

THE MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE FOR THE
DE OCTO QUAESTIONIBUS
ASCRIBED TO BEDE

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For nearly a century, scholars have ascribed a short treatise known as the *De octo quaestionibus* to the Venerable Bede. In this work they have found unusual and important information about Bede and Anglo-Saxon England. It may preserve an exegetical teaching of Theodore of Canterbury, the seventh-century archbishop who figures so largely in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. It includes a description of an illustration in an early manuscript of Paul's epistles. Yet another passage has interested historians of liturgy. All of this is in addition to the information that the treatise is considered to provide about Bede's thought and exegetical methods. As scholars have discovered and digested this material, the *De octo quaestionibus* has become a work of growing importance for the study of Bede.¹

The treatise known as the *De octo quaestionibus* is a series of eight "quaestiones," which together amount to about 3500 words. Each of these is a short, self-contained discussion of some scriptural passage. Four address Paul's epistles, while the rest concern passages from Matthew, the Psalms, and 2 Kings. In 1563, Johann Herwagen printed these eight texts with another seven "questions" which everyone agrees that Bede did not write.²

¹ For a full survey of scholarship surrounding the *De octo quaestionibus*, see Michael Gorman, "Bede's *VIII Quaestiones* and Carolingian Biblical Scholarship," *Revue Bénédictine* 109 (1999): 32–74 (in particular 54–59). On the reference to Theodore of Canterbury, see Michael Lapidge and Bernhard Bischoff, eds., *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994), 41–42 and 160 n. 116. On the description of a manuscript illumination, see Dorothy Whitelock, *After Bede*, Jarrow Lecture (Newcastle and Jarrow, 1960), 5–6; and George Henderson, *Bede and the Visual Arts*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1980), 7. On the liturgical importance of a passage from the *De octo quaestionibus*, see Hieronymus Frank, "Die Bezeugung eines Karsamstagsresponsorius durch Beda Venerabilis," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 16 (1974): 150–53. On the *De octo quaestionibus* and Bede's exegetical method, see C. W. Jones, "Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis," *Sacris Erudiri* 19 (1969–70): 147–51.

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² Johann Herwagen, *Opera Bedae Venerabilis* (Basel, 1563). The *Aliquot quaestionum liber* is reprinted in PL 93:455–78. For the last seven questions and their manuscript source(s), see below.

He called this work the *Aliquot quaestionum liber*, and he attributed all of it to Bede. The authenticity of the collection was attacked by Casimir Oudin in his eighteenth-century *Commentarius de scriptoribus*,³ and Giles excluded it from his 1843–44 edition of Bede's *Opera omnia*.⁴ The treatise attracted no further attention until 1919, when Paul Lehmann argued that some of the "questions" printed in Herwagen's edition were authentic.⁵ He showed that several ninth-century authors, such as Hrabanus Maurus and Claudius of Turin, used a few of the eight "questions" in their works, and that at least some of them thought the work was Bede's. He argued that there were formal and thematic similarities between the treatise and some genuine Bedan works, and he highlighted several passages that suggest an insular author. In 1933 Bernhard Bischoff found the manuscript source of Herwagen's seven inauthentic questions.⁶ Heinrich Weisweiler identified the sources for these seven texts and published a fuller study of the manuscript that Bischoff had found.⁷ In 1943, M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King printed a list of the nine manuscripts known or thought to contain the *De octo quaestionibus*.⁸ Subsequently the treatise has found mention in studies of Bede and his writing, and Bede's authorship is now widely accepted. In 1999, Michael Gorman published an extensive study and critical edition of the *De octo quaestionibus*, based upon three of the manuscripts listed by Laistner;⁹ that same year, W. Trent Foley and Arthur G. Holder printed an English translation.¹⁰

As Gorman explains in the introduction to his edition, the eight "questions" that comprise *De octo quaestionibus* are known in nine manuscripts. These fall into two recensions, which Gorman calls the "St. Amand Group" and the "Bruges Group."¹¹ Five manuscripts transmit the "St. Amand Group." Only in these five manuscripts are all eight "questions" arranged

³ Casimir Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt, 1722), 1:1706, reprinted in PL 90:95.

⁴ J. A. Giles, *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede in the Original Latin*. . . , 12 vols. (London, 1843–44).

⁵ Paul Lehmann, "Wert und Echtheit einer Beda abgespröchenen Schrift," *Sb. Akad. Munich*, 4. Abhandlung (1919): 1–21.

⁶ Bernhard Bischoff, "Zur Kritik der Heerwagenschen Ausgabe von Bedas Werken," in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966–67), 1:112–17.

⁷ Heinrich Weisweiler, *Das Schrifttum der Schule Anselms von Laon und Wilhelms von Champeaux in deutschen Bibliotheken* (Münster, 1936).

⁸ M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, 1943), 155–58.

⁹ Gorman, "Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*," 32–74. Gorman collated Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 27 (**V**); Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 364 (**C**); and Bruges, Staatsbibliotheek Ms. 34 (**B**).

¹⁰ W. Trent Foley and Arthur G. Holder, *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool, 1999), 149–65. Their introduction, 145–47, is a helpful addition to scholarship on the text.

¹¹ Gorman, "Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*," 33–43.

in a standard sequence, numbered, provided with a chapter table and chapter headings, and called “De octo quaestionibus.” The chapter table is similar to the table that precedes Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones in libros Regum*, and in fact the *De octo quaestionibus* is included just after a copy of Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones* in each of these manuscripts.¹² The “St. Amand” recension has been the only recension in print. For convenience, and to avoid premature conclusions about its origins, I will refer to it instead as the *Q* recension (for “Quaestiones”). The other four manuscripts contain Gorman’s “Bruges Group.” These manuscripts transmit some or all of the eight texts of the *Q* recension, but they arrange them differently. In the manuscripts of the “Bruges Group” there is no mention of “questions” at all, though two of our eight texts appear as appendages to Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones*. Another five are gathered under a rubric that calls them the “*Solutiones de uerbis Apostoli*,” and an eighth is copied apart from the others and labeled a sermon. I will refer to this as the *S* recension.

The relationship of these two recensions to each other has never been thoroughly investigated. As a result, it is not immediately clear which recension, if either, is more likely to preserve an earlier or more authentic arrangement of the eight pieces. In the following discussion, I will use the title “De octo quaestionibus” to refer only to the eight-part treatise as it exists in the *Q* recension. Similarly, I will use the title “*Solutiones de uerbis Apostoli*” to refer to the smaller five-part treatise in the *S* recension. Otherwise, and until the original form and arrangement of the eight pieces becomes clear, it will help to discuss the eight pieces common to both the *S* and the *Q* recensions as individual texts.

Only six of these eight texts appear to have been written in response to actual questions. Four of this subset explain difficult passages from the Pauline epistles, and I will hereafter refer to them by the incipits of the verses that they discuss:

— *A Iudeis* explains Paul’s declaration in 2 Cor. 11:24 that “of the Jews five times did I receive forty stripes save one.” It is Question 2 of the *De octo quaestionibus* in the *Q* recension, and the first of the five *Solutiones* in the *S* recension.

— *Nocte et die* explains the passage from the subsequent verse in which Paul says that “a night and a day I was in the depth of the sea.” It is Ques-

¹² This is the only other question treatise attributed to Bede. It was edited by D. Hurst, CCL 119 (Turnhout, 1962), 291–322. Gorman, “Bede’s *VIII Quaestiones*,” 45, remarks that “Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones* and his *VIII Quaestiones* are anomalous, rare examples of the question and answer genre without the questions. Bede provides only his answers — what we have called here the *quaestiones*; whatever questions he received from Nothelm were omitted.” This is not strictly accurate; in the *XXX Quaestiones* the questions are restated, indirectly, in Bede’s answers.

tion 3 of the *De octo quaestionibus* in the *Q* recension, and the second of the five *Solutiones* in the *S* recension.

— *Michi uindictam* explains the passage in Rom. 12:19, “Revenge is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.” It is Question 4 of the *De octo quaestionibus* in the *Q* recension, and third of the five *Solutiones* in the *S* recension.

— *Vnusquisque* explains the injunction, two chapters later in Rom. 14:5, to “let every man abound in his own sense.” It is Question 5 of the *De octo quaestionibus* in *Q*, and fourth of the five *Solutiones* in the *S* recension.

Each of these four texts begins with the words “Quod dicit (or ait) Apostolus,” followed by the verse in question.¹³ The other two question texts begin less stereotypically:

— *Quod interrogasti* deals with a scriptural episode rather than a single verse; it addresses 2 Kings 1:21–27, in which David curses the mountains of Gelboe while mourning the deaths of Saul and Jonathan. It is Question 6 of the *De octo quaestionibus* in *Q*, and appended to Bede’s XXX *Quaestiones* in the *S* recension.

— *Interim quaesisti* is more focused; it discusses the psalmist’s praise in Ps. 118:140, “Thy word is exceedingly refined.” It is Question 6 of the *De octo quaestionibus* in the *Q* recension, and the last of the five *Solutiones* in the *S* recension.

Finally, there are the two texts that do not seem to have been prompted by questions:

— *Putant quidam* corrects what the author sees as two misconceptions about the magi and the star that guided them to the place of Jesus’ birth. It is Question 1 of the *De octo quaestionibus* in the *Q* recension, and unconnected to the other seven texts in the *S* recension, where it is called a sermon for the feast of the Epiphany.

— *Congregauit autem*, the longest text of the eight, is a discussion of 2 Kings 6:1–19. It is Question 8 of the *De octo quaestionibus* in the *Q* recension, and the second appendage (after the *Quod interrogasti*) to Bede’s XXX *Quaestiones* in the *S* recension.

Gorman, perhaps hesitant to ascribe the exact form of the treatise in the *Q* recension to Bede, raises the possibility that the *De octo quaestionibus* of that recension may be “a selection of *quaestiones* from a larger collection which was known in the ninth century and which still existed in the twelfth.”¹⁴ Paul Meyvaert, who wrote before Gorman published his edition

¹³ This recalls the format of Bede’s XXX *Quaestiones* (ed. Hurst, CCL 119, 289–322), where successive “questions” are also introduced with the word “Quod.” Yet in the XXX *Quaestiones*, Bede tends to use passive constructions (*Quod dicitur*, *Quod dictum est*, *Quod scriptum est*, etc.), perhaps reflecting the manner in which Nothelm posed the questions to him.

¹⁴ Gorman, “Bede’s VIII *Quaestiones*,” 42.

and so knew our texts only as the *De octo quaestionibus*, argued that this treatise “represents a copy of Bedan material made at Wearmouth-Jarrow, probably after Bede’s death, when requests for works of Bede were being received from the Continent.”¹⁵ In any case, there is good reason to be ambivalent about the *De octo quaestionibus* in *Q*. The title itself is problematic, for two of the eight texts that it refers to do not seem to answer any questions. Moreover, the eight pieces do not form an even, coherent whole. As we have seen, four of the eight texts in the *Q* recension have standard incipits and address adjacent passages in two Pauline epistles; two others, however, discuss general episodes in 2 Kings; another explicates an episode from the infancy narrative of Matthew; and still another is a brief exegesis of a verse from Psalms.

Despite his apparent hesitation, Gorman ultimately concludes that Bede was responsible for the *De octo quaestionibus* in the *Q* recension. He argues that the chapter table was likely supplied by Bede,¹⁶ and assumes that the *S* recension derives from *Q*.¹⁷ Though this paper seeks to build upon Gorman’s important work, it advances a largely different set of conclusions. For the most part, this is because a key manuscript, to which Gorman could secure only limited access, has been available to me for extended study. By means of the additional evidence that I have gathered from this manuscript, I hope to show that the *S* recension, which I edit in Appendix 2, preserves an earlier form of our texts. The treatise *De octo quaestionibus* was very likely created as a revision of the *S* recension sometime in the early twelfth century, probably at St. Martin’s at Tournai. From there, it circulated to neighboring monastic houses and found its way into Herwagen’s edition. The constituents of the *De octo quaestionibus* antedate this treatise by at least several centuries, and appear to come from a variety of different sources. At the core of the collection is a slightly shorter version of the *Solutiones*, consisting of the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, and *Vnusquisque*. There is good reason to ascribe this core collection to Bede, though evidence for the authenticity of the other four texts is weaker.

¹⁵ Paul Meyvaert, “In the Footsteps of the Fathers’: The Date of Bede’s *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings* to Nothelm,” in *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*, ed. William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey (Ann Arbor, 1997), 267–86 at 277 n. 33.

¹⁶ Gorman, “Bede’s *VIII Quaestiones*,” 34: “the eight chapter headings in the index at the beginning of the [*Q* manuscripts] . . . are very similar to those Bede composed for the *XXX Quaestiones*; there is no reason to suspect they were not written by him.”

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 42: “[the *S* recension] must derive from the same series of works as found in the . . . Saint Amand [i.e., the *Q*] group of manuscripts.”

THE WITNESSES

It is best to begin with descriptions of all nine manuscripts, as well as Herwagen's edition, which appears to represent a tenth manuscript source, today either undiscovered or lost. For each manuscript, I provide shelf mark, siglum, summary of codicological features, and finally a complete account of the contents.

The S Recension

Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek Ms. 22 (hereafter **B₁**):¹⁸ This is a composite codex, consisting of two originally separate manuscripts in one binding. Only the second portion, corresponding to fols. 137–70, transmits our texts and will be described here. It is a thirteenth-century manuscript from the abbey of Saint Mary of Thosan, in Bruges. It is copied in two columns, with 30 lines to a page, and measures 294 x 215 mm. The bulk of the codex contains Bede's commentary on Tobias and the *XXX Quaestiones*; it concludes with several short texts derived from patristic writings:

1. 137r–143r: Bede, *In Tobiam*. Ed. Hurst, CCL 119B (Turnhout, 1983).
2. 143r–157r: Bede, *In Regum librum XXX quaestiones*. Ed. Hurst, CCL 121 (Turnhout, 1962).
3. 157r–159v: *Quod interrogasti* and *Congregauit autem*, without separate rubrics, copied as part of Bede's *XXX Quaestiones*. The rubric after *Congregauit autem* reads "Explicit expositio uenerabilis Bede presbyteri de libris regum."
4. 159v–161r: *A Iudeis, Nocte et die, Michi uindictam, Vnusquisque*, and *Interim quaesisti*. "Solutions eiusdem de verbis apostoli."
5. 161r–v: Excerpt from Pseudo-Ambrose, *Libellus de dignitate sacerdotali*. "Ambrosius." Inc.: "Pecunia quam dedit." Expl.: "commutationem pro anima sua." PL 17:576–77.
6. 161v: A second excerpt from the *Libellus de dignitate sacerdotali*. "Ambrosius in pastorali." Inc.: "Lepram cum gyezi a sancto suscepisse." Expl.: "cum tamen minus sit estimare quam facere." PL 17:575.
7. 161v–168v: Excerpt from Ps.-Hegesippus. "Incipit recapitulatio desolationis Iherosolime secundum Egesyppum christianissimum apostolorum temporum," PL 15:2205–18 (Cf. Dekkers, ed., *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* no. 170^o).
8. 168v–169v: *Pulant quidam*, under the rubric "Sermo uenerabilis Bede presbyteri de epiphania domini."
9. 169v–170r: Ps.-Augustine, sermon extract. *Patrologia Latina: Supplementum* 2, cols. 1203–4 (§ 3). "Sermo sancti Augustini episcopi de resurrectione domini."

¹⁸ Catalogued in A. de Poorter, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges*, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Belgique* (Paris and Gembloux, 1934), 2:39–40.

10. 170r–v: Ps.-Augustine, second extract from the same text. *Ibid.*, 1202–3 (§ 2): “Sermo de eodem secundus.”
11. 170v: A short note derived from Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 15, 11–13, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCL 48 (Turnhout, 1955), 467–72. “Augustinus.”

Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek Ms. 34 (hereafter **B₂**).¹⁹ A late thirteenth-century codex, also from Saint Mary of Thosan in Bruge, very similar in contents to **B₁**. The manuscript consists of 167 folios, with writing in two columns and thirty-one lines per page. It measures 342 x 245 mm. Most of the manuscript contains Jerome’s commentary on Jeremiah; at the end come Bede’s commentary on Tobit, his questions on Kings, and the *Solutiones*, before some sermons and a saint’s life.

1. 1r–117v: Jerome, *Commentary on Jeremiah*. Ed. S. Reiter, CCL 74 (Turnhout, 1960).
2. 118r–126r: Bede, *In Tobiam*. Ed. Hurst.
3. 126r–141r: Bede, *XXX Quaestiones*. Ed. Hurst.
4. 141r–144r: *Quod interrogasti* and *Congregauit autem*. “Incipit expositio uenerabilis Bede presbyteri de libris regum.” The rubric treats the texts as if they constitute a second Bedan commentary on Kings. They close with the rubric “Explicit expositio domni bede de libris regum.”
5. 144r–146r: *A Iudeis, Nocte et die, Michi uindictam, Vnusquisque*, and *Interim quaesisti*. “Solutiones eiusdem de verbis apostoli.”
6. 146r–147r: *Pulant quidam*. “Sermo uenerabilis bede presbyteri de epiphania domini.”
7. 147r–v: Sermon extract, no. 10 in **B₁**.
8. 147v–148r: Another extract, no. 9 in **B₁**.
9. 148r–167r: “Incipit prologus passionis beate catherine virginis et martyris.” *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* no. 1663.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. lat. 70 (hereafter **P₁**).²⁰ A thirteenth-century codex, which came to Paris from the abbey of Foucarmont, in Rouen. It measures 305 x 210 mm and comprises 111 folios. Most of the manuscript consists of a glossed copy of Exodus; the last fourteen folios, in two columns, with 41 lines to a page, have Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones* and our texts. The last two items, a letter from Pope Alexander III and a companion piece from Frederick I, are added by a later hand.

1. 1r–97v: Exodus, with gloss.
2. 98r–107r: Bede, *XXX Quaestiones*. Ed. Hurst.
3. 107r–109r: *Quod interrogasti* and *Congregauit autem*, as if they were part of Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones*. The texts conclude with the rubric “Explicit expositio uenerabilis Bede presbyteri.”

¹⁹ Catalogued in *ibid.*, 52–54.

²⁰ *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, ed. Philippe Lauer, 2 vols. (Paris, 1940), 1:30.

4. 109r–110r: *A Iudeis, Nocte et die, Michi uindictam, Vnusquisque*, and *Interim quaesisti*. “Item solutiones eiusdem de uerbis apostoli.”
5. 110v: Letter of Alexander III (JL 12895), issued on 30 July 1177, announcing resolution of dispute with Frederick I. Ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH, *Leges* 2 (Hanover, 1837), 153.
6. 110v–111r: Frederick I, letter of 1177, on resolution of dispute. *Ibid*, 154.

Douai, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 330 (hereafter **D**).²¹ A twelfth-century codex that came to Douai from the abbey of Anchin. It measures 260 x 150 mm and contains 70 folios, copied in one column, with thirty-four lines to a page. This is our only manuscript of either recension to lack Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones*, and the only manuscript of the *S* recension to have Bede’s commentary on the temple.

1. 1v–58r: Bede, *De templo*. Ed. Hurst, CCL 119A (Turnhout, 1969).
2. 58r–67r: Bede, *In Tobiam*. Ed. Hurst.
3. 67r–69v: *A Iudeis, Nocte et die, Michi uindictam, Vnusquisque*, and *Interim quaesisti*. “Item eiusdem solutiones de quibusdam questionibus epistolarum beati Pauli apostoli.”
4. 69v–70v: *Versus contra Octavianum*. Ed. Boehmer, MGH: *Libelli de lite* 2, 552–53.

The Q Recension

New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Ms. 1075 (hereafter **N**). Copied in the earliest years of the twelfth century at Saint Martin’s at Tournai. It measures 298 x 195 mm, and consists of seventy-five leaves with thirty-four lines per page. Most of the manuscript is copied in two columns, though the initial and final folios are in single columns. The initial folios of the manuscript are the work of many scribes, and the text of the *De Templo* in particular appears to have been corrected against at least several other manuscript copies. **N** contains four works attributed to Bede including the *De Templo*, and it concludes with a “Brevis explanatio” on the temple, derived from two of Bede’s sermons.

1. 3r–46r: Bede, *De templo*. Ed. Hurst.
2. 46r–59r: Bede, *XXX Quaestiones*. Ed. Hurst.
3. 59r–64v: *Putant quidam, A Iudeis, Nocte et die, Michi uindictam, Vnusquisque, Quod interrogasti, Interim quaesisti, Congregauit autem*, preceded by a chapter table. “Incipit ad eundem de octo quaestionibus.”
4. 64v–72r: Bede, *In Tobiam*. Ed. Hurst.
5. 72r–75v: Extracts on Solomon’s temple from two of Bede’s homilies, arranged in the form of a treatise. “Breuis explanatio de templo Salomonis extracta de uenerabilis Bede presbiteri omeliis super duo

²¹ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques des départements*, Quarto series (Paris, 1878), 6:174–75.

euangelia, id est *Non est arbor bona faciens* (Luke 6:43), *Facta sunt encenua* (John 10:22).” See Appendix 1.

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 27 (hereafter **V**).²² An early twelfth-century codex probably copied at Saint-Amand, whence it came to Valenciennes. It measures 340 x 225 mm, and consists of 112 folios, in two columns, with thirty-eight lines per page. It has Bede’s treatise on the Tabernacle, in addition to all the works contained in **N**.

1. 1r–53r: Bede, *De Tabernaculo*. Ed. Hurst, CCL 119A (Turnhout, 1969).
2. 53r–87r: Bede, *De Templo*. Ed. Hurst.
3. 87r–98r: Bede, *XXX Quaestiones*. Ed. Hurst.
4. 98r–102r: *Putant quidam, A Iudeis, Nocte et die, Michi uindictam, Vnusquisque, Quod interrogasti, Interim quaesisti, Congregauit autem*, preceded by a chapter table. “Incipit ad eundem de octo questionibus.”
5. 102r–108r: Bede, *In Tobiam*. Ed. Hurst.
6. 108v–112r: *Breuis explanatio*, as in Appendix 1.

Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 364 (hereafter **C**).²³ This manuscript, which came to the municipal library from the cathedral library in Cambrai, was copied in the early twelfth century. It consists of 127 folios, copied in two columns, with thirty-five lines per page; it measures 335 x 225 mm. Its contents are identical to the contents of **V**, above.

1. 2r–60r: Bede, *De Tabernaculo*. Ed. Hurst.
2. 60r–100v: Bede, *De Templo*. Ed. Hurst.
3. 100v–113r: Bede, *In Regum librum XXX quaestiones*. Ed. Hurst.
4. 113r–117v: *Putant quidam, A Iudeis, Nocte et die, Michi uindictam, Vnusquisque, Quod interrogasti, Interim quaesisti, Congregauit autem*, preceded by a chapter table. “Incipit ad eundem de octo subiectis questionibus.”
5. 117v–124r: Bede, *In Tobiam*. Ed. Hurst.
6. 124r–127v: *Breuis explanatio*, as in Appendix 1.

Épernay, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 19 (hereafter **E**).²⁴ This manuscript comes from the abbey at Hautvillers, near Épernay. Before then it had been at a convent of Friars Minor in Épernay itself. It dates from the thirteenth century, measures 310 x 225 mm, and contains 140 folios, in two columns, with thirty-one lines per page. The manuscript’s initial quire is missing; otherwise, it is complete. In addition to Bede’s treatise on the Temple, the *XXX Quaestiones*, and our own text, **E** also contains Bede’s *De Locis Sanctis* and two other, anonymous, exegetical pieces.

²² *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements* (Paris, 1894), 25:202–3.

²³ *Catalogue general . . . Départements* (Paris, 1891), 17:133–34.

²⁴ *Catalogue general . . . Départements* (Paris, 1894), 24:330–31.

1. 1–42v: Bede, *De Templo*. Ed. Hurst. Quire missing; begins mid-text at 1.5, “[Et ipse de] se in evangelio: *Non potest . . .*”
2. 42v–48r: *Breuis explanatio*, as in Appendix 1.
3. 48r–62v: Bede, *XXX Quaestiones*. Ed. Hurst.
4. 62v–68v: *Putant quidam, A Iudeis, Nocte et die, Michi uindictam, Vnusquisque, Quod interrogasti, Interim quaesisti, Congregauit autem*, preceded by a chapter table. “Incipit de octo super nouum testamentum.”
5. 68v–77r: Bede, *In Tobiam*. Ed. Hurst.
6. 77r–83r: Bede, *De Locis Sanctis*. Ed. J. Fraipont, CCL 175 (Turnhout, 1965).
7. 83r–135r: “Incipiunt glosule de utroque testamento.” See Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, no. 9068.
8. 135r–140v: “Expositiones quarundam partium fortium.” See Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, no. 9070.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. lat. 2165 (hereafter **P₂**).²⁵ A late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century manuscript, probably copied in northern France, measuring 340 x 234 mm. It contains 120 leaves, in two columns and thirty-eight lines per page. It has a treatise on the soul by Claudianus Mamertus and two works by Richard of Saint-Victor, in addition to the texts by Bede.

1. 1r–35r: Claudianus Mamertus, *De statu animae*. Ed. A. Engelbrecht, CSEL 11 (Vienna, 1885).
2. 35v–40r: Richard of Saint Victor, *Explanatio tabernaculi foederis*. PL 196:211–22.
3. 40r–69r: Richard of Saint Victor, *In visionem Ezechielis*. PL 196:527–600.
4. 70r–103r: Bede, *De Templo*. Ed. Hurst.
5. 103r–107r: *Breuis explanatio*, as in Appendix 1.
6. 107r–117r: Bede, *XXX Quaestiones*. Ed. Hurst.
7. 117r–120v: *Putant quidam, A Iudeis, Nocte et die, Michi uindictam, Vnusquisque, Quod interrogasti, Interim quaesisti, Congregauit autem*, preceded by a chapter table. “Incipit ad eundem de octo subiectis questionibus. Cap.” The end of the *Congregauit autem* is lost; pages after fol. 120 are missing. Text breaks off at “Geth enim interpretatur torcular, significans . . .” (lines 71–72 in the appended edition).

Herwagen's edition. As noted above, Herwagen prints a collection of fifteen “questions,” which he calls the *Aliquot quaestionum liber*. The eight texts of the *De octo quaestionibus* in *Q* correspond to Herwagen's first eight questions. They are printed in the order of the *Q* recension, though without a chapter table or comparable headings. The last seven “questions” are derived from a variety of non-Bedan sources. As Heinrich Weisweiler first reported, question 9 is a straight excerpt from Isidore's *Sententiae*, and questions 10 through 12 are taken directly from the *Dialogi* of Gregory the

²⁵ *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, 2:348–49.

Great; question 13 is from Alger of Liège; and questions 14 and 15 are extracts from William of Champeaux.²⁶ While these seven extra texts clearly cannot be ascribed to Bede, we must still ask whether the *Aliquot quaestionum liber* represents a medieval collection of value for the early history of our treatise, or whether it is Herwagen's creation.

Before Weisweiler, Bischoff showed that Herwagen printed the seven extra questions from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 14506.²⁷ Clm. 14506 was copied in the twelfth century at St.-Emmeram's in Regensburg, and consists of 129 folios. It is a complex miscellany of letters, commentaries, and an early scholastic sentence collection, among other things. The continuation of the *De octo quaestionibus*, known as questions 9 through 15 in Herwagen's edition, occurs on fols. 48r–63v. Two sixteenth-century hands have supplied many minor emendations, expansions, and other notes to the text on these folios. Folio 48r has the beginning of Herwagen's ninth question text. Before this folio there is a lacuna in the manuscript, and the text on fol. 48r begins mid-word: ". . . di creati sunt angeli, et ante omnem creationem angelorum diabolus est conditus." One of the two early-modern hands has cancelled the text up to *angeli*, and written this note in the margin: "9 Quaestio de Angelis. Angelorum natura, creatio et status qualis? Angeli ante creationem mundi creati sunt." These are the opening words of the ninth question as printed in the Herwagen edition.²⁸

Bischoff could not establish how many folios Clm. 14506 had lost, and was thus uncertain whether the lost pages could have carried the *De octo quaestionibus*.²⁹ Heinrich Weisweiler established that the manuscript likely lost a total of four folios (the two inner bifolios of the gathering, now a binion consisting of fols. 46–49), and argues that it is "very probable" that these folios once contained the *De octo quaestionibus*.³⁰ This view was accepted by Levison and is attractive, but the evidence runs against it.³¹ First of all, as Bischoff notes, the two sixteenth-century annotators have provided their own folio numbers, and these take no account of the lacuna

²⁶ Weisweiler, *Das Schrifttum* (n. 7 above), 56–57. Weisweiler provides a critical edition of the text corresponding to *Aliquot quaestionum liber* questions 13–15 (PL 93:466–78), at 281–311.

²⁷ The catalogue description in the *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis: 2.2 Codices num. 11001–15026 completens*, ed. Karl Halm, Georg von Laubmon, Wilhelm Meyer (Munich, 1876), IV / II, 183, is inadequate. Weisweiler's remains the best description of the codex in print.

²⁸ Bischoff, "Zur Kritik" (n. 6 above), 115.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Weisweiler, *Das Schrifttum*, 61–62.

³¹ Wilhelm Levison, "Modern Editions of Bede," *Durham University Journal* 37 (1945): 79.

before fol. 48.³² As a result, there is reason to think that these folios were already missing in Herwagen's time. Second, the notation on fol. 48r, which effectively turns the fragmentary first line into the introductory clause of a text, also suggests that the lacuna was present for Herwagen. Finally, if we assume that fols. 48–63 and the lost pages were copied according to a similar format, it appears that the eight texts of the *De octo quaestionibus* would have required significantly more than four folios.³³ More bifolios could of course be missing, but we cannot argue from speculation. Quaternions are the rule in this manuscript, which is how Weisweiler was able to estimate the extent of the missing text in the first place.

In the absence of further evidence, we must assume that Herwagen created the *Aliquot quaestionum liber* himself, by merging the *De octo quaestionibus* with the collection he found in Clm. 14506. It is clear only that he used a manuscript of the *Q* recension; we will see below that he probably did not use any of the five manuscripts listed above.³⁴

Q and S Compared

In eight of our nine manuscripts, at least some portion of our eight texts appears alongside Bede's *XXX Quaestiones*. In the five *Q* manuscripts (**N**, **V**, **C**, **E** and **P**₂), we find that both the *XXX Quaestiones* and the *De octo quaestionibus* were consistently copied along with several other Bedan pieces, among them the *De Templo*, the so-called "Breuis explanatio" on the Temple, and *In Tobiam*. The four manuscripts of the *S* recension, **B**₁, **B**₂,

³² Bischoff, "Zur Kritik," 115, reports that one of the early-modern hands provides his own pagination in the lower-right corner of the folios, beginning with 1 on fol. 46r, and continuing through 20, on fol. 65r. These twenty folios correspond to three gatherings (fols. 46–49 are a binion, and fols. 50–65 are two quaternions). Weisweiler (*Das Schrifttum*, 62) reports that the binding shows that these gatherings were once removed from the manuscript and later reinserted. His conclusion is that they were taken out and sent to the printer, which would explain why they should have received separate foliation. Yet compare Bischoff's speculation ("Zur Kritik," 115 n. 11): "Die Zählung kann auch mit der Absicht an den Rand geschrieben sein, eine verschuldete Unvollständigkeit . . . weniger auffällig erscheinen zu lassen."

³³ Questions 9–15, which take up about fifteen columns in PL, occupy sixteen folios in Clm. 14506 (fols. 48r–63v). A single PL column thus contains roughly the same amount of text as the recto and verso of a folio in Clm. 14506. The *De octo quaestionibus* occupies a little less than seven columns in the PL, which would probably have required about an equal number of folios.

³⁴ Herwagen's manuscript sources have remained unidentified in other instances as well. See Peter Jackson, "Herwagen's Lost Manuscript of the *Collectanea*," in Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge, eds., *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae* (Dublin, 1998), 101–21, for a discussion of the lost manuscript from which Herwagen edited an important early medieval florilegium. Many of Herwagen's sources were likely destroyed or pulled apart in the printing process, as Jackson suggests (101).

P₁, and **D**, have more varied contents, though the *XXX Quaestiones* again appears as a companion piece.

Of the two recensions, *Q* has the simpler arrangement. In each of the *Q* manuscripts, the *De octo quaestionibus* follows Bede's *XXX Quaestiones*; in **N**, **V**, **C**, and **P**₂ it is headed by the rubric "Incipit ad eundem de octo subiectis questionibus"; in **E** the rubric reads "Incipit de octo super nouum testamentum."³⁵ Following the rubrics, each of the *Q* manuscripts has this chapter table:

- I. De magis Dominum natum adorantibus et de stella³⁶
- II. A Iudeis quinquies quadragenas una minus accepi
- III. Nocte et die in profundo maris fui
- IIII. Michi uindictam ego retribuam dicit Dominus³⁷
- V. Vnusquisque in suo sensu abundet
- VI. Quod Dauid maledixit montibus Gelboe
- VII. Ignitum eloquium tuum uehementer
- VIII. Quod Dauid reduxit archam de domo Aminadab

Then come the questions, numbered I through VIII. In **N** and **P**₂, the first text, *Putant quidam*, has a separate title reading "De epiphania" in place of a number.³⁸

The *S* recension is more complicated. Its manuscripts divide our eight texts into two or three separate pieces. The *Quod interrogasti* and *Congregauit autem*, both of which address passages from 2 Kings, appear as appendages to Bede's *XXX Quaestiones*. In **B**₁ and **P**₁, they occur as unnumbered extra "questions," and the *Congregauit autem* concludes with an explicit that

³⁵ Bede's *XXX Quaestiones* are dedicated to Nothelm; thus "ad eundem" indicates that the *De octo quaestionibus* are also for Nothelm.

³⁶ **C** omits the second *de*.

³⁷ A second hand in **C** adds *et* before *ego*.

³⁸ Herwagen's edition contains no chapter table, and he provides his questions with headings that bear no relationship to the chapter titles in our manuscripts: (1) "De stella et magis," (2) "De eo quod dicit Apostolus: A Iudaeis quinquies quadragenas una minus accepi," (3) "Deo eo quod ibidem dicit Apostolus: Nocte et die in profundo maris fui," (4) "De eo quod idem dicit Apostolus: Mihi uindicta et ego retribuam dicit Dominus, etc.," (5) "De illo ejusdem Apostoli: Vnusquisque in suo sensu abundet," (6) "De verbis David quibus Saul et Jonathan filium interfectos ploravit," (7) "Quid sit in psalmo: Ignitum eloquium tuum uehementer," (8) "De reuactione arcae Domini de domo Aminadab per regem David." A sixteenth-century hand writes headings for the seven last "questions" of Herwagen's edition in the margins of Clm. 14506. See the plate in Weisweiler (*Das Schrifttum*, after p. 64), which reproduces part of Clm. 14506, fol. 50r. Next to the text corresponding to Herwagen's "Quaestio 10," a sixteenth-century hand writes the Herwagian chapter heading in the margin: "Quaestio 10. De delictis hominum et eorum poena." The same hand also records headings for the other six texts.

pertains to the *XXX Quaestiones* as a whole.³⁹ In **B**₂, the two pieces are treated as a separate treatise; the rubrics call this work Bede's "Expositio de libris regum." **D**, the only one of our manuscripts that does not have Bede's *XXX Quaestiones*, also lacks the *Quod interrogasti* and the *Congregauit autem*.

After the *Quod interrogasti* and the *Congregauit autem*, the three *S* manuscripts **B**₁, **B**₂, and **P**₁ include the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, *Vnusquisque*, and *Interim quaesisti*. In each of the three manuscripts a rubric calls these five texts the "Solutiones de uerbis Apostoli." **D** has the same five with a similar rubric ("Item eiusdem solutiones de quibusdam questionibus epistolarum beati pauli apostoli") after Bede's commentary on Tobit. As is the case with the title "De octo quaestionibus" in the *Q* recension, we find that the "Solutiones" rubric is inadequate: only *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, and *Vnusquisque* actually address the "words of the Apostle." The final text in this sequence of five, the *Interim quaesisti*, discusses Ps. 118:140.

Only two *S* manuscripts, **B**₁ and **B**₂, preserve the *Putant quidam*. In **B**₁, three unrelated works and eight folios separate it from the five *Solutiones*; in **B**₂ it follows directly after *Interim quaesisti*. Both manuscripts call it a "Sermo uenerabilis Bede presbyteri de epiphania domini," and in both manuscripts it is copied alongside two sermons attributed to Augustine.

While the *De octo quaestionibus* of the *Q* recension includes several heterogeneous texts together as constituent parts of one treatise, the divisions in the *S* manuscripts in fact correspond more closely to the content of the texts themselves. In this recension the *Putant quidam* is copied apart from the other texts and labeled a sermon, rather than a question.⁴⁰ The two pieces on 2 Kings are attached to Bede's *XXX Quaestiones* on Kings, and the four related texts on the Pauline epistles (*A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, and *Vnusquisque*) are grouped together under the *Solutiones* heading. Not everything is in place: the *Interim quaesisti* is not about the Pauline epistles, though it also falls under the "Solutiones" rubric; and the *Quod interrogasti* and *Congregauit autem* are not really part of the *XXX Quaestiones*. Nevertheless, this arrangement makes more sense than that of the *Q* manuscripts, and it is our first clue that the *S* recension may be worth a reconsideration.

³⁹ Rubric in **B**₁: "Explicit expositio uenerabilis Bede presbyteri de libris regum." Rubric in **P**₁: "Explicit expositio uenerabilis Bede presbyteri."

⁴⁰ Whether or not it is a sermon, this term fits the *Putant quidam* far better; we have already seen that this text does not appear to have been written in answer to any obvious question.

THE TEXTUAL TRADITION

Reconstructing the manuscript tradition of our eight texts clarifies the relationship between the *S* and the *Q* recensions. It shows exactly how *Q* was derived from *S*, and provides strong evidence about where and when this happened.

The Tradition of the S Recension

In addition to the formal features discussed above, numerous textual differences separate the *S* and the *Q* recensions. The following variants are representative.⁴¹

A Iudeis:

10 in Britanniam **B₁B₂P₁D** Britanniam **NVCEP₂ h**

Nocte et die:

34 aere **B₁B₂P₁**aera **NVCEP₂ h om.D**

Deo gubernante *om.***B₁B₂P₁D** Deo gubernante **NVCEP₂h**

45–46 Petrus porro **N^{a.c.}B₁B₂P₁D** porro Petrus **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂ h**

Interim quaesisti:

13 purgatum **B₁B₂P₁D** purgatum est **NVCEP₂ h**

15 Vnde **B₁B₂P₁D** Vnde et **NVCEP₂ h**

18 Graeco **B₁B₂P₁D** Graeco idem **NVCEP₂ h**

22 Ignitus **B₁B₂P₁D** ignitus est **NVCEP₂h** (igniti est **E^{a.c.}**)

As noted earlier, variation in contents among the four *S* manuscripts exceeds variation among the *Q* manuscripts. It is also plain that the text of the *S* recension varies more from manuscript to manuscript than does the text of the *Q* recension. In fact, the only clearly related manuscripts in the recension are **B₁** and **B₂**, both from the convent of Saint Mary at Thosan.

These two manuscripts frequently agree with each other against all the other witnesses:

Nocte et die:

37 undas] aquas **B₁B₂**

Interim quaesisti:

7 totus] *om.***B₁B₂**

9 uero] *om.***B₁B₂**

Quod interrogasti:

15 infida] multa **B₁B₂**

Congregauit autem:

17 haec] pateant *add.***B₁B₂**

24 numerus] numero **B₁B₂**

37 ecclesiae] in ecclesia **B₁B₂**

88 Christum] tantum *add.***B₁B₂**

93 Verum] licet *add.***B₁B₂**

⁴¹ References here and throughout are to the edition in Appendix 2, where abbreviations are also resolved.

Both **B**₁ and **B**₂ also contain a number of unique readings; they are probably independent witnesses of a common ancestor:

*Variants unique to B*₁:

- A Iudeis:*
 16 plagarum numerum] *trans.* **B**₁^{a.c.}
Nocte et die:
 25 et] ac **B**₁
Michi uindictam:
 62 illis nostra] *trans.* **B**₁
Vnusquisque:
 95–96 abundare operibus] *trans.* **B**₁
Interim quaesisti:
 1 Interim] iterum **B**₁

*Variants unique to B*₂:

- A Iudeis:*
 4 una] unam **B**₂
 19 donantes — suo] de suo donantes
B₂
Michi uindictam:
 67 actibus] actionibus **B**₂
 69 ut] *om.* **B**₂
Vnusquisque:
 83 at] sed **B**₂
Interim quaesisti:
 15–16 aut unus] et unum **B**₂

The other two *S* manuscripts, **P**₁ and **D**, are more difficult to account for. Aside from the common recension variants given above, they have no obvious relationship to each other or to the ancestor of **B**₁ and **B**₂. **D** appears in our apparatus criticus unaccompanied by other *S* manuscripts only several times. Most interesting are a few variants that it shares with the *Q* family:

- Michi uindictam:*
 58 Deus uestra] *trans.* **NVCEP**₂ **D h**
Interim quaesisti:
 9 loqueretur] nobis *add.* **N**^{sup.l.} **VCEP**₂ **D**

P₁ contains many unique readings. Some of these variants are obvious corruptions, but at least one appears to be more congruent with Bede's customary phraseology than the alternatives in our other manuscripts. In *Nocte et die* (lines 30–31), **P**₁ is the sole manuscript to read “uenerabilium patrum scripta”: all the others have “uenerabilia patrum scripta.” Throughout his works Bede refers to the writings or examples “uenerabilium patrum,” and never uses the adjective to describe their writings.⁴²

The Tradition of the Q Recension

The manuscript tradition of the *Q* recension contrasts sharply with that of the *S* recension. The *Q* manuscripts are all closely related: they all have similar contents, mostly identical rubrics, and many textual variants in com-

⁴² For example: Bede, *In Marcum*, prolog., ed. D. Hurst, *Bedaes Venerabilis Opera, Pars II: opera exegetica* 3, CCL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), 432: “in patrum uenerabilium exemplis”; *De Temporum Ratione*, praef., ed. C. W. Jones, *Bedaes Venerabilis, Pars VI: opera didascalica* 2, CCL 123B (Turnhout, 1977), 263: “. . . perspectis patrum uenerabilium scriptis. . .”

mon. The tradition, in short, appears rather shallow. There is a simple reason for this agreement: the entire *Q* recension descends from **N**.

Three variants in our apparatus criticus suggest that **N** is the ancestor of at least some of the other four *Q* manuscripts. One clue is the variant reading “reclamandos” (*Michi uindictam*, line 75) that we find in **V**, **E**, and **P**₂, instead of the clearly correct “redamandos.” The error appears to stem from the peculiarities of **N**’s scribe, who tended to copy the letter *d* with lobe and ascending stroke somewhat separated. In the case of the word “redamandos,” the lobe and stroke are parted even more than usual, so that at a glance it appears to be “reclamandos” instead. Another suggestive locus is the corrupt spelling “mineio,” for *minio* (from *minium*, which is red lead, or ink), which we find in **V** and **C** (*Quod interrogasti*, line 30). The *S* manuscripts all have *mineo* at this point, as does **N**. Yet a corrector in **N** has added an *i* above and slightly to the right of the letter *e* in the original *mineo*, so that whether this *i* is meant to replace or follow the *e* is uncertain. Finally, in another passage from the *Quod interrogasti* (line 44) **V** and **C** read “capillis Saxonem” instead of the correct “capilli Saxonem.” While **N** has the correct reading, the copyist has left no space between the words, so that the initial *s* of *Saxonem* appears at first to conclude the word *capilli*.

To establish the significance of **N** more firmly, we must move beyond our apparatus and consider **N** as a whole. Hands change frequently in the early folios of this manuscript, and throughout the copy of the *De Templo* (which ends on fol. 45v) scribes add variant readings between the lines and, occasionally, in the margins. Subsequent portions of the manuscript receive less attention; the *XXX Quaestiones* and the *De octo quaestionibus* are the work of a single scribe, and marginal and interlinear additions are rarer. Still, at least one corrector has revised these works, and made substantial alterations to the chapter table and the opening initial of Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones*, on fols. 45v and 46r.

Each of Bede’s thirty questions on Kings, like the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, and *Vnusquisque*, addresses a specific verse of the Bible. Accordingly, the chapter table preceding the *XXX Quaestiones* consists of quotations of the thirty verses discussed in the text preceded by Roman numerals. At points, instead of including the full verse, Bede simply gives the opening clause and abbreviates the rest with “et cetera.” The corrector of **N** was apparently troubled by these abbreviations, and so for a few of the listings he erased the original “et cetera” and added the rest of the verse. He expanded four of the six abbreviated verses on fol. 45v.⁴³ On fol. 46r he encountered a more serious problem: the entry for the last question had been omitted by the first scribe. At the same time, the extra space left

⁴³ These are the entries for chapters 1, 4, 6, and 14.

between the end of the chapter table and the beginning of the first question was to be occupied by the expansion of the initial *Q* on that page.⁴⁴ He solved the problem of space by erasing all but the first three words of the entry for chapter 27, and erasing the following two entries entirely. This gained him several lines, all but two of which were lost to the new initial. He was thus forced to squeeze three chapter entries (for chapters 28 through 30) into a space ruled for two lines. He accomplished this by abbreviating the entries for chapters 29 and 30 so that each required only one line of text, and by writing in much smaller module. To make even more space for the expanded initial, he erased the opening lines of the first question. These he recopied around the curve of the new initial *Q*, again reducing the size of his letters to add an additional line. The left column of fol. 46r consequently contains thirty-six lines of text, though it is ruled for only thirty-four.

As a result, the chapter table on fols. 45v–46r presents us with an intersection of graphical and textual features brought about by circumstances unique to **N**. The variants generated by these circumstances are highly specific and unlikely to recur independently. Yet they do recur in every manuscript of the *Q* family. I note the contrasting variants in this table:

*Standard text (as in edition and B₁B₂P₁):*⁴⁵

I. Et suscitabo mihi
sacerdotem fidelem, et
cetera.

III. Ex qua die mansit
archa⁴⁶ in Chariatyarim
multiplicati sunt dies, et
cetera.

VI. Quod ait Abigail ad
Dauid, si enim surrexerit
homo aliquando persequens
te, et cetera.

*Text of NVCEP₂ (additions by
corrector of N are italicized):*⁴⁷

I. Et suscitabo michi
sacerdotem fidelem, *qui iuxta
cor meum et animam faciat.*

III. Ex qua die mansit archa in
Chariathiarim multiplicati sunt
dies, *erat quippe iam annus
uicesimus.*

VI. Quod ait Abigail ad Dauid,
si enim surrexerit homo
aliquando persequens te *et
querens animam tuam.*

⁴⁴ The initial decorates the first word of the first question, which is *Quod*. The original initial, erased but still visible, was simply red, about 15mm in diameter. It is replaced with a large, decorated initial, about 60mm wide.

⁴⁵ This chapter table is ed. Hurst, CCL 119, 294. Hurst's edition does not depart significantly from the text of our *S* manuscripts, except in orthographical matters.

⁴⁶ **B₂** omits *archa*.

⁴⁷ Orthography from **N**.

XIII. Cumque eminent
uetes et apparent
summitates eorum foris
sanctuarium, et cetera.

XIII. Cumque eminent
uetes et apparent
summitates eorum foris
sanctuarium, *non*
apparebant ultra extrinsecus.

XXVII. Contaminauit quo-
que Thabeth quod est in
conualle filii Ennon.

XXVII. Contaminauit quoque
Thofet.

XXIX. Excelsa quoque que
erant in Ierusalem ad
dexteram partem montis
offensionis, et cetera.

XXIX. Excelsa quoque que
erant in Ierusalem.

XXX. Et transtulit omnem
Ierusalem⁴⁸ et uniuersos
principes, et cetera.

XXX. Et transtulit omnem
Ierusalem.

In all *Q* manuscripts, the entries for chapters 1, 4, 6, and 14 are expanded, and those for chapters 27, 29, and 30 are shortened. Here we have our strongest proof that **V**, **C**, **E** and **P**₂ all descend from **N**. They are *codices descripti*, and I include their variants in the edition only to substantiate this argument.

The entire *Q* recension can thus be traced back to **N**. A closer examination of this manuscript reveals the origins of many features of the *Q* recension. Most importantly, we find that the chapter table and the rubric that gives the title *De octo quaestionibus* on fol. 58v are later additions to the manuscript. The chapter table was added by the same hand that made the corrections to the *XXX Quaestiones* outlined above. This corrector squeezed the table into an originally blank space following the “Explicit” rubric of the *XXX Quaestiones* and copied it over an earlier rubric, which he erased. Under ultraviolet light, I have recovered the old rubric, both from its traces under the added text and from an erased note to the rubricator in the lower margin of fol. 58v. Before the addition of the new *De octo quaestionibus* title and the chapter table, the rubric that headed the eight questions read “Sermo bede presbyteri de epyphania domini.” This is nearly identical to the rubric that heads the *Putant quidam* in **B**₁ and **B**₂. The **N** corrector must have found the original rubric problematic because it applied to only the

⁴⁸ **P**₁ omits (XXVIII) *ad dextram partem* — (XXX) *Hierusalem*, through homoeoteleuton. This error may be behind the omission we noted above in **N**. This would imply that **N** and **P**₁ derive from a separate, common archetype. Yet there is no further evidence to support such a relationship.

first of the following eight texts, and thus erased it before adding a more general title and chapter table in its place.⁴⁹

Moreover, about half of the textual differences that separate the *S* and *Q* recensions stem from the activity of the **N** corrector. In eleven places the reading of **N** before correction is close or identical to that of the *S* recension:

Nocte et die:

- 32 quod²] **B₁B₂P₁D** quo **N^{a.c.}** quoniam **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂h**
 45–46 Petrus porro] **N^{a.c.}B₁B₂P₁D** porro petrus **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂ h**

Interim quaesisti:

- 4 peruasum] **B₁B₂P₁D** persuasum **N^{a.c.}** perfusum **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂ h**
 9 loqueretur] **B₁B₂P₁D h** nobis *add.* **N^{sup.l.}VCEP₂ D**

Putant quidam:

- 7 forte] **B₁B₂ exp. N om.** **VCEP₂ h**
 42 tum] **B₁B₂ h** tunt **N^{a.c.}tunc N^{p.c.}VCEP₂**

Quod interrogasti:

- 15 infida] **P₁ N^{a.c.}h** infima **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂** multa **B₁B₂**
 44 <distributione>] tribulatione **N^{a.c.}** **B₁B₂P₁** retributione **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂ h**
 46 figurarit] **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂^{p.c.}h** figuraret **N^{a.c.}P₂^{a.c.}B₁B₂P₁**

Congregavit autem:

- 6 sed] **B₁B₂P₁ h exp.N om.** **VCEP₂**
 90 aqua] a quo **N^{a.c.}** **B₁^{a.c.} B₂ P₁** aqua **N^{p.c.}VCE h**

Readings corrected in **N** are distributed throughout the *Q* recension, another sign that it sits at the head of the entire tradition. In most cases these corrected readings occur in Herwagen's edition as well. A few of the corrections in **N** appear to be mere tinkering, while others constitute reasonable attempts to emend the faults of **N**'s text: hence the corrections from the solecism "tunt" to "tunc," from "quo" to "quoniam," and from "persuasum" to "perfusum." The changes improve the text, though in each of these three cases the uncorrupted reading is preserved in the *S* manuscripts ("tum," "quod," "peruasum" respectively). In a few other cases, the corrector of **N** appears to emend faults general to the *textus receptus* ("tribulatione" to "retributione," "figuraret" to "figurarit," "a quo" to "aqua").

Though the descent of **V**, **C**, **E**, and **P₂** from **N** seems clear, the details of this descent are hard to establish. **P₂** and **V** are both especially close to **N**, and may be direct copies. **E** is also very close, though it departs from **N** and the other *Q* manuscripts on a few occasions:

A Iudeis:

- 16 undequadragesimum] inde quadragesimum **EB₁^{a.c.}**

Quod interrogasti:

- 35 nomen Dei] *om.* **NVCP₂ h**, *add.* **E^{a.m., sup.l.}**

⁴⁹ Presumably he then added a shortened version "De epiphania" at the head of the *Putant quidam*.

Congregauit autem:

- 9 accessit] accedit **E**
 66 gratiae] gratia **E**
 67 uidelicet quia] *trans.* **E**
 79 conuertet — patrum] corda patrum conuertet **E**

C contains all the unique readings of **V**, and some additional variants of its own; it is likely a copy of **V**:

C and V:

- Michi uindictam:*
 69 inquit ueni] *trans.***VC**
Putant quidam:
 36 protestante] protestando **VC**
Quod interrogasti:
 44 capilli] capillis **VC**
Congregauit autem:
 36 prius arca] *trans.***VC**
 111 operum bonorum] *trans.***VC**

C alone:

- A Iudeis:*
 18 undequadragesima] unam de
 quadragesima **C**
Interim quaesisti:
 23–24 ac firma est] est ac firma **C**
Putant quidam:
 11 eum] eos **C**
 19 intuentes] intuens **C**
Quod interrogasti:
 22 illis ultra] *trans.***C**
Congregauit autem:
 7 Sacerdos] sed certos **C**

Herwagen's manuscript source is not a problem that we can solve here. Clearly Herwagen used neither **V** nor **C**, for Herwagen's edition has none of the distinctive readings present in these manuscripts (noted just above). There is also reason to exclude **E**, for Herwagen's edition shares a corruption that is common to all descendants of **N**, but corrected in **E** by a later hand:⁵⁰

Quod interrogasti:

- 35 nomen Dei] *om.* **NVCP₂ h add. E^{a.m., sup.l.}**

In its current state, **P₂** is missing folios and thus lacks the end of the *Congregauit autem* (from line 62). If Herwagen used it, it was presumably whole in his time. He may also have used **N** itself; there are no textual obstacles to such a hypothesis. Yet neither **P₂** nor **N** bears the editor's and printer's notation present throughout Clm. 14506, and so we may suspect that Herwagen used a *Q* manuscript that is either lost or still undiscovered. In its absence, we cannot establish its descent as securely as we can the descent of the other *Q* manuscripts. We can only note that Herwagen's edition follows the readings of the *Q* recension in almost all cases, and generally follows **N** after correction. The few exceptions may be ascribed to Herwagen's

⁵⁰ This is the only evidence of contamination from the *S* recension in a *Q* manuscript.

editorial intervention.⁵¹ The agreements between **N** and Herwagen's edition provide the best evidence possible that Herwagen's manuscript also descended from **N**.

Stemma codicum

The descent of **V**, **C**, **P₂**, and **E** from **N** explains the origins of the *Q* recension. *Q*, as it exists in **N** and its descendants, is a modification and revision of the *S* recension. It was likely constructed by a compiler operating at St. Martin's at Tournai, where **N** was copied and emended. The defining features of *Q*, down to the title "De octo quaestionibus," probably do not antedate the twelfth century and should not be ascribed to the archetype. At the same time, there is no evidence that **B₁** and **B₂**, **D**, and **P₁** derive their formal and textual similarities from a common hyparchetype. Instead, these common features are best attributed to the archetype of all nine of our manuscripts. In *S* we have our eight texts in an earlier arrangement, before they were fused into the *De octo quaestionibus* of *Q*.

Though it is clear that **V**, **C**, **E**, and **P₂** all descend from **N**, the stemmatic position of the other manuscripts, and of **N** itself, remains to be examined. Only two of our four *S*-recension manuscripts contain all eight texts. **P₁** and **D** omit the *Putant quidam*, and **D** also omits the *Quod interrogasti* and the *Congregauit autem*. Before constructing a *stemma codicum*, we must ask whether **P₁** and **D** represent earlier versions of the *S* recension, before these texts were added; or whether they are later reductions of the full eight-text collection present in the archetype. To hypothesize an archetype containing only the five *Solutiones* would require that we gather **B₁** and **B₂**, **P₁**, and **N** under a hyparchetype to explain the presence of the *Congregauit autem* and the *Quod interrogasti*. **B₁**, **B₂** and **N** would then require a further sub-archetype to explain the *Putant quidam*.

⁵¹ The following variants are cases in which **h** has a variant in common with a manuscript not descended from **N**:

Michi uindictam:

65 subiungit] subiunxit **B₁B₂ h**

Interim quaesisti:

9 loqueretur] **B₁B₂P₁D h**, nobis add. **N^{sup.l.}VCEP₂ D**

Putant quidam:

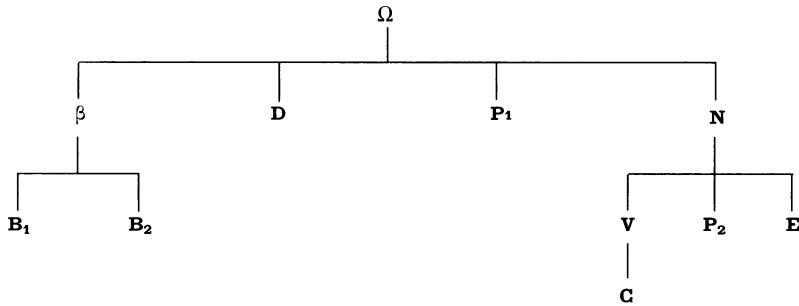
42 tum] **B₁B₂ h**, tunc **N^{a.c.}** tunc **N^{p.c.} VCEP₂**

Congregauit autem:

9 accessit] accesserit **B₁B₂ h**

None of these constitutes good evidence of a textual relationship, and two are likely cases of convergence through correction. The variant *accesserit* is a classicizing correction; the verb governs a relative clause of characteristic. And the variant *loqueretur (nobis)* in *Interim quaesisti*, line 9, involves a scriptural quotation; here most Vulgate recensions omit *nobis* as well.

No textual variation suggests that **B₁**, **B₂**, **P₁** and **N** share a hyparchetype, or that **B₁**, **B₂** and **N** share a further sub-archetype. I would thus propose the simpler model, and posit that all four *S*-recension manuscripts descend from a codex that contained all eight texts. According to this view, **P₁** and **D** would represent later reductions of the contents of this archetype. Variation in content, even among closely related manuscripts, is to be expected; and, given the loose arrangement of the *S* recension, it would be surprising if every *S* manuscript were to have all eight texts. This suggests that we construct a *stemma* along these lines:



The Earlier S Recension

The *S* recension transmits our texts in their earliest available form, and so constitutes important evidence for the early development of our collection. It will help to conclude this examination of the manuscript tradition with some observations about the arrangement of *S* and the relationships among its texts.

As in *Q*, Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones* on Kings is the central piece of the collection in *S*. Every text in *S* except the *Putant quidam* has either an explicit or an implicit connection to Bede’s Kings commentary. The *Congregavit autem* and the *Quod interrogasti* are directly appended to the *XXX Quaestiones*, and the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, *Vnusquisque*, and *Interim quaesisti* follow just after it. The title given to these latter five texts in *S*, “*Solutiones*,” echoes the prefatory letter of Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones*. In this letter, Bede announces to Nothelm that he has answered thirty of Nothelm’s more important questions on Kings in the treatise that follows. He says that the rest of Nothelm’s questions were more easily resolved — “*solui*” — and that he has sent the answers to these separately.⁵² The title “*Solutiones*” thus appears to identify the texts beneath it as the

⁵² Bede, *XXX Quaestiones*, praef., ed. Hurst, CCL 119, 29.

answers to Nothelm's simpler questions. Though the *Solutiones* texts are very unlikely to be these answers, the rubric shows that the *Solutiones* and the XXX *Quaestiones* were conceived of as related treatises, well before the development of the *Q* recension.⁵³

When we look closer at the five texts labeled *Solutiones*, we see that the last does not belong. We have already observed that the rubrics in our *S* manuscripts mention only "Solutiones . . . de uerbis Apostoli," apparently excluding the final text, the *Interim quaesisti*, which explains a verse from Psalms. This is good evidence that the *Interim quaesisti* is a later addition. At the time of rubrication, the *Solutiones* appears to have consisted only of the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, and the *Vnusquisque*. These four pieces are formally similar and discuss adjacent passages in 1 Corinthians and Romans. Together, they form a miniature, four-part treatise on difficult Pauline verses.

Though it may not belong among the *Solutiones*, the *Interim quaesisti* appears to have some textual features in common with the *Quod interrogasti*. Gorman has noted that there are striking parallels in both texts to passages in two of Bede's biblical commentaries. Both also appear to be excerpts from a letter, as they address the reader in the second person and exhort this reader in the imperative. Each text answers a single, explicit question, and introduces and responds to this question in very similar fashion:

<i>Quod interrogasti</i> , lines 1–8, passim:	<i>Interim quaesisti</i> , lines 1–2:
<i>Quod interrogasti</i> de uerbis Daud quibus Saul et Ionathan . . . <i>quomodo conueniant</i> tempori uel misterio dominicae passionis . . . <i>scire debes</i> <i>quia</i>	<i>Interim quaesisti</i> <i>quid sit</i> in Psalmo . . . <i>Scito ergo quod</i> . . .

Obviously, there are only a few ways to relate an indirect question. Yet the common exhortation to "know" ("scire debes," "scito quod") is striking, and the complementary phrasing ("Quod interrogasti" and "Interim quaesisti";

⁵³ Gorman, "Bede's VIII *Quaestiones*" (n. 1 above), 35–36, suggests that the texts of the *De octo quaestionibus* may indeed be the simpler answers referenced by Bede's prefatory letter. Yet Bede's letter strongly implies that Nothelm's simpler questions all concerned Kings; on this point see Meyvaert, "The Date of Bede's *Thirty Questions*" (n. 15 above), 277 n. 33. Of our eight texts, only the *Congregauit autem* and the *Quod interrogasti* actually address Kings. I think both are unlikely to be the answers to Nothelm's simpler questions. Below I suggest that the *Congregauit autem*, which does not answer any obvious question, is likely a short sermon, and that the *Quod interrogasti* — of all our texts, the only real answer to a question on Kings — may derive from the same source as the *Interim quaesisti* (which addresses not Kings, but Psalms). Probably Bede's answers to Nothelm's simpler questions never circulated outside of a personal letter to Nothelm.

“scire debes quia” and “scito ergo quod”) looks like rhetorical variation. These textual features suggest that the *Quod interrogasti* and the *Interim quaesisti* are extracts from a single epistle. Perhaps they originally formed one long passage that was later split in two, with one piece appended to Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones* on Kings, and the other appended to the four-text *Solutiones*.

The first four *Solutiones*, the *Interim quaesisti*, and the *Quod interrogasti* thus appear to represent two separate accretions to Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones*. It is less clear where our other two texts fit in. The *Congregavit autem* and the *Putant quidam* have no obvious relation to each other, or to their six companion pieces. Notably, *Putant quidam* does not seem to have had any association with any of our other seven texts, or with the *XXX Quaestiones* prior to the creation of the *Q* recension. In the *S* manuscripts, as we have seen, it circulates as a short sermon among a few other sermons ascribed to Augustine. Its only association with the other seven texts is in the *De octo quaestionibus*, where it occurs as the first “question.”

What about the wider textual environment of our collection? The stemma sketched above suggests that Ω , the archetype, contained Bede’s *XXX Quaestiones*, his *De templo*, and his *In Tobiam*, along with our eight texts.⁵⁴ When this combination of Old Testament commentaries emerged, and whether it was brought together at the same time as the *Solutiones* and its companion pieces, seems impossible to determine.⁵⁵ Yet there is some evidence suggesting that at least the first four *Solutiones* and the *XXX Quaestiones* had been joined as early as the ninth century. In 852, Lupus of Ferrières sent a letter to the abbot Altsig of York requesting copies of several works by Jerome and Quintilian, as well as some “questions by your Bede on both Testaments.”⁵⁶ While no such treatise by Bede is known, the *Solu-*

⁵⁴ Each of these treatises is attested in at least two branches of the *stemma*, and so might be traced to the archetype. *In Tobiam* occurs in three branches of the tradition: β (=B₁ and B₂), D and N; the *XXX Quaestiones* also occurs in three: β , P₁ and N; and *De templo* occurs in two: D and N. Only N and its descendants actually have the three-text combination.

⁵⁵ I can find only one other manuscript containing *In Tobiam*, *De templo* and the *XXX Quaestiones*. This is London, Lambeth Palace Ms. 191, from the twelfth century. The thorough description by Montague Rhodes James (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Medieval Manuscripts* [Cambridge, 1932], 298–300) shows that it does not contain any of the eight texts studied here. Manuscripts containing any two of the three Old Testament commentaries are somewhat more common.

⁵⁶ “obnix flagito, ut . . . Bedae . . . vestri similiter quaestiones in utrumque testamentum . . . dirigatis.” Ep. 62, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, Epp. VI, 62 (1925). Dümmler dates the letter to 849; Leon Levillain (“Étude sur les lettres de Loup de Ferrières,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 63 [1902]: 114–16) dates it instead to 852. Gorman, “Bede’s *VIII Quaestiones*,” 32–33; and Lehmann, “Wert und Echtheit” (n. 5 above), 21 n. 2, both wonder whether Lupus’s request in this letter was for the *De octo quaestionibus*.

liones united with the *XXX Quaestiones* would in fact amount to questions on both Testaments. If correct, this interpretation points to York as an early source for manuscripts containing the *XXX Quaestiones* and the *Solutiones*. This in turn opens the possibility that the combination goes back much further, perhaps all the way to Northumbria and Wearmouth-Jarrow.

INDIRECT TRADITION

Though Lehmann and Gorman have ably surveyed the indirect tradition of our texts, a closer examination is necessary to illustrate the relationship of our manuscript copies to the tradition cited by medieval authors, and to prepare the way for a discussion of Bede's authorship. An investigation of the indirect tradition may also explain the immediate origins of the *Congregauit autem*.

Direct knowledge of our texts in the Middle Ages appears to have been confined to a small group of authors writing in the first half of the ninth century. In chronological order, these are: Smaragdus of St.-Mihiel, who uses passages from the *A Iudeis* and from the *Putant quidam* in his *Liber comitis* (written around 812);⁵⁷ Claudius of Turin, who uses the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, and *Vnusquisque* (i.e., the four-text *Solutiones*) in his (unprinted) commentaries on Romans and Corinthians (finished before 820),⁵⁸ and who uses the *Quod interrogasti* and the *Congregauit autem* in his

⁵⁷ PL 102:13–552. Smaragdus uses the *Putant quidam* at 72D–73B (“Constat quippe — est illis;” lines 11–40 in the appended edition, with many omissions), and the *A Iudeis* at 105C–106A (“Quod dicit — impleret;” lines 1–18, also with omissions). Lehmann (“Wert und Echtheit,” 7) first noticed Smaragdus's use of our text; Gorman (“Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*,” 50) identifies the precise passages in PL. For the date of the *Liber comitis* see Fidel Rädle, *Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Mihiel* (Munich, 1974), 21 and 130–32.

⁵⁸ For these commentaries I use the text of BNF Ms. lat. 12289, which according to Gorman is “the oldest surviving manuscript” containing all of Claudius's commentaries on the Pauline epistles. See Gorman, “Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*,” 49 n. 54, where the relevant loci in the manuscript are cited, and also the list of manuscripts in Michael Gorman, “The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious,” *Speculum* 72 (1997): 322–23. In Ms. lat. 12289, the *A Iudeis* excerpt is at fol. 189r^a, lines 15–20 (“Praeceptum namque — iaceat,” lines 4–7 in the appended edition); the *Nocte et die* is at fol. 189r^b line 13 through 189v^a line 23 (“Verum si — a malo,” lines 30–53); the *Michi uindictam* is at fol. 66r^a line 5 through 66r^b line 12 (the entire text); and the *Vnusquisque* on fol. 70r^b line 15 through 70v^a line 7 (again the entire text). The passage that Claudius omits from the *A Iudeis* discusses a manuscript illumination, and probably ran contrary to Claudius's iconoclastic convictions. The commentary date comes from Dümmler, who edits the prefaces to Claudius's commentaries on the Pauline epistles in MGH Epp. IV, 596–602 (Epp. 3–6). Lehmann, “Wert und Echtheit,” 7–8, mistakenly identifies Claudius as the author of the commentary on Paul's letters to the Corinthians that is printed under the name of Atto of Vercelli in PL 134:287–492. Lehmann was working from the study of Eduard Riggenbach (*Die ältesten lateinischen Kommentare zum Hebräerbrief*

commentary on Kings (finished in 824);⁵⁹ Hrabanus Maurus, who also uses the *Quod interrogasti* and the *Congregauit autem* in his Kings commentary (finished around 829);⁶⁰ and Haimo of Auxerre, who uses the four-text *Solutiones* in his commentary on the Pauline epistles (probably finished between 840 and 860).⁶¹ To this list Lehmann and Gorman add the florile-

[Leipzig, 1907]), and over-generalized from Riggenbach's conclusions. In fact the commentaries on Romans and the letters to the Corinthians in PL 134:125–492 may be called Atto's, though they are nevertheless dependent upon unpublished commentaries of Claudius of Turin. See Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Atto of Vercelli: Church, State, and Christian Society in Tenth Century Italy* (Rome, 1979), 23–26, on the commentaries associated with Atto in Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. XXXIX (40). This manuscript, copied at the order of Atto, contains primarily direct copies of Claudius's commentaries on the Pauline epistles. Only the commentaries on Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians may be considered Atto's own work. Atto knew of the first four *Solutiones* texts only through Claudius.

⁵⁹ PL 104:623–834. The passage dependent upon the *Quod interrogasti* is at cols. 688C–689A (“Sciri debet — comburendos relinquunt”; lines 8–25 in the appended edition); the use of the *Congregauit autem* is at cols. 694A–697A (“Congregauit autem — poenas luit”; lines 1–7 and 18–115) and 698B (“Sacerdos quoque — morte purgauit,” lines 7–8). As in the case of the *A Iudeis*, Claudius avoids the passage discussing images in his excerpt from the *Quod interrogasti*. Lehmann (“Wert und Echtheit,” 7) first identified Claudius's use of our text; Gorman (“Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*,” 48–50) gives the precise citation in PL. I also date this commentary from Dümmler's edition of the prefatory letter (MGH Epp. IV, 608–9 [Ep. 10]). Gorman suggests that this prefatory letter may also allude briefly to the *Congregauit autem*; presumably he is comparing *Congregauit autem* lines 7–8 (“inconsiderate temeritate”) with lines 9–10 in Dümmler's edition of the letter (“illicita presumptione”). Both passages reference the *temeritas* or *praesumptio* of Uzzah, who is killed upon touching the Ark of the Covenant (2 Kings 6:6–7). Claudius's commentary, known like Bede's as the *XXX Quaestiones*, addresses questions posed by the abbot Theodemir of Psalmody (Dümmler, MGH Epp. IV, 605–6 [Ep. 8]).

⁶⁰ PL 109:9–280. The *Quod interrogasti* is used at col. 73C–D (“Montes Gelboe — exigente meruissent”); the *Congregauit autem* occurs at cols. 83C–86C (“Congregauit autem — mortis exspectant”; this corresponds to the entire text in our edition). Hrabanus's use was first identified by Lehmann (“Wert und Echtheit,” 7); Gorman (“Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*,” 50) cites the exact passages. Gorman (*ibid.*) also notes that Angelomus of Luxeuil uses the *Congregauit autem* (his commentary on Kings is in PL 115:243–552; the *Congregauit autem* is at cols. 348C–351C), and that Angelomus knew the text only through Hrabanus. This view is supported by Silvia Cantelli (*Angelomo e la scuola esegetica di Luxeuil*, 2 vols. [Spoleto, 1990], 1:311), who says that “per i libri II (=2 Sam), III (=1 Reg), IV (=2 Reg) [i.e., where Angelomus uses the *Congregauit autem*] il rapporto tra i due testi è stretto a tal punto che per larga parte del III e per il IV si può parlare di un solo commento.” I have collated the text of Angelomus with that of Hrabanus and found no obstacles to this interpretation.

⁶¹ The commentary on 2 Corinthians is in PL 117:605–8; Haimo uses the *A Iudeis* at col. 655A and the *Nocte et die* just below, at col. 655C. The commentary on Romans is in PL 117:361–508; Haimo uses the *Michi uindictam* at col. 477C–D, and the *Vnusquisque* at cols. 487D–488A. Haimo's use of our texts was first noted by Lehmann (“Wert und Echtheit,” 7–8); the exact passages are cited in Gorman (“Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*,” 50–51). Lehmann, again working from the study of Riggenbach, (*Die ältesten lateinischen Kommen-*

gium conserved as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. lat. 12949, which dates from the tenth century, and which contains an excerpt from the *A Iudeis*.⁶²

Marginal source marks in manuscripts of the Smaragdus and Hrabanus commentaries tie the *A Iudeis*, *Putant quidam*, and *Congregavit autem* to Bede. These marks are a prominent feature of the indirect tradition, with important implications for the authenticity and provenance of our texts. The practice of citing sources by means of marginal *sigla* was introduced by Bede himself, who used the system for his commentaries on Mark and Luke.⁶³ Subsequently at least five Carolingian authors cited their sources in this way; in addition to Smaragdus and Hrabanus, the list includes Claudius of Turin, Paschasius Radbertus, and Sedulius Scottus.⁶⁴ Smaragdus employed marginal *sigla* in his *Liber comitis*,⁶⁵ and Hrabanus Maurus used them in his commentary on Kings.⁶⁶ Claudius of Turin used the marginal citations in his early commentary on Genesis, but his commentaries on the Pauline epistles appear to be without the marks, and in the prefatory letter to his commentary on Leviticus (823) he specifically disavows the practice.⁶⁷

tare) thought the commentary might belong to Remigius of Auxerre. In fact, though the commentary on Hebrews is not considered to be Haimo's, the commentaries on the other Pauline epistles are genuine. Cf. Dominique Iogna-Prat, "L'œuvre d'Haymon d'Auxerre: État de la question," in *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi, 830–908: Entretiens d'Auxerre 1989*, ed. Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon (Paris, 1989), 157–79, at 161. I date the commentaries according to the period of Haimo's literary activity, for which see John J. Contreni, "Haimo of Auxerre, Abbot of Sasceium (Cessy-les-Bois) and a New Sermon on I John V.4–10," *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975): 303–320, at 310.

⁶² For the bibliography on this manuscript see Gorman, "Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*," 55–56 n. 75. The excerpt from *A Iudeis* is on fol. 40r.

⁶³ Bede, *In Lucam*, prol., ed. Hurst, CCL 120, 7; and Bede, *In Marcum*, prol., *ibid.*, 432. On these see M. L. W. Laistner, "Source Marks in Bede Manuscripts," *Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1933): 350–54.

⁶⁴ This list is from Rädle, *Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Mihiel*, 138.

⁶⁵ On Smaragdus's use of "Autorensiglen," see *ibid.*, 137–42.

⁶⁶ Cf. Hrabanus's letter from 829 to the abbot Hilduin of Saint-Denis, ed. Dümmler, MGH Epp. V, 402–3 (Ep. 14): "Praenotavique in marginibus paginarum aliquorum eorum nomina, ubi sua propria verba sunt; ubi vero sensum eorum meis verbis expressi aut ubi iuxta sensus eorum similitudinem, prout divina gratia mihi concedere dignata est, de novo dictavi, M litteram Mauri nomen exprimentem, quod meus magister beatae memoriae Albinus mihi indidit, prenotare curavi, ut diligens lector sciat, quid quisque de suo proferat, quidve in singulis sentiendum sit, decernat."

⁶⁷ Claudius of Turin in the 811 prefatory letter to his Genesis commentary, ed. Dümmler, MGH Epp. IV, 592 (Ep. 1): "Et ne ab aliquibus praesumptor et temerarius diiudicaret, quod [ab] alieno armario sumpserim tela, uniuscuiusque doctoris nomen cum suis characteribus, sicut et beatus fecit presbiter Beda, subter in paginis adnotavi." But in a letter of 9 March 823 that prefaces his commentary on Leviticus (ed. *ibid.*, 603), Claudius responds in this way to Theodemir's request for a text with source marks: "Quod vero sententiam

I have found no references to manuscripts of Haimo of Auxerre with marginal *sigla*.

The indirect tradition of the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, and the *Vnusquisque* (the first four *Solutiones*) is the most robust, and an investigation of the passages in Smaragdus, Claudius, Haimo, and Ms. lat. 12949 that cite these texts establishes two points. First, Smaragdus and the florilegium are closely related. Each has exactly the same excerpt from the *A Iudeis* (beginning with the first word and ending at line 16, with “impleret”), and each elides the scriptural citation in line 6. Both Smaragdus and Ms. lat. 12949 also vary against Claudius and the manuscript tradition in numerous places, especially in matters of omission:

- 2 apostolus] *om.* **Smar. Ms. lat. 12949**
- 3 eis] iudeis **Smar. Ms. lat. 12949**
- uicibus] *om.* **Smar. Ms. lat. 12949**
- 4 semper] *om.* **Smar. Ms. lat. 12949**
- tricies et nouies] *om.* **Smar. Ms. lat. 12949**
- 5 cum] qui **Smar. Ms. lat. 12949**
- 7 intelligendum ita] *om.* **Smar. Ms. lat. 12949**
- 8 quam] quem **Smar. Ms. lat. 12949**

It is clear that the florilegium text derives from Smaragdus. Probably a contributor to the florilegium extracted the passage from the *Liber comitis* because the source mark there ascribed it to Bede.⁶⁸

The second point is the relationship between the text of the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, and *Michi uindictam* used by Haimo, Claudius and Smaragdus, and that preserved in **N**. Gorman remarks that “Claudius’ text consistently agrees with that of the Bruges family of manuscripts [i.e., the *S* recension] . . .

uniuscuiusque doctoris in paginis adnotare praecipis in expositionibus nostris: neminem hoc fecisse legi, excepto beatissimum Bedam, quod quidem nec ille amplius quam in duobus codicibus fecit, in expositione videlicet evangelistarum Marci et Lucae. Quod ego ideo omisi facere, quia sententias quorundam, quas adnotaveram prius sub nomine aliorum, diligentius perquirens, aliorum eas esse reperi postea.”

⁶⁸ Lehmann (“Wert und Echtheit,” 15 with n. 1) also notices the similarities between the text of Smaragdus and Ms. lat. 12949, for he considers the possibility that the florilegium text could have been drawn from Smaragdus. Yet he discounts it, claiming that elsewhere in Ms. lat. 12949 there are resonances with *Nocte et die*, a text not employed by Smaragdus. This, he reasons, suggests that the compilers of the florilegium had independent access to our texts (or at least some of them). Lehmann refers his readers to Victor Cousin, *Ouvrages inédits d’Abélard pour servir à l’histoire de la philosophie scolastique en France* (Paris, 1836), 624. Here Cousin prints portions of Ms. lat. 12949; on page 622 he gives the *A Iudeis* excerpt from fol. 40r. On page 624 Cousin prints text from slightly later in the manuscript; yet I can find nothing on that page at all related to the text of the *Nocte et die*. Lehmann seems to have been mistaken.

against the St. Amand family [the *Q* recension].”⁶⁹ In fact matters are more complicated. For the space of these three texts, **N** shares these readings with the indirect tradition:

A Iudeis:

5 cum] qui **N^{a.c.}** **Smar. Par. 12949** quem **Claud. Haim.**

Nocte et die:

32 quod²] quo **N^{a.c.}** quoniam **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂ Claud. h**

34 terramque] Deo gubernante **add. NVCEP₂ Claud. Haim. h**

51 titubare] titubari **NVEP₂ Claud.**

Michi uindictam:

58 Deus uestra] uestra Deus **NVCEP₂ D Claud. h**

Two of these variants are decisive: the “ut qui” corruption in line 5 is very unlikely to have recurred independently in both **N** and Smaragdus, and the ablative absolute “Deo gubernante” in line 29, shared by **N**, Claudius, and Haimo, is also a clear sign of relationship. There are also places of agreement with other branches of the tradition, but these are all less probative:

A Iudeis:

10 in Britanniam] **B₁B₂P₁D Smar. Par. 12949** (in *om.* **NVCEP₂ h**)

Nocte et die:

45–46 Petrus porro] **N^{a.c.}B₁B₂P₁D Claud.** (porro Petrus **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂ h**)

Vnusquisque:

83 at] sed **B₂ Claud. Haim.**

87–88 didicimus] didiscimus **P₁ discimus Claud.**

That citations in Haimo, Claudius, and Smaragdus should so often line up behind **N**, and that all three authors should have lived within the same general region and written their treatises within several decades of each other, suggests that they may have had access to the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, and *Vnusquisque* through the same manuscript. It also suggests that a closely related manuscript was available to whoever compiled the *De octo quaestionibus*, probably at St. Martin’s at Tournai.

What about the indirect tradition of our other texts? Smaragdus reworks his excerpts from the *Putant quidam* even more thoroughly than he does the passage he borrows from the *A Iudeis*. His text either follows the *consensus codicum* or departs from it entirely; it demonstrates no affinity with any manuscript or branch of the tradition. The indirect tradition of the *Quod interrogasti* is almost as thin; Hrabanus Maurus uses the passage too loosely to provide any basis for comparison, while Claudius of Turin provides only two variants of interest:

9 <Domini>] **NVCEP₂ Claud. h dominus B₁B₂P₁**

15 infida] **P₁ N^{a.c.} h infima N^{p.c.}VCEP₂ multa B₁B₂ foeda Claud.**

⁶⁹ Gorman, “Bede’s *VIII Quaestiones*” (n. 1 above), 49 n. 56.

The “Domini” variant in line 9 is another instance of agreement with **N**, but here it is less significant. The genitive is clearly demanded by the context (*“quia ueraciter Sc̄ul, qui post unctionem sancti chris̄matis . . . christus Domini uocatus est”*), and even if Claudius’s text of the *Quod interrogasti* had the nominative he might well have corrected it. The variant *foeda* in line 15 is more important, for it seems to fit better than the manuscript readings. It may, of course, be Claudius’s emendation or even his editor’s; without a modern edition of Claudius’s commentary the issue cannot be resolved.

The indirect tradition of the *Congregauit autem* is a special case. Two authors, Claudius of Turin and Hrabanus Maurus, demonstrate direct knowledge of this text in their commentaries on Kings.⁷⁰ In several places, both authors follow **N**; in others, Hrabanus departs from Claudius to agree with **B**₁ and **B**₂:

Agreement of Hrabanus and Claudius with N:

- 6 sed] *exp.* **N om.** **VCEP**₂ **Claud.**
Hrab.
63 ciuitate] ciuitatem **NVCEP**₂ **h**
Claud. Hrab.
90 <aqua>] **B**₁^{p.c.} **N**^{p.c.} **VCE** **h** **Claud**
Hrab. (a quo **N**^{a.c.} **B**₁^{a.c.} **B**₂ **P**₁)
103 uidelicet] scilicet **NVCE** **h**
Claud. Hrab.

*Agreement of Hrabanus with B*₁ *and B*₂:

- 9 accessit] accesserit **B**₁**B**₂ **h** **Hrab.**
17 haec enucleatius] haec pateant
enucleatius **B**₁**B**₂ haec enucleatius
pateant **Hrab.**
26 transcendes] **NVCEP**₂**P**₁**Claud.**
transcendis **B**₁**B**₂**Hrab.**
88 Christum] tantum *add.* **B**₁**B**₂
Hrab.

Some of the similarities with **N** may have arisen independently. The ablative *ciuitate* in line 63 is ungrammatical, as it is the object of the preposition *in* describing motion towards. **N**, Claudius, and Hrabanus may simply be converging through correction. Similarly, the variant “a quo” in line 90 makes no sense. At this point the *Congregauit autem* is dependent upon the *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* of Jerome, and a diligent corrector could have supplied the reading “aqua.” This leaves only *scilicet* in line 103 and the omission of *sed* in line 6. Some of the readings in the right column provide stronger evidence of relationship. Particularly important is the addition of the verb *pateant* in line 17. Though the passage seems to require

⁷⁰ The Hrabanus borrowing, we will see, is very important. To control for the unreliability of the only edition, I have compared the text in PL with Sankt-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 284, a tenth-century manuscript of the first two books of Hrabanus’s commentary. Images of this manuscript are available online through the Codices Electronici Sangallenses project, at <http://www.cesg.unifr.ch>. There is no significant variation between the text in PL and Ms. 284.

a verb, it is inconceivable that both Hrabanus and the common ancestor of **B**₁ and **B**₂ should have independently selected *pateant*. The addition of *tantum* in line 88 also suggests a relationship between Hrabanus and **B**₁ and **B**₂. Probably **B**₁ and **B**₂ descend from a manuscript that was collated against a copy of Hrabanus's commentary.

Another aspect of the indirect tradition of the *Congregauit autem* is worth considering. Hrabanus's commentary, as we have seen, cites the *Congregauit autem* in its entirety, and the text of this citation is very close to the text transmitted by our manuscripts.⁷¹ This necessarily opens the question of priority: do our manuscripts represent Hrabanus's source for the *Congregauit autem*? Or do they in fact derive from the quotation in Hrabanus's commentary, and is Hrabanus himself dependent for the *Congregauit autem* upon a lost or unknown source? We have already seen how Smaragdus's citation of the *A Iudeis* was extracted from the *Liber comitis* and copied into a florilegium, perhaps because source marks ascribed the passage to Bede. Source marks in manuscripts of Hrabanus likewise tie the *Congregauit autem* to Bede. As in the case of the *A Iudeis*, these marks may have encouraged its eventual extraction for separate circulation.

There is evidence in the opening citation of 2 Sam. 6:1: "Congregauit autem rursum Daud omnes electos ex Israhel .xxx. milia, et cetera." No direct explanation follows this lemma, and it seems superfluous. The *Congregauit autem* goes on to ignore the quoted words, and to discuss the sixth chapter of 2 Samuel in a general manner. The clauses that immediately follow the citation imply that the reader has yet to be introduced to the subject of discussion, though the verse stands just above. "In the history of the blessed king and prophet David," the first line reads, "where we are told that the ark of God was recovered, we are taught that humility is commended, pride condemned, and rashness avenged." Discussion continues in this vein for more than ten lines. The focus only tightens after line 17 in our edition, at which point the author invites us to consider the biblical account

⁷¹ Though three ninth-century commentaries (including that of Hrabanus) are known to use the *Congregauit autem*, Hrabanus's is by far the closest to our manuscript text. The commentary of Claudius has a different arrangement of the opening lines of the *Congregauit autem* and lacks a passage found both in our manuscripts and in Hrabanus's commentary. The commentary of Angelomus, which is heavily dependent upon Hrabanus, also departs from both our manuscript text and Hrabanus in several places. The most significant Angelomus variant occurs for the text in lines 90–91 of our edition, in a passage which says that *Michol*, "quae, ob figurandam instabilitatem carnalium, *aqua omnis* interpretatur, non uxor Daud sed filia Saul appellatur." The translation is from Jerome, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, 1 Reg. (ed. P. Antin, CCL 72 [Turnhout, 1959], 104). In Angelomus the name of Michol is not translated; instead, the text reads that Michol, "ob figurandam instabilitatem carnalium, a qua omnis uiri iniquitas procedit, prae-ter morem non uxor Daud sed filia Saul appellatur . . ." (PL 115:350D).

more closely: “But let us examine these matters verse by verse, that they might be clearer.” He proceeds to cite 2 Sam. 6:1 again, in smaller pieces, each of them accompanied by closer discussion. This repeated citation emphasizes the superfluity of the initial quote. If we take it away, we find that the *Congregauit autem* begins to resemble a short sermon, with some general introductory statements followed by more specific argument.

The superfluous lemma appears to be a textual remnant from Hrabanus’s Kings commentary. In the course of this commentary Hrabanus cites the *Congregauit autem* beneath a full quote of 2 Sam. 6:1. Here, however, the quotation has an obvious function. Hrabanus’s commentary discusses Kings in the conventional fashion, by citing individual verses from Kings and following each verse with specific exegesis. From the perspective of Hrabanus, the general comments at the beginning of the *Congregauit autem*, if they had been incorporated without a citation of 2 Sam. 6:1, would have broken the verse-by-verse format of his exposition. The lemma at the head of the *Congregauit autem* thus helps maintain the superficial uniformity in Hrabanus’s commentary.⁷² Some later reader probably decided to extract the *Congregauit autem* and copy it separately, mistaking the citation of 2 Sam. 6:1 for part of the text.

AUTHORSHIP

None of our eight texts is mentioned by Bede in the list of his works that concludes his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.⁷³ Though this silence does not disprove his authorship, it leaves the question open, for the manuscript attributions are open to doubt. Though these manuscript attributions are unanimous, it is well known that a large body of pseudonymous material circulated under Bede’s name in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the manuscript tradition of our texts is, for a work of Bede, rather late.⁷⁴

⁷² Claudius of Turin may also have responded to the problem of making the *Congregauit autem* conform to the format of his commentary. This would explain why his excerpt appears to rework the opening passage of the *Congregauit autem*, as we have it in our manuscripts and Hrabanus’s. Alternatively, it is possible that he simply knew a different version of the *Congregauit autem*, or that he and Hrabanus knew the same text, but Hrabanus, and not Claudius, modified it in citation. This is discussed below.

⁷³ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.24, ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae: Opera Historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), 1:357–60.

⁷⁴ A look at Laistner and King, *Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (n. 8 above), shows that almost every certainly genuine work of Bede is represented by a manuscript tradition stretching back to the ninth or tenth century. The only exceptions are a few of Bede’s letters (cf. Laistner and King, *Hand-List*, 20). The transmission of Bede’s hymns has also been tenuous, as Laistner notes (*Hand-List*, 122–23).

In his study, Gorman uncovers some interesting verbal and thematic parallels among passages from the *Quodam interrogasti*, the *Interim quaesisti*, and Bede's certainly genuine work. On the basis of these, he argues that Bede was responsible for all eight texts of the *De octo quaestionibus*.⁷⁵ While I agree that the parallel passages are significant, I am hesitant to accept the authenticity of all eight pieces on their evidence. In the first place, while common authorship would certainly explain these parallels, they might also indicate the dependence of a later author upon Bede's writings. In the second place, the evidence about the origins of the *Q* recension means that we can no longer treat the *De octo quaestionibus* as a unity; to demonstrate the authenticity of several pieces is not to demonstrate the authenticity of the entire collection.

Lehmann advanced three arguments in favor of Bedan authorship of at least some of our texts.⁷⁶ These are (1) that Carolingian authors recognized Bede as the author of some of the questions; (2) that two of the texts mention Anglo-Saxon bishops of the seventh and eighth centuries, and another text speaks of a Saxon; and (3) that the contents and form of the "Questions," or at least of some of the questions, accord with features of some authentic Bedan pieces. Lehmann expanded upon this last point by noting that Bede in his *opera* betrays a special interest in illustrated manuscripts, and two of our eight texts discuss images. He also pointed out that some of the texts are similar in form to Bede's *XXX Quaestiones* on Kings.

Lehmann's arguments support primarily the authenticity of the first four *Solutiones* — the *A Iudeis*, *Nocte et die*, *Michi uindictam*, and *Vnusquisque*. In these texts we find references to the illuminated manuscript of Paul's epistles, and a format similar to that of Bede's *XXX Quaestiones*. Also in these texts are references to bishop Cuthwin of Dunwich and to the archbishop Theodore of Canterbury. The reference to Cuthwin is particularly significant, because it all but proves the case for insular authorship of the first four *Solutiones*. A continental author probably would not have known of Cuthwin, whose name occurs in few sources, and nowhere in Bede's certainly authentic writings.⁷⁷ Medieval authors also thought that at least some of the first four *Solutiones* were Bede's. Smaragdus's *Liber comitis* contains a source mark that ascribes his excerpt from the *A Iudeis* to Bede, and Haimo of Auxerre attributes the anecdote from the *A Iudeis* about Cuthwin's illus-

⁷⁵ Gorman, "Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*," 46.

⁷⁶ Lehmann, "Wert und Echtheit," 16.

⁷⁷ Cuthwin's dates are only known from references in a few sources; cf. Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1949), 133 n. 1, where it is shown that he likely held office sometime between 716 and 731 — that is, within Bede's lifetime.

trated manuscript directly to Bede.⁷⁸ Add to these the twelfth-century manuscript attributions, and the case for Bedan authorship of the first four *Solutiones* is formidable.

The evidence for the authenticity of the other four texts is weaker. The *Putant quidam* and the *Congregauit autem* were both used by ninth-century authors, and so we may be sure that both are at least that old. The *Putant quidam* lacks any internal indications of Bedan authorship, but again a source mark in Smaragdus's *Liber comitis* ascribes the work to Bede; here the evidence seems to favor authenticity. Source marks in manuscripts of Hrabanus also attach the *Congregauit autem* to Bede. We have seen that the manuscript text of the *Congregauit autem* may actually derive from Hrabanus's commentary; in other words, there is a good chance that it survives only indirectly, through the citations in Hrabanus Maurus and Claudius of Turin. Because Hrabanus and Claudius wrote independently of each other, their common use of the *Congregauit autem* confirms that the text existed independently of either author in the ninth century, in substantially the same form as it survives today.⁷⁹ Yet the two authors' citations do not exactly correspond. Part of the introductory disquisition of the *Congregauit autem* (lines 8–17, "Vbi intueri — uideamus") does not appear in Claudius at all, and the clauses preceding this passage in Claudius are split up and placed later on in his commentary.⁸⁰ If our manuscript copies of the *Congregauit autem* derive from Hrabanus and do not represent the source used by both authors, we cannot be certain whether Hrabanus's citation or Claudius's more faithfully represents the underlying source.⁸¹ While the *Congregauit autem* transmitted by our manuscripts may very well be Bede's, some part of its form and one passage could stem from Hrabanus Maurus.

⁷⁸ See PL 117:655: "Refert autem beatus Beda librum delatum esse a Roma per Chidonium orientalium angelorum [sic] antistitem."

⁷⁹ On the relationship between the commentaries of Claudius of Turin and Hrabanus Maurus on Kings, see J. B. Hablitzel, "Hrabanus Maurus und Klaudius von Turin," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft* 27 (1906): 74–85 and 38 (1917): 538–52.

⁸⁰ Lines 2–7 ("In historia — paenas luit") are placed directly at the end of the *Congregauit autem*, as a sort of summing up (PL 104:697A). The following sentence, at lines 7–8 ("Sacerdos quoque — purgauit") occurs still later, after more than a column of other material (PL 104:698B).

⁸¹ But see Hrabanus's letter to Hilduin, cited above, where Hrabanus is explicit that he only sourced passages to other authors that he did not significantly alter. Paraphrases and similar alterations he sourced to himself, with the marginal letter *M*. This is some reason to think that Hrabanus's excerpt closely reflects the text that he had access to. I have already mentioned the difficulties of incorporating the *Congregauit autem* in a verse-by-verse commentary on Kings; the alternate form of the introductory passages that we find in Claudius may well be his own efforts to incorporate the text, as I suggested above.

We must remain agnostic about the authenticity of the *Quod interrogasti* and the *Interim quaesisti*. Our manuscripts alone claim these two pieces for Bede. Claudius of Turin uses the *Quod interrogasti* in his commentary on Kings, but provides no information about its authorship. The *Interim quaesisti*, meanwhile, lacks any indirect tradition, and even its manuscript attributions are problematic. Though our manuscripts include it among the *Solutiones*, we have already seen that it is likely a later addition to this collection. The *S*-recension rubric ascribes only the “*Solutiones . . . de uerbis Apostoli*” to Bede, and ignores the *Interim quaesisti*, which addresses a verse not from the Pauline epistles but from Psalms. The only reason to suspect that the *Interim quaesisti* significantly antedates our manuscripts is the evidence, discussed above, that it comes from the same source as the *Quod interrogasti*. To the extent that this evidence is reliable, we can do little more than date both texts to the period before 824, when Claudius of Turin used the *Quod interrogasti* in his Kings commentary.

As noted earlier, the *Quod interrogasti* and the *Interim quaesisti* have passages that echo portions of two of Bede’s commentaries. The *Quod interrogasti* discusses the example of a *Saxo*, whose skin color is contrasted with that of an *Ethiops*. Gorman has shown that this discussion is very similar to a passage from Bede’s commentary on 1 Samuel.⁸² He also notes that the *Interim quaesisti* contains parallels to a passage from Bede’s commentary on

⁸² Gorman, “Bede’s *VIII Quaestiones*” (n. 1 above), 46. The passage is from Bede, *In Samuelem* 2.10, ed. Hurst, CCL 119 (Turnhout, 1962), 93, lines 1040–49. I follow Gorman and place the passages in parallel columns for comparison:

Quod interrogasti lines 38–45:

Sicut ergo in paginis librorum
 quouis colore et mala possumus
 et bona absque ulla
 reprehensione figurare, ita etiam
 in parte significationum per
 quaelibet hominum gesta et
 bona rectissime et mala possunt
 exprimi, quamuis et multo
 saepius contingat et multo
 dulcius audiatur bona per bona
 et mala figurari per mala; sicut
 autem in pictura parietum neque
 obscurum Ethiopem candido
 neque candidi corporis siue
 capilli Saxonem atro decet
 colore depingi, ita in
 <distributione> meritorum iuxta
 suum quisque opus recipiet.

Bede:

Et per bonos ergo bona et per
 malos mala et per malos bona et
 per bonos mala libere pro locis
 et temporibus figurantur nec
 tamen in praemiorum receptione
 boni nisi bona nec mali nisi sola
 quae gessere secum sua mala
 referunt, quo modo unis licet
 eisdemque coloribus scripti
 niger Aethiops et Saxo candidus
 cuius sit quisque coloris
 indigena possunt facile statim et
 sine ulla controuersia discerni,
 at aliter in pictura ubi nisi sui
 quisque coloris sicut et habitus
 deformetur mendacii prorsus
 impudentis tabula quae
 imagines promisit arguitur.

Proverbs.⁸³ In both cases, the parallels are loose on a verbal level. They might suggest a common author who has formulated the same argument twice, each time in somewhat different words.⁸⁴ Or they could represent the dependence of a later writer, who had either internalized Bede's thought, or who simply preferred to reformulate Bede's arguments rather than borrow them directly. Their bearing on the question of authenticity is thus unclear.

The texts are clearly related, but I see no way of determining whether one is derived from the other, or whether both were composed by the same author.

⁸³ Gorman, "Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*," 45. The parallel passage is from Bede, *In Proverbia Salomonis* 3.30, ed. D. Hurst, CCL 119B, 142, lines 49–57. Again, I follow Gorman and give the texts alongside each other:

Interim quaesisti, lines 17–24:

Ignitum ergo "igne examinatum" siue "igne purgatum" intellige. Ex uno ergo Graeco quod est "pepyromenon," utrumque Latine et ignitum et igne examinatum pro interpretum uoluntate translatum est. Nam et ubi dictum est, *Eloquia Domini igne examinata*, in Graeco unus sermo positus est, "pepyromena." Ex quo etiam uerbo diriuatum est, *Ignem nos examinasti*, quod quidam dixere, "Ignisti nos." Ignitum autem siue igne examinatum est omnis sermo Dei, quia per illuminationem Sancti Spiritus sincera ac firma est ueritate subnixus.

Bede

Verum sollertius intuendum quia proprietatem Graeci sermonis quod est πεπυρωμένον Latina translatio uno uerbo non explicat. Vnde aliquando ignitum aliquando igne examinatum transfertur ut: *Ignitum eloquium tuum uehementer*, et: *Argentum igne examinatum*; quod utrumque in Graeco uno uerbo dicitur, πεπυρωμένον, et quod huic Salomonis sententiae simillimum sonat, *Eloquia domini igne examinata*, id est πεπυρωμένα, *protector est omnium sperantium* in se. Πεπυρωμένον ergo significat quod tamquam conflatum igne purgatum sit.

The underlying source of the Greek citation in both passages is Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super Psalmos*, in Ps. 118, ed. J. Doignon, CCL 61A, 173, lines 4–7. The *Interim quaesisti* and Bede's commentary both emphasize the two possible Latin translations of the single Greek word πεπυρωμένον, whereas Hilary does not, so the parallels cannot be explained by the common source alone. While Bede's commentary borrows only the Greek citation, the *Interim quaesisti* contains further borrowings from Hilary. This explains a second set of apparently parallel passages noted Foley and Holder (*A Biblical Miscellany* [n. 10 above], 159 n. 1). These occur between Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum*, ed. Hurst, CCL 119B:286, lines 604–6; and *Interim quaesisti* lines 9–11. In this case both passages are simply derived from Hilary's commentary, and there are no signs of independent relationship.

⁸⁴ In this respect, they are similar to the parallel passages known in a few of Bede's genuine works. See Meyvaert ("The Date of Bede's *Thirty Questions*" [n. 15 above], 270–73) for a discussion of parallel passages from Bede's *XXX Quaestiones* and his commentary on 1 Kings (*In Samuhelem*).

CONCLUSION AND EDITION

Of the eight texts studied here, the first four *Solutiones* are most likely to be Bede's. The title may well be a later addition, inspired by Bede's wording in the prefatory letter to the *XXX Quaestiones*. Yet the four pieces under this title form a small treatise, with some formal resemblance to Bede's *XXX Quaestiones* on Kings. It is striking that, despite its brevity, this work should be so full of interesting references: to a manuscript illumination, to Theodore of Canterbury, and to Cuthwin of Dunwich. Such references would likely have interested medieval readers as much as they have modern scholars, and the density of their occurrence may suggest that the *Solutiones* is actually a series of four extracts, selected for their intriguing subject matter from a longer treatise.

Whether the *Putant quidam*, the *Quod interrogasti*, the *Interim quaesisti*, and the *Congregauit autem* were brought into the orbit of Bede's *XXX Quaestiones* at the same time as the first four *Solutiones*, or whether they are later arrivals, is as unclear as their authenticity. The *Interim quaesisti* and the *Quod interrogasti*, if they belong together and may be ascribed to Bede, would amount to one of only a few epistles known outside of the "book of letters to various people" mentioned at the end of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.⁸⁵ If the *Congregauit autem* can be ascribed to Bede, and if it may be called a sermon, then it is a rare piece: beyond the collection of fifty homilies identified by Germain Morin, no other genuine Bedan sermons are known.⁸⁶ The *Putant quidam* is of similar significance. The manuscripts call this text a sermon for the feast of the Epiphany. Though this rubric is more likely to reflect later use than original purpose, the suggestion of another sermon outside the standard collection of homilies is important.

In Appendix 2, I edit the first four *Solutiones*, along with the *Interim quaesisti*, the *Putant quidam*, the *Quod interrogasti*, and the *Congregauit autem*. While I have argued that the *Quod interrogasti* and the *Interim quaesisti* belong together, I do not think the evidence strong enough to intervene against the manuscripts and join them. I thus print both as separate pieces. For the four *Solutiones* and the *Interim quaesisti*, I follow the orthography of **D**, a relatively early and independent copy of these texts. The orthography of the other three texts comes from **N**. Though **N** transmits our eight texts only in the later form of the *De octo quaestionibus*, it is nevertheless among

⁸⁵ "Item librum epistularum ad diuersos: quarum de sex aetatibus saeculi una est; de mansionibus filiorum Israel una; una de eo, quod ait Isaias: 'Et claudentur ibi in carcerem, et post dies multos uisitabantur'; de ratione bissexiti una; de aequinoctio iuxta Anatolium una" (Bede, *Historiam Ecclesiasticam* 5.24 [ed. Plummer, 358–59]).

⁸⁶ G. Morin, "Le recueil primitif des homélies de Bede sur l'Évangile," *Revue Bénédictine* 9 (1892): 316–26. This homily collection is edited by D. Hurst, CCL 122 (Turnhout, 1955).

our earliest manuscripts, and its variants have some important affinities with the indirect tradition of the ninth century. The apparatus criticus includes most of the variants gleaned from a complete collation of the manuscripts, along with many variants from the indirect tradition. Readings from Smaragdus and the florilegium derived from his work (Ms. lat. 12949) have been excluded, because Smaragdus's use of our texts is too loose to provide reliable variants. Though I have discussed a few variants from Haimo of Auxerre's commentaries on Paul, I exclude these from the apparatus as well, because Haimo's usage is also too loose to provide any consistent information about the text he used.

For the *apparatus fontium*, I rely principally and thankfully upon the work of Gorman, Foley, and Holder.⁸⁷ I make only minor adjustments to their accounts of the sources and biblical citations. I also supply the edition with a few notes, intended only to provide basic guidance. A fuller commentary on the text, along with many citations to the secondary literature, can be found in the notes that Foley and Holder attach to their translation.

New Haven, Connecticut

APPENDIX 1: THE BREVIS EXPLANATIO ON THE TEMPLE

N and its four descendants (**V**, **C**, **E** and **P₂**) bear a text described by a common rubric as a "brief explanation on the temple of Solomon, extracted from the homilies of the venerable priest Bede." The work occupies about four folios in every manuscript. Because this text may constitute another example of "treatise building" by the monks of Saint Martin's at Tournai, it is relevant for our study and worth a short description.¹ As the rubric tells us, the text is extracted from two of Bede's homilies, namely 2.24 ("In dedicatione ecclesiae," on John 10:22–30) and 2.25 (also "in dedicatione ecclesiae," on Luke

⁸⁷ Gorman, "Bede's *VIII Quaestiones*," 52–74 (biblical citations only); and Foley and Holder, *A Biblical Miscellany*, 149–65 (biblical citations and source references).

¹ M. L. W. Laistner, who knew this text only from catalogue descriptions of three of our manuscripts (**V**, **E**, **P₂**), wondered whether it might be "the long passage at the end of one of Bede's Lenten sermons" and suggested that it might also exist in Hereford, Chapter Library Ms. O.9.VII, fol. 76r (*A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* [Ithaca, 1943], 78 with n. 35). The new catalogue description of this manuscript, R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993), 62, gives an *explicit* for this text that instead suggests it comes from Bede's *In Ezram et Nehemiam*. Certainly it is not the *Breuis explanatio* discussed here. I have been able to find no other manuscripts of this treatise besides **N**, **V**, **C**, **E** and **P₂**.

6:43–8). The compiler of this text extracted only passages relating to the temple of Solomon and left behind all direct exegesis of the pericopes and addresses to the audience. He arranged the extracts under ten chapter headings, creating a summary discussion of Solomon's temple.

The ten chapter headings, along with the corresponding extracts, are as follows. Citations are to the edition of D. Hurst, CCL 122 (Turnhout, 1955).

I. De constructione templi (*in chapter table*); Quod edificatio tabernaculi et templi sanctam ecclesiam designet (*in text*):

2.25, 368–69, lines 16–50 (“quando Moyses . . . gaudens accucurrit”); and 370, lines 208–10 (de aedificatione . . . conueniat indagare”)

II. De quali lapide sit factum

2.25, 373–74, lines 210–41 (“Narrat ergo . . . inter filias.”)

III. De mensura templi

2.25, 374–75, lines 241–79 (“Habebat uero . . . immortalitate gaudebunt.”)

III. De oraculo et exteriori domo

2.25, 375–76, lines 279–321 (“Factus est . . . amplitudine perficitur.”)

V. De porticu ante templum

2. 25, 376–77, lines 321–30 (“Erat et . . . corda inlustrari.”)

VI. De duabus columpnis in porticu

2.25, 377, lines 331–58 (“Vnde bene . . . habitationis erigeret.”)

VII. De trina edificatione templi

2.24, 363–64, lines 181–231 (“Prima siquidem . . . ratione discutienda.”)

VIII. Quid significant tres dedicationes

2.24, 364–65, lines 231–75 (“Salomon quippe . . . ad uitam.”)

IX. Quod Salomone templum dedicante ignis de celo descendit

2.24, 365–66, lines 275–312 (“Nec sine . . . amare delectantur.”)

X. Quod completa dedicatione Salomon dimisit populum

2.24, 366–67, lines 312–51 (“Sed et . . . saeculorum. Amen.”)

APPENDIX 2: EDITION

Conspectus Siglorum

- B₁** Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek Ms. 22
B₂ Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek Ms. 34
P₁ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. lat. 70
D Douai, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 330
- N** New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Ms. 1075
V Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 27
C Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 364
E Épernay, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 19
P₂ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. lat. 2165
- h** Herwagen, *Aliquot quaestionum liber* (PL 93:455–62)

Claud.: Claudius Taurinensis, *In epistolas Pauli* (ex Paris. Bibl. nat. 12289, fols. 66, 70, 189); *XXX Quaest. super libros Regum* (PL 104:688–89, 694–97)

Hrab.: Hrabanus Maurus, *In libros regum* (PL 109:83–86)

- a.c.* — ante correctionem
add. — addidit
a.m. — alia manu
cell. — consensus ceterorum
codd. — consensus codicum
emend. — emendavit
in marg. — in margine
om. — omisit
p.c. — post correctionem
praem. — praemisit
sup.l. — super lineam
trans. — transposuit

Editions cited:

Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143 (Turnhout, 1979).

Hieronymus, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, ed P. Antin, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, 1959).

Hilarius Pictavensis, *Tractatus super Psalmos: In Psalmum CXVIII*, ed. J. Doignon, CCSL 61A (Turnhout, 2002).

Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911).

I. *A IUDEIS, NOCTE ET DIE, MICH I VINDICTAM, AND VNVSQVISQVE*
(GORMAN, *QVAESTIONES* 2–5)

Solutiones <Bedae> de Verbis Apostoli

1. Quod dicit apostolus, *A Iudeis quinquies quadragenas una minus accepi*, significat se ab eis quinquies flagellatum, ita tamen ut numquam uicibus quadraginta, sed semper una minus, tricies et nouies, feriretur. Praeceptum namque erat legis ut cum delinquentem iudices uerberarent, ita modum uindictae temperarent, ut plagarum modus quadragenarium numerum minime transcenderet — *Ne fede*, inquit, *laceratus coram te frater tuus iaceat*. Quod ita intelligendum, ita ab antiquis intellectum, testatur etiam pictura eiusdem libri, quam reuerentissimus ac doctissimus Cuduin orientalium Anglorum antistes¹ ueniens a Roma secum in Britanniam detulit, in quo uidelicet libro omnes paene ipsius apostoli passiones siue labores per loca oportuna erant depicta. Vbi hic locus ita depictus est, quasi denudatus iaceret apostolus laceratus flagris lacrimis perfusus. Superastaret autem ei tortor quadrifidum habens flagellum in manu, sed unam e fidibus in manu sua tentam, tres uero reliquas solum ad feriendum habens exertas. Vbi pictoris sensus facillime patet, quod ideo ternis fidibus eum fecit uerberari, ut undequadragenarium plagarum numerum conpleret. Si enim quaternis fidibus percuteret decies percutiens, quadraginta plagas faceret; si uero ternis tredecies feriens, undequadraginta plagas impleret. Itaque licebat quidem Iudeis

1 2 Cor. 11:24 7 Deut. 25:3

B₁ B₂ P₁ D NVCEP₂ h, cum **Claud.** (lineae 4–7, “Praeceptum — iaceat” et 30–97, “Verum — reduci”)

1 Solutiones — Apostoli] Solutiones eiusdem de uerbis apostoli **B₁B₂** Item solutiones eiusdem de uerbis apostoli **P₁** Item eiusdem solutiones de quibusdam questionibus epistolarum beati pauli apostoli **D** (Incipit ad eundem de octo subiectis questionibus **NVCEP₂** Incipit de octo super nouum testamentum **E**, Aliquot quaestionum liber **h**) 2 Quod] II *praem.* **NVEP₂** Quaestio II De eo quod dicit Apostolus: A Iudaeis quinquies quadragenas una minus accepi *praem.* **h** 4 una] unam **B₂** 5 cum] qui **N^{a.c.}** quem **Claud.** uerberarent] uerberabant **Claud.** 7 frater — iaceat] iaceat frater tuus **Claud.** 7–8 ita ab antiquis] ab antiquis ita **h** 9 Cuduin] Cudum **h** antistes] *om.* **C** 10 in] *om.* **NVCEP₂ h** 11 depicta] depictae *emend.* Gorman Vbi] ita **h** 16 uerberari] uerberare **h** undequadragenarium plagarum] inde plagarum quadragenarium **h** undequadragenarium] inde quadragenarium **E B₁^{a.c.}** plagarum numerum] *trans.* **B₁^{a.c.}** plagarum] *om.* **C** 17 quadraginta] sexaginta **h** 18 feriens] feriret **h** undequadraginta] unam de quadraginta **C** licebat] dicebat **C^{a.c.}**

¹ Cuthwin was bishop of Dunwich sometime between 716 and 731. On his dates see Levinson, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1949), 133 n. 1. His mention here provides the only means of dating the four *Solutiones*.

- quadragies peccantem percutere, sed illi quasi aliquid donantes de suo ac misericordiam praestantes, undequadragies percutiebant apostolum. Quod autem ait idem apostolus genere feminino quadragenas se accepisse, plagas utique significat, quas quinque uicibus una minus a quadragenis perpessus est, pro quo uerbo simpliciter in Graeco dictum est “tesseraconta para mian,” id est “quadraginta praeter unam.”²
- 25 2. Quod ait idem apostolus, *Nocte et die in profundo maris fui*, quosdam audiui astruentes quod beatae memoriae Theodorus,³ doctissimus uir et archiepiscopus quondam gentis Anglorum, ita exposuerit: quia fuerit in Cizico⁴ quaedam fouea nimis alta ad tormentum noxiorum parata, quae ob altitudinem immensam profundum maris soleret appellari, cuius caenum et obscuritatem
- 30 Paulus inter alia innumera sustinuerit pro Christo. Verum si uenerabilia patrum scripta replicemus, patet profecto quia nichil in his uerbis aliud quam hoc quod sonat intelligere solebant: id est quod apostolus casu aliquo deueniens in profundum maris, ac die simul et nocte fluctibus circumseptus, post haec ad aerem liberum terramque redierit. Vnde et inter miracula
- 35 diuina asscribunt quod homo tanto tempore sub undis retentus, neque a circumpositis praefocari aquis, neque a beluis maris deorari potuerit. Denique non amplius Petrum super undas ambulantem nec demersum, quam Paulum

25 2 Cor. 11:25

19 quasi] soli **h** donantes — suo] de suo donantes **B₂** 20 percutiebant apostolum] *trans.* **h** 20–21 ait idem] *trans.* **C** quadragenas — plagas] quadragenas plagas se accepisse **h** 22 a] *om.* **h** est] *om.* **h** 25 Quod] *II praem.* **B₁ B₂ III praem.** **NVEP₂** Quaestio III De eo quod ibidem dicit Apostolus: Nocte et die in profundo maris fui *praem.* **h** et] ac **B₁** 26 et] *om.* **h** 27 Cizico] Zizico **h** 28 tormentum] tormenta **h** 30 uenerabilia] uenerabilium **P₁** 32 solebant] debemus **Claud.** quod²] quo **N^{a.c.}** quoniam **N^{p.c.}** **VCEP₂ h Claud.** casu aliquo] *trans.* **D** 33 ac] *om.* **Claud.** 34 aerem liberum terramque] terram liberumque **Claud.** aerem] aera **NVCEP₂ h om. D** terramque] Deo gubernante *add.* **NVCEP₂ Claud. h** 36 maris] marinis **B₂ P₁** 37 undas] aquas **B₁B₂**

² Here I follow the unanimous orthography of the manuscripts and print the Greek, τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν, in Latin letters. While Bede is known to have used a manuscript with dual Greek and Latin texts of the Acts of the Apostles for his *Retractatio* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Greek Ms. 35), he is not known to have had access to other books of the New Testament in Greek. It is worth considering whether this Greek citation, which does not appear to have any patristic antecedent, comes from Cuthwin’s illustrated manuscript.

³ Theodore of Canterbury, originally from Tarsus, was archbishop of Canterbury from 669–90. On this reference and the teaching here associated with him, see Lapidge and Bischoff, eds., *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994), 41–42 and 160 n. 116.

⁴ Czycicus, today known as Erdek, is a city on the coast of the Sea of Marmara. See Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 41.

sub undis retentum nec necatum praedicant esse mirandum; quod si in
 utriusque apostoli tam dispari miraculo mysticum aliquid intelligere uolumus,
 40 in promptu est quod Paulus non solum tercio naufragus, sed etiam nocte
 ac die in profundo maris positus atque ubique protectus et liberatus a
 Domino, significet iustos de omnibus periculis eruendos a Domino — nec
 tantum de temptationibus extrinsecus ingruentibus saluandos, uerum et si
 45 mortis ipsius uideantur gurgite depressi atque ab humanis rebus absconditi,
 nichilominus uirtute sui conditoris eos esse reuocandos ad uitam. Petrus
 porro super undas uento commotas liberis passibus incedens, sed ubi ob
 timorem mergi caepit, dextera Christi erectus significat eosdem electos
 omnia impiorum temptamenta ac persecutiones diabolico instinctu sibi illas
 fide inuicta superare et quasi pro <nichilo> contempnere, nec posse
 50 omnino saeculi fluctibus immergi, qui praesens semper auctoris sui complectuntur
 auxilium, qui si aliquando ut homines titubare caeperint, mox eripiantur
 ab eo, quem sine intermissione solent inuocare dicentes, *Et ne nos
 inducas in temptationem sed libera nos a malo.*

3. Quod dicit apostolus, *Michi uindictam et ego retribuam dicit Dominus*, hunc
 55 habet sensum: Quid opus est uos ipsos uestras ultum ire iniurias, qui nec corda
 hominum nosse nec agnita eorum scelera tranquillo ualetis animo iudicare? Quin
 potius quod in uos peccatur, quasi fratribus et proximis ex corde remittite, ut et
 uobis Deus uestra peccata remittat, scientes quia si corrigi uoluerint eos socios
 bonorum habebitis. Sin alias rectius diuino iudicio, quod errare non potest sicut
 60 nec irasci potest, quam uestro dampnabuntur; *Michi enim inquit uindictam reseruate,
 et ego retribuam.* Et quia non solum mala improborum patienter sustinere,
 sed et bona illis nostra libenter impendere debemus, quibus superati ad amorem
 nostrum redeant, et uirtutem mansuetudinis ac patientiae nostrae admirantes
 etiam imitari incipiant, relictisque uiciis ad uirtutum opera conuertantur, admonendo
 65 subiungit, *Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum; si sitit, potum da illi; hoc*

52/53 Matt. 6:13 54 Rom. 12:19 65/66 Rom. 12:20

38 necatum] autem **Claud.** in] *om.* **h** 39 dispari] dispare **Claud.** 41 profundo] profundum **Claud.** ubique] ubicumque **C** 42 omnibus] cunctis **h** 43 tantum de] *add.* **D**^{sup.l.} 45–46 Petrus porro] **N**^{a.c.} **B**₁**B**₂**P**₁**D** **Claud.** porro petrus **N**^{p.c.} **VCEP**₂ **h** 46 commotas] commotus **Claud.** 48 diabolico instinctu] diabolicos instinctus **Claud.** 49 <nichilo>] nichili **NVCEP**₂ **B**₁**D**, nihil **Claud.** 49–50 posse omnino] *trans.* **h** 50–51 complectuntur] complentur **Claud.** 51 qui si] quasi **Claud.** ut] ad **Claud.** titubare] titubari **NVEP**₂ **Claud.** turbari **h** caeperint] coeperunt **h** 53 temptationem] temptatione **Claud.** 54 Quod] *III praem.* **NCP**₂ *III praem.* **E** Quaestio IV De eo quod idem dicit Apostolus: Mihi uindicta et ego retribuam dicit Dominus etc. *praem.* **h** uindictam] uindicta **h** 55 Quid] Quod **h** ultum] ultu **Claud.** 56 eorum] illorum **h** 57 potius] totius **Claud.** fratribus et proximis] proximis et fratribus **Claud.** 58 Deus uestra] *trans.* **NVCEP**₂ **D** **Claud.** **h** 59 alias] aliter **Claud.** 59–60 sicut — potest] *add.* **D**^{sup.l.} 60 uestro] uestra **Claud.** enim] *add.* **V**^{sup.l.} *om.* **h** inquit] *add.* **B**₁^{sup.l.} 62 illis nostra] *trans.* **B**₁ nostra — debemus] libenter impendere debemus nostra **P**₁^{a.c.} 63 uirtutem] uirtuti **V**^{a.c.} uirtute **V**^{p.c.} uirtutum **Claud.** 64–65 admonendo] recte monendas **Claud.**^{a.c.} recte ammonendas **Claud.**^{p.c.} 65 subiungit] subiunxit **B**₁**B**₂ **h** Si] sed *praem.* **Claud.**

enim faciens carbones ignis congeres super caput eius. Caput enim eius mentem eius dicit, quae in cunctis actibus siue cogitationibus nostris quasi arcem et praesidatum tenet. Carbones uero ignis flammam dilectionis appellat, de qua Dominus in euangelio Ignem inquit ueni mittere in terram; et quid uolo nisi ut ardeat?

70 Absit enim ut credamus apostolum uel Salomonem de cuius Prouerbiis hanc sententiam assumpsit hoc nos docere uoluisse — ut eo animo eaque intentione bona faciamus temporalia aduersariis nostris, ut ipsi in his ingrati persistentes maiora perpetuo tormentorum incendia patiantur. Sed hoc potius iubent, ut misericordiam facientes egentibus inimicis, emolliamus fomentis beneficiorum tumorem
75 ac duritiam mentis illorum, eosque ad redamandos nos in Domino excitare adhibito dilectionis igne studeamus.⁵

4. Quod ait apostolus, *Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet*, nonnulli ita dictum putant quasi diceret, “Sufficit unicuique ad iustitiam facere quae sibi optima uidentur,” quod nequaquam ita intelligendum est. Quid enim si hereticus est
80 putans se esse catholicum, si quis male conuersatur existimans rectam esse uiam ueritatis quam incedit? Numquid talis operatio uel fides sufficit illi ad opus iustitiae per quod ad salutem perueniat: maxime cum non dicat apostolus indicatiuo modo “abundat,” at imperatiuo, “unusquisque in suo sensu abundet.” Praecepit ergo ut si sublimiora sacramentorum diuinorum archana capere nequimus, in his
85 tamen quae ueraciter [credenda] confitenda intelligimus ac sentimus, humiliter ac deuote Domino seruiamus. Sic enim implebitur quod iussit, ut unusquisque in

69 Luc. 12:49 70/71 cf. Prou. 25:21–22 77 Rom 14:5

66 eius²] illius **h** 67 actibus] actionibus **B**₂ 67–68 praesidatum] principatum **Claud.**
68 qua] et *add.* **P**₁ 69 inquit ueni] *trans.* **VC** ut] *om.* **B**₂ 71 assumpsit] sumpsit **h**
intentione] sententia **C** 72 temporalia] *om.* **h** 73 incendia patiantur] *trans.* **h** patiantur]
Non est enim hoc bene sed male facere his qui oderunt nos *add.* **Claud.** 74 emolliamus]
emolliamur **Claud.** 75 ac] et **P**₁ mentis] cordis **h** redamandos] reclamandos **VEP**₂ 77
Quod] *V praem.* **NVEP**₂ Quaestio V De illo eiusdem Apostoli: Unusquisque in suo sensu
abundet *praem.* **h** 78 putant] putent **V**^{a.c.} 79 est²] *om.* **P**₁ 80 esse catholicum] *trans.*
h 81 ueritatis] *add.* **B**₁^{sup.l.} uel fides] *om.* **h** 83 modo] mundo **C**^{a.c.} at] sed **B**₂
Claud. 85 credenda confitenda] *sic codd. cum Claud.*, credenda ac confitenda **h** 86 ut] *om.* **Claud.**

⁵ The verses discussed in this *solutio* (Rom. 12:19–20) also occur in Bede’s collection of excerpts from Augustine on the Pauline epistles (as first noted by Gorman, “Bede’s *VIII Quaestiones* and Carolingian Biblical Scholarship,” *Revue Bénédictine* 109 [1999]: 32–74, at 46). Bede’s unprinted Pauline collection uses an excerpt from Augustine’s *Enarrationes in Psalmos* to explicate Rom. 12:19 (Ps. 78, §14, CCL 39, 1107–8, lines 11–42), and an excerpt from the *De Doctrina Christiana* for Rom. 12:20 (3.15–16, CCL 32, 91–92, lines 3–6 and 1–18). While both this *solutio* and Bede’s two Augustinian excerpts provide broadly compatible interpretations of Rom. 12:19–20, I see no definite signs of a relationship between the two treatments.

suo sensu abundet, cum in eis quae a magnis doctoribus credenda uel agenda didicimus, abundanter bonis insistere operibus curamus, quatinus per executionem eorum quae nouimus, etiam ad cognitionem sublimiorum quae necdum nouimus, 90 mereamur attingere. Vnde bene subiungit, *Et si quid aliter sapitis, et hoc quoque uobis Deus reuelabit*:⁶ id est, si bona quae nostis per caritatem operamini, tribuet uobis diuina gratia ut si quid aliter quam decet sapitis, et hoc aliquando recte intelligatis. Sicut beato Cypriano⁷ contigisse perspicuum est, qui cum suis coepiscopis qui erant in Africa rebaptizandos esse hereticos contra morem sanctae 95 ecclesiae statuit. Sed quia in suo sensu qui sibi rectus uidebatur bonis abundare operibus studuit, mox corrigi meruit atque ad uniuersalem sanctae ecclesiae normam spiritalium uirorum institutione reduci.

II. PVTANT QUIDAM (GORMAN, QVAESTIO 1)

Sermo Bedae presbyteri de Epyphania Domini

Putant quidam magos, qui ad Dominum in carne natum ab oriente uenerunt eumque oblatis muneribus adorauerunt, nequaquam ipsos in eisdem muneribus misteria illa nobilissima quae nunc sancta ecclesia sublimiter intelligit intel-

90/91 Phil. 3:15

87 sensu] seu **C** abundet] abundit **C**^{a.c.} a] *add.* **N**^{sup.l.} magnis] magis **N**^{a.c.} 87–88 didicimus] didiscimus **P**₁, discimus **Claud.** bonis — operibus] bonis operibus insistere **h** 89 etiam — nouimus] *add.* **N**^{in marg.} cognitionem] agnitionem **h** necdum] ne dum **N**^{a.c.} 90 Et¹] *om.* **h** 91 uobis Deus] *trans.* **B**₁^{a.c.} 92 etiam] et **h** recte] *om.* **h** 94 rebaptizandos] et *add.* **P**₁ sanctae] *om.* **h** 95 rectus] esse *add.* **P**₁ 95–96 abundare operibus] *trans.* **B**₁ 97 spiritalium] spiritualium **NVCEP**₂

B₁**B**₂ **NVCEP**₂ **h**

1 Sermo — Domini] **N**^{a.c.} Sermo uenerabilis bede presbyteri de ephiphania domini **B**₁**B**₂ De epiphania **N**^{p.c.} Incipit liber **C** Incipit liber Cap. I **E** 2 Putant] I *praem.* **V** Cap. I *praem.* **E**

⁶ This verse is from Phil. 3:15, and in fact does not follow the verse from Rom. 14:5 (“Vnusquisque in suo sensu abundet”). A marginal note in **D** (fol. 69r) notifies medieval readers of this discrepancy: “Sententia apostoli quam hic Beda exponit, id est *Vnusquisque in suo sensu abundet*, inuenitur in epistola ad Romanos. Illa uero quam cum bene subiungere testatur, id est *Et siquid aliter sapitis et hoc quoque uobis Deus reuelabit*, inuenitur in epistola ad Philippenses. Vnde manifestum est eam priori sententiae non subiungi, sicut hic dicit, sed istam: *Qui sapit de Domino sapit*, sicut recensito epistolarum libro diligens lector inueniet.”

⁷ Cyprian, bishop of Carthage from 248 or 249 until his martyrdom in 258, never modified or retracted his views on baptism before dying. For a possible explanation of this confusion, see Foley and Holder, *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool, 1999), 153 n. 6.

5 xisse: uidelicet in auro regem, in thure Deum, in mirra hominem suo tempore moriturum ac sepeliendum; sed plus in mysteriis quam in conscientiis proferentes ea simpliciter, quae in sua patria praeciosiora forte noscebantur, ei quem adoraturi uenerant regi obtulisse pro munere. Sed si uerba ipsorum diligentur pensamus, quia haec Hierosolimam uenientes dixerunt, *Vbi est qui natus est rex*
 10 *Iudaeorum, uidimus enim stellam eius in oriente et uenimus adorare eum*, longe aliter fuisse comperimus. Constat quippe illos hominem eum intellexisse propter quod dicunt, *Vbi est qui natus est*; constat et regem, quod etiam ipso uerbo declarant; constat et Deum credidisse, unde consequenter adiungunt, *et uenimus adorare eum*. Neque enim homines doctissimi eum quem tantummodo hominem
 15 et regem ac non etiam Deum crederent tam longe adoraturi uenirent: qui etiam hoc sublimissime ac nobilissime de illo senserunt, quia cum esset rex Iudaeorum ad saluandas etiam gentes quae in ipsum credere atque ad illum uenire uellent, esset idoneus, quod suo maxime aduentu probauerunt et actu. Sed et de stella quae eis apparuit, quidam minus diligenter scripturam intuentes eam ab oriente
 20 usque ad uiciniam Bethleem ducem eis itineris extitisse dixerint, uiaequae praeuiam; at ubi relicta uia Bethleemica ad Hierosolimam iter et oculos deflexerat, disparuisse stellam quae eos ducebat, donec rursus ab Hierosolimis pedem referrent ad Bethleem. Quod nequaquam ita esse factum ipsa euangelii ueritas inquisita demonstrat, sed potius in oriente tantum eos stellam uidisse, statimque
 25 intellexisse quia haec ortum nati in Iudaea regis signaret de quo praedixerat Balaam: *Orietur stella ex Iacob et consurget uirga de Israhel et percutiet duces Moab*, et cetera. Et ipsi enim, cum essent astrologi, diligenter ea quae tam mirabiliter de stella sunt dicta memoriae commendauerant, ideoque statim ut eam uiderunt uenerunt in Iudaeam, in qua natum regem nouerant, et praecipue ad
 30 regiam ciuitatem, ut ubi eius natiuitatem magis cognitam credebant inuenirent. Cumque testimoniis propheticis in Bethleem illum natum cognouissent, mox illuc iter agentes, stellam quam in oriente uiderant ducem habere meruerunt. Sic enim habes in euangelio primo dicentibus ipsis magis, *Vbi est qui natus est rex Iudaeorum, uidimus enim stellam eius in oriente*. Neque enim dicebant quia ab
 35 oriente nos usque ad haec loca praeuiando perduxit. Deinde etiam euangelista protestante de ipsis, *Qui cum audissent regem abierunt, et ecce stella quam uiderant in oriente antecedebat eos*. Neque enim uel ipse scripsit quod alibi stellam quam in oriente tantum uidissent, donec audito rege ad Bethleem iter dirigerent. De qua

9/10 Matt. 2:2 26/27 Num. 24:17 36/37 Matt. 2:9

6 mysteriis] *emend.* **VC** (*ut uidetur*) **h**, ministeriis *cell.* proferentes] proferentis **B₂**
 7 forte] *exp.* **N** *om.* **VCEP₂** **h** noscebantur] nascebantur **h** 11 eum intellexisse] *trans.* **h**
 eum] *om.* **B₁** eos **C** 12 etiam] *om.* **B₁** et **h** 13 unde] et *add.* **h** 14 enim] *om.* **P₂**
 15 et] *om.* **h** qui] quin **B₂** 16 sublimissime ac nobilissime] nobilissime ac diuinissime **h**
 illo] eo **h** 18 de] *om.* **h** 19 eis] in *praem.* **B₁** **B₂** intuentes] intuens **C** 20 uiaequae]
 uiaque **C^{a.c.}** 27 et cetera] *om.* **h** tam 27–28 tam mirabiliter] *om.* **h** 29 regem] *om.*
B₁ 32 oriente] et *add. et exp.* **B₂** 36 protestante] protestando **VC** protestate **B₂**

etiam stella notandum, quia nequaquam eis Bethlehem uenientibus in summa
 40 caeli altitudine inter ceteras stellas, sed in uicinia terrae uisa est. Cum enim dicat
 euangelista, *Antecedebat eos usque dum ueniens staret supra ubi erat puer*, patenter
 insinuat tum uicinam eam domui in qua erat puer stetisse. Namque sidera quae
 in summo sunt caelo locata, ubi ad centrum caeli peruenerint, quamuis amplis-
 sima sit ciuitas, unicuique domui supra uerticem stare uidentur.

III. QVOD INTERROGASTI (GORMAN, QVAESTIO 6)

Quod interrogasti de uerbis Dauid, quibus Saul et Ionathan filium eius inter-
 fectos plorabat, in quo ploratu etiam montibus Gelboe in quibus interfecti sunt
 maledicere uidetur: quomodo conueniant tempori uel misterio dominicae passio-
 nis, ita ut haec, sicut scribis, per omnes ecclesias, quasi in memoriam eiusdem
 5 passionis in responsoriis in sabbato sancto Pascae dicantur,¹ quasi rex impius
 et pro suo scelere ab hostibus interemptus mortem figurare potuerit innocen-
 tem regis Christi, qui *peccatum non fecit nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius*:
 scire debes quia ueraciter Saul qui post unctionem sancti chrismatis a quo
 et christus <Domini> uocatus est, ab hostibus occidi meruit, mortem ueri
 10 Christi quam sine culpa subire dignatus est insinuat. Montes quoque Gelboe
 in quibus interiit superbos Iudaicae plebis conatus, quibus contra auctorem
 uitae rebellabant, insinuant. Vnde bene Gelboe “uolutatio” siue “decursus”
 interpretatur. Volutabantur enim in sorde peccatorum iuxta illud Prouerbio-
 rum, *Et sus lota in uolutabro luti*, atque a rectitudine uiae salutaris aberran-
 15 tes iamiamque ad inferiora, hoc est huius saeculi desideria infida decurre-

41 Matt. 2:9

1/2 cf. 2 Sam. 1:19–27 7 1 Pet. 2:22; cf. Is. 53:9 12 Hier., *Liber interp.* 1 Reg. (p. 104,
 linea 27) 14 2 Pet. 2:22

39 etiam] *om.* **h** 41 supra] *om.* **B₁** 42 tum] **B₁ B₂ h** tunt **N^{a.c.}** tunc **N^{p.c.} VCEP₂**
 sunt 43 sunt caelo] *trans.* **B₁** 44 supra — stare] stare supra uerticem **B₂**

B₁B₂P₁ NVCEP₂, cum **Claud.** (lineae 8–24/25, “Scire — relinquat”)

1 Quod] Incipit expositio uenerabilis bedae presbyteri de libris regum *praem.* **B₂ VI praem.**
NVEP₂ Quaestio VI De uerbis Dauid quibus Saul et Ionathan filium interfectos plorauit
praem. **h** 3 maledicere] mali dicere **B₂** 5 sancto] sancte **B₁B₂** 6 suo scelere] *trans.* **C**
 ab hostibus — potuerit] interemptus ab hostibus morte potuerit figurare **h** 8 debes]
 debet **Claud.** sancti] sacri **h** 9 <Domini>] *scripsi cum NVCEP₂ Claud.* **h** dominus
B₁B₂P₁ 10 Montes — 12 insinuant] *om.* **h** 11 auctorem] uictorem **Claud.** 13 Volu-
 tabantur] unde *praem.* **C** 14 Et] *om.* **h** 15 iamiamque] ianuamque **P₁** hoc] id **h**
 infida] **P₁ N^{a.c.} h** infima **N^{p.c.} VCEP₂** multa **B₁B₂** foeda **Claud.**

¹ This lament occurs in the responsories edited under the name of Gregory the Great, in
 PL 78:768. See H. Frank, “Die Bezeugung eines Karsamstagsresponsoriums,” *Archiv für
 Liturgiewissenschaft* 16 (1974): 150–53.

bant, ob quorum desiderium regem caeli et terrae in mortem tradere non dubitabant. Propter quod eis merito optatur, ne rorem de caelo pluuiamue suscipiant, quod hodie rebus ipsis uidemus expletum, in eo quod illos gratia caelestis deserens ad gentium plebem translata est. Quod etiam Isaias sub
 20 figura uineae futurum illis ex persona Domini comminatus est dicens, *Et nubibus mandabo ne pluant super eam imbrem*; quod est aperte dicere: “Et apostolis atque apostolicis uiris omnibus mandabo, ne illis ultra uerbum uitae praedicient, sed inrigatione uerbi caelestis quod a se proterui reppulerunt, indignos, in sua sterilitate uacuos, ac perpetuo igni conburendos relinquant.” Nec tibi absurdum uideri debet ut mala reproborum acta boni aliquid significat, aut rursus bona iustorum opera in contraria significatione ponantur. Lege enim *Moralia* sancti papae Gregorii, ubi exposuit quomodo beatus Iob maledixerit die suo dicens, *Pereat dies in quo natus sum*, et cetera, et uidebis quia usitatissimum est in scripturis ut et bona in malorum
 30 et in significatione bonorum mala hominum gesta accipiantur. Denique Vriam fidelissimum Daudid regis militum ac piissima atque innocentissima eius opera uel dicta in mala significatione, et e contra ipsum Daudid in maximo suo scelere in bona accipiendum interpretatur. Alioquin si non et per mala bonum et malum <significari> per bona posset, numquam liceret
 35 nomen Dei nigro atramento, sed semper lucido auro deberet scribi, quia *Deus lux est et tenebrae eius in eo non sunt ullae*. Nec rursus in titulis Psalmodorum nomen Absalon et Doeck hominum reproborum <minio> fulgente, sed solo atro colore deceret adscribi. Sicut ergo in paginis librorum quouis colore et mala possumus et bona absque ulla reprehensione figurare, ita
 40 etiam in parte significationum per quaelibet hominum gesta et bona rectissime et mala possunt exprimi, quamuis et multo saepius contingat et multo dulcius audiatur bona per bona et mala figurari per mala. Sicut autem in pictura parietum neque obscurum Ethiopem candido neque candidi corporis siue capilli Saxonem atro decet colore depingi, ita in <distributione> meritorum iuxta suum quisque opus recipiet. Et qualis erit actu, talis etiam uultu parebit in iudicio, neque omnino ad rem quid quisque <figurari>, sed quid egerit pertinebit.

17 cf. 2 Sam. 1:21 20/21 Isa. 5:6 27/30 cf. Greg., *Moralia* 4.praef. (p. 161, lineae 104–29) 28 Iob 3:3 30/33 cf. Greg., *Moralia* 3.28.55 (pp. 148–50) 36 1 Ioh. 1:5

17 eis merito] *trans.* **h** 18 expletum] impletum **h** eo] eis **Claud.** illos] eos **h** 19 ad — est] translata est ad plebem gentium **h** gentium plebem] *trans.* **Claud.** 20 Et] *om.* **Claud.** 22 omnibus] *add.* **C^{sup.l.}** illis ultra] *trans.* **C** illis] de *add.* **B₂** 23 proterui] *om.* **Claud.** 25 uideri] *add.* **B₁^{sup.l.}** 28 quo] qua **C** 31 militum] militem **VC B₁B₂P₁ h** 34 <significari>] *scripsi cum* **N^{p.c.}EP₂ h** significare **N^{a.c.}VC B₁B₂P₁** 35 nomen Dei] *om.* **NVCP₂ h** *add.* **E^{a.m., sup.l.}** 37 <minio>] *scripsi cum* **EP₂ h** mineo **N^{a.c.} B₁B₂P₁** mineio **VC** 38 deceret] deberet **C h** 44 capilli] capillis **VC** ita] et *add.* **B₂** <distributione>] tribulatione **N^{a.c.} B₁B₂P₁** retributione **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂ h** 46 uultu parebit] multis apparebit **C** *trans.* **h** <figurari>] *scripsi cum* **N^{p.c.}VCEP₂^{p.c.}** figuraret **N^{a.c.}P₂^{a.c.} B₁B₂P₁**

IV. INTERIM QVAESISTI (GORMAN, QVAESTIO 7)

Interim quaesisti quid sit in Psalmo, *Ignitum eloquium tuum uehementer*, quod uerbum et in Prouerbiis positum est: *Omnis sermo Dei ignitus*. Scito ergo quod hoc uerbum longe aliter quam sonare uidetur accipiendum est. Ignitum namque solet dici quod totum igne peruasum et impletum est: uerbi gratia, sicut ferrum et aes mediis in ignibus liquefactum, immo igne plenissimum. In qua figura dictum est de Ioseph, *Eloquium Domini igniuit eum*: id est, ita ardore ac flamma diuinae uirtutis impleuit ut ipse totus spiritu Dei accensus et quasi igne uideretur esse perfusus. Quales erant qui dicebant, *Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis, dum loqueretur in uia et aperiret nobis scripturas*. Quod uero eloquium Domini ignitum uel sermo Dei ignitus asseueratur, non illud tanquam igne examinatum debet accipi, <sed> instar auri uel alterius cuiuslibet metalli, quod igne conflatum, sordem in se alienam atque inutilem non continet, totum quicquid in eo residet uerum et perfectum et omni uiciorum contagione purgatum. Sic etenim eloquia Domini, aeternorum in se honorum fidem continentia, uera omnia sunt et non otiose neque inutiliter constituta. Vnde Dominus ait, *Quia iota unum aut unus apex non praeteribit a lege, donec omnia fiant*, ne quid illic quod non perfectum ac proprium sit aestimetur. Ignitum ergo “igne examinatum” siue “igne purgatum” intellige. Ex uno ergo Graeco quod est “pepyromenon,” utrumque Latine et ignitum et igne examinatum pro interpretum uoluntate translatum est. Nam et ubi dictum est, *Eloquia Domini igne examinata*, in Graeco unus sermo positus est, “pepyromena.”¹ Ex quo etiam uerbo diriuatum est, *Ignem nos examinasti*, quod quidam dixere, “Ignisti nos.” Ignitus autem siue igne examinatus est omnis sermo Dei, quia per illuminationem Sancti Spiritus sincera ac firma est ueritate subnixus.

1 Ps. 118:140 2 Prou. 30:5 6 Ps. 104:19 8/9 Luc. 24:32 9/22 Hil. Pict., *Tractatus super Ps. CXVIII* 18:5 (p. 173, lineae 4–16) 15/16 Matt. 5:18 20 2 Sam. 22:31 21 Ps. 65:10

B₁ B₂ P₁ D NVCEP₂

1 Interim] iterum **B₁** VII *praem.* **NVEP₂** Quaestio VII Quid sit in psalmo: Ignitum eloquium tuum uehementer *praem.* **h** 2 Scito] scio **V** 4 peruasum] persuasum **N^{a.c.}** perfusum **N^{p.c.}** **VCEP₂ h** 6 ac] et **h** 7 totus] *om.* **B₁B₂** 9 loqueretur] nobis *add.* **N^{sup.l.}V-CEP₂ D** Quod] quo **P₁** uero] *om.* **B₁B₂** 10 non] *om.* **h** 12 continet] et *add.* **h** 13 purgatum] est *add.* **NVCEP₂ h** 15 Vnde] et *add.* **NVCEP₂ h** Quia] et *add.* **C** 15–16 aut unus] et unum **B₂** aut] et **D** 16 illic] esse *add.* **NVCEP₂ h** 17 ergo] igitur **h** 18 intellige] intelligere **N^{a.c.}** 20 Graeco] idem *add.* **NVCEP₂ h** 22 Ignitus] igniti **E^{a.c.}** est *add.* **NVCEP₂ h** est] *om.* **NVCEP₂ h** 23 omnis] *om.* **P₁** 23/24 ac firma est] est ac firma **C**

¹ That is, πεπυρωμένον and πεπυρωμένα.

V. *CONGREGAVIT AVTEM* (GORMAN, *QVAESTIO* 8)

[*Congregavit autem rursum David omnes electos ex Israhel .xxx. milia, et cetera.*]

In historia beati regis et prophetae David, qua arcam Dei adduxisse narratur, humilitas approbata, superbia dampnata, et temeritas uindicata monstratur, quia et ipse David qui coram arca Domini humiliter saltare non erubuit, mox
5 promissionem Filii Dei ex sua stirpe nascituri suscipere promeruit. Et coniunx quae eandem illius humilitatem despexit, eius semine fecundari non merita sed perpetuae sterilitatis paenas luit. Sacerdos quoque qui arcam inconsiderata temeritate tetigit, ausus sui reatum inmatura morte purgavit. Vbi intueri necesse est quantum delinquat, qui ad corpus Domini reus accessit, si deuotus ille sacerdos
10 morte multatur, quia arcam illam dominici uidelicet corporis figuram minori quam debuit ueneratione corripuit. Verum iuxta allegoriam David Christum, arca ecclesiam significat. Quaesiuit autem David arcam in ciuitatem suam adducere, sed causa interueniente contraria ad tempus eam alibi diuertit, ac sic deinceps quod multum desiderauerat expleuit, quia Dominus in carne apparens euangelium filiis Israhel, suae uidelicet genti praedicauit, sed *caecitas ex parte contigit in Israhel, donec plenitudo gentium intraret, et sic omnis Israhel saluus fieret*. Sed ut haec enucleatius per singula uideamus:

Congregavit David omnes electos ex Israhel .xxx. milia, quia Dominus ecclesiam primitiuam ex Israhel instituit, non quidem omnem Israhel, sed electos quosque
20 sibi consocians: *Non enim omnes qui ex Israhel, hi sunt Hisrahelitae, sed filii promissionis deputantur in semine*. Qui .xxx. milia fuisse referuntur, id est fidei, operis et spei firmitate perfecti. Tria enim propter confessionem sanctae Trinitatis ad fidem pertinent, decem propter decalogum legis ad opera, mille propter sui per-

1 2 Sam. 6:1 15/16 Rom. 11:25–26 20/21 Rom. 9:6–8

B₁B₂P₁ NVCEP₂ cum **Hrab.** et **Claud.** (lineae 1–8, “Congregavit — purgavit,” et 18–115, “Congregavit — expectant”)

1 Congregavit] VIII *praem.* **NVEP₂** Quaestio VIII De reuactione arcae Domini de domo Aminadab per regem David *praem.* **h** 2 In] hac *add.* **Claud.** qua] qui **Hrab.** adduxisse] reduxisse **h** narratur] moraliter *add.* **Claud.** 4 qui] *om.* **Claud.** 6 illius] *om.* **Hrab.** eius **h** semine] semini **V^{a.c.}** seminis **C^{a.c.}** non] est *add.* **h** merita] merita ruit **B₁** meruit **B₂** sed] *exp.* **N** *om.* **VCEP₂** **Claud.** **Hrab.** 7 Sacerdos] sed certos **C** arcam] Dei *add.* **h** 8 Vbi — 17 uideamus] *om.* **Claud.** 9 accessit] accedit **E** accesserit **B₁B₂** **Hrab.** **h** 10 quia] qui **Hrab.** **h** illam] *add.* **C^{sup.l.}** dominici] domini **P₁** 12 arcam] *add.* **P₁^{in marg.}** ciuitatem suam] *trans.* **h** 13 sic] si **P₂^{a.c.}** **B₂** 14 desiderauerat] delectauerat **Hrab.** 17 haec enucleatius] haec pateant enucleatius **B₁** **B₂** haec enucleatius pateant **Hrab.** 18 David] *om.* **P₁** milia] *add.* **N^{sup.l.}** 21 in] ex **C^{a.c.}** fuisse] esse **h** 23/24 sui perfectionem] confessionem sui **B₂**

fectionem ad spem uitae aeternae, qua superius aliquid non est sicut numerus mil-
 25 lenario maior nullus est. Et si enim .x. milia, si .xxx. milia, si etiam mille milia
 dixeris, non ipsum mille numerando transcendes, sed uel per se uel per minores
 numeros saepius ducendo multiplicas. Tria ergo per decem multiplica, *ne fides sine*
operibus mortua sit; item .xxx. per mille multiplica, ut *fides quae per dilectionem*
 30 *operatur* non alibi quam in caelis retributionem speret. Electi igitur ex Israhel
 cum Dauid ipsos apostolos et doctores, qui lateri Christi quasi familiarius adhaere-
 bant, indicent. Quo utroque stipatus exercitu Dominus arcam adducere, id est
 ecclesiam dilatare et in eorum qui non crediderunt cordibus inserere, gaudet. Inpo-
 nitur autem arca plastro nouo, ut Noui Testamenti gratia renouatis in baptismo
 35 mentibus infundatur, uinumque nouum nouis utribus conseruandum mandetur.

Erat quidem prius arca in *domo Aminadab qui erat in Gabaa*, quia eadem quae
 nunc praedicatur ecclesiae fides, et ante incarnationis dominicae tempus florebat
 in his qui patriarcharum prophetarumque sunt deuotionem secuti. Aminadab
 enim qui interpretatur “pater meus spontaneus,” uel Abraham patrem fidei uel
 40 Moisen legislatorem significat, qui uterque in Gabaa custodit arcam, quia sublimi
 uirtutis exemplo credentium pectora munit. Vnde et Gabaa “collis” interpretatur,
 qui est locus in ciuitate Cariathiarim.

Elata ergo foras arca *ludebat Dauid et omnis Israhel coram Domino* diuersis
 musicorum generibus, quia mox inchoante nouae gratiae praeconio, Dominus ad
 45 exhibendas Deo Patri laudes humilitatis omnes inuitat dicens, *Qui mihi ministrat*
me sequatur: alii dando per spiritum sermonem sapientiae, alii sermonem scienti-
 aiae, alii genera linguarum, alii gratiam curationum, et cetera.

Sed his atque huiusmodi charismatum generibus progrediente arca, id est cres-
 cente ecclesia primitiua, uentum est *ad aream Nachor* — id est aream praepara-
 50 tam, gentium uidelicet ecclesiam, fidei ueritate consecrandam, de qua Iohannes
 ait, *Et permundabit aream suam* — ubi sacerdos, qui arcam incautius quasi corri-

27/28 Iac. 2:26 28/29 Gal. 5:6 34/35 cf. Matt. 9:17 36 2 Sam. 6:4 39 Hier., *Liber*
interp. 1 Reg. (p. 102, lineae 11–12) 41 Hier., *Liber interp.* 1 Reg. (p. 104, linea 24) 43
 2 Sam. 6:5 45/46 Ioh. 12:26 46/47 cf. 1 Cor. 12:8 49 2 Sam. 6:6 51 Matt. 3:12

24 ad] ac **h** numerus] numero **B₁B₂** 25 maior nullus] *trans. h* .x.] *om. Hrab.* milia²
om. Hrab. 26 transcendes] transcendis **B₁B₂ Hrab.** per se] ipse **B₂** 27 multiplica . . .
 28 multiplica] multiplicam . . . multiplicam **C^{a.c.}** 29 igitur] ergo **Claud.** 30 populos]
 populo **N^{a.c.}V^{a.c.}** insinuent] insinuant **Claud.** 31 apostolos] populos **Claud.** 32 indi-
 cent] indicant **Claud.** Dominus] domini **Claud.** 33 crediderunt] crediderant **h** 34 bap-
 tismo] baptisate **C** 35 uinumque nouum] nouumque uinum **h** 36 prius arca] *trans.*
VC eadem] eandem **B₂** 36–37 quae nunc] *om. P₁* 37 ecclesiae] in ecclesia **B₁**
B₂ incarnationis] incarnationes **P₁^{a.c.}** 39 uel . . . uel] et . . . et **Hrab.** 40 Moisen]
 mosen **N^{a.c.}** moysen *cell.* significat] significabat **Claud.** 41 exemplo] exempla **Hrab.**
 42 est locus] *trans. h* 43 foras] foris **Claud. Hrab. h** Israhel] *om. C* 47 curationum]
 sanationum **Hrab.** 51 Et] Quia **Hrab.** ubi] archa *add. C*, ibi **Claud.**

gendo tetigit, mox a Domino percussus occubuit, quia Iudeorum populus, dum gentibus inuidet salutis se munere priuat, dum legem uult euangelio miscere utriusque sibi gratiam tollit.

- 55 *Et tenuit inquit eam, quoniam calcitrabant boues.* Boues quippe calcitrare est, predicatorum euangelii liberius circa fidem agere, neque secundum consuetudinem legis ingredi, sed sabbata, neomenias, circumcisionem, uictimisque spiritualiter interpretari. Quos uelut errantes corrigere temptabant, qui descendentes de Iudea docebant fratres, *Quia nisi circumcidamini secundum morem Moysi, non*
60 *potestis salui fieri.* Et de quibus Iacobus ad Paulum *Vides inquit frater quot milia sunt in Iudeis qui crediderunt, et omnes hi aemulatores sunt legis.*

- Ob causam ergo sacerdotis occisi, *Dauid noluit diuertere ad se arcam Domini in ciuitate Dauid, sed diuertit eam in domo Obethedom Gethei,* quia respicientibus uerbum Iudeis, ne amplius audita et non suscepta praedicatio noceret, apostoli ab
65 eis ablati et ad gentes imbuendas sunt missi. Vnde et locus areae Nachor, quae gentium fidem Domini gratiae preparatam demonstrat, *percussio Oza* nuncupatur, uidelicet quia illorum delicto salus gentibus. Obethedom namque qui interpretatur “seruiens homo,” ille est utique de quo Dominus ad Patrem *Constitues* inquit *me in caput gentium, populus quem non cognoui seruiuit michi* — ubi et
70 Iudeorum abiectioem quasi Ozae mortem praemittens ait, *Eripies me de contradictionibus populi.* Nomen quoque urbis congruit; Geth enim interpretatur “torcular,” significans crucem in qua uitis uera calcari et exprimi dignata est. A qua cunctus gentium populus merito Getheus appellari potest, cum dicit, *Michi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi.*

- 75 Tres autem menses quibus ibidem arca demoratur fides, spes, caritas est. Sicut enim diebus adimpletur mensis, ita singulae uirtutes suis quaeque passibus ad perfectionem perueniunt. Hi menses quousque *plenitudo gentium intret* currere non cessant. Tandem rediens Dauid arcam in ciuitatem Dauid inducit, quia Dominus Enoch et Helia praedicantibus conuertet *corda patrum in filios.*

55 2 Sam. 6:6 59/60 Act. 15:1 60/61 Act. 21:20 62/63 2 Sam. 6:10 66 2 Sam. 6:8
68 Hier. *Liber interp.* 1 Reg. (p. 108, linea 21), *sed homo* humo 68/69 Ps. 17:44–45 70/
71 Ps. 17:44 71/72 Hier., *Liber interp.* Ios. (p. 94, linea 25) 73/74 Gal. 6:14 75 cf. 2
Sam. 6:11 75 cf. 1 Cor. 13:13 77 Rom. 11:25 79 Mal. 4:5–6

53 dum] dumque **Claud.** 55 inquit eam] *trans.* **h** quoniam] quo **N^{a.c.}** 61 Iudeis] iudeas
C^{a.c.} 62 diuertere] diuertere **Claud.** 63 ciuitate] ciuitatem **NVCEP₂** **Claud.** **Hrab.** **h**
domo] domum **Claud.** **h** 66 gratiae] gratia **E** 67 uidelicet quia] *trans.* **E** salus] est *add.*
B₂ contigit *add.* **Claud.** **Hrab.** qui] *om.* **Claud.** 69 in] *add.* **V^{sup.l.}** 72 significans] **P₂**
post hoc uerbum usque ad finem perditus est dignata] dignatas **C^{a.c.}** designata **h** 73 cum
dicit] cui dicitur **Claud.** 74 autem absit] *trans.* **B₁** 75 spes] et *add.* **Hrab.** est] sunt
h 76 quaeque] que **N^{a.c.}** 77 plenitudo gentium] *trans.* **B₁** intret] intraret **C^{a.c.}** cur-
rere] *om.* **h** 78 inducit] inducet **Claud.** *om.* **h** 79 Enoch] et *praem.* **h** conuertet —
patrum] corda patrum conuertet **E**

80 Boues et arietes inmolans, hoc est eos qui aream Domini tritulant et ouium eius ducatum gerunt martirii sanguine coronans, et ipse quoque <suave> incarnationis et passionis exemplum eatenus Iudeis non creditum palam manifestans.

Hoc enim significat quod et ipse *Dauid accinctus erat ephod lineo*; nam linum quod de terra procreatum multiplici labore ad candorem uestis peruenit, ueritatem humanae carnis inter flagella triumphantis ostendit. Verum cunctis exultantibus et ad archae caelestis introitum himnos resonantibus, sola Michol filia Saul arcam ducentibus abest. Quin etiam e speculis Dauid humiliatum despicit, quia credentibus in mundi fine Iudeis, erunt nonnulli qui Christum professione sed opere sequantur antichristum. Quibus merito congruit quod eadem Michol, quae
85 ob figurandam instabilitatem carnalium “<aqua> omnis” interpretatur, non uxor Dauid sed filia Saul appellatur, quia qui Christo fidetenus seruiunt, non illius regno coronandi sed persecutorum eius quos imitauere, sunt anathemate dampnandi. Verum prauis succenseant, humilitatem ecclesiae contempnant; nichilominus arca Domini suum locum ingreditur.

95 Ponitur *in medio tabernaculi quod tetenderat ei Dauid* — id est fides ecclesiae praedicatur, proficit, inseritur cordibus omnium, quos Dominus ad uitam praeordinauerat aeternam.

Offert Dauid holocausta et pacifica coram Domino — fidem deuotionemque ecclesiae commendat Patri Christus, *qui est ad dexteram Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro nobis*, qui in exemplum Dauid fideles humilesque benedicens salutaris misterii pascit alimentis.

100 Partitur *singulis colliridam panis unam*, illius utique *qui de caelo descendit et dat uitam huic mundo*. Et *assaturam bubulae carnis unam*, illius uidelicet uituli saginati, qui pro reuertente ad patrem filio iuniore mactatus et igne passionis
105 assatus est dicens, *Exaruit uelut testa uirtus mea. Et similam frixam oleo*, carnem

80 Boues — inmolans] cf. 2 Sam. 6:13 83 2 Sam. 6:14 83/84 cf. Isidorus, Etym. 19.27 (vol. 2, lineae 9–10) 90 Hier., *Liber interp.* 1 Reg. (p. 104, lineae 8–9) 95 2 Sam. 6:17 98 2 Sam. 6:17 99/100 Rom 8:34 102 2 Sam. 6:19 102/103 Ioh. 6:33 103 2 Sam. 6:19 103/104 cf. Luc. 15:23–24 105 Ps. 21:16 105 2 Sam. 6:19

80 hoc] id **h** 81 ipse] ipsum **B₁ B₂** <suave>] *scripsi cum B₁ B₂ N^{p.c.} CEP₂ Hrab. Claud.* siue **N^{a.c.}V P₁** 84 uestis peruenit] *trans. C^{a.c.}* 85 inter] per **B₂** 86 ad] *add. V^{a.m., sup.l.}* archae . . . introitum] arcam . . . introitus **Hrab.** 87 e] *add. N^{a.m., sup.l.} om. P₁* humiliatum despicit] respicit humiliatum **h** 88 Christum] tantum *add. B₁B₂ Hrab.* 89 sequantur] sequentur **Hrab. h** 90 figurandam] figurandum **C^{a.c.}** <aqua>] *scripsi cum B₁^{p.c.} N^{p.c.}VCE Claud. Hrab. h* a quo **N^{a.c.} B₁^{a.c.} B₂ P₁** 91 qui] *om. Hrab.* Christo fidetenus] fide tenus Christo **Claud.** 92 coronandi] sunt *add. B₁ B₂* imitauere] uel imitati sunt *add. N^{a.m., sup.l.}* imitati sunt **E B₁B₂** imitauerint **Claud.** sunt] *om. Claud.* 93 Verum] licet *add. B₁ B₂* 94 suum locum] *trans. h* 96 omnium] omnibus **B₁** ad — praeordinauerat] praeordinauerat ad uitam **B₂** 98 Domino] id est *add. Hrab.* 99 etiam] et **h** 100 salutaris] salubris **Claud.** 102 Partitur] partitus **Hrab.** 103 uidelicet] scilicet **NVCE Claud. Hrab. h** 104 ad — filio] filio ad patrem **C** 105 uelut] tanquam **h**

uidelicet a peccati labe mundissimam, sed ob humanae salutis uberrimam dilectionem crucis sartagine tostam. Et merito una panis collirida, una carnis assatura datur, quia *unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium*. Aliter haec munera fideles accipiunt quando *unus panis et unum corpus*
 110 *multi sumus* in Christo, et suae carnis singuli lasciuam castigantes ac seruituti subicientes, Sancti Spiritus igne decoquant, nec non et fructus operum bonorum oleo misericordiae pinguissimos compassione proximi fervefaciunt. At contra filia Saul frustra cubiculum regis ingressa nullos concepti seminis fructus dat, quia qui uerbum Dei auretenus percipiunt absque boni operis prole, diem perpetuae
 115 mortis expectant.

108/109 Eph. 4:5–6 109/110 1 Cor. 10:17 110/111 cf. 1 Cor. 9:27

106 humanae salutis] *om.* **B**₂ salutis . . . dilectionem] salutis causas uberrimam delectationibus **Hrab.** (*sed alia lectio salutis uberrimam dilectionem adnotatur*; vide PL 109:86B) 107 collirida] et *add.* **Claud.** 107–8 assatura datur] *trans.* **VC** 108 et] *om.* **h** 110 multi] omnes **h** suae] suam **C** carnis] *add.* **V**^{sup.l.} *post* lasciuam singuli lasciuam] *trans.* **h** 111 fructus — bonorum] bonorum fructus operum **h** operum bonorum] *trans.* **VC** 112 oleo] *om.* **Hrab.** pinguissimos] pinguissimo **Claud.** proximi] *om.* **h** feruefaciunt] feruere faciunt **Claud.** **Hrab.** filia] filios **C** 114 operis] *om.* **B**₂ 115 expectant] Explicit de questionibus *add.* **NVC** Explicit expositio uenerabilis bede presbyteri de libris regum *add.* **B**₁ Explicit expositio domni bede de libris regum *add.* **B**₂ Explicit expositio uenerabilis Bede presbyteri *add.* **P**₁