, "The Use of Zechariah in Matthew's Gospel", The Book of Zechariah and its Influence,

41 Michael Thompson, Clothed with Christ: The Example and Teachings of Jesus in Romans 12.1-15.13

pp. 287-297. Both works begin by lamenting the lack of work in this important field (Leddy, Limits, p.
110; Irwin, Allusion, p. 287, n. 2).
marker that calls to the reader’s mind another known text for a specific purpose.\(^43\) This is furthered by William Irwin’s assertion that an allusion cannot be merely substituted by the referent.\(^44\) The marker, the textual element by which the allusion is evoked, functions on two levels simultaneously: it exists allusively, as triggering intertextuality; it also exists un-allusively, within the literary composition. In the example of Matthew’s allusion of Zechariah, the qualities of humility were contrasted with regality, leading back to the text of Zechariah, but also independently, un-allusively, through the juxtaposition of contradictions - a king who was to ride an ass.

The specific qualities of the referent are key to the function of an allusion. They distinguish it from direct reference, which supplies the entire array of the referent’s qualities, and from the allegory that discusses the alluded qualities explicitly. Allusions refer implicitly only to specific and selected qualities of the referent. Thus, in the allusion to Zechariah in Matthew, it was the juxtaposition of humility and regality was sought by the author, rather than other qualities of the original text, such as the Daughter of Jerusalem or the salvific nature of the event. According to Perri, it is the audience’s role to retrieve these qualities, based on its intended familiarity with the referent. She specifies the audience’s roles: to comprehend the allusion, to recognise the marker, to realise that the echo is deliberate, to recall aspects of the original text, and to connect these aspects with the alluding text.

At this point I diverge from Perri’s theory, as well as from its later implementation by Irwin. I shall explain this through Perri’s own example. Perri, and in her footsteps Irwin, uses T. S. Eliot’s *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* as an


example. One of the allusions she identifies in the poem is the protagonist’s reference to Hamlet in the words “I am not prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be”. According to Perri there are two ways in which the audience can identify the allusion to Hamlet: one of complete awareness to the referent (Shakespeare’s Hamlet), with knowledge of its diverse characters and activities, to such an extent that the remainder of the stanza would recall the character of Polonius; the other alternative is complete loss of the allusion by the audience, resulting in the marker being acknowledged on purely un-allusive terms. This is parallel to Irwin’s suggestion that an audience can either identify the work ‘Prufrock’ as taken from Eliot’s poem, or mistakenly regard it as a mispronunciation of peacock. Based on the supremacy of the qualities to the allusion, I think that some of the intended qualities are transmitted, albeit partially, even without full knowledge of the referent. The term ‘Hamlet’ can also be seen as referring to high culture or to a vaguely known protagonist of Shakespeare’s play. Moreover, this vague knowledge is better suited to the example of Eliot’s allusion to Hamlet than is deep knowledge of Hamlet’s qualities. Partial recognition is central to the use of allusions, especially when they rely upon sacred or authoritative texts.

Understanding allusions as partially identified is pertinent to the medieval example. Scholars such as Perri, Irwin, Leddy, Thompson and Foster, examine societies in which a language barrier is of lesser importance than in late medieval England: they study Shakespeare and T.S. Eliot, both wrote in English, and early


46 This is in line with Perri’s understanding of Eliot’s reference to Michelangelo in the same poem (p. 4) as an allegory, which brings to mind High Culture (Perri, Alluding, pp. 297-8).

47 The true qualities of Hamlet are more akin to those of Prufrock than supplied by the un-allusive qualities. I thank Stav Sadot for her explanation and analysis.

48 Leddy’s treatment of allusions in music and visual images is an attempt to engage with a barrier, albeit of a different quality.
Christian communities that read the New and the Old Testaments in Greek. In the late Middle Ages a language barrier meant that referents to biblical texts were not easily available to audiences as unmediated text. Some referents, especially liturgical, were possibly known aurally, while others through catechism and visual images. This does not prevent us from applying theoretical insights to the medieval example, but rather asserts the need to regard the diverse ways in which a referent was identified. Moreover, it renders another part of Perri’s analysis, in which she addresses allusions as speech acts, with a division into locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary (with the intended audience’s response), as less applicable, due to the partial nature of the sources. Sermons preserved in manuscripts were separated from the event of delivery in their language, style, length and use of materials.49

The place of allusions in sermons leads to questions about their intended audience. Sermons analysed in this chapter had three possible audiences: one was predominantly lay, which heard the sermon in vernacular or macaronic, and which familiarity with biblical verses cannot be taken for granted; the second was an educated ecclesiastical audience, which also heard the sermon orally, possibly in Latin, and enjoyed partial familiarity with the Bible.50 Waldeby’s students at York were such an audience. The third audience was not of the sermon as a speech act, but rather as a text, as preserved in manuscripts.51 This last audience was exposed to the sermon as a written text; it was familiar with the referents, and was aided by explicit citation

49 A possible exception for this gap are Parisian manuscripts, which recorded the delivery of a sermon (Bériou, L'avènement des maîtres).


51 On the variety of aural audiences at the fourteenth century, with the rise of lay literacy, see: Smalley, Friars, pp. 28-9. The literate third type is suggested by Spenser, Sermon, 618-20.
formulae and references. Accordingly, Perri's theory as a whole is applicable mostly to the third audience, possibly to the second, and only in an amended version to the first, lay, audience.

Medieval sermons convey a multitude of biblical quotations. Dozens of biblical references frequently appear in a single sermon, to the effect that the sermon could be seen as an array of inter-connected biblical passages. This was done intentionally, and Simon Tugwell traces the image of the sermon as woven (textur) from biblical materials back to Bernard of Clairvaux (†1153) and Humbert of Romans (†1277), the fifth Master General of the Dominican order. Biblical verses were frequently identified in the manuscript by quotation marks, and orally by explicit biblical references and citation formulae. An example from Waldeby (of the third major division) demonstrates the mechanism of biblical allusions in sermons:

"vestimenta strenebant in via, id est virtutum opera ostenderunt ad bonum exemplum proximorum & non ad vanam gloriam vixit, id quod precipitur Mt. quinto: "nesciat sinistra tua &c." (D 28r; slightly altered in B 79vb)

This part of the sermon alludes to two separate biblical references. A quote from the pericope, vestimenta strenebant in via, was identified only by its importance, with id est and subsequent interpretation rather than by formal citation formulae. This exemplifies intertextuality within the sermon, as the marker was supposed to repeat verbatim the words of the thema provided earlier. The second citation of Matthew, on the other hand, was introduced here for the first time. It was preceded by a formula - id quod precipitur - which brought the citation into awareness and established a link of causality. This

52 Thomas Falmagne, in an analysis of the mid fourteenth-century sermons of the Cistercian Jean de Villers in Paris, was able to identify about two thousand biblical citations in twenty four of his sermons (Instruments de travail, p. 197).

formula achieved three of the acts assigned to the audience by Perri: comprehending the allusion, recognising the marker, and realising that the echo is deliberate. The exact identification of the verse as the third chapter of Matthew was intended, inevitably, for the second and third audiences of the sermon. Drawing the allusion to a close with the ubiquitous et cetera assisted, visually and aurally, in identifying and delineating the marker. It brought into the recipient's awareness the existence of elements of quotation beyond the marker.

The marker itself was a brief verbatim citation of Mt. 6:3 (Te autem faciente eleemosynam, nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua.). It relied upon previous knowledge of the verse, or on its mediation by the preacher⁵⁴, since the un-allusive elements of the marker did not suffice to establish its goal, chastising vainglory. The centrality of this verse, and of the Sermon on the Mount in general, suggests that an audience's familiarity with the theme could have been taken for granted by the preacher. Accordingly, one can understand the reason for truncating the verse in this way, as it preserved the contradiction of assigning knowledge to a hand. This truncation supported the centrality of the anonymity of almsgiving, a topic addressed by the preacher.

This allusion, serving as a proof, did not assist in verifying the preceding biblical verse. Despite its proximity to the pericope and the causality suggested by the verb precipere, the allusion was not supporting the preceding verse. It was rather the preacher's interpretation of the first verse that was supported by the allusion. A biblical verse did not require verification. The preacher's understanding of it, his choice of

⁵⁴ This biblical quotation does not appear to have been integrated into any highly memorable liturgical text. An examination for its place in liturgical search engines such as cantus and cursus, reveals its place predominantly in monastic Uses as an antiphon for minor feriae (e.g. Cursus, Antiphon c2005, http://www.cursus.uca.ac.uk/cd/c2005, accessed 22.07.07).
words, logical connections and moral applications, on the other hand, were in need of validation. Thus the allusion showed that the preacher's interpretation was not of his own making, but rather grounded in the Bible. The use of biblical allusion as proof adorned the preacher's act of interpretation with authority. Citation formulae served to connect marker and interpretation, and to enable a smooth transfer of authority from the biblical text to its mediator - the preacher. Biblical references filled a similar function for the third type of audience, the users of manuscripts.

Biblical markers were not always verbatim quotations, and sometimes referred to an event or a person rather than a text. Thus, for example, in the macaronic sermon an allusion is made to Noah and the Flood. The allusion is not supported by a citation formula, nor by a quotation of a verse. It is simply stated as:

"Ista enim persona Christi incarnata est signum federis quod posuit Dominus cum Noe quando benedixit ei. Cuius tres colores sunt tres nature, quod et bus curvatur ad terram et in medio elevatur ad celum, quia in ingressu est humilitatus ad carmem, in egressu autem in mortem, cuius cum tota conversatio est in celis per iugem Dei contemplationem." (Fletcher, Macaronic, p. 226)

Here is an allusion to the story of the Flood from Genesis. The use of this referent, however, is subtle, and not far from an allegory, though without the explicit analysis of qualities required. Many qualities of the referent, such as the Flood itself, God's blessing, the future of Noah's sons, or God's promise not to repeat the punishment were omitted. The only element of the biblical referent referred to is the rainbow, and this only implicitly. The word itself is not mentioned, only its appearance and applicability to the gospel narrative. A marker verse was not supplied, but key words, such as Noah, would have sufficed to identify the referent. Following the nature of the allusion, and the lack of a precise marker, the true referent was not the biblical text, but rather the biblical event it narrated. Once more, the biblical allusion supported not the biblical
text (the pericope of the day and Christ's Advent), but its interpretation. The two tripartite divisions of the rainbow - in colour and in shape - assisted in establishing the nature of Christ's Advent as seen by the preacher.

There are several explanations for the gap between allusion and interpretation, a gap that required the audience to identify the rainbow, in this instance, or the Sermon on the Mount in the previous example. One possibility lays with the gap between the written document and its performance. While the preacher delivered the sermon, he may have accounted for this gap and filled the missing links. This notwithstanding, gaps were an inherent part of the allusion. Irwin's analysis of allusions, following their etymology, identifies them as a game of sorts in which the information is not to be provided in full. This is supplemented by Leddy's description of the audience's joy in finding the correct referent.55 Two aims were achieved by retaining the gaps, and requiring the audience to fill them. One was the involvement of the audience with the sermon. The audience was transformed from a group of passive listeners or readers to actively engage with the spoken or written text. They (the second and especially third audiences) were bent on identifying known references and connecting them back to the text of the sermon. In doing so they also assisted in verifying and sanctioning the sermon. By allowing the educated listener to fill in gaps, the very knowledge they applied reenforced the authority, sacrality and veracity of the sermon. For an uneducated audience, this gap may have contributed to detaching the biblical elements from their original context and connecting them to their own reality. Thus, when alluding to the rainbow, the detachment from the majority of the qualities of the biblical text enabled the audience to connect the rainbow to a known natural phenomenon, identified clearly through its colours and shape. The marker directed two allusions: first

to the biblical story, in which the rainbow was the sign of God's alliance with mankind; second, to the natural phenomenon, which could be witnessed by the audience, with its unique shape and colour.

Noah's Flood and the Sermon on the Mount are examples of biblical stories, which were probably recognised by educated laymen, as they had been presented in pageants and visual images. Frequently, however, biblical allusions were not of key events or well known biblical stories. Thus, in the same macaronic sermon, the two Advents were explained using a verse from the book of Judges:

Macaronic (Fletcher p. 227)

"Unde in figura huius, Axa filia Caleb accept in benedictionem irriguum superius et inferius: hoc est gratiationem in presenti et glori in futuro."

Judg. 1:15


The blessing of Caleb (a companion of Joshua) to his daughter cannot be seen as a major event in the Bible, nor one that even those fluent in the biblical text would have identified effortlessly. The citation formula and the uniqueness of biblical names assisted in identifying the allusion, but the gap was not easily filled by the audience. The qualities of the original biblical text were almost irrelevant to its rendering, and only the juxtaposition of a blessing with the upper and lower springs given to Caleb's daughter was of value to the preacher. The importance of the biblical referent laid not with its content, but rather its wording. From the literary perspective, the Biblical verse appears to be serving a mere internal goal, removed from its allusive qualities - the words up and down served to interpret Christ's two Advents. The only allusive quality required from the referent was its authority, which did not follow the text, but rather its place within the biblical corpus. The Bible served here as a source of authority, and its
mere being, identified by distinct names and citation formula, established the veracity of the preacher’s hermeneutic leap. The audience, either lay, ecclesiastical or reader, was not required to identify and accommodate the original biblical context in understanding the marker, but merely to acknowledge its existence.

The technique and accuracy of biblical citations varied considerably. As a rule, they followed the translation of the Vulgate, rather than the Vetus Latina, and, when supplied, chapter numbers normally match the langtonian division. Some citations were exact quotations, such as Waldeby’s use of Isaiah:

Waldeby (D 27r-v; B 79rb-79va) Is. 1:3

“Sic transformatur cor amantis in id quod amatur, quod per signa foris virtus erumpat amoris. Sed pro dolor ecce dominus conquiretur per ysaia capitulo primo: ‘cognovit bos possessorem suum et asinus præsepe domini sui, Israel autem me non cognovit et populus meus non intellexit’, qualiter hoc quia excexcavit eos malitia eorum...”

Cognovit bos possessorem suum, et asinus præsepe domini sui; Israel autem me non cognovit, et populus meus non intellexit.

In the course of a comparison between physical love and love of God, the verse from Isaiah supplied authority for the comparison, as well as an understanding of the necessary knowledge of God. The quote was preceded by a direct reference and an abridged citation formula. The citation formula identified the biblical quotation, its origin, and also, through the verb conqueri, the required qualities of the referent. Thus the citation formula assisted in identifying the allusive qualities of the marker and facilitated verbatim quotation. As the speaker was introduced, its gender, case and singularity were displayed, rendering the verbs and possessive adjectives self-explanatory.
Biblical citations presented several levels of modification of the biblical text. Thus, for example, in Waldeby’s discussion of the Apostles placing garments on the ass (third major division):

Waldeby (D 27v-28r; B 79va-b)

Apocalypse ultimo: ‘Beatus qui custodit vestimenta sua ne nudus ambulet’.

Quasi diceret equivalenter ‘beatus qui audit verbum dei & custodit illud’.

De his vestibus loquitur apostolus ad col. 5 dicens ‘induite vos sicut electi dei misericordias & benignitatem &c’

Bible

Ecce venio sicut fur. Beatus qui vigilat, et custodit vestimenta sua, ne nudus ambulet, et videant turpitudinem ejus (Apo. 16:15)

at ille dixit Quinimmo beati qui audiunt verbum Dei et custodiunt (Lk. 11:28)

Induite vos ergo, sicut electi Dei, sancti, et dilecti, viscera misericordiae, benignitatem, humilitatem, modestiam, patientiam (Ad Col. 3:12)

This short paragraph is based upon three different biblical quotations: Revelation, Luke and Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians. The citations are simplified versions of the biblical verses. Repetitive and rhetorical elements, such as the vigilare, were removed, while elements which fitted easily with the preacher’s aim were retained. Key words, such as induite, electi and benignitatem, from the Epistle, facilitate a successful allusion, as well as un-allusive qualities. The truncation of the biblical verses sometimes follows the structure of the verses themselves, as in Apocalypse 16:15 where an introductory element was removed without impairing the subsequent part. Considering the accuracy of Waldeby’s other quotations, together with his prolonged studies, the easy access to books that he enjoyed, and the similarities between these quotations and the biblical text, one can judge that his modification of the biblical text

56 A similar phenomenon was described by Bériou, L’avènement des maîtres, p. 483.

57 Akae, Library for Preachers.
was a matter of choice. It was a deliberate attempt at accommodating the verses into his sermon.

Odo of Cheriton’s sermon also presents a multitude of biblical quotations and allusions. One is a modification of Proverbs:

Odo (Spencer p. 643)  
“Betphage, id est ad oris confessionem, sicut dicit Solomon [sic], ‘Flagellato sapiens sapientior erit’

Prov. 15:25  
Pestilente flagellato stultus sapientior erit; si autem corripueris sapientem, intelliget disciplinam

Odo’s alteration simplifies Proverbs’ parallelism by combining the fool and the wise into one. The phrase *dicit solomon* serves as a reference combined with a citation formula. It replaces a direct reference by giving author’s name. Thus it does not provide the reader with a clear reference to pursue, but rather triggers a biblical association, adequate especially for oral performance.

A different allusion to Proverbs presents other modification of the biblical text:

Odo (Spencer p. 647)  
“Unde Salomon, ‘Due sanguisuge que semper dicunt [Affer! Affer!]. Sequitur, ‘circumspicit montes pascue sue’, id est exempla sanctorum...”

Prov. 30:15a  
*Sanguisugae duæ sunt filiæ, dicentes: Affer, affer*

The reference/citation formula is similar to that of the previous account, and key words, such as *sanguisuge* and *affer* were retained. The biblical verse, which describes the activities of the various daughters of the leech was modified. The dative of *Sanguisugae* became plural nominative in Odo’s account, as the daughters of the leech became mere leeches. This was a minor alteration (as was also modifying *dicentes* to
dicunt), and assisted Odo in presenting the first part of the verse as an independent unit. This demonstrates a preacher's alteration of the biblical text to accommodate his specific needs, as well as less diligence in providing biblical references. The second quotation is not of Solomon, but rather Job 39:8 (circumspicit montes pascuae suae et virentia quaeque perquirit).

The close proximity of several biblical references led in some instances to the construction of 'biblical amalgams'. These composed biblical allusions combined more than one referent to construct a single marker. Thus, two biblical passages or more merged to form a single proof. In Odo's sermon, a biblical marker appears, attributed to Solomon:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Odo (Spencer p. 654)</th>
<th>Prov. 23:35</th>
<th>Song. 5:7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Unde salomon 'Percesserunt me et non dolui, vulneraverunt me et non sensi'&quot;</td>
<td><em>Et dices: Verberaverunt me, sed non dolui; traxerunt me, et ego non sensi. Quando evigilabo, et rursus vina reperiam</em></td>
<td>invenerunt me custodes qui circumeunt civitatem percusserunt me vulneraverunt me tulerunt pallium meum mihi custodes murorum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this instance the vagueness of the reference is, as a matter of fact, an accurate depiction. The marker is a composite citation, based simultaneously on Proverbs and the Song of Songs, both attributed to Solomon. Marking the former in italics and underlying the latter will identify these elements in the sermon: "Unde salomon Percesserunt me et non dolui, vulneraverunt me et non sensi". The text of Proverbs is, in my opinion, the prime referent. Following Thompson's criteria, both referents share a verbal agreement, but only the former shares a formal agreement: the division and parallelism of Proverbs was replicated by the Odo, with the insertion of the verbs of the Songs of Songs as a protasis. The Song of Songs is a secondary referent, as it retained
only a weak verbal agreement, which did not preserve any memorable elements of the original verse, nor a thematic agreement, apart from the meaning embedded in the verbs themselves. The use of the secondary referent, rather than the wording of Proverbs, may be an echo instead of a deliberate allusion.

These proofs were designed to serve as the building stones of the sermon. They were used axiomatically; their veracity stood beyond doubt and so enabled the successful construction of the preacher's main argument. The close analysis of these proofs, however, also reveals a detachment from their biblical origin. Some quotations altered the biblical text on which they relied. This would not have been discernible by a lay audience, nor, possibly, when transmitted orally to an ecclesiastical one. Yet, preachers such as Odo of Cheriton and Waldeby, who had had access to and profound knowledge of the Bible, nevertheless altered its words to accommodate a new literary environment. Minor changes, such as removal of possessive pronouns or adverbs, still retained the necessary qualities of the referent, as well as key words, which assisted in its identification as a functioning allusion. This stood in sharp contrast with the image of the biblical text, as exhibited in the treatment of the *thema*. As shown above, Basevorn explicitly and repeatedly objected to any alterations - be they minor or grammatical - to the biblical texts used as *themata*. These objections were taken on board by the above-mentioned preachers only in regards to the *thema*: in the four sermons the biblical *thema* was neither altered nor truncated. Moreover, grammatical elements which were modified in other biblical texts, were treated as crucial to the understanding of the *thema*. Thus, although Odo of Cheriton altered the grammatical structure of nouns in several biblical verses used as proofs, he regarded the grammatical structure of words in his *thema* as key to its understanding. Relying on Mt. 21:2a (*dicens eis: Ite in castellum, quod contra vos est*) as his *thema* (or more accurately, his
pericope), Odo emphasised the importance of the diminutive of the noun *castellum*, in the interpretation of the castle as the world:

“Castellum dim[i]nutive... Mistice per castellum intellige mundum, quia ‘Diminute sunt veritates a filiis hominum’ [Ps. 11:2]. Ideo potius ‘castellum’ quam ‘castrum’ vocatur, unde in Ecclesiaste mundus civitas parva dicitur...” (Spencer, *Sermon*, p. 644)

One may wonder whether the differences between *themata* and proofs were noted by contemporaries. Yet, the distinctions discussed here reveal that not all biblical texts were seen as equal by their most dedicated users and mediators.
The Interpretations of Hebrew Names in Practice

*Et cum adpropinquassent Hierosolymis et venissent Bethfage ad montem Oliveti* (Mt. 21:1a)

The Vulgate retained many of the Hebrew names of the Old and New Testaments. These were identified and defined in a glossary, the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* (Interpretationes hebraearum nominum), which became the most common addendum to late medieval biblical manuscripts. As analysed above (pp. 194-200), the glossary originated in the works of Jerome, and evolved in three distinct revisions, attributed to Stephan Langton. Here is a unique opportunity to witness the implementation of this important tool. As will be shown, preachers utilised the *Interpretations* repeatedly in their expansion of the biblical text, and took full advantage of this opportunity to accommodate their allegorical interpretation into the biblical text. This was done in accordance with the means of amplification of a biblical text, as presented in *artes predicandi* such as Basevorn’s or the anonymous thirteenth-century Franciscan treatise, where the first manner of amplification was a definition.58

Two places-names appear in the pericope of the day: the goal of Christ’s journey, Jerusalem, and a small settlement on Mount of Olives - Bethphage. Its entry at the *Interpretations* translated the place as the house of the mouth or jaws: “Bethphage: domus oris vel domus bucce seu domus oris vallium aut domus maxillarum, Syrum est non Hebreum”.59 It supplied a translation, and a short discussion of its etymology. This

58 This was made explicit in a treatise of William of Auvergne (†1249), where the 16th means of amplification was *Interpretatio* - utilising the word’s etymology- and the 17th was its definition and description (definitio sive descriptio): Briscoe, *Artes praedicandi*, p. 31.

59 BL. Add. MS 39629, fol. 571rb; BL Stowe MS 1, fol. 436ra. A slightly different version is Oxford Bodl. MS Lat. Bib. C. 11 f. 340r.
interpretation followed Jerome's identification of Bethphage as a village of priests at the mouth of a valley.60

This understanding was adopted by Waldeby. In a discussion of Christ's generosity, as extended to the Kiss of Peace (in the second sub-division of the first major division - kindness): "...& venissent bethfage' qui interpretatur domus bucce...".61 A standard formula, *qui interpretatur*, assisted readers and hearers in identifying the transition and application of the *Interpretations*. Although this interpretation follows the common understanding of the word, it did not fit easily with Waldeby's argument; he found it difficult to connect the mouth to Christ's Advent. This was solved through an additional layer of exegesis:

"...& venissent bethfage' qui interpretatur domus bucce, id est uterus virginis in quo fuit unum nature humane ad verbum tanquam pacis osculum. Sicut exponit Bernardus super illud cantico primo 'osculetur me osculo oris sui &c'".

This interpretation fitted perfectly with the liturgical occasion of the sermon - the First Sunday of Advent, as well as with Waldeby's Marian devotion.62 Christ's Advent was linked to the Incarnation in an identification between Bethphage and Mary's womb. The logic of the connection was, nevertheless, somehow nebulous. It built upon the definition of Bethphage as a mouth, following the *Interpretations*, and connected it to another biblical mouth (*os*): that of the first verse of the Song of Songs. The connection was not explicit, as Mary did not appear in that biblical book. However, the kiss of the lover from the Song of Songs was likened to the Kiss of Peace. The biblical kiss was

---


61 D 26v; B 79ra.

also understood by several exegetes, including Bernard of Clairvaux, as an allegory of
the first Advent: “A deo suo pro peccatum remotum optat reconciliari per incarnationem
filii”. The connection between the first verse of the Song of Song and Mary could
have been presented to Waldeby in a visual way. The letter O of
Osculetur, opening the Song of
Songs, was frequently
illuminated as an image of
Mary and Christ the child, as
can be seen in figure 17 (the
initial O of Song of Songs from
Pierpont Morgan Library MS
M.138 fol. 198v). Thus the
connection between the kiss of
the lovers of the Song of Songs
and Mary was presented both
through exegetical works, as well as visual images, and taken up in Waldeby’s sermon.

The osculo oris, kiss of the mouth, was seen as the Advent of Christ. The place of the
kiss - the mouth - was ascribed to the place of the Incarnation: Mary’s womb.

---

63 This interpretation is supplied by the Glossa Ordinaria, vol ii. p. 708, where an additional
interpretation supports the identification between the verse and the Kiss of Peace: “Tangat me dulcedine
praesentiae suae. Quam a prophetis sepius premissam audivi & velut osculum afferens etiam mei oris
attactum suscipiat id est interrogantem me de via salutis audiat & erudiat & utraque unum faciens
osculum pacis afferat”. The connection between the kiss and Mary’s womb, more suitable for Waldeby’s
purposes, is in: Philippus de Harvengt († 1183), Commentaria in Cantica Canticorum, book 1, cap. 1:
“Haec assumptio, haec iunctora qua deus sibi uoluit hominem personaliter counire, et naturam cum natura
foedus pacis in utero uirginis ferire uel unire honesto uocabulo in praesenti osculum appellatur quia inter
discordantes reuersa pax osculo confirmatur.” (PL 203:192).

64 Similar images are: BL Add. MS 15,253, fol. 172vb; BL Royal MS 1.D.iv, fol. 249va; BL Royal MS
1.D.i, fol. 272rb. The proximity between Mary and Christ is most visible in BL Egerton MS 2867, fol.
282v. Details on Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.138 and the digital image are taken from: http://
corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&Search_Arg=SYSN%20ICA000106551&Search_Code=CMD&CNT=50&HIST=1 (accessed 30.07.07).
Accordingly, Mary’s womb was connected, through the mouth, to *Bethphage* - a place-name in the day’s pericope.

Waldeby’s use of *Bethphage* demonstrates the importance of place-names to the understanding of the biblical text. Moreover, it manifests the importance of the Interpretations to a medieval preacher, who was so keen to incorporate this understanding into his sermon as to provide additional layers of biblical texts and exegesis. The centrality of the Interpretations is evident also in Odo of Cheriton’s sermon and its Middle English rendering.

These sermons added another location to the description of Christ’s Journey. The village of *Bethany*, on Mount of Olives, is not present in Matthew’s account of Christ’s entry, but served as the only location in Mark’s account (11:1), while Luke (19:29) combines both *Bethphage* and *Bethany* in his rendering of the event. Several possible definitions of *Bethany* were offered by the Interpretations: a house of obedience, that of (Christ’s) suffering, God’s offering or the kindness offered to him (“*Bethania - domus obedientie vel domus afflictionis eius seu domus doni Dei aut domus gratificata domino*”). The sermons presented these locations, alongside Mount of Olives and Jerusalem, as the route of Christ to Jerusalem. Christ’s progress was seen as an allegory for the course of the righteous soul. Odo located the two cities at the foot of Mount of Olives and followed Luke in depicting Christ’s entry to Jerusalem through the villages:

“In pede montis Oliueti erant due civitates: Bethphage et Bethania. Bethphage interpretatur domus bucce, vel maxillarum; Bethania domus obedientie. Primo venit de Bethania per Bethphage in Ierusalem, ut narrat Lucas, instruens nos per quam viam incendendum est ad supernam Ierusalem.” (Spencer, *Sermon*, p. 642).66

---

65 BL. Add. 39629, fol. 571ra, and parallels. Bethany is mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew, but only as the place to where Christ returned after the cleansing of the Temple (Mt. 21:17).

66 (Odo’s sermon); pp. 640-1 (Middle English rendering).
The interpretation of the two names provided Odo with a moral allegory. *Bethany* was seen as house of obedience and *Bethphage* as house of mouth or jaws, leading him in attributing one to obedience and the other to oral confession. This interpretation was clearer than Waldeby's, as oral confession, rather than Mary's womb, was more easily connected to a mouth. Odo furthered his call for obedience through an array of proofs: biblical (the Fall and punishment as means of improvement from Proverbs 19:25), natural (the decline of humanity), and liturgical (the combined feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude (October 28), as evidence for the combination between obedience and confession).

The Middle English rendering of the sermon altered the meaning of the journey by changing the definition of its names:

"And so he came by Bethphage, pat is to seye an hous of teerus, from bethanie, pat is buxumnesse, techinge us what weye we schulen wende to pe citee of hevenly pees. First by buxumnesse to do þe wille of God and to kepe hise heestus... And so, fro buxumnesse þat us meke knowledge of synne, armen schulden wende by Bethphage, þat is teerus and wepynge, wip Criste to þe mounte of Olyvete." (Spencer, *Sermon*, pp. 640-1)

This account followed the common translation of *Bethany* as obedience, with added humility, but diverged from Odo's sermon in translating *Bethphage* as house of tears. This, as shown by Spencer, was to avoid Odo's emphasis on oral confession, which was frequently negated by followers of Wyclif.67 The journey was likened to that of Christ, whose obedience to the Father led him to accept the Cross and subsequently to the Passion. Like Christ the believer was expected to acknowledge his sins and to proceed through tears of repentance.

---

In the series of locations Odo's sermon and its later version presented a journey, similar to the unfolding nature of the biblical event. Moreover, it provided the preacher with the opportunity to discuss the goal of the journey: Christ's was Jerusalem and the Crucifixion, while the hearers' was the journey to Heavenly Jerusalem and Paradise. This allegorical understanding of Jerusalem as a future state of bliss is frequent in the Bible itself, as in Isaiah (2:1-4 = Micah 4:1-5), the Epistle to the Galatians (4:26) and most prominently Revelations (ch. 21).

Waldeby alluded to Jerusalem in his discussion of Christ's kindness as mercy (first sub-division of the first major division):

"Primum sic patet maga liberalitas misericordie, cum filius Dei venit ad locum pacis faciende, patet in Mt. 'Cum appropinquaret ihesus ierosolimamis' id est ad visionem pacis; lucas 19: 'venit filius hominis quaeres et salvum facere &c.' [Lk. 19:10]" (D 26v, B 79ra)

This technique of quotation and interpretation is similar to previous accounts: interruption of the biblical text to provide an interpretation of names, collaborated by an auxiliary verse as an additional proof. Waldeby's interpretation of Jerusalem as a vision of peace followed the entry in the Interpretations: "Ierosolima - pacifica vel visio pacis". This concurs with a possible, though less likely, etymology of the word.

Two other types of name-exegesis appear in the sermons. One is the interpretation of proper names. In Odo's sermon an allegorical interpretation was supplied, based on the Interpretations, for the exclamation Osanna, as well as for the terms Jews (Iudei) and Hebrews (Ebrei), which were integrated into an analysis of diverse liturgical processions. The other type of name-exegesis utilises names that

68 BL. Add. MS 39,629, fol. 585ra, and parallels.

69 Spencer, Sermon, pp. 657 (Osanna), 659 (Jews and Hebrews). These names are to be found in the Interpretations: BL Add. 39629, fol. 594ra, 587ra, 582va (respectively) and parallels. For the application of the exegesis into the depiction of processions, below. pp. 270-1.
were presented in Latin, rather than transliteration, in the Vulgate. Thus, Mount of Olives was interpreted in Odo’s sermon as righteous living as well as the Virgin Mary. Each of the mountain’s characteristics - stability, height and early reception of sunlight - was attributed to Mary.

Waldeby’s attention was captured not by the mountain, but rather by its olives: in the third subdivision of the first major division, olives were seen to illuminate, nourish and heal. So was Christ, as the light of the world, the bread of life and the conveyor of everlasting salvation: “hoc fecit filius dei ad montem oleveti. Et sicut oleum illuminat, pastit et sanat, sic Christe erat lux mundi, panis vite et medicus salvis eterne.” (D 26v, B 79ra). Thus, both in translation or in Latin, biblical name became an important tool for preachers. Their understanding was facilitated by a common biblical aid, the Interpretations, which enabled preachers the integration of multiple new narratives and complex allegorical interpretation.
Extra-biblical Narratives

Tunc Iesus misit duos discipulos, dicens eis: 

ite in castellum quod contra vos est, et statim invenietis asinam alligatam et pullum cum ea solvite et adducite mihi (Mt. 21:1b-2)

The biblical narrative for the first Sunday of Advent offers space for creativity. There is a gap between Christ's sending of the Apostles to bring animals and their execution of his order. Additionally, the Apostles' activities were not dwelt upon, their location being left an unnamed village (castellum). Medieval exegetes and preachers willingly filled this gap with extra-biblical narratives that compensated for missing elements and removed some of the vagueness. The two Apostles sent by Christ to unbind the ass and colt were left unnamed in all gospel narratives. This enabled preachers to furnish their interpretation to the event: in Odo of Cheriton's sermon, as well its later Middle English adaptation, the Apostles were named either as Peter and Philip or Peter and Andrew. These were interpreted allegorically; the said Apostles were seen as the most righteous of all of Christ's Entourage. By naming the Apostles, Odo was able to remove the obscurity of the biblical text and add a moral dimension to a minor event of the pericope. Naming the protagonists assisted in shifting audience's awareness from Christ - the protagonist of the verse - to the Apostles. It also assisted in adding meaning to their activities - bringing the ass and colt.

In the Gospel narratives the act of bringing the ass and colt is of secondary importance. It stands in the shadow of Christ's commandments, with verses 1b-5

---

70 This process was mentioned by Bériou, L'avènement des maîtres, pp. 486-7

71 Spencer, Sermon, p. 644. The Middle English rendering simplified this interpretation by naming only Peter and Andrew.
narrating Christ’s instructions, and only verses 6-7a the Apostles’ activities, without adding new information (euntes autem discipuli fecerunt sicut praecepit illis Iesus; et adduxerunt asinam et pullum).

Shifting the emphasis to the Apostles assisted in establishing the role of preachers as biblical mediators. This was based on juxtaposing Christ’s commandment in the pericope (Mt. 21:2a) with his commandment to the Apostles to go and preach the Gospels to all the inhabitants of the world (Mk. 16:15 Et dixit eis: Euntes in mundum universum prædicate Evangelium omni creaturce). Mark offered Odo the key to the role of the Apostles in the pericope. Few similarities assisted in the comparison. Both instances contain Christ’s order for the Apostle to leave and carry out his injunctions. This was made explicit by the author of the Middle English Sermon: “Bot þid cas[t]el þat Crist sente his disciples into is þe world, þat he spekib of to heme in þe gospel, ‘Ite in mundum universum, predicate euangelium omni creature’, Wendig into al þe worlde, preche he þe gospel to euery creature”.

Only a single word was altered: Mark’s account provides euntes rather than ite as Christ’s commandments. The alteration does not affect the meaning commandment, as the imperative sense is preserved by the participle. The change, nevertheless, establishes a verbal echo, which links the two verses through the repetition of a key word. The command to the Apostles in both cases that they work in pairs supports this similarity. The pairing of the Apostles was expanded by Odo to reflect on the dual quality of preachers: the love of God and of neighbour. It was verified through a reference of the combination of two Psalms to a single antiphon in Lauds on ferial days.

72 Spencer, Sermon, pp. 644-5.

73 “Per binarium geminam caritatem intelligimus: dilectionem Dei scilicet et proximi, que necessaria est cuilibet qui officium predicacionis assumit, unde Dominus misit discipulos sous binos et binos. Similiter duo psalmi in diebus ferialibus combinantur sub una antiphona, et duo psalmi in Laudibus: Deus, Deus meus et Deus misereatur nostri.” (Spencer, Sermon, p. 644)
preaching carried an additional weight in late medieval England. Preachers were seen and heard by audiences and the connection between Christ’s commandment and the friars, who traveled and preached in pairs, was made explicit in late medieval literature. 

In their enhanced mission, the Apostles retrieved an ass and a colt from a village (castellum). The biblical narrative does not elaborate on their mission or its execution, apart from Christ’s instructions, if they were to be asked on their activities. Both Odo and his redactor compiled an entire narrative based on that single word. The castellum is seen as the world of sin, to which the Apostles are sent. It is a negative world, from where the souls, in the form of the ass and colt, are to be redeemed. It is depicted as a castle, which the Apostles are to assail, destroy and kill its guards. This interpretation uses numerous biblical verses as proofs. The comparison mentioned above between the pericope and Luke 16:15 assists in this identification. As the Apostles in the latter account are explicitly sent out to the world (Euntes in mundum universum), so their objective is to be understood in the former.

Odo’s (though not his later redactor) understanding of castellum relied on the Psalms:

**Odo (Spencer p. 644)**

“Castellum dim[i]nutiue ponitur pro ciuitate Jerusalem, quia habitatores eius erant a fide et bonis operis dim[inu]ti. Mistice per castellum intellige mundum, quia Diminutive sunt veritates a filiis hominum.”

**Ps. 11:2b**

*quoniam diminutae sunt veritates a filiis hominum*

---

The diminutive of the *castellum* was employed in contrast to the nearby city (*cives*). The connection between the two verses lays not with a verbal echo, but rather in the identification of the morphology of a key word. This understanding carries moral weight: the diminutive is not based on size, but rather, as demonstrated by the Psalmist, on the poor morality of its inhabitants. This exemplifies the different ways in which a biblical text, used as *thema*, differed from that of proof, with a close attention to its grammatical structure.

The nature of the *castellum*, again with reference to the diminutive, is exemplified through the use of Ecclesiastes 9:14-6, a parable of a small town under siege, saved not by the deeds of a mighty king, but by a poor and wise man. The *castellum* is likened to the small town (*civitas parva*), through the application of the diminutive. The city is understood as the world, and the poor man as Christ, following medieval exegesis. This understanding is presented in the sermon as the inherent quality of the text, with no reference to later exegetes. The parable assists in presenting an image of a castle. The sermon identifies the King of the parable as the Devil, in a short digression, inserted in the midst of the biblical verse ("Venit contra eam rex magnus (id est diabolus) et vallavit eam..."). A moral context, foreign to the biblical text, was established following medieval exegesis. The Devil-King enabled Odo to identify the city as a world inhabited by evil.

---

75 *civitas parva, et pauci in ea viri; venit contra eam rex magnus, et vallavit eam, extruxitque munitiones per gyrum, et perfecta est obsidio. Inventusque est in ea vir pauper et sapiens et liberavit urbem per sapientiam suam; et nulius delincept recordatus est hominis illius pauperis. Et dicebam ego meliorem esse sapientiam fortitudine. Quomodo ergo sapientia pauperis contempta est, et verba ejus non sunt audita?*

76 The *Glossa Ordinaria* to Ecc. 9:14, emphasises the connection between Christ and the wise man, contrasted with the powerful king, who was seen as the Devil (*Glossa ordinaria*, vol. ii, p. 704). The connection between the city and the world, however, was only made implicitly.

77 This agrees with the gloss, which interprets the few men in the city as referring to the righteous, in comparison with the wicked: "*pauci in ea viri; ad comparationem malorum / multi vocati: pauci vero electi*" (interlinear gloss, *Glossa ordinaria*, op. cit.)
The castellum, with its evil inhabitants and worldliness, provided Odo with ample materials to develop this image further. Accordingly, a description of the castle's appearance, which is lacking in the biblical text, was established and took the form of sub-divisions. It was divided into four turrets, each inhabited by its own residents, a variety of sinners. The approaching Apostles were to assail each turret utilising diverse siege engines - acts of charity. Table 1 conveys this information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turret Category</th>
<th>One</th>
<th>Two</th>
<th>Three</th>
<th>Four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>Teaching of Falseness</td>
<td>Earthly Power</td>
<td>False Righteousness</td>
<td>Lust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhabitants</td>
<td>Idolaters &amp; Heretics</td>
<td>Mighty Men &amp; Covetous</td>
<td>Hypocrites</td>
<td>Lecherous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engines</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>Charity</td>
<td>Chastity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: The Divisions of the Castle in Odo of Cheriton's Sermon.

The various turrets represented carnal sins, assailed by acts of charity. The castle, and in its steps the Apostles' mission, was seen as man's soul, with an internal battle between good and evil. The connection between turrets and engines was made using echoes of biblical verses and extra-biblical sources. As can be seen through the example of the third turret, false righteousness, which was assailed by charity. Paul's Epistle to the Romans supplied Odo with a general biblical echo:

Odo (Spencer, Sermon, p. 646)  Romans 12:9

Contra terciam, caritatem: ubi nam est didectio, recedit simulacio  Dilectio sine simulatione: odientes malum, adhærentes bono
Similarly, the second turret, earthly power, was assailed by hope, based on an exegesis of Psalm 21/7 and the works of Gregory the Great (only in the English version), both references appear to be spurious.78

This section of the sermon was one of the few parts incorporated in full into the Middle English version. Its appeal was possibly in the combination of necessary catechism with imagery of medieval warfare.79 This narrative, however, although relying on biblical proofs, is foreign to the gospel's text. It is an extra-biblical narrative, which alludes briefly to the pericope and presents a complex imagery. The analysis of the castellum cannot be seen as an attempt to simplify the biblical text to its hearers, as it complicates a minor element almost beyond recognition. Its goal was to use the biblical text as a stepping stone to catechism.

The end of the narrative of the castellum functions as a key to its origins. Both Odo's sermon and its Middle English rendering follow the Apostles' siege and victory with the construction of a new castle. The first castle is the Devil's and the second is God's. The walls of the latter are maintained by acts of charity, fending off sins and vices. The allusion to man's soul is made explicit in the Middle English rendering: "And bus þorouh vertues schulde mannes soule be made þe castel of God..." (Spencer, sermon, p. 646). The image of a city or castle as the dwelling of the righteous was frequent in Christian thought, as, for example, in Revelation 21, Augustine's On the City of God Against the Pagans, or Waldeby's reference to Jerusalem in his sermon (above p. 256). The original castellum is an antithesis to Heavenly Jerusalem, like the wicked cities of the Bible, Sodom and Babylon. The image of the Tower of

78 Spencer, Sermon, p. 646, n. 14, 15.

79 The value of connecting contemporary events to the Bible is a common theme of preachers, and described by Lawrence T. Martin as: "Good preacher has a Bible in one hand and a newspaper in the other" (Two Worlds in Bede's Homilies, p. 27). This was alluded to, again with reference to modern preachers, by d'Esneval (Instrument de travail, p. 164).
Righteousness was common in late medieval literature and visual culture. Thus, in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle (c. 1330) an entire folio portrays a detailed description of the Tower of Wisdom (Turris sapiencie), which manifests in an elaborate iconography of battlements and figurae the various virtues and acts of charity.\textsuperscript{80} Images and exegesis combined with an array of biblical verses to furnish the blank elements in the gospel narrative with meaning. In the process of doing so minor elements of the gospel narrative were expanded, and the connection between the Bible and the Middle Ages was enhanced.

Application of Biblical Lectio difficilior

hoc autem factum est ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem: dicite filiae Sion ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus et sedens super asinam et pullum filium subiugalis” (Mt. 21:4-5)

The biblical text is interspersed with inner-contradictions, mis-interpretations and conundrums. These have been used by modern biblical scholars to trace renditions of the biblical text, identify different strata or raise questions of reception and transmission. Medieval preachers treated them as mysteries worthy of interpretation and of sharing with their audiences.81 These incidents supplied preachers with ample opportunities to weave their own agenda, interpretation and admonitions into the biblical narrative.

The description of two animals - ass and colt (asina et pullum) - in Matthew’s pericope is an example of a biblical lectio difficilior. The juxtaposition of two animals is unique to Matthew; Mark, Luke and John describe a single animal. The origin of Matthew’s account lays in a misinterpretation of Zechariah 9:9b, the source for the new-testamental scene. The synonymous parallelism of the masoretic text describes a single animal twice. This led to vagueness in the Septuagint and to Jerome’s alteration of an ass’s colt into an ass and a colt.82 It created a conundrum, into which were poured multiple exegetical works. The contradictory element, already extant in the juxtaposition of Christ with an inferior animal, was reinforced by the supply of two animals where only one was required.

81 This was explored in Augustine’s De doctrina Christiana, above, pp. 225-6.
82 Foster, Zechariah, pp. 74-5. The parallelism was restored in modern translations of the verse, such as the World English Bible (“Tell the daughter of Zion, behold, your King comes to you, humble, and riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a donkey”).
Unlike their modern counterparts, medieval exegetes did not question the
tradition nor altered the common translation of Matthew or re-assessed Zechariah
(which Latin retained the Septuagint’s ambiguity, *ascendens super asinam et super
pullum filium asinae*). Other means of understanding the biblical image were clearly
required for understanding this conundrum. The *Glossa ordinaria*, following Jerome,
provided an understanding of the two animals in the light of the two Apostles, sent to
fetch them: Philip and Peter, who brought the Samaritans and Cornelius into the
Christian Faith. This corresponded to identifying the ass with Jews and the colt with
Gentiles. Thus, Matthew’s misinterpretation became a symbolic representation of the
future of the Christian faith and its appeal to diverse nations. This understanding was
based on the nature of the animals: the ass, which was placed under a yoke, was under
the yoke of the laws and commandments kept by the Jews; the colt, free to err, was the
Gentiles. The ass was also connected to Matthew, who was alleged to have written in
Hebrew, and still retained hopes for the Jews; and the colt to Mark, who aimed at the
Gentiles. Jerome also addressed the problem of which animal was used by Christ,
deducting, due to the short way, that only the ass was ridden, while the colt remained
free.

This tradition was integrated into late medieval sermons. Debate over the
identity of the animal on which Christ rode was taken up in Odo’s sermon, as well as its
later rendering. However, while the Middle English account repeated the identification
of ass and colt as Jews and Gentiles, the Latin origin presented a more elaborate
interpretation. After supplying the common interpretation of the animals it engaged

philipum. qui primum gentiles ad christum adduxerunt. Philippus samariam quam asinam interpretantur.
Petrus cornelium quasi samariae pullum; & et pullum: Pullus est populus gentium cui nullus doctorum
frenum correctionis imposuit liber & lasciuous. QUI et ipse vinculis peccatorum irretitus erat. omnes enim
PECaverunt et egerunt gratia dei. Alii de sollo pullo - mattheus qui hebracis scribit. & de asina dicit
docens non desperare salutem hebreis si poneiteant. Marcus dicit pullum ante ianuam in binio inventum.
ianua christus extra quam populus gentium stabat ligatus. non in una via fidei, sed in diversis eroribus.”
with the problem of Christ riding two animals, asserting that although Christ did not ride them simultaneously, he nevertheless rode the two nations in a mystical way:

"Per asinam [intelligitur] sinagogam, que iugo legis erat edomita; per pullum, populum gentilem, que sine lege lascivus et indomitus diversos deos colebat.

... Notandum quod Dominus non simul super ambos, sed mistice per fidem utrique populo insedit. Multi enim [de] Iudeis, [multi de gentibus] conversi sunt, [et factum] est unum ovile et unum patuor [Jn. 10:16]. Item probabile [est] quod Dominus prius equitavit asinam, postea pullum, ut istoria rei significate respondeat" (Spencer, Sermon, pp. 647-8)

Two solutions followed. The first was a mystical interpretation. It enabled the preacher to present the contradiction without having recourse to a concrete solution. The other used Christian history, its progression from Jews to Gentiles, to establish a sequence of riding, moving from ass to colt.

The differences between the two animals and the conundrum of simultaneous riding were put aside as the sermons enfolded. A subsequent part of the sermon contrasted ass and rider, implicitly accepting a single animal. This supplied the grounds for a tale on the absurdity of a master, who treated his animal better than himself or his family. Thus, Odo replaced one conundrum, the problem of the two animals, with another - Christ riding an ass. The juxtaposition of ass and regality was utilised in advocating a hierarchy, not between the diverse animals, but between animal and rider, body and soul.

The differences between the two animals, alluded to by Odo, were acknowledged by Waldeby:

"...et ibi invenientes asinam et pullum cum ea', id est gentem iudaicam onere legis gravatam [...] & gentem paganam nullius legis oneri asueta. 'Solvite & adducite mihi', Supple per veram doctrinam vel per asinam, nitetur natura humana verbo unita, quin sessor superior est, asinus inferior; sessor regit & ducit, asinus regitur & ducitur; sessor quiescit, asinus vexatur; sic fuit de natura divina quod
ipsa fuit superior et alterius nature regitiva id est ductiva & in summa dilectione quieta. Ecce ergo in exemplum humilitas quomodo Christus prophetiam illum implevit: 'ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus sedens super asinam &c'. Et non solum semel, sed Christus humiliavit se continue, sic se humiliavit sedendo super asinam id est super humanam animam. Quia ecclesiastici, 'anima iusti sedes est sapientie'.” (D 26v-27r.; B 79rb)

Waldeby’s work is an example of biblical mediation which took into account the tensions inherent in the biblical text. After presenting the common exegesis that identified ass and colt as Jews and Christians, Waldeby progressed to an elaborate comparison. The comparison was, however, not between the ass and colt, but rather ass and rider. Avoiding, implicitly, the problem of riding both animals, Waldeby expanded upon the tension, inherent in the accounts of Zechariah and Matthew. The quality of contradiction, based on the juxtaposition of ass and regality, became explicit and expounded upon at length. Thus, Christ as a rider (sessor) was contrasted to the animal ridden, the ass. As one leads, the other is led; as one rules, the other is subjected; one is calm, the other rowdy. The rhetorical device of application of opposites was memorable and easily understood by the audience. The tension inherent in the Bible was mediated to the audience in this way. The ass and rider, unlike in Odo’s account, were not used to present a moral understanding, but to support Christ’s humility, the subject of the second major division. Christ’s riding the Ass was alluded to (with the assistance of a common proverb, mistakenly attributed as Proverbs 10:25b84) the Incarnation and his assumption of human nature.

The juxtaposition of opposites was also present in the liturgy. In the first station in the Sarum Palm Sunday procession, the second versicle ended: “gradiens virtutibus non in equis bellicosis nec in altis curribus”, addressing the same tension as Waldeby’s sermon did, without alluding to the nature, or even existence, of the two animals. This

---

84 It appears among writers such as Augustine (e.g. Enarrationes in Psalmos: Sermo I. De prima parte Psalmi - PL 36:324) and Bede (Liber proverbiwm, PL 90:1091). The origin of the mistaken quote may lay with a misinterpretation of the Septuagint.
is indicative of a major distinction between liturgy and preaching. While the latter’s affinity to the *lectiones difficiliores* was frequent, it was not the only way to engage with the biblical text. Attention to the two animals was almost non-existent in texts or activities of Palm Sunday processions, nor in the liturgy for the First Sunday of Advent. Continental customs highlighted other elements, such as the German use of a wooden animal, the *Palmesel*, which used only one animal. Questions about the use of the two animals, about the hierarchy between the animals, or the problem of Christ riding two separate animals, were avoided. Advent sermons, on the other hand, not only noted the number of animals but highlighted its importance and wrestled with its logic.

---

85 In Palm Sunday processions the duality of ass and colt appears only in the lesson of Matthew itself. All other references to the animals, such as the prayer *Deus cuius filius* or the antiphon *Cum audisset* (*sedens super*), mention a single animal (*in asino / super pullum asinae*) - see Sandon, *Sarum*. This is reflected also in visual images of Christ’s Entry, in which frequently only one animal was depicted and in the rare instances when two animals appear (such as the Chertsey Abbey Psalter, figure 1), the hierarchy between the two was clearly established.
Liturgy and Sermons

The Middle English rendering of Odo of Cheriton’s sermon alludes to an enigmatic figure. In the context of promoting obedience to God, the sermon refers to a parable of Christ from the Gospel of Matthew:

Middle English Sermon

and criste seyde to þe honge man in þe gospel, 'si vis vitam ingredi, serva mandata’, ‘Hif þou wolt entre into lyfe, kepe þou þe heestus.’ And þis tauhte Criste us in worde and dede, þat was buxum to his fadris wille to þe depe upon þe cross...

Mt. 19:17

Qui dixit [Christus] ei [uno]: Quid me interrogas de bono? Unus est bonus, Deus. Si autem vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata.

The exact identity of the ‘honge man’ is questionable. He is not to be found in the biblical text, which merely acknowledged his presence (unus). The allusion to the Crucifixion may suggest an identification with one of the thieves, who were hanged alongside Christ, as preserved in Wyclif’s translation (Lk. 23:39 And oon of these theues that hangiden, blasfemyde hym, and seide, If thou art Crist, make thi silf saaf and vs). However, I have yet to find any connection, biblical or medieval, between them and Matthew’s parable. Common exegesis does not shed light on the identity of the character, apart from Jerome’s reference to his age, based on the following parable (Mt. 19:20). In this instance the answer may exist outside the sphere of biblical text and exegesis.

Biblical narratives were utilised, altered and expanded by mediums such as liturgy, visual art and literature. In the day’s pericope, another hanged man suggests himself. Common iconography of the Entry frequently depicts a man sitting on a tree.

---

beside Christ. Although this was transformed in numerous English images to portray the children singing the *Gloria laus* from a high place, its origin lays with Zaccheus, who sat on a tree awaiting Christ (Lk. 19:2-6). As a righteous man of the Gospel narrative, who engaged Christ in a discussion, and whose location (near Jericho) was near the events of the pericope, such an identification is probable though inconclusive.

The connection between sermons and extra-biblical elements went beyond vague allusions and was manifested in text, performance and authority. One cannot avoid mentioning the extra-biblical elements of the sermons, from classical texts to saints' lives, writings of Church Fathers, popular lore and liturgy. As my interests are with biblical mediation, I will concentrate on liturgy, as an example of the use of one biblical medium by another.

The performance of sermons cannot be separated from liturgical rites. Sermons were preached within liturgical time and space, often by a sole actor: they were primarily carried during or after Mass, especially on feast days; preached (at least in theory) by licensed churchmen, who were also responsible for administering the sacraments; and pronounced from pulpits, within the sacred space of the church, or by a cross on the edge of this space (such as the cross at St. Paul's, where renowned churchmen preached on special occasions). The connection between the performance of sermons and liturgy was implicit in Basevorn's *Forma predicandi*, where the time of

---

87 On the iconography see above, p. 76.


89 A general introduction to sermons in the English context is still: Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, especially "The Preaching Scene: IV 'Inter Missarum sollemnia'; V 'at the Cross' and 'in Procession'"; Examples for extra-liturgical sermons, performed on the outskirts of churches: Horner, *Preachers at Paul's Cross*. The cross was also known as the Palm Sunday Cross, and is addressed at length in the preceding chapter.
a sermon was measured by the length of various masses (advising its length to range between Low Mass without music and Solemn Mass with music).  

Liturgy gave sermons not only context but content too. Sermons were constructed based on the daily pericope, which was read during the Ordinary of the Mass. Either as a whole, in the homily, or fragmentarily, in the modern sermon, the liturgical reading was expounded to the audience, in a continuation of the ritual. Preaching was designed, from its onset, to mediate the biblical text of the liturgy to an audience.

Beyond the pericope, liturgical elements entered sermons as prayers. From Augustine to late medieval *artes predicandi*, comments were made on the insertion of prayers into the sermon. Augustine’s pun, “sit orator antequam dictor”, encouraged preachers to integrate prayers into their sermons, and indicated the importance of prayer. An introductory prayer was assigned a specific place in the modern form of sermons. Known as *antetheme* or prologue, it was embedded into the fabric of the sermon, placed between the *prothema* and the repetition of the *thema*. In Waldeby’s sermon, for example, this prayer was indicated by *oremus* separating the *prothema* and the presentation of the *thema* and major divisions (D 26r/B 79ra). Sermons also concluded with a prayer, or at least an *Amen*. Thus, the entire structure of the sermon was delineated by liturgical activities. Basevorn, who commented upon the initial and final prayers, also suggested the implementation of a vocal echo from the *thema* into the prayer, deepening the connection between sermon and liturgy.

---

90 Basevorn, *Forma*, §1 (Charland ed. pp. 238-9)

91 Augustine, *Doctrina Christiana*, 4:87 (Green’s ed. pp. 234-5); Example for such *antethemes* are: Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 317.

92 Basevorn, §25; §47.
The building blocks of the preacher’s argument - the proofs - encompassed liturgical elements as well. Thus a versicle from the Feast of the Assumption was used by Odo of Cheriton and retained by the late redactor. The versicle was preceded by a short quotation formula (quia), and accompanied by a translation in the Middle English rendering. Quotations such as this were possibly one of the few which may have been recognised by lay audiences, following the vocal qualities of the text. The prime characteristic of the versicle, marian worship, corresponds to its place within the sermon, during an allegorical interpretation of Mount of Olives as Virgin Mary. Other quotations blur the distinction between biblical and liturgical elements. Such was the use of Luke in the Macaronic sermon:

**Macaronic (Fletcher, p. 226, 227)**

“Lyht, dico, non ab illuminandi, sed a condescendendo. Quia “Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi.

... 

Nisi enim Sancti Spiritus gracia corda nostra visitando preveniat et ad nos condescendendo perveniat, nequaquam corda nostra Dei Filius inhabitat. Et hoc est quod angelus ad Mariam querenatem quomodo Dei Filium nedum carne sed et corde conciperet, respondit “Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te,” et sic “quod nascetur ex te Sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei.”

Luke 1:35

*Et respondens angelus dixit ei: Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi. Ideoque et quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei*

The verse of Luke, which was quoted twice in the sermon, was frequent in the liturgy. In the Sarum Use it was performed on the First Sunday of Advent and rendered

---

93 *Super Choros angelorum exaltata est ad celestia regna*, p. 642 (n. 9 supplies the entry of the Sarum breviary). For the spread and variation of the Antiphon see also *Cursus, Antiphon c2762* (http://www.cursus.uea.ac.uk/ed/c2762_accessed 22.07.07).
the referent to be of dual nature: either the biblical text or its performance in the liturgy on the very same day in which the sermon was delivered. 94

Lay audience’s knowledge of liturgical texts is far from evident. Their knowledge of the performance of the liturgy is somehow more probable. This is addressed in Odo’s sermon, where three liturgical processions: the Feast of Purification, Palm Sunday and Ascension, are interpreted allegorically. Their timing is an astronomical allegorisation of the dragon’s tail of the Apocalypse (Apoc. 12:4); their paraphernalia a network of meaning (the Lights of Purification as grace, branches and flowers as good deeds, flags and crosses as sign of victory); their biblical actors as receptors of Christ (the Elder Simeon as the priest; the children as the world and pure thought; the angels and their glory), combined with the biblical vehicle on which Christ was carried (Mary and Joseph’s arms; the ass; a cloud). This lengthy comparison combines biblical and liturgical elements to accommodate the preacher’s message.

The use of proofs was not limited to the Bible or its oral mediation in the liturgy; it extended to extra-biblical elements as well. 95 In the four sermons proofs are brought from commentary to the Psalms, Bernard of Clairvaux on the Song of Songs, the works of Gregory the Great and Augustine, the lives of St. Francis and Martyrius Monachus 96

---

94 The fourth responsory of the second Nocturn in the Sarum use: Ave Maria gratia plena dominus tecum spiritus sanctus superveniet in te et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi quod enim ex te nascetur sanctum vocabitur filius Dei (Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum, Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth (eds.), Fasc. I, Cambridge 1882, col. xxiv). The same responsory was at the second nocturn of the same day at St. Albans (cursus: http://www.cursus.uea.ac.uk/ms/stalbans#Alb2.01011000, Accessed 22.07.07). Other occurrences include: variation on the ordinary of the Mass, Easter (Ad amitum) and the Annunciation: Legg, The Sarum Missal, pp. 219, 216 n. 1, 259.

95 On the integration of extra-biblical materials, with emphasis on Greco-Roman materials and their study: Smalley, Friars, especially pp. 39-42.

96 Whose life is provided as an example of piety in Gregory the Great’s Sermon 39 (PL 76:1293-1301 (1300)).
as well as numerous animal fables and natural phenomena. The multitude of extra-biblical materials found in sermons and their use as proof, necessitates a re-evaluation of the authority of the Bible. It was far from a sole source of authority, with extra-biblical proofs brought, and accepted, as legitimate verification. Basevorn claimed that these sources were even more fashionable, surpassing the Bible in popularity. The roots of this fashion laid, according to Basevorn, in idle curiosity:

“...et hoc modo magis acceptatur narratio Augustini, dummodo sit nova et inusitata, quam bibliae; et magis Helinandi vel alicujus alterius qui raro habetur, quam Augustini vel Ambrosii. Cujus ratio non est alia nisi vana curiositas hominum.” (§49)

Smalley noted Basevorn’s criticism that extra-biblical elements were used in response to a popular demand, and had utilised it in her appeal for the study of the classics in the Later Middle Ages. This and similar claims did not stop their incorporation in sermons. Even Basevorn himself, in the first paragraph of his prologue, followed the biblical quotation with a reference to Boethius.

Extra-biblical elements within sermons assist in identifying the thema-proof dichotomy, addressed previously. Although extra-biblical elements were used, sometimes profusely, sometimes grudgingly, as proofs in sermons, they were not used as thema. The emphasis on accuracy, advocated by Basevorn, corresponded with the demand to employ themata of biblical texts alone. An example for that is supplied by Spencer: a new preacher apologised at the beginning of a sermon for a previous incident, in which he had utilised a thema taken from the Classics. This incurred the

---

97 Commentary of the Psalms - Odo (646); Bernard on the Song of Songs - Waldeby (D26r, B 79ra); Gregory's Moralia - Odo (p. 651,3); Augustine - Waldeby (D28r, B79vb); Life of St. Francis - Macaronic (227); Life of Martyrius Monachous - Waldeby (D27v, B79va); Fable on roosters - Waldeby (D27r, B79rb); Ass playing the lute - Odo (653).

98 Smalley, Friars, p. 42. Akae’s (Sermon Collection, p. 155 n. 170) claim that Basevorn did not apply negative notions to quoting the Ancients is probably a misinterpretation.

audience's disapproval, and resulted in his apology, followed by an assertion of the biblical nature of his current \textit{thema}, and a promise never to repeat such behaviour.
Conclusion

The place of the Bible in late medieval sermons can be summarised as a tendency to regard the Bible more as text than as narrative. It emanates, in parts, from the differences between homily and modern form. A homily expanded upon several verses, which frequently constituted a complete narrative unit, thus preferring the expansion of that narrative. Concentrating on a single verse or a few words, on the other hand, inevitably highlighted textual elements, and raised awareness to the value of individual words. Some means of amplification, which were narrated in treatises and practiced in sermons, highlighted individual words through etymology, definition and vocal qualities.

The centrality of the Bible as text, rather than narrative, is manifested in the successful integration of the Interpretations of Hebrew Names, not only in biblical manuscripts, but also into the fabric of sermons. It enabled preachers to debilitate the biblical narrative through the elaboration of a single word. By supplying several definitions for a single word, this aid assisted in detaching the sermon from the biblical context and accommodating it to multiple new realities. Thus, the place-names on Christ's path to Jerusalem facilitated discussions on oral confession, tears, repentance or the Incarnation.

The detachment of preachers' arguments from the biblical narrative does not constitute a neglect of the biblical text, but rather a deep and careful reading of it. It led to the interpretation of foreign words, with an awareness to the complexity of the biblical text and the semitic remnants of Jerome's translation, predating similar notions of Humanists and Reformers. The same deep reading of the biblical text had assisted
preachers in identifying gaps, conundrums and inner-contradictions. These were in turn used to weave a complex network of exegesis or to supply extra-biblical narratives, and eased the transition between biblical text and preachers' agenda.

The rise of the new form of preaching should not be overestimated. The sermons analysed do not follow the new form strictly, as can be seen from Waledby's adherence to the sequence of the new form while expanding upon the entire pericope, or prominence of major and minor divisions in Odo of Cheriton's sermon. The separation of the biblical text from its narrative resulted from the use of proofs as well. These building blocks validated the preacher's argument, but inevitably led to detaching the proof from its original biblical context. Even biblical narratives used as proofs were isolated from their original context. Only specific qualities were addressed, frequently redundant to the original narrative. Thus, the rainbow was detached from the Flood, or Axa from her inheritance, limiting the allusive qualities of the referent to the authority of the biblical text. The later example demonstrates one of the ramifications of the use of the Bible as text. As verbal and formal agreements became means of amplification, the Bible was seen as a collection of texts and syllables, in which the popularity of a text and its original message were sometimes secondary to its form and grammatical structure. Minor biblical episodes were thus placed alongside ones that were better known. The similarity in sound and syllables was sometimes enhanced by minor alterations to the biblical text, which assisted in the transition between text and argument.

Modifications in the biblical text indicate a major division within the place of the Bible in sermons. Biblical verses used as thema were treated differently than those used as proof. The former were not to be modified, neither in theory nor in practice.
Additionally, *themata* were to be taken solely from the Bible, with evidence of authors and audiences safeguarding this exclusiveness. Proofs, on the other hand, were constructed from biblical and extra-biblical elements alike. Biblical elements used as proofs were modified, in changes of grammar which enhanced their applicability, but did not conform with the strict negation of such modification in biblical *themata*. This distinction originated not in the nature of the biblical text or in an inner-biblical hierarchy, but rather in the specifics of biblical mediation in sermons.

Connection between the Bible as proof and *thema* furthers our understanding of the place of the Bible in sermons. Biblical and extra-biblical proofs were not used to validate other verses or the *thema*, since their authority was taken for granted; rather they supported the preacher's interpretative and mediative efforts. Sermons at large did not come to elucidate the pericope, nor to provide a clearer understanding of the *thema*. This was a secondary aim. The biblical pericope was not simplified, but rather complicated in the sermons explored hitherto. Extra-biblical elements, forced interpretation of words, or affinity to biblical *lectio difficilior*, where other mediums, such as liturgy and visual art, happily disregarded them, did not simplify the biblical text. Its directive was to combine moral injunctions with liturgical exegesis. Thus, the pericope of the first nine verses from Matthew 21 explained Christ's Advent, due to its liturgical occasion, rather than content. By the juxtaposition of pericope and feast, an interpretative gap was created, which necessitated a constant effort of generations of preachers. Allegorical interpretation became a necessity not only following alterations in the form of preaching, but already from earlier instances of accommodating biblical texts in liturgical time.\(^\text{100}\)

---

\(^{100}\) For the evolution of biblical reading in the course of the liturgy: Pierre-Marie Gy, "La Bible dans la liturgie au Moyen Age", *Le Moyen Age et la Bible* (Bible de tous les temps 4), Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (eds.), Paris 1984, pp. 537-552.
Tensions inherent to the mediation of the Bible in sermons are manifested in two sermons by John Wyclif (†1384): sermons 30 and 31, both sharing the same *thema* - *Semen est verbum Dei* (Lk 8:11b). The verse is taken from the Parable of the Sower (Lk 8:4-15 and parallels), in which a Sower had spread his seeds, some falling on types of barren land, and only few flourishing. The parable is then interpreted by Christ. The seed is the Word of God (in the verse taken up by Wyclif), those on barren land are the unfaithful, and those flourishing - the chosen few. Although Christ addresses primarily the hearers, Wyclif utilised the parable to reproach preachers. He enumerated their sins, deplored their preaching, and accused them of neglecting the Word of God in preference to rhetoric.

Wyclif presented an understanding of the mediation of the Bible in sermons, based on an analogy to the seed - the Word of God. Extra-biblical materials, be they fables, apocrypha, lightheartedness or falseness, were to be rejected altogether. Rhetorical devices, foreign to the biblical text, falsified the word of God, which was best spoken openly and plainly. These materials originated in the pride of hearers and preachers alike, the root of all evil. It had led to the situation in Wyclif’s times, when the seed was killed by preachers, whose sermons followed not the word of God, but

---


102 "Oportet secundo semen esse sanum, non verba falsa, non ludicria, non fabulas vel apocrypha quae sunt semen illusionis Antichristi...", ibid., p. 257.

103 "Quid (rogo) est predicatorem adulterare verbum Dei, nisi invilvendo ipsum in peplis et aliis ornamentis meretricis extraneis a scriptura, abuti ipso ad eius voluptuosam ostensionem et sic a sponso excludere florem eius et fructum qui est honor Dei et conversio proximi? Et quid est in sinceritate loqui nisi in clara intencione nude et apte loqui veritatem que edificat?”, ibid., pp. 267-8.
rather their own vainglory. The true way of preaching was in imitation of Christ through the expansion of his parables. Wyclif's strong words followed his assertion of the prominence of preaching among the works of the church (spiritualissimum actum edificandi ecclesiam qui est predicatio verbi Dei).

Wyclif's citation technique differs from his self-proclaimed affinity to the Word of God and rejection of rhetoric. His sermons supplies large parts of the pericope of the day. In a repetition of the thema he narrated what appears to be a direct quotation of the Parable. An examination of the quotation reveals a close proximity, as well as divergence, from the original biblical text:

Wyclif Sermon 30

*exit seminare semen suum, quia Matthei Xo, 20 Scriptur [Mt. 10:20] et sicut de facto seminans in parabola Salvatoris*

Aliud semen sevit iuxta viam quod fuit a pedibus conculactum et volucribus cinsumptum

aliud vero supra petram, et natum aruit quia non habebat humorem

tercium autem inter spinas quod per illas concrescentes suffocatum est

quartum vero in terram bonam quod fecit fructum centuplum

Luke 8:5-7

*Exit qui seminat, seminare semen suum.*

*Et dum seminat, aliud cecidit secus viam, et conculcatum est, et volucres cali comederunt illud."

*Et aliud cecidit supra petram : et natum aruit, quia non habebat humorem."

*Et aliud cecidit inter spinas, et simul exorta spina suffocaverunt illud."

*Et aliud cecidit in terram bonam : et ortum fecit fructum centuplum."

---

104 "Sed proh dolor hiis diebus est verbum sacerdotis quasi semen decisum a mortuo ... Reverta inimicus homo durrens in animas sacerdotum superseminavit zinzanniam. Nunc enim si qui loquitur non quasi sermones Dei sed gracia exemplandi, predicabit gesta, poemata vel fabulas ext a corpus scripture...", ibid., pp. 265, pp. 259-62 (the sin of pride), pp. 266-7 (pride among preachers).

105 Compare this with Basevorn's assertion that Christ was to be the role model for preachers, using his expansion of the words of John (above, pp. 231-2).

106 ibid., p. 256.

107 The connection between the quote and the biblical text is approved, implicitly, in Loserth's edition, where the text was written in italics and identified in the apparatus (ibid., p. 256).

108 The break in the middle of Lk 8:5 corresponds to the late medieval Bibles, where the two parts of the verse were displayed as individual verses, through the application of a red dot at the beginning of 8:5b (for example in BL Arundel MS 324, f. 337v; BL Add. MS 35,085, fol. 534r).
The differences between the sermon and the Vulgate cannot be ascribed to an absence of accurate biblical texts. Some of Wyclif's variations simplified the biblical text, removing redundant adjectives and common phrases (e.g. *volucres caeli; ortum*). Others eased the transition between biblical text and sermon. The numbers assigned to the seeds were not a part of the original biblical text. This addition connected Parable and sermon through a formal agreement. It was made explicit in the adjacent sentence: "sic iuxta expositionem Salvatoris est seminatio quadruplex verbi Dei". The four types of seeds were connected to the divisions and sub-divisions of the sermon. The three negative alternatives (road, rock and thorns) were applied to the tripartite divisions of the *thema*, in this case 'seed'. Accordingly, 'road' was a manifestation of lapses of believers with the assistance of the devil, through acts of pride, envy and wrath; 'rock' signified the three sins of the flesh - sloth, gluttony and lust; lastly, 'thorns' were seen as the sin of greed. The pericope was used by Wyclif as an amplification of the *thema*. Each verse of Christ's parable was used as a division of the seed of the *thema*. This explains Wyclif's choice, as his amplification was parallel to the tripartite division of hearers presented in Christ's parable. Using the pericope as his major division, Wyclif was able to connect the biblical *thema* to the seven deadly sins, a common topos among medieval preachers.

In admonishing preachers against over-elaboration of their sermons, alteration of the biblical text and insertion of extra-biblical elements, Wyclif reflected on his own practice. The structure of his sermon was a manifestation of the new form, with a *protheme, thema*, heading of major divisions, *antetheme*, repetition of *thema* followed by the major and minor divisions. Moreover, his sermons, although relying heavily on the Bible, incorporated elements from Augustine, Gregory the Great, Chrysostom, Robert Grosseteste and even, while advocating the necessity of a good life of the
preacher, an example from the world of nature of a serpent that can kill with its gaze. Later Reformers rejection of the new form followed his words, but not his structure. These sermons combined the homiletic and new forms to advocate a return to the unmediated Word of God.

\[^{109}^{ibid.}, pp. 257 (serpent), 261 (Gregory the Great, Chrysostom), 263 (Augustine), 270 (Grosseteste).\]
Conclusion

Biblical mediation emerges from this dissertation as a pervasive phenomenon in late medieval England. Rituals and objects, chants and sermons, all facilitated the way medieval audiences gained access to the Bible. Diverse mediums shared spaces and complemented one another in the creation of a complex and challenging understanding of the Bible. The unique qualities of each medium were part and parcel of biblical mediation: liturgical texts cannot be detached from their melodies and performance, nor can sermons from mechanisms of biblical allusion. The intricacies of biblical mediation demonstrate that it followed a close and careful reading of the biblical text. The wide array of mediums indicates that biblical mediation functioned not only when direct access to the Bible was unavailable or denied. Rather, biblical mediation engaged all strata of society, and while the laity was presented with aural, performative and visual means, the Latin-literate clergy also approached biblical manuscripts through the mediation of layout and addenda. One may even conjecture that the close contact with the Bible experienced by monks and friars enhanced, rather than diminished, the importance of its mediation to them. Thus, an illustration for the text of the Song of Songs contributed to a specific understanding of it by a preacher, and the perpetual chanting of Psalms led to specific types of knowledge, which integrated oral and performative elements.

Biblical mediation engaged with multiple audiences simultaneously, while accommodating each with means of biblical access. In some instances, such as the sermons examined, several discrete audiences can be discerned, lay and clerical, oral and textual. Parallel means of biblical mediation were employed through images
embedded on the bindings of *textus*, which mirrored the narratives it contained, or in key moments in the liturgy. At the first station of Palm Sunday procession textual and non-textual means complemented one another – the words of versicles and antiphons were reflected in ritual activities, use of paraphernalia and distinct location. These not only presented the biblical text, but also enhanced its subtle apocalyptic undertones. Thus, biblical mediation evades a simplistic characterisation as means of clerical ‘control’. This contrasts with claims of later Reformers and modern researchers, who accused medieval clergy (predominantly preachers) of altering the Bible beyond meaning, and of utilising its mediation solely for their own gain.

This is not to say that the Bible was mediated to all medieval audiences indiscriminately. The speech of Caiphas gives evidence for an extra-liturgical moment, in which laity and clergy were addressed. It engages with two distinct audiences, evoking the symbolism of Palm Sunday with humor and gestures. It narrates Durandus’ complex symbolism in a simplified manner to the laity – referring to a single liturgical object – while the clergy was presented with an allegorical interpretation of diverse liturgical paraphernalia. This mirrors the liturgical custom which differentiated clergy from laity through the distribution of ‘real’ and ‘indigenous’ palms.

Physical objects were central to other rituals too. In the Ordinary of the Mass as well as in oath-rituals sacred books, such as *textus*, were processed and facilitated a biblical reading or vouchsafed the veracity of witnesses and litigants. The connection between *textus* and reading was one of mutual empowering. The source of the *textus*’ authority was the narrative of Christ’s life, which it contained. This was depicted in the iconography of its binding, and was stated explicitly in Gratian’s *Decretals*. The physical objects served in turn as means to mediate the divine to the reader. It endowed
its sacrality to the reader of the biblical lesson, as well as vouchsafed veracity in courts of law. The degrees of contact further delineated the boundary between clergy and laity: the latter were compelled to touch the oath-book, while the former had merely to acknowledge its existence; the former enjoyed intimate contact with sacred books in the course of the liturgy, while the latter were only able to view it from afar.

During the Mass the textus materiality was joined by other mediums. The priest, who shared an intimate contact with the book, was also the one who narrated its context to the laity, not only in the biblical lesson (read by the deacon in High Mass), but also in his expansion of scriptures in sermon. Thus the sacrality endowed on the priest by the physical object corresponded to the authority of the Biblical text, embedded into the fabric of the sermon.

The sacrality of textus served an additional function. Its unique nature, combined with the activities encompassing the Gospel reading, served to highlight this moment in the liturgy. This was done on the expense of other biblical readings and facets of biblical mediation, and reveals an internal hierarchy, extant in other mediums as well. In some instances this was based on the nature of the biblical narrative itself. Thus, in the liturgy the Gospels were elevated above other biblical lessons, and the Gospels' unique position is evident also in their incorporation into oath-books and talisman. In other instances such hierarchy was based not on the biblical narrative, but rather on the medium itself. Thus, preachers treated the thema differently from biblical elements used as proofs, which were modified and truncated; the most memorable elements of Palm Sunday processions followed not the biblical narrative, but rather means of performance and scenery, leading to assigning a prominent place to Christ's Entry, a scene which is marginal in the gospel narrative.
The mediation of the Bible was influenced not only by the nature of each medium, but also by cross-mediation, instances when one medium influenced another form of biblical mediation. Thus, the importance and unique nature of the Psalms within Christian worship shaped their layout in biblical manuscripts: elements of from one medium, such as intonation, pauses and antiphonal chanting, were adapted in a different medium through punctuation and application of ink and script. Similarly, the importance, iconography and ritual activities connected to sacred books in the liturgy shaped their use within the very different setting of courts of law.

The various mediums relied on the Bible as their source of authority. Diverse means were employed to validate the act of biblical mediation, different in each medium. In the liturgy this led to the incorporation of 'biblical' paraphernalia, used either by the crowd or the secondary procession, and the creation of sacred topography, which superimposed biblical Jerusalem on the medieval landscape. It also led to emulation of biblical language and genre in the creation of new 'quasi-biblical' texts. Preaching, especially in the modern form, adopted a different authoritative use of the Bible. The theory of allusions, less applicable to the study of the Bible within liturgical text, enables the identification of discrete biblical elements in sermons. Explicit citation formulae, in oral and textual forms, differentiated biblical from extra-biblical elements and guaranteed an identification of the biblical allusion. This use of proofs and themata relied upon an audience's acceptance of the biblical allusion, if not its approval, to sustain its authority. This is evident in allusions to known biblical narratives, such as the brief reference to the rainbow in the macaronic sermon, or the instance when a priest was rebuked for his use of extra-biblical thema. The authority of sermons laid with the biblical text, which was seen as of the realm of truth, and, following Aristotle, as
apodeictic or 'necessary' proof. This differs from the use of the Bible in the liturgy, where it was seen as a narrative and a textual role-model.

Some mediums, such as liturgy, visual images, and materiality achieved a connection between the audience and the Bible through the modification and simplification of the biblical text. This should not, however, lead us to view mediation solely as means of simplifying the Bible, in lieu of direct access. Other mediums complicated, rather than simplified, the biblical text. This followed a close reading of the Bible, and led to expansion of its conundrums and inner contradictions, or, where parallel narratives were presented, to adopt the biblical lectio difficilior. This technique enabled preachers a different means of connecting their audience with the Bible. In the identification of ambiguous biblical elements, preachers were able to supply their own layers of exegesis and narrative, which eased the transition between biblical text and medieval audience.

A preference for the biblical lectio difficilior is evident in biblical manuscripts as well. The incorporation and rubrication of the Psalms' superscriptions inserted an element of complexity and ambiguity into one of the most frequently used biblical texts. Rather than removing the superscriptions altogether, or substituting them for doxologies and tituli, as common in liturgical and earlier biblical manuscripts, the re-integration of this element introduced a vocabulary, unfamiliar even to the translators of the Septuagint, obsolete notions of worship and references to minor biblical personae.

The incorporation of superscriptions into late medieval Bibles drew upon the same rational as its most common addendum - the Interpretations of Hebrew Names.

---

1 For a brief and engaging discussion on the philosophy of the Bible as proof: James J. Murphy, "Rhetoric in Fourteenth-Century Oxford", Medium Aevum 34 (1965), pp. 1-20 = ibid., Latin Rhetoric and Education in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Ashgate 2005, ch. IX, p. 9 n. 41.
This glossary directed the reader to the Hebrew and Aramaic remnants of the Vulgate, and complemented the superscriptions as an indication of an interest in the original biblical text. This addendum was used extensively by preachers - an important audience for late medieval Bibles. Its definitions did not assist the literal sense nor dictated a single strand of exegesis, but rather enabled preachers to juxtapose a biblical narrative with a definition, frequently detached from it, to use the gap between word and narrative to promulgate their cause and to connect the Bible to their audiences.

Preaching is intertwined with the layout and addenda of late medieval Bibles. This connection explains the popularity of the Interpretations, and can be seen as a factor in the transformation of these manuscripts, through their unique layout, to constitute a highly efficient reference tool. From the point of view of biblical mediation, the layout of these manuscripts constitutes a shift from one medium to the other: from liturgy to preaching. In the Psalms, whose layout replicated liturgical performance, the re-integration of superscriptions supplied an extra-liturgical elements, which was never incorporated into performances. The move from capitula to chapter numbers constitutes an additional modification in biblical perception. The new system was unquestionably more efficient, and enabled novices and experts alike an easier identification of a given passage. However, it also led to the identification of biblical passages by a numerical value, rather than their incipit. While chapter numbers were more apt for scholars and preachers, the earlier system replicated liturgical use, which identified biblical elements by their incipit. This evolution in layout and mediation, which originated in the needs of preachers, led to a renewed interest in the origins of the Bible, to be then taken up by Humanists and Reformers. The adaptation of a new layout, combined with the advent of print and a wider dissemination of Bibles, enabled diverse audiences, both clerical and secular, better access to the biblical text.
The unique elements of biblical layout merit further examination. They can assist in the complex task of ascertaining copying relations between late medieval Bibles. Thus, although the biblical text in late medieval Bibles is often stable, the appearance and nature of superscriptions or the voices in the Song of Songs, present a distinct and identifiable component, which varies considerably between manuscripts. The *logue durée* history of the Psalms' layout, and especially of their superscriptions, illuminates the use and nature of Bibles from Antiquity to Modernity. This preliminary investigation reveals that the Psalms continued to enjoy a unique layout in the centuries following the Middle Ages, and its intricacies indicate a hierarchy of text and mnemonic elements, evident in Latin and liturgical remnants in sixteenth-century English Bibles. The *Interpretations* should also be studied in their own right. This examination reveals not only the importance of this tool to the late medieval church, but also the merits of interdisciplinary study, questioning simultaneously its appearance, evolution and function. There is a dire need for a critical edition of this aid (in the popular *Aaz* version) and for identifying additional remarks, such as the one noted by d’Enseval, together with the complex connection between its entries, such as Nechota, and the text of the Vulgate. This will shed additional light on the use of late medieval Bibles and will account for the quick and complete disappearance of this glossary, owing, possibly, to a change in biblical exegesis and dissemination. Thus, addenda and layout can be used, if to borrow again from a medieval reader, as a key in the understanding of the function and mediation of the Bible in history.²

² The importance of these marginal elements in ascertaining the history of the Bible is analogous to the study of marginal terrain in the history of climate change, as these were first and worst to be affected (Hubert H. Lamb, *Climate, History, and the Modern World*, 2nd ed., London and New York 1995, p. 3).
Distinct mediums treated individual biblical words differently. In sermons the expansion of single words facilitated entire arguments, culminating in the existence of single-word themata. Other biblical words, such as Hosanna or Hallelujah appeared in liturgy and literature and came to embody entire biblical/liturgical events. Although similar, these are distinct phenomena. Preachers were able to employ any biblical word, through exegesis and amplification, relying upon the inherent truth of each and every word of the Bible. Thus, alongside well-known biblical texts and narratives, there are references to minor personae, often detached from their context. In liturgy and literature singular biblical words were used as an allusion to the reenactment of the Bible in ritual. These words were not accidental, but key element in the biblical text and its liturgical reenactment, identified and amplified through performative means.

The comparison between recurring elements in liturgical rites and the evolution of the biblical text has led me to the paradigm liturgy-text-liturgy, in an adaptation of Paul Ricoeur’s biblical hermeneutics. This paradigm indicates the merits of biblical criticism in the study of the mediation of the Bible. Biblical criticism approaches the Bible as a complex text, and assists in deciphering internal allusions, hierarchies and genres. Many of these facets were employed by medieval mediators, not in tracing the evolution of the Bible, but rather as opportunities for elaboration and expansion. Thus the conundrum which resulted from a mis-translation of Zechariah, was frequently engaged by preachers (though avoided in the liturgy) and the liturgical elements of the Hallel, supplied in the gospel narrative of Christ’s Entry to Jerusalem, reverberated in Palm Sunday processions. Rituals and texts of Late Antiquity exemplify earlier instances of biblical mediation. Attempts to replace or modify the Psalms’ superscriptions enables us to better understand their place in late medieval Bibles. Similarly, the material culture of the textus was influenced by the choice of codex by
early Christian communities, which resulted in a need to differentiate between sacred books. Hence, the history of the Bible in the Middle Ages cannot be detached from its mediation in earlier eras, as well as its unique circumstances of compilation and evolution.

A close reading of the biblical text can be misleading in the context of biblical mediation. Combined with the modern culture of print and profusion of texts in electronic forms, it has led me to ask questions that are foreign to medieval sources and practice. Thus, the investigation of textus and oath-books began with their contents. Only in the course of this investigation have I realised that appearance and performance, rather than content, dominated the definition of these books. Similarly, after numerous attempts at disentangling liturgical texts to their biblical and extra-biblical components, I understood that such an attempt went against the grain of liturgical creativity, in which biblical and liturgical elements were merged beyond recognition. Both instances attest to the value of the Bible not only as text and narrative, but also as a unified concept, a singular entity, which transcended any complexities embedded in its text.

Biblical mediation did not end with the Middle Ages. The advent of print and the Reformation altered the dissemination of Bibles and the nature of biblical access, but did not eradicate the need for mediation. Some facets of medieval mediums weathered these transitions: indigenous Palms were still in use on Palm Sunday; the layout of late medieval Bibles shaped the form of modern editions; and the size and appearance of Bibles continued to be part and parcel of their identification. Other elements of biblical mediation, such as the modern form of preaching and the Interpretations did not survive. The basic tenets of biblical mediation, with the importance of the material culture, the use of the complexity of the biblical text, the simultaneous engagement of
several audiences or the quasi-biblical nature of the liturgy, have never faded away. Recent years have seen a rise in biblical mediation and the transformation of its nature. Secularism has widened the gap between the biblical text and modern audiences, not for want of Bibles but rather due to a change of vogue and general disinterest. Thus, although Bibles are present today more than ever before, through numerous print and electronic forms, it is the forms of mediation, from popular music through newspaper articles to television programs, which dominate popular perceptions of the Bible.

This dissertation began as an attempt to chart channels of biblical transmission at a specific moment in history. It demonstrates how biblical mediation was integrated into medieval society and shaped the understanding of the Bible of laymen and clergy. It serves to show how biblical mediation did not simply come to replace direct access to the Bible. Rather, it is a mechanism on its own account, which provided a crucial service to medieval society, in bridging the gap between its most sacred text and the present. This was done through a variety of means, in oral, visual, material and performative forms, and is key to any attempt at understanding the role and effect of the Bible in the Middle Ages and beyond.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mt</th>
<th>Mk</th>
<th>Lk</th>
<th>Jn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§ Healing Bartimaeus</td>
<td>§ Healing Bartimaeus</td>
<td>The healing before</td>
<td>§ The Plot Against Lazarus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:1 et cum adpropinquasset Hierosolymis et venisset Bethfage ad montem Oliveti</td>
<td>11:1 et cum adpropinquaret Hierosolymae et Bethaniae ad montem Olivarum</td>
<td>§ The Parable of the Founds</td>
<td>12:14 et invenit Jesus asellum et sedes super pullum cum sicut scriptum est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunc Iesus misit duos discipulos 21:2 dicens eius ite in castellum quod contra vos est et statim introcuerunt illos 21:3 et si quis vobis aliquid dixerit dicite quia Dominus his opus habet et conestum dimittit eos 21:4 hoc autem factum est ut impleteretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicens 21:5 dicit filiae Sion ecce rex tuus venit in nomine Domini et sedens super asinam et pullum filium subiugalis 21:6 euntes autem discipul ferunt sicut praecipit illis Iesus 21:7 et adduxerunt asinam et pullum et inposuerunt super eas vestimenta sua et eum desuper sedere feuerunt</td>
<td>mittit duos discipulos suis 11:2 et ait illis 11:3 et si quis vobis dixerit quid facitis dicite quia Domino necessarius est et continuo illum dimittit huc 11:4 et absentes invenerunt pullum ligatum ante ianuam foris in bivio et solvent illum 11:5 et quidam de illic stantibus dixerunt illis quid facitis solventes pullum 11:6 qui dixerunt eis sicut praeciperat illis Iesus et dimiserunt eis 11:7 et duxerunt pullum ad Iesum et inponunt illi vestimenta sua et sedit super eo</td>
<td>§ The Destruction of Jerusalem</td>
<td>12:13a. acceperunt ramos palmarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:8 plurima autem turbura straverunt vestimenta sua in via alli autem caebendarum ramos de arboribus et sternebant in via</td>
<td>11:8 multi autem vestimenta sua straverunt in via alli autem frondes caedebant de arboribus et sternebant in via</td>
<td>§ Greeks Seeking Jesus</td>
<td>12:13b. et processerunt obviam ei et clamabant osanna benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini rex Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:9 turbae autem quae praecedebant et qua sequabantur clamabant dicentes osanna Filio David benedictus qui venturus est in nomine Domini osanna in altissimis</td>
<td>11:9 et qui praebant et qui sequabantur clamabant dicentes venit in nomine Domini 11:10 benedictus quod venit regnum patris nostri David osanna in excelsis</td>
<td>The crowd remembering Lazarus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:10 et cum intrasset Hierosolymam commotae est universa civitates dicens quis est hic 21:11 populi autem dicente hic est Jesus propheta a Nazareth Galilaeae</td>
<td>11:11 et introiit Hierosolyma in templum et circumspectis omnibus cum iam vespera esset hora exivit in Bethania cum duodecim</td>
<td>§ The Temple of Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ Jesus in the Temple</td>
<td>§ Jesus in the Temple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Appendix 1: The Entry to Jerusalem in the Gospels (Chart)*
Appendix 2:
The Entry to Jerusalem in the Gospels (Flowchart)

Stay in Jericho / the Jordan Valley

↓

Move to Olive Mount

Mt, Mk, Lk

Christ Sending the Disciples to find an ass.

Jn

Christ Sitting on the ass (fulfilment of OT prophecies)

Mt, Mk, Lk

Crowds taking flowers & branches.

Passover crowd taking palms

Throwing branches and garments on the road.

Crowd walking with Christ. Shouting: Osanna, Benedictus qui venit (venturus), Gloria.

Lk

Mt, Mk

Prophecy on the destruction of Jerusalem

Entry to Jerusalem

Greek seeking Jesus

Mt, Mk

Cleaning the Temple

Returning to Bethany
Appendix 3:
A Survey of Late Medieval Bibles

Notes

Provenance
Most information is an estimation based on artistic elements, calendars, sequence of books and chapter numbers. Estimated dates and provenance are written in italics; 13/14 - indecisive dating after 1230. The few colophons are indicated in ‘Additional Material’.

Size
The size of the manuscript is of the folios, rather than binding, and is measured in centimeters.

Running Titles
+- alternating blue and red abbreviated titles, written in two parts on two facing leafs

Chapter Numbers
i - integral langtonian chapter division (identified by para. breaks and/or integral chapter numbers), alternating blue and red
c - capitula marks and/or lists
t - transitory (marks of capitula and chapters side by side, or partial integral chapter division)

Song of Songs (Rubrics)
- no special features
VE - Vox ecclesie (de Bruyne series A-L)
AS - Adulescentulis sponsa narrat de sponso... (modification of de Bruyne series S)
VA - Vox adulescentiarum; ... (modification of de Bruyne series S)

VC - Vox ecclesie... sponsus de sacta cruce (de Bruyne series D)

VP - Vox ecclesie... vox patriarchi (combination of de Bruyne series A and B)

Large initials for Key Psalms

For Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97 and 109 (with infrequent tripartite division of Psalms 51 and 101)

Chapter Number (Psalms)

- (I) - added by later hand

+ (s) - written as part of superscriptions

Superscriptions (Psalms)

G - Generic superscriptions

n.r. - space provided but not filled by rubricator

Additional Materials

Tr - Table of reading; K - Calendar.

§1 - Cambridge University Library MS Dd.VIII.12 - Additional material: capitula lists; chart of gospels; Baruch IV; chart of biblical exegetes; Jerome’s prologues; Theological treaties; Recipe for ink; calendar; canon of lessons; Song of Gospels; treatise and diagrams of biblical genealogy.

§2 - Cambridge University Library MS Ee.VI.26 - Transitional MS. Although first line written underneath ruling line, chapter numbers and titles appear to be added at a later date in red ink. The text is written in one column until the Psalms, and from then in the standard two column.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pressmark</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Layout (General)</th>
<th>Layout (Psalms)</th>
<th>Addenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Full Bible</td>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge University Library</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.i.14</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>42.5*26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.v.52</td>
<td>13†</td>
<td>Devon</td>
<td>Full (quires lacking)</td>
<td>21*14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.viii.12</td>
<td>1210-20</td>
<td>North Midlands</td>
<td>Full (parallel Psalter)</td>
<td>38*25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.x.29</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full (quires lacking)</td>
<td>23.5*15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.xii.47</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>- Ps. and other quires</td>
<td>15*10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.xiii.6</td>
<td>13†</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>38*25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee.i.9</td>
<td>13†</td>
<td>St. Albans</td>
<td>-Ps.</td>
<td>21*15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee.i.16</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full (quires lacking)</td>
<td>20.8*15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressmark</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Layout (General)</td>
<td>Layout (Psalms)</td>
<td>Addenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Full Bible</td>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee.ii.23</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>33.3*21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee.vi.26</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>by 15 in England</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>20*14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hh.i.3</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>19.8*15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ii.vi.22</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>- Job, Ps.</td>
<td>14*10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mm.i.2</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>24.3*16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mm.iii.2</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>33.5*22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St John's, Cambridge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C24</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>Ginsburne Priory, York</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>37.3*23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full (parallel Psalter)</td>
<td>20*14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>c.1240</td>
<td>England - Gilbertine House</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>25.5*18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

St John's, Cambridge
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pressmark</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Layout (General)</th>
<th>Layout (Psalms)</th>
<th>Addenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Full Bible</td>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N8</td>
<td>13(^1)</td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>16.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>France? By 15 at the Austin Abbey of Southwark</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>15.2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>15.2*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The British Library

<p>| Add. 5,160 | 13(^1)   | England       | Full           | 11.2*   | 7.8 | + | i | - | - | - | - | (l) | + | + | Aaz |
| Add. 15,253 | 13^2      | France        | Full           | 48<em>32   |  + | t | - | - | - | - | - | (l) | + | + | - | Partial Glossa ordinatia |
| Add. 15,452 | 13(^1)   | France        | Full (parallel Psalter) | 21</em>     | 15.3 | + | (black) | - | + | + | (Romanum/lebralum) | + | + | Aaz | Eusebian canon (earlier hand) |
| Add. 11,842 | 13(^1)   | England       | Full           | 29.4*   | 19.5 | + | (Red) | - | + | + | (Psalterium) | - | (l) | + | - | - | Tr (later hand) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pressmark</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Running Titles</th>
<th>Layout (General)</th>
<th>Layout (Psalms)</th>
<th>Additional Materials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ad 35,085</td>
<td>13²</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>K, Tr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>few notes on canon law and recipe (15 hand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Add 39,629</td>
<td>13²</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>K, Tr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amadé 78</td>
<td>13₁</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>K, Tr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amadé 303</td>
<td>1228-1234</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>K, Tr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amadé 311</td>
<td>1230-80</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>K, Tr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amadé 324</td>
<td>13²</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>K, Tr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K (partial, erased)</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>K (partial, erased)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- N: no
- +: present
- -: absent
- **: bold indicates a strong presence
- (Psalm, David): refers to Psalms titles
- (Psalm, mus): refers to Psalm with musical notation
- + (red., only on the recto): red ink, only on the recto
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pressmark</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Layout (General)</th>
<th>Layout (Psalms)</th>
<th>Additional Materials</th>
<th>Interpretationes</th>
<th>Superscriptions</th>
<th>Verse coloured initials</th>
<th>Chapter Number</th>
<th>Running Title</th>
<th>Large initials for Key Psalms</th>
<th>Song of Songs (Rubrics)</th>
<th>Chapter Numbers</th>
<th>Running Titles</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Full Bible</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burrey 1</td>
<td>England by 14 in Franciscan convent, Worcester</td>
<td>Full 31.21</td>
<td>i + 19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrey 2</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Full 20.2</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrey 5</td>
<td>by 14 at Bury St Edmunds, and the Franciscan convent of Babwell</td>
<td>Full 25.5</td>
<td>+ (red marks identify voices)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrey 6</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Full 20.7</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrey 7</td>
<td>Full ends abruptly in Lk. 33.1</td>
<td>VE (modified, marginal)</td>
<td>Full 15.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrey 8</td>
<td>Full ends abruptly in Rom. 13.20</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrey 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressmark</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Layout (General)</td>
<td>Layout (Psalms)</td>
<td>Addenda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 10</td>
<td><em>13.2 France</em></td>
<td>Full 15.8*10.2</td>
<td>+ i</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Aaz (truncate d)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 11</td>
<td><em>1230 Oxford</em></td>
<td>-Ps 12.8*9</td>
<td>+ i</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
<td>tables of contents; Table of Psalms, modus predicandi (Later hands)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egerton 2867</td>
<td>St. Martin Dover (Priory of Canterbury)</td>
<td>Full (Single column) 21*14.5</td>
<td>+ i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>G (Psalmus David)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 613</td>
<td><em>13</em> English*</td>
<td>Full (parallel Psalter, partial NT) 43<em>32</em></td>
<td>+ i</td>
<td>(Black) VE</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>from Ps. 45 n.r.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 1661</td>
<td><em>13/14 E/F</em></td>
<td>-Ps 17.4*12</td>
<td>+ i</td>
<td>separation of voices by spaces</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Aaz (later hand)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lansd. 438</td>
<td><em>+13.2 England</em></td>
<td>Full 33*24</td>
<td>+ t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Aaz Liber somniorum, Tr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lansd. 453</td>
<td><em>13</em> English*</td>
<td>Full 36*26.3</td>
<td>+ (red) c</td>
<td>VC</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>G (Psalmus David)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressmark</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Layout (General)</td>
<td>Layout (Psalms)</td>
<td>Addenda</td>
<td>Additional Materials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1 A.xii</td>
<td>Royal 1 B.iii</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>by 14 at Monk Bretton</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>15.5*</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
<td>chart of exegesis,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Royal 1 B.viii</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>by 14 at England</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>20.2*</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
<td>Latin hexameters,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Royal 1 D.i</td>
<td>1254</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>30.5*</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
<td>scholia (later hands)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Royal 1 D.iv</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>Devon</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>31.3*</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Royal 1 E.i</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>31.8*</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Columns:
- **Pressmark**
- **Provenance**
- **Date**
- **Place**
- **Layout (General)**
- **Layout (Psalms)**
- **Addenda**
- **Additional Materials**

- Chart of exegesis, Latin hexameters, scholia (later hands)
- Verse coloured initials
- Large initials for Key Psalms
- Song of Songs (Rubrics)
- Chapter Numbers
- Running Titles
- Size
- Full Bible

**Notes:**
- Liber interpretationis (later hand)
- N/A
- Psalms referred
- Abbr. visited
- Some NT epistles
- 27
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pressmark</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Layout (General)</th>
<th>Layout (Psalms)</th>
<th>Addenda</th>
<th>Additional Materials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.E.ix</td>
<td>Bohemia</td>
<td>Full, 63*45</td>
<td>+ i VE</td>
<td>Large initials</td>
<td>+ (liber psalmorum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stowe 1</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Full, 30*20</td>
<td>+ i -</td>
<td>Running Title</td>
<td>+ - - - +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Full (Ps. inserted later)</td>
<td>16.5*10.5</td>
<td>+ i (subdivision)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dominican, Ireland</td>
<td>Full, 17*11.4</td>
<td>+ i -</td>
<td>- - - - (l)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arklow</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E/F</td>
<td>Full, 23*15.9</td>
<td>+ i -</td>
<td>- - - - (l)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Full</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Full, 16.3*11.3</td>
<td>+ i (a-g subdivision)</td>
<td>- + - - (added later)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lambeth Palace Library**

**Victoria and Albert Museum**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pressmark</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Layout (General)</th>
<th>Addenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Additional Materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Full</td>
<td>interpretationes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.L. 1677-1902 (Reid 22)</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>NT (probably detached from OT)</td>
<td>Tr. texts on particular subjects (semi-magical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250-1275</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.3*</td>
<td>Aaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. 2060-1948</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>n.r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Superscriptions</th>
<th>verse coloured initials</th>
<th>Chapter Number</th>
<th>Running Title</th>
<th>Large initials for Key Psalms</th>
<th>Song of Songs (Rubrics)</th>
<th>Chapter Numbers</th>
<th>Running Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ (after Ps. 28)</td>
<td>+ (only red)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Blue and red initials for voices n.r.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Full</th>
<th>19.9*</th>
<th>14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>16.3*</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Full Bible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>16.3*</td>
<td>NT (probably detached from OT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>16.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>19.9*</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>NT (probably detached from OT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>16.3*</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>19.9*</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4: Four Advent Sermons

Four sermons are analysed in this dissertation. Two of them are interconnected. One was written in Latin by Odo of Cheriton (†1246). It was altered and translated to Middle English, possibly by a sympathizer of Wyclif, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Despite a general structural similarity, the two sermons diverge in their choice of topics and biblical verses. Both sermons expound upon the entire pericope (Mt. 21:1-9) in accordance with the homiletic form. After supplying the text, the pericope is broken into segments, each expounded upon at length. The sermons were based on a tropological interpretation of Christ’s path, seen as the path of the righteous soul on its journey to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Starting with an interpretation of place-names, the sermons provide an understanding of the Apostles’ mission to bring the ass and colt (upon which Christ was to ride) as an attack on the world of sin. A standard identification of the ass and colt as Jews and Gentiles follows, with the riding of the ass interpreted as the tension between flesh and spirit. The Latin original makes a lengthy digression enumerating the qualities of the ass as signs of piety. The activities of Apostles and of the awaiting crowd are then interpreted: the clothes placed on road and ass are sign of charity and virtue; the branches are good deeds; the proclamations are a rejection of Jewish faith and Antichrist (Lacking in the English). A comparison between three solemn processions (Purification, Palm Sunday and Ascension), Christ’s life and the spiritual journey of the faithful serves as a coda for the Latin text.

The author of the earlier sermon, Odo of Cheriton (†1246), is well-known. He was born in Kent, studied to become a magister at Paris, traveled and taught in France.

---

1 The sermons were transcribed and analysed by: Spencer, Sermon.
and Spain, and returned to England by 1232/3. He composed several sermon collections, a commentary on the Song of Songs, and a popular collection of animal tales (Narrationes or Parabolae). The sermon in question is part of his Sermones de tempore (Dominicales), written by 1219. The sermon is in the form of a homily, but corresponds to many traits of the modem form, such as the centrality of verbal agreement or a prolific use of recurring biblical words. As Odo's studied and taught at Paris university, this is hardly surprising, even though the sermon was composed before the compilation of the first biblical concordance. Copies of the sermon existed both in continental and English libraries. Its existence and knowledge in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth century are attested by a Middle English rendering. The Middle English rendering, although anonymous, supplies several characteristics of its author, through its modification of Odo's sermon. His choice of language, combined with a dislike of oral confession and mendicants, has led Spencer to identify the author as a moderate adherent of Wyclif.

The third sermon dates from the late-thirteenth century, and is contained in an early fourteenth-century Franciscan collection. It follows the modern form in utilising only a fragment of the pericope as its thema: Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini (Mt. 21:9b). It uses this verse to identify Christ as a messenger, with three main attributes: he had come from a great lord (in nomine domini), brought good tidings (Benedictus), and his arrival had ushered joyous times (qui venit). Christ the messenger is further identified by his rich clothing, and the feast with which the great lord received

---


3 Rouse and Rouse, Verbal Concordance.

4 Spencer, Sermon, pp. 636-8.

5 Fletcher, Benedictus qui venit.
him. Understanding the great lord as God leads to a tripartite sub-division. Commemorating Advent, each part of the Trinity is defined according to a specific quality and a temporal existence: God the Father, defined by might, represents the past; the Son, by right - the present; the Holy Spirit, with light, represents the future and Last Judgement. The rhyming of these elements follows the Middle English terminology. The tripartite elements of Advent are expounded using an array of symbols and biblical role models, from Isaac’s blessing to the rainbow which appeared after the Flood. The sermon ends abruptly in a discussion of the second coming and the world's end.

The sermon's author is unknown. It is written in a combination of Latin and Middle English, known as macaronic or code-switching. This form of writing is characterised by a change of language in between passages, and even mid-sentence. An example from the sermon (of the subdivision of the Trinity), demonstrates this complex bilingualism:

"Pater enim mittit appropriate loquendo wit a selli miht, Filius wit a semli riht, Spiritus sanctus wyt a seli lyht. Et correspondenter his venit Filius primo onto mans kynd, secundo onto mans mind, tercio onto the demyng."6

In most instances the transition between Latin and English is immediate. Rarely it utilises flagged code-switching, with the insertion of 'Anglice' to denote a shift.7 Researchers habitually saw these compilations as a manifestation of a decline in priestly education, but recent scholarship has advocated a more complex understanding of bilingualism, which identifies late medieval authors as competent in both languages, and thus able to utilise distinct vocabularies for different needs.8 This was demonstrated

---

6 Fletcher, Benedictus qui venit, p. 225.
7 ibid., p. 223.
by Voigts in an analysis of macaronic scientific treatises. In the example provided one can clearly note the alliteration of the English words *miht*, *riht* and *lyht*, which would have appealed to the preacher in the delivery of the sermon. Latin words in the sermon are frequently direct quotations, religious terminology or logical conjunctions, thus providing a source of authority for the preacher, while preserving his Latin philosophical vocabulary. ⁹

The fourth sermon follows the modern form in presenting a major (quadruple) division, which is divided, in its turn, to sub-divisions. The division is based on the entire pericope and not on a single verse. The sermon begins with a *protheme*, in which the value of preaching and hearing the Gospel is noted, and then the major divisions are supplied. The pericope is divided into four qualities, each alluding to a moment of the pericope in conjunction with its protagonist: kindness (*Liberalitas*) - the quality of Christ's divinity, as he approached Jerusalem; humility (*humilitas*) - the quality of Christ's humanity, as he rode an ass; the fire of love (*incendium amoris*) - the quality of the disciples as they placed the garments on the ass; the proclamation of honour (*preconium honoris*) - the quality of the crowd as it welcomed Christ. The first major division, Christ's kindness, is developed into a tripartite sub-division (in ascending order): mercy (*misericordia*), for no reward (*gratis*) and harmony (*concordia*). The fourth major division, the crowd's proclamation of honour, is also divided in three: external praises in deeds (*exterior exemplario conversatio*), internal in recollection of God's gifts (*interior donorum dei recordatio*) and elevation by prayers (*per orationem mentis elevatio*). The sermon is interspersed with biblical quotations, sayings of the

⁹ This is parallel to the function of code-switching in Voigts's understanding (*What's the Word*, p. 818), but nevertheless, following the religious and status differences between between clergy and laity, does not correspond to Voigts's assertion of code-switching as mark of neutrality.
fathers, saint's lives (such as Martyrius Monachus) and animal fables (e.g. hens growing a spur out of their love to the cocks).

The sermon was composed by John Waldeby († after 1372), an Austin Friar. Waldeby became a Doctor of Theology at Oxford, and spent most of his life at the Austin priory at York. He took part in the English delegation to the general chapter of the Augustine Order at Perugia (1354), and may have been the English Prior Provincial. He wrote extensively, and among his writings were homilies on the Apostles' Creed, the Paternoster and the Ave Maria, a collection of sermons de sanctis, commentaries on the Apocalypse and on the Penitential Psalms, most of which did not survive. While teaching theology at York around 1365 he composed the collection of sermons De tempore - novum opus dominicale, from which the sermon is taken. This is clear in the first sermon of the manuscript, which identifies its audience as Waldeby's students: "pro introductione iuvenes qui mihi in studentes annotantur..." [D fols. 2r-2v].

---

Bibliography

Catalogues, Reference Books and Dictionaries


*Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c.700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library*, Andrew G. Watson (ed.), Oxford 1979


"Catalogue of the Library of the Priory of St. Andrew, Rochester, AD 1202", W. B. Rye (ed.), *Archaeologia Cantiana* iii (1861) 47-64

*A Catalogue of the pre-1500 Western Manuscript Books at the Newberry Library*, Paul Saenger (ed.), Chicago 1989


*Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, C. W. Dutschke with the assistance of R. H. Rouse et al. (eds.), San Marino (CA) 1989

The Inventories of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 1384-1667, Maurice F. Bond (ed.), Windsor 1947

Inventory of Church Goods temp. Edward III (Norfolk Record Society XIX, I-II), Dom Aelder Watkin (ed.), Norwich 1947-8

Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Victor Leroquais (ed.), Paris 1927


Oxford Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, D. R. Howlett (gen. ed.), Oxford 1997-


Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France, Victor Leroquais (ed.), Mâcon 1940-1


The University and College Libraries of Cambridge (Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 10), Peter D. Clarke (ed.), London 2002
Unprinted Primary Sources

The information supplied adjacent to the each entry is a short description of the relevant part of the manuscripts to the thesis, and not an exhaustive description. Manuscripts which were consulted only in their electronic form are supplied alongside their URL.

Cambridge

*Cambridge University Library*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dd.i.14</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd. i.15</td>
<td>Sarum Missal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.v.52</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.viii.12</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.x.29</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.xii.47</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.xiii.6</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee.i.9</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee.i.16</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee.ii.3</td>
<td>Sarum Pontifical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee.ii.23</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee.vi.26</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ff.ii.31</td>
<td>Sarum Missal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hh.i.3</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li.vi.22</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mm.i.2</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mm.iii.2</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*St. John's*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Hebrew Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B14</td>
<td>Legal Treatise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C24</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I28</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N8</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N11</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Trinity College
O.1.71 Legal Treatise

Emmanuel College

Canterbury
Canterbury Cathedral
Law Society 3 Late Medieval Bible

Downside Abbey
83,548 Late Medieval Bible

Glasgow
Glasgow University Library

London
The British Library
Additional 5,160 Late Medieval Bible
Additional 11,842 Late Medieval Bible
Additional 15,253 Late Medieval Bible
Additional 15,452 Late Medieval Bible
Additional 22,573 Oath Book
Additional 24,142 Early Medieval Bible
Additional 28,681 Psalter
Additional 35,085 Late Medieval Bible
Additional 35,285 York Missal (Augustinian Priory of Gisburne)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Additional 43,380</td>
<td>York Missal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional 49,598</td>
<td>Early Medieval Benedictional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional 57,534</td>
<td>Sarum Processional (Norwich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional 63,592</td>
<td>Psalter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional 39,629</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arundel 78</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arundel 303</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arundel 311</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arundel 324</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 1</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 2</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 5</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 6</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 7</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 9</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 10</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney 11</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Galba E.4</td>
<td>Library Catalogue, Christchurch, Canterbury,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Titus D.7</td>
<td>Sacristy Record, Glastonbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Vespasian A.12</td>
<td>List of Bequests, Rochester Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egerton 656</td>
<td>Legal Treatise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egerton 2867</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 76</td>
<td>High Medieval Gospel Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 613</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 1661</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 2787</td>
<td>Sarum Missal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 2798-9</td>
<td>Early Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 2911</td>
<td>Sarum Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 2941</td>
<td>Sarum Missal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 2942</td>
<td>Sarum Processional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 2945</td>
<td>Sarum Processional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 2983</td>
<td>Hereford Missal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 4772-3</td>
<td>High Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harleian 4919</td>
<td>Sarum Missal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lansdowne 438</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lansdowne 453</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.A.xix</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.B.iii</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.B.viii</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.B.xii</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.C.vii</td>
<td>Early Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.D.i</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.D.iii</td>
<td>Gospel Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.D.iv</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.E.i</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.E.ix</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 1.E.vii-viii</td>
<td>Early Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 2.B.v</td>
<td>Psalter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 2.B.vii</td>
<td>Psalter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 5.B.xii</td>
<td>Library Catalogue, St. Andrew, Rochester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal 8.F.xiv</td>
<td><em>Interpretations of Hebrew Names</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sloane 2478</td>
<td>The Speech of Caiphas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stowe 1</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stowe 15</td>
<td>Oath Book</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Guildhall Library**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>04645</td>
<td>Oath Book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4158A</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible (the parish church of St. Peter-upon-Cornhill, on Permanent deposit)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lambeth Palace Library**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>Letter on theft of Bible, Reading Abbey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>533</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>534</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>756</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Register of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, i</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Victoria and Albert Museum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L. 2060-1948</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reid 21</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reid 22</td>
<td>Late Medieval Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>The Bodleian Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New College Archives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Columbia University Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Marino (CA)</td>
<td>Huntington Library</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Primary Sources in Print

Alan of Lille (Alanus de insulis), *Summa de arte prædictoria*, PL 210:109-198

Alan of Lille (Alanus de insulis), *The Art of Preaching*, Gillian R. Evans (trans.), Kalamazoo (MA) 1981


*Alexandri Essebiensis Opera theologica* (CCCM 188:1), Franco Morenzoni and Thomas H. Bestul (eds.), Turnhout 2004

*Die älteste Teutsche so wol allgemeine als insonderheit Elsassische und Strassburgische Chronicke. von Jacob von Königshofen ... von Anfang der Welt biss ins Jahr ... 1386 beschrieben*, Johann Schiltem (ed.), Strassburg 1698


*Anglia Sacra: Sive collectio historiarum, partim antiquitus, partim recenter scriptarum, de archiepiscopis & episcopis Angliae, a prima fidei Christianæ susceptione ad annum 1540*, Henry Wharton (ed.), London 1691

*An Apology for Lollard Doctrines Attributed to Wicliffe; Now First Printed from a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Camden Society 1st ser. 20), James Henthorn Todd (ed.), London 1842


Bede (Beda Venerabilis), *Liber proverbium*, PL 90:1089-1113


*Biblia cum Glossa Ordinaria: Facsimile Reprint of the editio princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81*, Karlfried Froehlich and Margaret T. Gibson (eds.), Turnhout 1992

The Bible: That is the Holy Scriptures, London (imprinted by Christopher Barker) 1581

The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the Content of all the Holy Scrypture, bothe of ye Olde and Newe Testament, truly translated after the Veryte of the Hebrue and Greke Textes, by ye Dylygent Studye of Dyuere Excellent Learned Men, Expert in the Forsaye Tonges, London (printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch) 1539

The Book of Margery Kempe, Barry Windeatt (ed.), Harlow 2000


Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum, Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth (eds.), Fasc. I, Cambridge 1882

Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Office: vol. i, Henry III A.D. 1226-1257, London 1903

Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, edited from the Fifteenth Century ms. no. 148, with Additions from the Cathedral Records and Woodcuts from the Sarum Processionale of 1502, Christopher Wordsworth (ed.), Cambridge 1901


Corpus Iuris Canonici, Emil Friedberg (ed.), Leipzig 1879

Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, vol. 2, A.D. 1205-1313, Frederick M. Powicke and Christopher R. Cheney (eds.), Oxford 1964

Court Roll of the Manor of Downham 1310-1327 (Cambridgeshire Record Society 11), M. Clare Coleman (ed.), Cambridge 1996

Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales, 1270-1308 (Worcestshire Historical Society), John Amphlett (ed.), Oxford 1912,


The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Eynsham in Oxfordshire, Antonia Gransden (ed.), Siegburg 1963
The Customary of the Cathedral Priory of Norwich ms. 465 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (HBS 82), J. B. L. Tolhurst (ed.), London 1948


Egeria's travels to the Holy Land, John Wilkinson (ed. & trans.), Jerusalem 1981

Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, from the Original mss: vol. ii (Surtees Society 100), Joseph T. Fowler (ed.), Durham 1899

Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth, Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (trans. & eds.), Oxford 1975


Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinorum officiorum (CCCM 140), A. Davril & T.M. Thibodeau (eds.), Turnhout 1995

Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation, Charles Hardwick (ed.), London 1858


The Index of Middle English Verse, Carleton Brown and Rossell H. Robbins (eds.), NY 1943

Innocent III, De sacro altaris mysterio, PL 217:773-915

Johannis Beleth Summa de Ecclesiasticis officiis (CCCM 41A), Herbert Douteil (ed.), Turnhout 1976


Itineraria et Alia Geographica (CCSL 175-6), A. Franceschini and A. Weber (eds.), Turnholt 1965

Jacobus a Voragine, Legenda Aura: vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta, Th. Grässle (ed.), Dresden and Leipzig 1846
Jerome (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus), Epistola CVII ad Eustochium virginem, PL 22:878-906

Jerome (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus), De nominibus Hebraicis, PL 23:771-934

Jerome (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus), Commentaria in Evangelium S. Matthaei, PL 26:15-218

Jerome (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus), Liber interpretationis nominum Hebraicorum (CCSL 72), Paul Antin (ed.), Turnhout 1959

Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Opera. Pars i, Opera exegetica. 6, Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV (CCSL 77), D. Hurst & M. Adriaen (eds.), Turnhout 1969

Jerusalem Crown: The Bible of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 2000


The Lay-Folks Mass-Book or the Manner for Hearing Mass, with Rubrics and Devotions for the People, in Four Texts and Office in English According to the Use of York from Manuscripts from the Xth to the XVth Century with Appendix, Notes, and Glossary (EETS 71), Thomas F. Simmons (ed.), London 1879

Liber Eliensis (Camden Society 3rd ser. 92), E.O.Blake (ed.), London 1962


Liber Pontificalis Christopheri Bainbridge, Archiepiscopi Eboracensis (Surtees Society 61 for 1873), William G. Henderson (ed.), Durham 1875
Liber Regalis Seu Ordo consecrandi regem solum; Ordo consecrandi reginam cum rege; Ordo consecrandi reginam solam; Rubrica de regis exequis. E codice Westmonasteriens i editus, Frederick Lygon, Earl Beauchamp (ed.), London 1870.


Maimonides (r¹ Moshe ben Maimon), The Mishneh Torah: Edited according to the Bodleian (Oxford) Codex, Moses Hyamson (ed.), NY 1949


The Middle English Breton Lays, Kalamazoo (MA) 1995, Anne Laskaya and Eve Salisbury (eds.), (also available on: http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/TEAMS/erltofrm.htm (accessed 24.07.07))


Mishnayot Mevo’arot (in Hebrew), Pinechas Kehati (ed.), Jerusalem 1998

Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriens i (HBS 1, 5, 12), J. W. Legg (ed.), London 1891.

Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum, Richard Pynson (ed.), London 1512

Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis (Surtees Soc. 59), W. G. Henderson (ed.), Durham 1874


Missale ad usum Sarum, F. H. Dickinson (ed.), Burntisland 1861-3

Der mittelensilische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz: Kritische Ausgabe nach allen Handschriften mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Deutscher Übersetzung (Wiener Beiträg zur englischen Philologie 42), Karl Brunner (ed.), Vienna and Leipzig 1913


The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary York (HBS 73, 75), J. B. L. Tolhurst and The Abbess of Stanbrook (eds.), London 1936-7

Philippus de Harvengt, Commentaria in Cantica Canticorum, PL 203:181-490


The Register of S. Osmund (RS 78), W. H. Rich Jones (ed.), London 1883-4


Registrum Roffense: or a collection of Antient Records, Charters and Instruments of divers Kinds necessary for illustrating the Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Rochester, John Thorpe (ed.), London 1769


Reliquœ Antiquœ: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language, Thomas Wright (ed.), vol. ii, London 1843


Robert of Basevorn, “Forma praedicandi”, Artes praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au Moyen Age (Publication de l'institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa 7), Th.-M. Charland (ed.), Ottawa 1936, pp. 227-323


Roger Bacon, Opus maius, Samuel Jebb (ed.), London 1733

Roger Bacon, Opus minus (RS 15), John S. Brewer (ed.), London 1895


Ruperti Tuitiensis liber de divinis officiis (CCCM 7), Hrabanus Haacke (ed.), Turnhout 1967


Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine, Donatien de Bruyne (ed.), Namur 1914

Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral: vol. i, Henry Bradshaw and Christopher Wordsworth (eds.), Cambridge 1892

Testamenta Eboracensia; or, Wills registered at York, Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics, &c., of the Province of York, from the Year MCCC. downwards (Surtees Society 4), James Raine the Younger (ed.), vol. i, Durham 1836.

Thomas of Chobham, Summa de arte praedicandi (CCCM 82), Franco Morenzoni (ed.), Turnhout 1988


Tracts on the Mass (HBS 27), J. Wickham Legg, London 1904

The Use of Salisbury: vol. 1 The Ordinary of the Mass, Nick Sandon (ed.), Amersham (Buck.) 1984

The Use of Salisbury, vol. 4: The Masses and Ceremonies of Holy Week, Nick Sandon (ed.), Newton Abbot 1996

Vetus liber archidiaconi Eliensis (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Ser. 48), C. L. Feltoe and Ellis H. Minns (eds.), London 1917

Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral in 1297 and in 1458 (Camden Society NS 53), W. Sparrow Simpson (ed.), London 1895

The whole Booke of Psalmes: collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, I. Hopkins ... and others .., London (printed for the Companie of Stationers) 1609


**Secondary Sources**


Anderson, M. D., *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches*, Cambridge 1963


Bale, John, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae, scriptorum, hoc est, Angliae, Cambriae, ac Scotiae summarium…*, Wesel 1548


Berger, Samuel, *De l’histoire de la Vulgate en France: Leçon d’ouverture faite a la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Paris le 4 Novembre 1887*, Paris 1887


*The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (eds.), London 2002


*The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, Orlaith O'Sullivan and Ellen N. Herron (eds.), London 2000


*The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, Bernard S. Levy (ed.), Binghamton (NY) 1992


Briscoe, Marianne G., Artes praedicandi (with Barbara H. Jaye, Artes orandi = Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental fasc. 61), Turnhout 1992

Brown, Carleton, "Caliphas as a Palm Sunday Prophet", Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge, Boston 1913, pp. 105-17

Brown, George H., "The Psalms as the Foundation of Anglo-Saxon Learning", The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages, Nancy Van Deusen (ed.), NY 1999, pp. 1-24

Brown, Sarah and MacDonald, Lindsay (eds.), Life, Death and Art: The Medieval Stained Glass of Fairford Parish Church, A Multimedia Exploration, Stroud 1997

de Bruyne, Donatien, Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine, Namur 1914


Carré, Yannick, *le Baiser sur la bouche au Moyen Age: Rites, symboles, mentalités, à travers les textes et les images XIe-XVe siècles*, Paris 1993


Chambers, John David, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Contrasted with and Adapted to that in the Present*, London 1877

Charland, Th. M., *Artes praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales d'Ottawa 7), Paris and Ottawa 1936

Cheetham, Francis, *Medieval English Alabaster Carvings in the Castle Museum*, Nottingham 1973


Clanchy, Michael T., *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed., Cambridge (MA) 1993

De Clerck, Paul, "'In the Beginning was the Word': Presidential Address", *Studia Liturgica* 22:1 (1992), pp. 1-16


Cox, J. Charles, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1913

Creytens, Raymond, "les Constitutions des frères prêcheurs dans la rédaction de s. Raymond de Peñafort", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948), pp. 5-68


Dahan, Gilbert, *l'Exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval: XIIe-XIVe Siècle*, Paris 1999


Dennison, Linda, "'Liber Horn', 'Liber Custumarum' and Other Manuscripts of the Queen Mary Psalter Workshops", *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in London* (The British Archaeological Association, Conference Transactions for the Year 1984), Lindy Grant (ed.), Leeds 1990, pp. 118-34


Fowler, David C., *The Bible in Early English Literature*, Seattle and London 1976

Fowler, David C., *The Bible in Middle English Literature*, Seattle and London 1984


Gibson, Margaret T., *The Bible in the Latin West* (The Medieval Book 1), Notre Dame (IN) 1993


Gy, Pierre-Marie, "La Bible dans la liturgie au Moyen Age", *Le Moyen Age et la Bible* (Bible de tous les temps 4), Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (eds.), Paris 1984, pp. 537-552


Hody, Humphrey, *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Grécis et Latina Vulgata libri IV*, Oxford 1705


Kantorowicz, Ernst H., “The King’s Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina”, *Art Bulletin* 26:4 (1944), pp. 207-131


Light, Laura, "Versions et révisions de texte biblique", *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible* (Bible de tous les temps 4), Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (eds.), Paris 1984, pp. 55-93


Madox, Thomas, *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England...*, London 1711-41

Malone, Carolyn Marino, *Facade as Spectacle: Ritual and Ideology at Wells Cathedral* (Studies in medieval and Reformation thought 102), Leiden 2004

Marrow, James H., *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*, Kotrijk 1979


Murphy, James J., Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, Berkeley 1974 (repr. Tempe (AR) 2001)

Needham, Paul, Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings, 400-1600, NY 1979

Nichols, Bridget, Liturgical Hermeneutics: Interpreting Liturgical Rites in Performance, Frankfurt am Main 1996


Notes and Queries (1st Ser.) 8: 210 (Nov. 5 1853), pp. 447-8; (2nd Ser.) 5:124 (May 15 1858), pp. 391-2

Owst, G. R., Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c.1350-1450, Cambridge 1926


Parker, William, The History of Long Melford, London 1873


Powicke, Frederick M., “The Oath of Bromholm”, *English Historical Review* 56:224 (1941), pp. 529-534


Reilly, Diane J., “The Cluniac Giant Bible and the Ordo librorum ad legendum: A Reassessment of Monastic Bible Reading and Cluniac Customary Instructions”, *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Cluniac Customs* (Disciplina Monastica 3), Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), Turnhout 2005, pp. 163-189


Rouse, Richard H. and Rouse, Mary A., Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the 'Manipulus forum' of Thomas of Ireland (Studies and Texts 47), Toronto 1979


Saenger, Paul, Space between Words: The Origin of Silent Reading, Stanford (CA) 1997


Salmon, Pierre, Les “tituli Psalmorum” des manuscrits latins (Collectanea biblica latina 12), Rome 1959

Sandler, Lucy Freeman, The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and other Fenland Manuscripts, London 1974


Sandler, Lucy Freeman, "John of Metz, the Tower of Wisdom", The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures, Marry Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds.), Philadelphia (PA) 2002, pp. 215-225


Schnurman, Josephine Case, "Studies in the Medieval Book Trade from the Late Twelfth to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century with Special Reference to the Copying of Bibles", unpublished B. Litt. Thesis (St. Hilda's College, Oxford, June 1960)

Schreiner, Klaus, "Das Buch im Nacken: Bücher und Buchstaben als zeichenhafte Kommunikationsmedien in rituellen Handlungen der mittelalterlichen Kirche" *Audiovisualität vor und nach Gutenberg: zur Kulturgeschichte der medialen Umbrüche* (Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums, Band 6), Horst Wenzel et al. (eds.), Vienna 2001, pp. 59-103


Spencer, Helen L., *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, Oxford 1993

Spencer, Helen L., "Middle English Sermons", *The Sermon* (Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, Fasc. 81-3), Beverly Mayne Kienzle (dir.), Turnhout 2000, pp. 597-660


Steward-Brown, R., "The 'Jurybook' of the County Court of Chester", *The English Historical Review* 48:190 (1933), pp. 268-9


Swarzenski, Hanns, *The Berthold Missal, the Pierpont Morgan Library ms 710 and the Scriptorium of Weingarten Abbey*, NY 1943


Thurston, Herbert, *Lent and Holy Week: Chapters on Catholic Observance and Ritual*, London 1904


Tugwell, Simon, "De huiusmodi sermonibus texitur omnis recta predicatio: Changing Attitude towards the Word of God", *De l'homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales: Textes, études, congrès 14), Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Harmand (eds.), Louvain-la-Neuve 1993, pp. 159-168


Turner, Denys, *Eros and Allegory: Medieval Exegesis of the Song of Songs* (Cistercian Studies Series 156), Kalamazoo (MA) 1995
Valkenberg, Pim, "Readers of Scripture and Hearers of the Word in the Mediaeval Church", *Concilium* 233:1 (1991), pp. 47-57


Warner, George, *Queen Mary’s Psalter: Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the 14th Century Reproduced from Royal MS. 2 B. VII. in the British Museum*, London 1912


Wordsworth, Christopher and Littlehales, Henry, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*, London 1904

Young, Karl, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, Oxford 1933


**Electronic Resources**

The electronic resources provided below are only those which virtual rendering has an additional value beyond their paper equivalent, or sources without any printed version. Printed sources, which have been uploaded to the World Wide Web, are classified according to their printed version.

**On the World Wide Web**


*Cantus: Database of Latin Ecclesiastical Chant*, Terence Bailey (Project Director), [http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus](http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus) (accessed 30.07.07)

*Cursus: An Online Resource of Medieval Liturgical Texts*, David Chadd (Director), [http://www.cursus.uea.ac.uk](http://www.cursus.uea.ac.uk) (accessed 24.07.07)


Perseus Digital Library, Gregory Crane (Editor-in-Chief), http://www.perseus.tufts.edu, accessed 30.07.07


A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons, Veronica O'Mara (Project Director), http://www.hull.ac.uk/middle_english_sermons/index.php (accessed 30.07.07)

St. Alban's Psalter, Jane Geddes (manager), http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/index.shtml (accessed 30.07.07)


Digital Recordings

Salm: Gaelic Psalms from the Hebrides of Scotland, CD 1-2, Ridge Records, Aberdeen 2004