Manus Bedae: Bede's contribution to Ceolfrith's bibles

RICHARD MARSDEN

Bede entered Wearmouth–Jarrow at the age of seven and thereafter, he tells us at the conclusion of his *Historia ecclesiastica*, spent all his life 'applying myself entirely to the study of the Scriptures'. He goes on, 'From the time I became a priest until the fifty-ninth year of my life I have made it my business, for my own benefit and that of my brothers, to make brief extracts from the works of the venerable fathers on the holy scriptures, or to add notes of my own to clarify their sense and interpretation.'[1] Bede's modest remarks preface an impressive list of his own works, which includes commentaries on Genesis, I Samuel, Kings, Proverbs, the Prophets, Mark, Luke, Acts and Revelation, and many other exegetical, didactic and historical volumes. Installed at Jarrow from about 679 until his death in 735, he contributed more than anyone to the intellectual distinction of early-eighth-century Northumbria. At the same time, the twin house of Wearmouth–Jarrow was winning lasting renown for the products of its scriptorium (or scriptoria). Not least among these were the three great Vulgate bible pandects which Abbot Ceolfrith caused to be made, an achievement celebrated by the chroniclers of the house, who included Bede himself.[2] One of these pandects, which we know today as the Codex Amiatinus, was dispatched to St Peter's in Rome in 716, then spent more than 900 years at Monte Amiata in the Appenines, and is now in Florence (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1). The other two were for use in the Wearmouth and Jarrow churches. One of these has been lost without trace, but the second survived in the cathedral priory of Worcester until the sixteenth century, when an entrepreneurial Nottinghamshire family made use of some of its torn-out leaves as document wrappers. Twelve of these, with some fragments of a

[1] V.24: '[C]unctumque ex eo tempus uitae in eiusdem monasterii habitatione peragens, omnem meditandis scripturis operam dedi . . . Ex quo tempore accepti presbyteratus usque ad annum aetatis meae lviiii haec in Scripturam sanctam meae meorumque necessitati ex opusculis uenerabilium patrum breuiter adnotare, siue etiam ad formam sensus et interpretationis eorum superadicere curaui' (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 566–7).

[2] See Bede's *Historia abbatum*, ch. 15, in *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896) I, 364–87, at 379–80, and the anonymous *Vita S. Ceolfridi*, ch. 20 (*ibid.* I, 388–404, at 395).

thirteenth, are now in the British Library under three different shelfmarks (Loan 81, Add. 37777 and Add. 45025).[3]

Wearmouth–Jarrow, Bede and bibles – the association is inescapable and it is inconceivable that the great scholar of scripture did not have a major role in the production of Ceolfrith's pandects; yet the task of defining that role with any precision has always proved difficult.[4] Recently, however, a major step forward has been made by Paul Meyvaert, who has thrown new light on Bede's involvement in the production of the celebrated opening quire of Amiatinus, with its array of illustrations and prefatory material.[5] One of his conclusions is that Bede was responsible for the presentation of the seated figure in the 'Ezra miniature' (on 5r) as a high-priest, as well as for the composition of the Latin couplet which is written above the painting. Meyvaert has suggested further that we may even see Bede's handwriting in two of the opening quire's three presentations of the division of scripture.[6] It is with this example in mind, therefore, that I here focus on the actual text of Ceolfrith's pandects, as it survives both in Amiatinus and in the 'sister' fragments, and reconsider the role of Bede both in its establishment and in its emendment.

BEDE AND THE CODEX AMIATINUS

If we assume that Ceolfrith did not instigate his great biblical project until he became abbot of Wearmouth–Jarrow in 689, that provides our *terminus post quem* for the bibles; and 716, the year in which the Codex Amiatinus was taken abroad, is the obvious *terminus ante quem*, for there is little doubt that Amiatinus was the third and last of the three pandects to be made. My assumption is that the project was not started as early as most commentators have thought but that the first two pandects (destined for the two home monastic churches) were made together, or in close succession, during the late 690s or even later, after an initial period of preparation.[7] They were followed, in no great haste, by Amiatinus, which was probably always planned as a presentation volume for St Peter's. When Ceolfrith became abbot, Bede was only about sixteen, but it is likely that he was a youth far advanced for his years, as the fact that he became a deacon at nineteen, rather than the more usual age of twenty-five, may indicate.[8] By the time Amiatinus left England in the early summer of 716, Bede was

[3] On the pandects, see R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 15 (Cambridge, 1995), 85–106.

[4] See J. Chapman, 'The Families of Vulgate Manuscripts in the Pentateuch', *RB* 37 (1925), 5–46 and 365–403, at 366; P. Meyvaert, 'Bede the Scholar', *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 40–69, at 50; and Marsden, *The Text*, pp. 202–6.

[5] 'Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 827–83.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 841, n. 75. [7] I present the arguments in *The Text*, pp. 98–106.

[8] P. Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1990), p. 5.

about forty-four. Thus there is little difficulty in envisaging his playing an important role in textual preparation from the start, perhaps in vetting and emending the exemplars which were to be used for copying (at least some of which are likely to have been the manuscripts which Bede regularly used in his studies), and perhaps even in checking the component quires of the pandects as they were produced. All of these were of course mammoth tasks in respect of three complete Vulgate bibles, which each comprised some thousand leaves of parchment.

The textual history of the medieval Vulgate is largely the story of the transmission of variant readings which had been introduced by accident or design and which were often, in the latter case, derived from pre-Vulgate sources. In assessing Bede's probable contribution to Ceolfrith's project, an obvious question to ask first is the extent to which he used in his own works what we may call 'Ceolfrithian' textual variants. This will almost invariably mean, of course, those which were used in the Codex Amiatinus, though for small parts of Sirach and III–IV Kings we have the corroboration of the leaves of the 'sister' pandect; textual differences between these and Amiatinus are few and minor.[9] May we assume that Bede, when citing scripture in his own works of exegesis and history, will have chosen the variants which were used in the pandects? By no means is this always the case. Often Bede does not use the Vulgate at all in his scriptural citations but, rather, one of the Old Latin versions which predated Jerome's revisions and the establishment of the Vulgate as we know it.[10] The reason for this is sometimes obvious, for Bede may be doing little more than copy a passage from a patristic source which itself included a scriptural citation in a pre-Vulgate version. The range of such sources available to him in the library of Wearmouth–Jarrow was extraordinarily wide.[11] The writers he turned to most often were Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome, all of whom regularly cited from Old Latin scripture, sometimes consciously comparing the old readings (which they might refer to as 'Septuagint' readings) with those of the Vulgate.[12] Yet Bede's use of extracts from such writers does not mean that he automatically took over their scriptural variants, for there are occasions when he appears to have eschewed an Old Latin variant in his source in favour of a Vulgate one. This may or may not be the one which Amiatinus carries. Furthermore, even when Bede is not apparently quoting from a patristic work, and may be using a Vulgate source, he still does not necessarily choose Amiatinan variants.

[9] Marsden, *The Text*, pp. 190–201.

[10] For a discussion of Bede's use of the Bible, see *ibid.* pp. 202–19.

[11] See M. L. W. Laistner, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', in his *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages: Selected Essays by M. L. W. Laistner*, ed. C. G. Starr (Ithaca, NY, 1957), pp. 117–49.

[12] Marsden, *The Text*, p. 11.

Although the pattern of usage varies greatly between Bede's various works, I estimate that, overall, there is a maximum of no more than sixty per cent agreement with Amiatinus.

A full study of the relationship between scriptural variants used by Bede in his works and those in Amiatinus has yet to be undertaken, but in the following ten examples, or groups of examples, I have attempted to give some idea of the complexity of that relationship.[13]

1. The wholesale use of a patristic source is illustrated by a citation of Song V.2 in Bede's *De temporum ratione*, written in 725. This comes in the middle of a long extract which he took verbatim from Ambrose's *Hexameron* and which thus has Ambrose's Old Latin version of the passage, with 'quoniam caput meum repletum est rore et crines mei guttis noctis', rather than the Vulgate version, 'quia caput meum plenum est rore et cincinni mei guttis noctium', which is what Amiatinus carries.[14]

2. However, in a similarly substantial borrowing from Gregory's *Moralia* for his commentary on Proverbs (apparently written between 720 and 730), Bede lifted some 400 words of commentary on Prov. XXX.29–33 and yet did not use Gregory's reading *pauebit* in verse 30 (which is also the correct Vulgate reading) but the Septuagint-derived *pauet*.[15] A few Vulgate manuscripts have this present-tense alternative, and one of them happens to be Amiatinus, but it seems that Bede may have taken the text of the citation from the commentary on Proverbs by Salonius, which uses *pauet* and to which much of his own commentary is heavily indebted.[16]

[13] In Vulgate citations below, my authority for the Old Testament text is *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem, cura et studio monachorum Abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe O. S. B. edita*, ed. H. Quentin *et al.*, 18 vols. (Rome, 1926–95); Sirach is in *Biblia Sacra* XII. For the New Testament, I use *Nouum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine*, ed. J. Wordsworth and H. J. White, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1889–1954). Old Latin citations in Genesis and Sirach are from *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron* (Freiburg, 1949–): II *Genesis*, ed. B. Fischer (1951–4) and XI.2 *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)*, ed. W. Thiele (1987–). Greek scriptural citations are from *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, ed. A. Rahlfs, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1982). English translations of the Vulgate are given in the Douai-Reims version, sometimes emended. Other translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

[14] *De temporum ratione*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 123B (Turnhout, 1977), 363 (ch. xxviii); *Hexameron*, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32.1 (Vienna, 1897), 134 (IV.7). The dates I give for Bede's works, usually without further comment, are those suggested by Plummer in *Baedae Opera*, pp. cxlv–clix, sometimes modified by the most recent editors of the works in question.

[15] Gregory, *Moralia siue expositio in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143B (Turnhout, 1985), 1497 (XXX.3); Bede, *In Proverbia Salomonis*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119B (Turnhout, 1983), 146 (ch. iii). Theoretically, Bede's copy of Gregory could have had the variant verb, but it is in none of the manuscripts collated by Adriaen for his edition.

[16] *Expositio mystica in parabolas Salomonis et in Ecclesiasten* (PL 53, 967–95, at 988). On Bede and Salonius, see Laistner, 'The Library', pp. 136–8.

3. In his *Historia abbatum* (the work, written soon after 716, in which Bede actually records the making of Ceolfrith's pandects), a citation from Sir. XXXII.1 reads 'rectorem te *constituerunt*, noli extolli, *sed* esto in illis, quasi unus ex illis'.[17] This is not the version in Amiatinus, where the passage has what is taken to be its correct Vulgate form, 'rectorem te *posuerunt* noli extolli esto in illis quasi unus ex ipsis'. In respect of the verb used and the addition of *sed*, Bede's version in the *Historia abbatum* repeats the Old Latin version he had already used, between 709 and 716, in his commentary on Luke, which in turn came straight from Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*.[18] Following Gregory, however, he has *ducem* in the commentary, not the Vulgate variant *rectorem* used in his *Historia abbatum* and in Amiatinus. Perhaps this was a case of Bede citing a well-known passage from memory and mixing the vocabulary of two versions.

4. In his *In Cantica Canticorum*, composed between 720 and 730, Bede cites Joel II.28 in the Septuagint-derived Old Latin form, 'effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem', rather than the usual Vulgate version, 'effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem'.[19] This probably results from his familiarity with the same words in Acts II.17. Twice in his *Retractatio* on Acts he cites Joel II.28 in this form.[20] It is a variant version which a handful of Vulgate manuscripts carry also, but not Amiatinus.

5. In his commentary *In Genesim*, the bulk of which was probably composed after 725, Bede cites Gen. XVI.7 in what is arguably its correct Vulgate form, including the words 'super fontem aquae in solitudine quae est in uia Sur', whereas Amiatinus has the apparently tautological version, 'in solitudine qui est in deserto Sur'. Bede will have known the version with 'in uia Sur' from Jerome's *Hebraice quaestiones*, which has the passage in its usual Old Latin form, 'in deserto quae est in uia Sur'.[21] Among Vulgate manuscripts, the Amiatinan version is shared only by the early-seventh-century Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2334), but others have a variety of versions involving both 'in uia' and 'in deserto'.[22] Presumably such Vulgate versions originated with the interpolation of 'in deserto' from Old Latin texts. There has been some argument about what form Jerome originally gave to the

[17] *Baedae Opera*, ed. Plummer I, 372; on the dating of the work, see p. cxlviii.

[18] *In Lucam*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), 381 (VI.22); *Regula pastoralis* II.6 (*Grégoire le Grand: Règle pastorale*, ed. B. Judic, F. Rommel and C. Morel, 2 vols., Sources chrétiennes 381–2 (Paris, 1992) I, 212).

[19] *In Proverbia Salomonis*, ed. Hurst, p. 193.

[20] *Retractatio in Actus apostolorum*, ed. M. L. W. Laistner, CCSL 121 (Turnhout, 1983), 116–17.

[21] *In Genesim*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 118A (Turnhout, 1967), 200 (ch. iv); on the complex dating problems of this work, see Jones's discussion, pp. vi–x; *Hebraice quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, ed. P. de Lagarde, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, 1959), 20 (XVI.7). On the wide variety of other versions of this passage, see my *The Text*, p. 210 and n. 41, and *Vetus Latina* II, 181.

[22] See *Vetus Latina* II, 181–2, and *Biblia Sacra* I, 202.

verse in his revision of Genesis, but certainly 'in uia Sur' is supported by the Hebrew and Greek.[23] Bede will have been familiar with Palestinian geography, including the Sur desert, from another Hieronymian source, the *De situ et nominibus*, which he used for parts of his commentary on Genesis.[24]

6. Bede differs again from Amiatinus in a citation from Gen. III.2 in the same commentary on Genesis, where he uses the Vulgate reading *uescemur*, not the Amiatinan *edemus*, a variant not known to have been used in any other Vulgate manuscript.[25] This time, however, it is Amiatinus which has patristic support, for *edemus* is an Old Latin variant, used in two of Augustine's works on Genesis and in Lucifer's *De sancto Athanasio*.[26] In these sources, *edemus* is only one of several Old Latin variations in the passage they cite, but Amiatinus has none of the others. The two Augustinian works were not only known to Bede but were heavily used in his Genesis commentary, to the extent that his citation of Gen. III.1–3 is actually sandwiched between passages from *De Genesi ad litteram*, taken over verbatim. It is thus curious that in the wording of Gen. III.1–3 itself he eschews Augustine's Old Latin version in favour of the Vulgate, for which, presumably, an alternative source to Amiatinus was at hand.

7. In a passage in the first book of his commentary *In Proverbia Salomonis*, Bede cites Prov. V.19 with the opening words 'cerua carissima et gratissimus hinulus', which again is not the version in Amiatinus.[27] This has *gratissima* for *carissima*, a variation which clearly arose by mistake under the influence of the next but one word, and which is without any patristic or other support, as far as I know.[28] However, when Bede begins his interpretation of the verse, he writes, 'carissima *siue gratissima* ut quidam codices habent . . .' (my emphasis). The 'certain codices' containing the variant *gratissima* to which he refers may include Amiatinus and the two sister pandects.

8. By contrast, when Bede comes to Gen. VI.21 in the Genesis commentary, he does choose to use a unique Amiatinan reading, *manducari* for *mandi*, which again has no patristic support, as far as I know.[29] One historian of the Vulgate concluded that the reading was an innovation of Bede's, but this seems unlikely,

[23] See H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate. Première partie, Octateuque*, Collectanea Biblica Latina 6 (Rome, 1922), 473–5; E. K. Rand, 'Dom Quentin's Memoir on the Text of the Vulgate', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 17 (1924), 197–264, at 257; and Marsden, *The Text*, p. 210 and n. 41.

[24] Ed. P. de Lagarde, in his *Onomastica sacra* (Göttingen, 1887); see pp. 150, 156 and 180–1, and cf. Laistner, 'The Library', p. 130.

[25] *In Genesim*, ed. Jones, p. 60 (I).

[26] *De Genesis ad litteram*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 28.1 (Vienna, 1894), 332 and 362 (XI.1 and 30) and *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II.xxvi (PL 34, 217); and *De sancto Athanasio*, ed. G. F. Diercks, CCSL 8 (Turnhout, 1978), 128 (II.xxxii).

[27] *In Proverbia Salomonis*, ed. Hurst, p. 51.

[28] My own fallibility as a copyist allowed the rather surprising 'grauissima' to appear for 'gratissima' in a previous discussion of this passage (*The Text*, pp. 115 and 212).

[29] *In Genesim*, ed. Jones, p. 111.

for there is no good reason why he should have changed a perfectly good Vulgate reading for the sake of it.[30] It is probable that *manducari* was already in the exemplar used both by Bede and by the copyists of the pandects.

9. There are a number of other cases of Bede's sharing with Amiatinus what are otherwise unrecorded variants, including one in his commentary *In Ezram*, where he cites I Esd. II.58 with 'trecenti XVII' (i.e. 'septemdecim').[31] This is in fact an error for 'trecenti nonaginta duo'. One or two other Vulgate manuscripts have erroneous readings here, but none shares 'trecenti septemdecim'. However, there is no reason why the erroneous number should have been noticed, for it is just one total out of many in a long list of the Israelite tribes and their constituent numbers who returned to Judea (but see below for a discussion of another mistake with numerals).

10. The most sustained use by Bede of distinctive, and frequently unique, Amiatinan readings is in his citations from Tobit, both in his commentary *In Tobiam*, written probably between 720 and 730, and in other works where he cites from the book (though this is rare). The unique readings, often involving whole sentences, include 'ingrediebantur' for 'ingressi fuissent' (III.8), 'palpitare coepit in siccum' for 'adtraxit eum in sicco et palpitare coepit' (VI.4), 'qui eos suscepit' for 'et suscepit eos Raguhel' (VII.1) and 'quae illi fecit' for 'quae circa illum ostenderat' (XI.20).[32] I have analysed these readings elsewhere.[33]

Tobit was certainly a special case among the books of scripture copied at Wearmouth–Jarrow. It is interesting that the same distinctive text was used by Alcuin for the Tobit quotations in his *De laude Dei*, a florilegium probably compiled by him in York during a return visit to England in 790–3.[34] None of his quotations from other biblical books shows any distinct affinities with Amiatinus, and this suggests that Tobit was unusual in being known in Northumbria at this time through a single recension, the one used at Wearmouth–Jarrow. That the same recension was in the sister pandects is proved by its survival in a tenth-century manuscript written in Cornwall, whose text of Tobit almost certainly originated in Worcester during a sister pandect's sojourn there.[35] With the possible exception of one reading, there is no evidence that the recension was in use on the Continent, and this has led to the conclusion that it was in fact a product of the Wearmouth–Jarrow scholars themselves, working perhaps to improve a defective exemplar text.[36] If this is so, Bede himself is likely to have had a hand in the work, which would have taken

[30] See Chapman, 'Families', p. 366, and cf. Marsden, *The Text*, p. 203.
[31] *In Ezram et Neemiam*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119A (Turnhout, 1969), 254 (ch. i).
[32] *In Proverbia Salomonis*, ed. Hurst, pp. 6, 9, 11 and 17. [33] *The Text*, pp. 171–9.
[34] *Ibid.* pp. 232–5.
[35] See my 'The Survival of Ceolfrith's *Tobit* in a Tenth-Century Insular Manuscript', *JTS* 45 (1994), 1–23 and *The Text*, pp. 179–81. [36] *The Text*, p. 176.

place before Tobit was copied into any of the pandects. However, it seems to me unlikely that he ever checked the copy in Amiatinus, for probably he would not have missed a rare error, in XI.10, where 'occurrit Thobiam filio suo' is written for 'occurrit in obuiam filio suo'.

This is an appropriate place to note an apparent anomaly in the almost uniformly excellent work of the Wearmouth–Jarrow scribes and scholars. The Ceolfrithian text of Wisdom, as we have it in Amiatinus, is riddled with errors, some of them serious, such as 'inpossibile' for 'mirabile' (XVI.17) and 'ciuitate' for 'caecitate' (XIX.16). Almost certainly these were not made at Wearmouth–Jarrow but were in the exemplar used, and if this bad text was copied into Amiatinus we must conclude that it was copied into the other two pandects also. It is all the more surprising that so many errors were not spotted, and certainly it is impossible to think that Bede had anything to do with the copying of this book. Indeed, he uses Wisdom infrequently in his works, and when he cites passages which contain readings subject to variation he does not use the Amiatinan variant, even when it is not erroneous.[37]

In Tobit and Wisdom, we appear to see two extremes on the scale of Bede's involvement with Ceolfrith's bible project: intimate involvement with the text at one end and complete detachment at the other. The other examples I have given, however, are sufficient to show that in general there is no simple correlation between Bede's writings and Amiatinus in respect of the textual variants that he used. One of the greatest difficulties for us is that our perception of the Ceolfrithian text of scripture is almost entirely dependent on a witness which is silent after the early part of 716, whereas for the monks of Wearmouth–Jarrow the text lived on in the two sister pandects, which were in daily use and, I suspect, under regular scrutiny by Bede. Most of Bede's exegetical and historical works were written in the 720s and early 730s, when emendations to the text of Amiatinus were no longer possible but when they could of course still be made – and, as we shall see, were made – to the sister volumes.

BEDE AS TEXTUAL CRITIC

Bede's exegetical works provide ample evidence that he never stopped learning and reappraising and, where he thought it appropriate, modifying his textual conclusions. He was a lifelong and effective textual critic of the Bible, whether in its Greek or Latin versions, as M. L. W. Laistner established in his important article on two works written by Bede some twenty years apart but about the

[37] *Ibid.* pp. 158–63. The text of Psalms, which follows Jerome's 'Hebrew' version, is also problematical in Amiatinus, being apparently an emended version of a poor Irish text; see B. Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*, Vetus Latina: Aus der Geschichte der latenischen Bibel 11 (Freiburg, 1985), 32 and Marsden, *The Text*, p. 141.

same biblical book, Acts.[38] He wrote the first, the *Expositio*, probably between 709 and 716, and the second, the *Retractatio*, in the early 730s.[39] To a significant extent, the latter was a revision of the former. Taking both works together, Laistner showed that Bede did base his citations most often on the Ceolfrithian Vulgate text, at least as it is witnessed by Amiatinus, but that two other Vulgate manuscripts must have exerted their influence also. One of these transmitted a Spanish tradition, the other the same Irish tradition found in the gospelbook known as the Book of Armagh.[40] To add to the complexity, in addition to three Vulgate exemplars of Acts, Bede turned also to at least three different Old Latin versions. The most consistently used text is that exemplified in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laudianus graec. 35, a Latin and Greek manuscript of Acts which dates from the sixth or seventh century and is very likely to be a manuscript actually used by Bede at Jarrow.[41] In these commentaries on Acts, Bede again and again draws attention to readings on which his various sources disagree, and in general he concedes authority to the Greek, or to Old Latin versions derived from them. Thus, in a quotation from Acts II.34, the earlier work has 'dicit dominus domino meo', but the later 'dixit dominus domino meo', and here Bede comments: 'Quidam codices habent *dicit dominus* sed Graeca exemplaria et in hoc libro et in psalterio habent *dixit dominus*.'[42] His citation of Acts VI.10 in the *Expositio* has the simple Vulgate version, 'et non poterant resistere sapientiae et spiritui quo loquebatur'. In the later work, however, Bede cites the same words and then writes, 'In Graeco habet plus . . .' and repeats the words but qualifies 'sapientiae' with 'quae erat in eo' and 'spiritui' with 'sancto', and then adds, 'propter quod redarguerentur ab eo cum omni fiducia'. The additions derive, indeed, from the Septuagint.[43]

Paul Meyvaert has argued that Bede, as a textual critic, may have been 'the most important forerunner of the Carolingian revival'.[44] His influence may have reached later continental scholars with a keen interest in improving the quality of texts, including Theodulf of Orléans, who we know read Bede's works.[45]

[38] 'The Latin Versions of Acts known to the Venerable Bede', in his *Intellectual Heritage*, pp. 150–64.

[39] *Expositio Actuum apostolorum*, ed. Laistner, CCSL 121 (Turnhout, 1983), 3–99 and *Retractatio in Actus apostolorum*, ed. Laistner, pp. 103–63. The dating of the *Expositio* is Plummer's (*Baedae Opera* I, cxlvii).

[40] Paul Meyvaert's observation that Bede's preface to Romans seems to derive from the *prologus Hilarii* in the Book of Armagh offers further confirmation that Bede had an Irish text to hand; see 'Bede's *capitula lectionum* for the Old and New Testaments', *RB* 150 (1995), 348–80, at 378.

[41] See Laistner, 'The Latin Versions', pp. 157–9, and P. Meyvaert, 'Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth–Jarrow', *ASE* 8 (1979), 63–77, at 77.

[42] *Retractatio*, ed. Laistner, p. 116: 'Some codices have *dicit dominus* but the Greek exemplars, both in this book and in the psalter, have *dixit dominus*.' Bede's allusion is to Ps. CIX.1.

[43] *Retractatio*, ed. Laistner, p. 131.

[44] 'Bede the Scholar', p. 48.

[45] A. Freeman, 'Further Studies in the *Libri Carolini*', *Speculum* 40 (1965), 203–89, at 281.

J. D. A. Ogilvy has suggested a line of influence also from Bede to the celebrated textual critic, Lupus of Ferrières, via Alcuin and Alcuin's pupils, who in turn became teachers.[46] Lupus devoted himself to Cicero, but Theodulf, flourishing at the end of the eighth century, was responsible for what is now recognized as the first critical edition of the Vulgate, prepared from a wide variety of sources. The successive volumes produced at Orléans, of which six survive, constitute a work in progress, showing continuing emendation, mainly in the form of classified marginal annotations, some of them even made under the influence of a Hebrew scholar.[47] It is worth noting Bede's own frequent references in his exegetical works to what was in the Hebrew, though this information is derived mainly from Jerome.[48]

Bede had no illusions about the problems of transmitting scripture. He knew that many textual errors were not the result of deliberate variation but arose by accident in copying, and he highlighted numerals as a particular source of confusion for copyists.[49] Amiatinus itself (presumably unknown to Bede) illustrates this problem well in its text of the first book of Esdras. In II.64, the original attempt to express the figure 42,360 in Roman numerals, *XL II CCCLXL*, was wrong (though of course we do not know how far the exemplar may have been to blame), and it was still wrong after 'correction' to *XL II DCLX*, made at an unknown date. Bede, however, got it right in his commentary *In Ezram*.[50] The danger of the adverse influence of biblical citations familiar in the liturgy on copyists of Vulgate scripture was also known to Bede, and he commented specifically in his *Retractatio* on the incorrect use of *pentecosten* in Acts II.1.[51] Liturgical influence on Bede's own choice of variants is apparent in his commentary *In Canticum Abacuc*. The 'Song of Habakkuk', Hab. III.2–19, is one of seven Old Testament canticles prescribed for use in the Divine Office, and the version which Bede uses in the commentary is not that of the Vulgate but an Old Latin text characteristic of the Roman series of canticles.[52] Plummer noted the interesting fact that Bede

[46] *The Place of Wearmouth and Jarrow in Western Cultural History*, Jarrow Lecture 1968 (Jarrow, 1969), p. 7.

[47] See E. Dahlhaus-Berg, *Noua antiquitas et antiqua nouitas. Typologische Exegese und isidorianisches Geschichtsbild bei Theodulf von Orléans*, Kölner historische Abhandlungen 23 (Cologne and Vienna, 1975), 39–61; Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 94–6 and 135–47; and Marsden, *The Text*, pp. 19–22.

[48] A. C. Dionisotti, 'On Bede, Grammars, and Greek', *RB* 92 (1982), 111–41, at 128–9.

[49] See Plummer, in his introduction to *Baedae Opera* I, lvi and n. 3.

[50] *In Ezram et Neemiam*, ed. Hurst, p. 256.

[51] *Retractatio*, ed. Laistner, p. 109 (II.1). See Meyvaert, 'Bede the Scholar', p. 49.

[52] *In Canticum Abacuc*, ed. J. E. Hudson, CCSL 119B (Turnhout, 1983) 381–409. On Bede's promotion of the Old Latin versions of the canticles, see H. Schneider, *Die altlateinischen biblischen Cantica*, Texte und Arbeiten 29–30 (Beuron, 1938), 47–8.

even uses the expression 'alia translatio' in this commentary to signify the Vulgate, though in most of his works this would signify an Old Latin version.[53] The Vulgate text of Habakkuk in Amiatinus seems not to have escaped the influence of the liturgical version either, but it is very probable that the readings in question were already in the exemplar used for copying at Wearmouth–Jarrow.[54]

Bede knew that the largest number of variants arose during the process of translation itself, as different translators solved problems in different ways. Hence the frequent references of the sort we have seen in the *Retractatio* to what 'the Greeks' or 'certain codices' have. Paul Meyvaert has drawn attention to the statement Bede made in his preface to the *Retractatio* on Acts, in the preparation of which he had found discrepancies between his Latin and Greek texts. I quote it at length in translation:

> I have as yet not been able to determine whether some of the changes and omissions are due to the negligence of the translator, or to his use of different words, or whether we are dealing with a case of scribes altering the text and omitting words. I hesitate to suppose that the Greek exemplar itself was a faulty one. Let my reader therefore accept whatever comments I make on these matters as scholarly comments, and let him not on that account start to correct his own copy of Acts, unless perchance he discovers a very old manuscript of the Latin version which confirms these comments.[55]

Two points are of particular interest here. The first is Bede's reverence for the readings of the Greek texts, which he avers may sometimes be confirmed by the earliest (Old) Latin translations, and the second is his implicit acceptance that the emendation of scriptural manuscripts is a necessary task, so long as the alternative readings have authority. Applying this rule to some of the Amiatinan examples I gave above, we may perhaps assume that Bede would have had 'in deserto Sur' corrected in Gen. XVI.17, if he had become aware of the problem early enough; this may indeed have happened in the case of the sister pandects, which presumably had the same error and continued to be available. As for the variant *gratissima* in Prov. V.19, Bede obviously realized that it did not have ancient authority, for he notes simply that 'other codices' have it, but perhaps he considered it only of minor importance. In the case of the reading in Acts II.34, Amiatinus has *dicit* but Bede took *dixit* to be authoritative reading (that is, derived from the Greek). As the *Retractatio* was not written until some years after Amiatinus had left Northumbria, it would have been too late for Bede to have effected an emendation there, though it is tempting to assume that he would have done so if able to.

[53] *Baedae Opera* I, p. lv, n. 1. [54] See my *The Text*, p. 215.
[55] *Retractatio*, ed. Laistner, p. 103; Meyvaert's translation, 'Bede the Scholar', p. 50.

Such assumptions, however, must be made with caution, for the fact is that emendations were indeed made to Amiatinus before June 716 and that at least one of them did involve a variant addition highlighted, like *dixit*, in the *Retractatio*. The emendation in question is the one made to Acts VI.10, which I discussed above. The extra eight words, deriving from the Septuagint, were not originally in Amiatinus, but they were added before the codex left England in 716. As originally written, the verse had ended conveniently with 'loquebatur' on a line by itself, so there was space to add 'propter quod redargue' immediately after it, but the rest of the addition, 'rentur ab eo cum omni fiducia', was put at the top of the column, signalled by a characteristic Wearmouth–Jarrow *signe de renvoi*, the diagonal line with a dot above and below. In their critical edition of the Vulgate New Testament, Wordsworth and White identified the addition as the work of the original scribe ('A^1'), with the implication that the words had been in his exemplar but were accidentally omitted at first. I think this is unlikely. Certainly the addition was written by one of the team of astonishingly consistent Wearmouth–Jarrow scribes, using a similar pen and ink, but its relative untidiness renders comparison with the main script difficult. Although we must certainly label the addition 'contemporary', there might still be many months, perhaps several years, between its execution and that of the main writing. It is most improbable that the extra words were already in the exemplar, for it would be a remarkable coincidence if the copyist (in the absence of any repetition of words which might provoke eye-slip) had managed accidentally to omit eight words which not only formed a complete clause but which also happened to be a Greek-derived addition which is rare in Latin manuscripts. The only Vulgate witness which Wordsworth and White recorded in their edition as having the addition as an original part of the text is the Book of Armagh (Dublin, Trinity College 52; their siglum D), whose influence on Bede in his *Retractatio* was of course noted by Laistner.[56] It seems to me likely, therefore, that a scribe was set to make the addition in Amiatinus by Bede, after the latter had encountered the amplified reading in the Irish-influenced exemplar which was among his three Vulgate versions of Acts. Along with many other variant readings, he would eventually draw attention to it in the *Retractatio*. What is thus confirmed (and it is scarcely surprising) is that, although this work was not written until about 725, the material which it incorporates had been accumulated over the intervening years since Bede's writing of the *Expositio*. If he had also become aware of the variant reading *dicit* in Acts II.34 before 716, we must assume that he did not consider it of enough importance to warrant an emendation in Amiatinus, despite its impeccable Greek pedigree.

[56] See above, p. 73.

Among other examples of Northumbrian emendation in Amiatinus, one of the most interesting occurs in the eighth chapter of Genesis, which includes the story of the raven which was sent out by Noah from the ark to seek dry land. The original text of Amiatinus in Gen. VIII.7 had the version 'qui egrediebatur et reuertebatur donec siccarentur aquae super terram', where the tense of the first two Latin verbs conveys the idea of the raven's continually going and returning to the ark – it 'went out and returned until the waters over the earth dried up'. This version accurately renders the Hebrew and is likely to have been in the Northumbrian exemplar imported from Italy; certainly it is in the other two surviving 'archetypal' Vulgate manuscript sources for the book, the seventh-century Tours Pentateuch (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2340) and the eighth-century Codex Ottonbonianus (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Ottob. lat. 66).[57] I assume, too, that the same version had been copied already into the first two pandects in Northumbria. However, before Amiatinus left England an emendation was made. A *non* was inserted, in a small untidy hand, over the second verb of the passage, *reuertebatur* (on 15r), so that now we read that the raven went out but did *not* return to the ark. This negative version was not new. It originated in the Septuagint and was carried over into the Old Latin versions of Genesis, which characteristically have the form 'et exiens non est reuersus', with the verb in the perfect tense. Eventually the negative version reached many of the Vulgate manuscripts, too (modifying 'reuertebatur'), and then the printed editions. In his *Hebraice quaestiones*, Jerome showed his awareness of the two possibilities, using a negative version for his lemma of Gen. VIII.7 but adding that 'in other cases' an alternative version was to be found.[58] Augustine offers in one of his works, on John, an interpretation of the negative version which assumes that the raven drowned in the flood, but in another, on the Heptateuch, he states that the question has been asked, whether the raven did in fact die or whether it found some other means to live, and he notes that many have conjectured that it rested on a floating corpse.[59] This theory is given extended treatment by Isidore, in his *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*.[60]

[57] See *Vetus Latina* II, 119–20 and *Biblia Sacra* I, 169.

[58] *Hebraice quaestiones*, ed. de Lagarde, p. 10. He uses a different Old Latin version, not the one which reached the Vulgate; thus: 'Et de coruo aliter dicitur "emisit coruum et egressus est exiens et reuertens".' In the same place, Jerome notes a variation between what is in the Hebrew and the Latin earlier in the verse, but he does not seem to attribute the positive version of the raven's activities to the Hebrew.

[59] *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, ed. R. Willems, CCSL 36 (Turnhout, 1954), 63–4 (VI.19) and *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 33 (Turnhout, 1958), 5 (I.13).

[60] PL 83, 233. For a very useful account of patristic treatments of the raven, see M. McC. Gatch, 'Noah's Raven in *Genesis A* and the Illustrated Old English Heptateuch', *Gesta* 14.2 (1975), 3–15, at 4–6.

It is the negative version (with the imperfect verbs of the Vulgate, *egrediebatur* and *reuertebatur*) which Bede uses in his commentary *In Genesim*, and quite deliberately, for he analyses the passage very carefully and gives an explanation which compares the vagrancy of the raven, in not seeking again the window of the ark whence it flew, to the state of the Christian who refuses to leave the darkness of earthly delights, loving the wide paths of the world more than the confinement of a churchly existence.[61] Elsewhere, in *De Tabernaculo* and *Homeliae*, Bede sees in the recalcitrant raven a figure for those who, after baptism, become apostates.[62] It seems very likely to me, therefore, that Bede was responsible for the emendation in Amiatinus. His commentary on this passage was probably written after 721, yet it would not be surprising, in view of its prominence in the works of church writers, that the alternative reading came to his attention far earlier and that, as with the emendation in Acts, he caused the addition of *non* to be made in the period between the finishing of Amiatinus and its export.[63]

I have speculated elsewhere that Bede might himself have added *non* above Gen. VIII.7 in Amiatinus.[64] There can of course be no proof. We know from Bede's own comments that he did sometimes copy complete works himself, including, according to its prologue, his commentary on Luke,[65] but none of the claims that have been made over the years in respect of specific manuscripts alleged to be in Bede's hand can be substantiated. Durham Cathedral Library catalogues of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries listed three such manuscripts, including a gospelbook, with the assertion that they were 'de manu Bedae'; and a fourth Durham manuscript has 'de manu Bedae' added in a fourteenth-century hand. However, there is no reason whatever to suppose that Bede did in fact copy any of these manuscripts. No doubt the attributions reflected old traditions, but these probably had more to do with the relic value of some Bede manuscripts than with good historical evidence.[66] As for the St Petersburg manuscript of the *Historia ecclesiastica* (known previously as the 'Leningrad Bede'), with its famous 'signature of Bede', there is now a consensus among scholars that the signature is a medieval forgery, associated with that same tradition of autograph manuscripts.[67]

[61] *In Genesim* II: '. . . cuius egressui atque itineri recte comparantur hi qui sacramentis quidem celestibus institui atque imbuti sunt, nec tamen nigredinem terrenae oblectationis exuentes, lata potius mundi itinera quam ecclesiasticae conuersationis claustra diligunt' (ed. Jones, p. 123).

[62] *Homeliae* II, ed. Hurst, CCSL 119A (Turnhout, 1969), 69 and I.12, ed. Hurst, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), 87, respectively.

[63] On the dating, see Jones's discussion, *In Genesim*, ed. Jones, pp. vi–x.

[64] *The Text*, p. 204.

[65] Meyvaert, 'Bede the Scholar', p. 49 and n. 39.

[66] See M. R. James, 'The Manuscripts of Bede', *Bede: his Life, Times and Writings*, ed. A. H. Thompson (Oxford, 1935), pp. 230–6.

[67] See P. Meyvaert, 'The Bede Signature in the Leningrad Colophon', *RB* 71 (1961), 274–86.

Bede's contribution to Ceolfrith's bibles

As I noted above, Paul Meyvaert has wondered whether the distinctive, rather sloping hand responsible for the summaries of scriptural division in two of the three diagrams in the first quire might be Bede's. He has pointed out further that, if the same hand made some of the corrections which appear throughout the Bible (as David Wright, who made the standard analysis of the calligraphy of Amiatinus, has indicated),[68] then these could be by Bede also. The handwriting in the diagrams is that of someone apparently writing quite fast and without the fastidious attention to the detail of letter forms which is so characteristic of the team of expert scribes of the main text, who wrote the Wearmouth–Jarrow uncial with such consistency between themselves. Notable in the less formal script is the absence of the controlled and stately roundedness and symmetry of the main script. There are longer descenders, with some longer than others, variation in the angle of slope of descenders and ascenders, which may even affect repeated letters within a single word, and huge variety in the detail of letter forms, such that it would be difficult to isolate any one example of **u**, **o**, **p**, **l** or **d** (to name only the most obvious cases) as the writer's characteristic form. It is indeed very likely that some of the corrections in Amiatinus are by the same person who wrote the diagram script. However, although the manuscript was very competently copied and errors were relatively few, they still amount cumulatively, through more than two thousand pages, to a considerable number, and there are also several hundred emendations, additions and annotations made during the centuries after the codex reached Italy. The variety of scripts and styles involved in all these alterations is huge, and the daunting task of dating and classifying all of them has yet to be tackled.

BEDE AND THE SISTER PANDECT

Finally, however, I turn from Amiatinus to the surviving leaves of the sister pandect and the alterations made to their text. These are comparatively few in number, but I believe that they reveal clearly a textual scholar at work. The eleven leaves plus fragments which are in London, British Library, Add. 37777 and 45025, have text from III–IV Kings, and the single leaf in Loan 81 has part of Sirach XXXV–XXXVII. Overall there are about a dozen corrections and six emendations in the leaves, all apparently made before the codex containing them left Northumbria, with some of the corrections probably by the original copyist himself.[69] Three of the emendations are relatively minor, but the other three are additions to the text, and these are of the greatest interest. Each of them, shown here in italics, is in the second chapter of IV Kings:

[68] 'Some Notes on English Uncial', *Traditio* 17 (1961), 441–56, at 443 and 452. I suggest examples in *The Text*, p. 185.

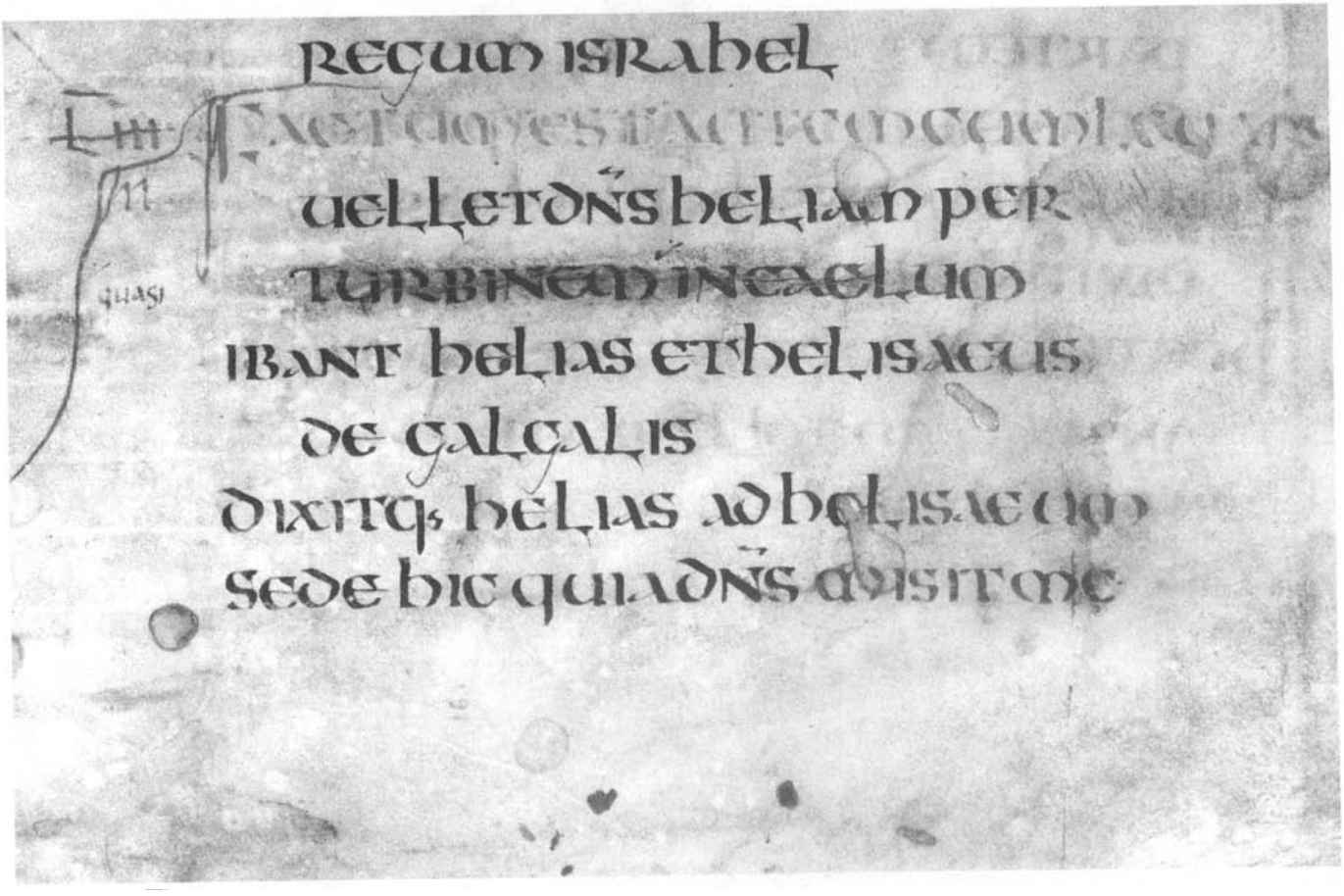
[69] *The Text*, pp. 195–9. My previous conviction (p. 195) that *suis* in III Kings XI.43, on Add. 37777, was added by a corrector has weakened after a recent reappraisal of the manuscript.

II.1 cum leuare uellet Dominus Heliam per turbinem *quasi* in caelum
II.11 et ascendit Helias per turbinem *quasi usque* in caelum
II.14 et pallio Heliae quod ceciderat ei percussit aquas *et non sunt diuisae*

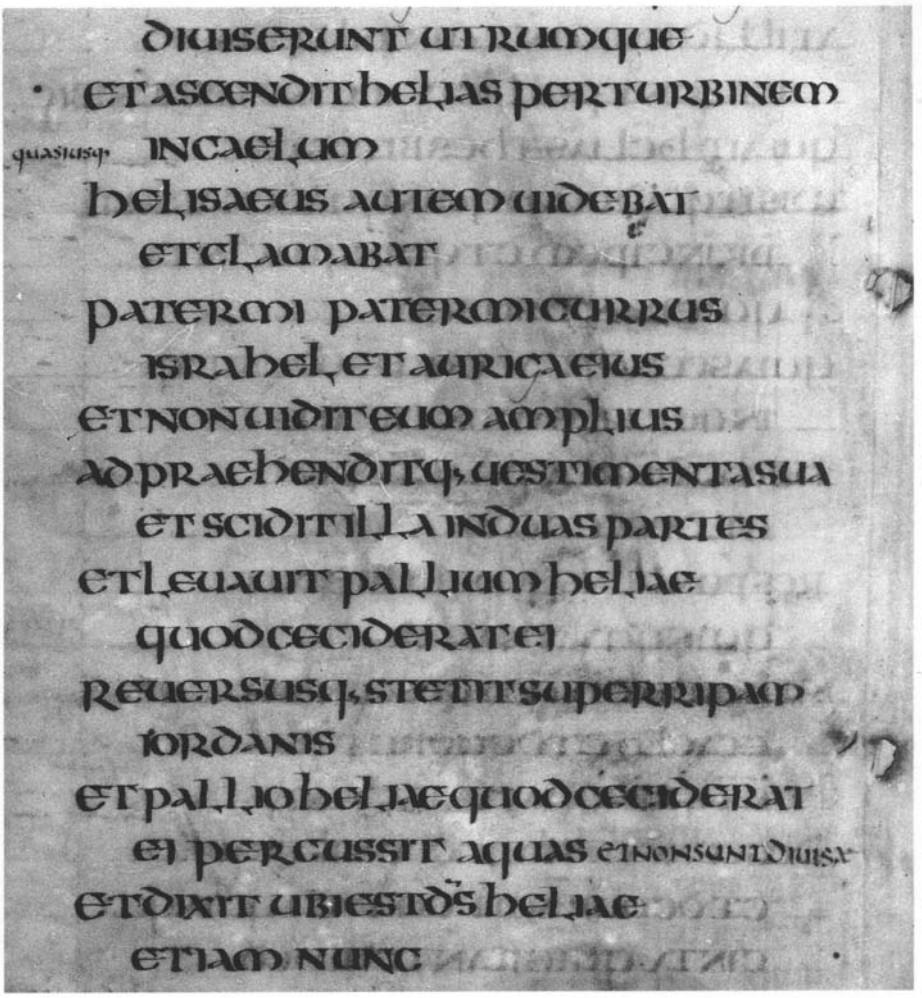
The additions in II.1 and II.11 have both been written in a small, informal hand in the margin to the left of the main text. The first (pl. I) has been placed quite far out in the margin, where it is now bordered by a red decorative line associated with a new chapter number, added in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It is accompanied by a *signe de renvoi*, consisting of a short oblique 'ticked' line with a dot above and below it, which parallels the same sign placed above the adjacent line of text, between *turbinem* and *in*. This way of signalling insertions was used commonly in Amiatinus also. The second addition (pl. II), 'quasi usque', stands in the margin immediately adjacent to the words it qualifies, which comprise a half-line of their own. The third, 'et non sunt diuisae' (pl. II), has been placed immediately after the phrase it complements, at the end of a conveniently short line.

Assessment of the number of people responsible for the additions is difficult. The first *quasi*, in II.1, is notable for a rather long **s**, which extends below the line and is written with a continuous movement of the pen, and a **q** with a fairly short descender. This contrasts with 'quasi usque' in II.11, where the **q** in both words has a very long descender and the **s** is written in two parts and confined within the normal two-line letter area. The first and second **u** in 'quasi usque' differ from each other, and neither quite resembles the **u** of *quasi* in II.1. Both additions have a very slight sloping tendency in relation to the main text script. The ink of the first has faded to a mid-brown; that of the second is almost as dark as the main script. In the case of 'et non sunt diuisae', an effort was made, it seems, to mimic the formal uncial of the main text, though the new script is considerably smaller and the **e** looks more minuscule than uncial. The bowl of the uncial **d** is exceptionally open and the **t** in both *et* and *sunt* has a very short horizontal stroke. The circle of the **o** is incomplete, with the gap at the start of the letter, to the left of a notional vertical line. Up to the **d** of *diuisae*, the addition has been written with the same generous use of space as in the main script, but the rest of *diuisae* has been squeezed and is untidy, no doubt owing to the difficulty of writing near the gutter of a bound book. The addition acquires a slight slope as it proceeds. The use of the digraph **æ** for *ae* parallels the occasional practice of the scribes of the main text when space is at a premium.

There are, then, obvious calligraphic differences between the three additions, and yet I believe that there are enough general similarities between the writing of 'quasi usque' in verse 11 and 'quae non sunt diuisae' in verse 14 to warrant the conclusion that these two additions, at least, may have been the responsibility of



1 London, British Library, Add. 45025, 3r (detail, scale 13:10)



II London, British Library, Add. 45025, 3v (detail, scale 9:10)

one writer. It is perhaps less likely, but still possible, that he also wrote 'quasi' in verse 1.

But why were the additions made? Both 'quasi' and 'quasi usque' are of Septuagint origin (II.1 and 11: ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν),[70] and the second, at least, seems to have been current in Old Latin texts, though the only witness I know is the fourth-century Lucifer of Cagliari.[71] The appearance of either in Vulgate manuscripts of any period is rare. The former, 'quasi' in II.1, is recorded in a Spanish bible of the tenth century, the Codex Gothicus (León, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro 2), and is a marginal addition in another of the twelfth century (Madrid, Academia de la Historia Aemiliana 2–3); and 'quasi usque' in II.11 is part of the original text of one eleventh-century Italian manuscript from Monte Cassino (Archivio della Badia, 572) and appears again as a marginal addition in the twelfth-century Spanish manuscript just noted. It is therefore all the more significant that Bede, who alludes frequently in his works to the taking up of Elijah to heaven, cites II.11 with the additional words at least twice.[72] In a chapter on the six ages of the world in his *De temporum ratione*, composed in 725, he writes 'helias curru igneo rapitur quasi usque in caelum'.[73] Here Elijah's translation is presented simply as an historical event and Bede makes no comment on the passage. However, when Bede cites the verse in his *In ascensione Domini*, one of the collection of homilies on the Gospels composed late in his life, between 730 and 735, the significance of the addition is made quite clear. Describing how the conversation between Elijah and Heliseus was suddenly interrupted by the fiery chariot, Bede is at pains to distinguish between Elijah's elevation and Christ's: 'cumque incedentes sermocinarentur ecce curru igneo repente raptus "Helias", ut scriptura ait, "ascendit *quasi* usque in caelum". Qua euectione significatur quod Helias non in ipsum caelum ut dominus noster sed in altum aeris huius subleuatus est ac deinde inuisibiliter ad paradisi gaudia relatus.'[74] Elijah has been taken up *as though* to heaven, yet not in fact to heaven proper, where Christ is, but simply to the heights of what we may call the upper atmosphere. However, an

[70] But ὡς is absent from Origen's recension.

[71] *De Athanasio* (I.xx): 'et ascendit Helias in commotionem quasi in caelum' (ed. Diercks, p. 36). This is the only Old Latin citation noted by P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum latinae uersiones antiquae seu uetus Italica*, 3 vols. (Rheims, 1743–9) I, 598–9.

[72] He does not seem to cite II.1 specifically anywhere.

[73] *De temporum ratione*, ed. Jones, p. 477 (ch. lxvi): 'Elijah was snatched away in a fiery chariot, as though into heaven'. On the dating, which is known from internal evidence, see Jones's introduction, p. 241.

[74] *Homeliae* II.15 (ed. Hurst, p. 287, my emphasis): 'And as they continued to converse together, behold: snatched away suddenly in a fiery chariot, as scripture says, "Elijah ascended *as though* into heaven". By this upwards flight it is made known that Elijah was not taken up to heaven itself, as our Lord was, but into the upper atmosphere, whence he was carried invisibly to the joys of paradise.' On the dating, see Hurst, p. vii.

even more explicit explanation of the importance of the limiting adverb *quasi* in respect of Elijah is given by Bede in that comparatively early work which I have discussed already, the *Expositio Actuum apostolorum*, apparently written in 709 or shortly after. Interpreting the words 'hic Iesus qui adsumptus est a uobis in caelum', which are spoken in Acts I.11 by the two angels who appear beside the disciples as they watch Christ ascend into heaven,[75] Bede explains: 'Ob duas illis causas angeli uidentur, ut uidelicet ascensionis tristitiam regressionis commemoratione consolarentur, et ut uere in caelum illum ire monstrarent et non *quasi* in caelum sicut Heliam.'[76]

Frequent reference to Elijah's elevation is made in the writings of Ambrose, and in two of his works which were known to Bede he stresses the distinction between Christ and the prophet.[77] In the *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam* he writes, '[S]ed non Helias Christus; ille rapitur, iste regreditur; ille inunam [*sic.*] rapitur, iste rapinam non arbitratus est esse se aequalem deo.'[78] And again in *De fide*, citing Matt. X.24 and stressing the significance of resurrection as a prelude to true elevation to heaven, he explains: 'Translatus erat Enoch, raptus Helias, sed "non est seruus supra dominum. Nullus" enim "ascendit in caelum nisi qui descendit e caelo" . . . Translatus ergo Enoch, raptus Helias, ambo famuli, ambo cum corpore, sed non post resurrectionem, non cum manubiis mortis et triumpho crucis uiderant illos angeli.'[79] It is a theme which, in a later age, Abbot Ælfric would carefully expound in a vernacular homily composed, like Bede's, on the theme of the Ascension.[80]

[75] Acts I.10–11: 'And while they were beholding him going up to heaven, behold two men stood by them in white garments, who also said: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven? This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven shall so come as you have seen him going into heaven".'

[76] *Expositio*, ed. Laistner, p. 9 (my emphasis): 'The angels appeared to them for two reasons, namely to console them for the sadness of his ascension by reminding them of his return and to show that he had truly gone to heaven and not, like Elijah, *as though* to heaven.'

[77] On Bede's knowledge of Ambrose, see Laistner, 'The Library', pp. 145–6.

[78] *Expositio*, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32.4 (Vienna, 1897), 274 (VI.96); cf. Phil. II.6: 'But Christ was not Elijah; the one was snatched away, the other will return; the one was snatched away, the other "thought it not robbery to be equal with God".'

[79] *De fide*, ed. O. Faller, CSEL 78 (Vienna, 1962), 160 (IV.1,8); cf. John III.13: 'Enoch was carried off, Elijah snatched away, but "the servant is not above his master"; for "none hath ascended into heaven but he who descended from heaven" . . . Therefore Enoch was carried off, Elijah snatched away, both as servants, both in the body – but not after resurrection, nor with the spoils of death and the triumph of the cross, had angels seen them.'

[80] *In ascensione Domini*: 'we rædað on ðære ealdan æ þæt twegen godes men. henoh. and helias wæron ahafene to heofonum butan deaðe. ac hi elcyað ongean þam deaðe. and mid ealle ne forfleoð; Hi sind genumene to lyftenre heofenan: na to rodorlicere. ac drohtniað on sumum diglum earde mid micelre strencðe lichaman and sawle. oð ðæt hi eft ongean cyrron on ende þisre worulde togeanes antecriste. and deaðes onfoð' (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series. Text*, ed. P. Clemoes, EETS ss 17 (Oxford, 1997), 352).

In view of Bede's acquaintance with Ambrosian exegesis on Elijah, and his use of the amplified version of IV Kings II.11 in his own exegetical works, I would suggest that his direct connection with the emendation in the sister pandect is highly likely. The similar alteration to II.1 will probably have been made by simple analogy at the same time, or later.

The third addition, that of 'et non sunt diuisae' to 'et pallio Heliae quod ceciderat ei percussit aquas' in IV Kings II.14, reflects a frequent emendation in the Septuagint.[81] Indeed, although it is not in the Masoretic Hebrew text, some commentators have considered it to be an original part of the passage, for it makes sense of the question which Heliseus asks, after he has struck the waters of the Jordan with Elijah's cloak the first time, to no apparent effect: 'ubi est Deus Heliae etiam nunc?'[82] It is as much an invocation as a question, and it is effective, for at the second attempt Heliseus succeeds in parting the waters of the Jordan. There is no recorded Vulgate use of the addition before its appearance in a number of early-ninth-century bibles, including those produced at Tours from about 800 onwards, but after this it spread widely and eventually became standard in all Vulgate manuscripts and editions.[83] The Ceolfrithian pandect fragment thus has the distinction of being our earliest known biblical witness to the amplification, even if it is there as an emendation rather than as an original reading. Gregory the Great shows his familiarity with the amplified Septuagint version in his *Dialogi*. He does not cite the passage in full but presents the actions of Heliseus (as given in the Septuagint version) as an exemplary parallel when he relates a miracle enacted by a monk called Libertinus. This devout man carried everywhere with him a shoe which had belonged to his late master and abbot, Honoratus (just as Heliseus kept possession of Elijah's cloak). Libertinus was able to bring a dead child back to life by laying the shoe on its chest, but only after he had also, showing due humility in respect of his own unaided powers, called on God in the name of Honoratus. Similarly, explains Gregory, only after Heliseus had invoked the name of his master, Elijah, did his attempts to divide the waters of the Jordan, by striking them with Elijah's cloak, succeed: 'Nam Heliseus quoque magistri pallium ferens atque ad Iordanem ueniens, percussit semel *et aquas minime diuisit*. Sed cum repente diceret: "Vbi est Deus Heliae etiam nunc?", percussit fluuium magistri pallio et iter inter aquas fecit.'[84] Bede does not appear to cite IV Kings II.14 in any of his works, and thus

[81] καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ οὐ διέστη. The addition is lacking in the fourth-century Vaticanus and the fifth-century Alexandrinus manuscripts of the Greek Bible, however.

[82] See J. Robinson, *The Second Book of Kings* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 26–7.

[83] Some manuscripts have 'quae non sunt diuisae'; see *Biblia Sacra* VI, 215–16.

[84] *Dialogi* I, ii, 7 (*Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, ed. A. de Vogüé, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes 251, 260 and 265 (Paris, 1978–80) II, 30; my emphasis): 'Just as Heliseus, coming to the Jordan and taking his master's cloak, struck the first time, *but the waters did not divide*. But as soon as he had

the case for his interest in the expanded version is only circumstantial. Nevertheless, Laistner has noted Bede's 'profound admiration' for Gregory and his 'constant indebtedness' to him, and certainly Bede knew Gregory's *Dialogi*, along with several other works.[85] He could have been familiar with the addition from the Old Latin text of the *Codex grandior*, the pandect brought to Wearmouth–Jarrow from Rome by Benedict Biscop, and also perhaps directly from the Greek text of the Septuagint.[86] The case for his responsibility for the addition of 'et non sunt diuisae' to the pandect, as with the addition to the earlier verse in the same chapter, is I believe a fairly persuasive one.

The evidence of these three additions in the dozen surviving leaves of the sister pandect leads me to suspect that, if the whole had survived, we would find it liberally supplied with such emendations, and I do not doubt that Bede would have instigated them. As various textual cruces came to his attention during his writing of his exegetical works, over two decades, he decided that some at least were amplifications which it would be appropriate to add to the Jarrow pandect. We cannot know whether they were added only in this pandect (in which case this is the volume from which the leaves in the British Library survive) or into the Wearmouth volume also.

I conclude by taking speculation a stage further. It is quite possible that Bede had the emendations entered by an assistant – one of his pupils, perhaps. Yet it seems to me at least as likely that he wrote them himself and that it may therefore be Bede's hand that we see in the emendations to IV Kings on the sister pandect leaves. When I study the emendations, I am inevitably reminded of a script I have discussed already, that of two of the diagrammatic summaries of scriptoral division which appear in the opening quire of the Codex Amiatinus. The most obvious feature of this handwriting is of course inconsistency in the detailed formation of the letters, and inconsistency in itself cannot be a reliable criterion of comparison. Yet the additions on the leaves of Add. 45025 do seem to me to show the same range of variation as the script of the diagrams, the same degree of informality, the same sloping tendency (though it is far less pronounced), and also echoes of some of the details of letter form. To put the argument more guardedly: in my view, none of the words in the additions would look out of place in the diagrams. The same applies, incidentally, to the other corrections in the sister leaves, most of which involve single letters.

said, "Where is now the God of Elijah?", he struck the river with his master's cloak and made a path through the waters.' The only other church writer I have noted as using the expanded version of IV Kings II.14 is Hrabanus Maurus, in the ninth century, who cites the verse in his *Commentarius in Regibus* IV.2 (PL 109, 224).

[85] Laistner, 'The Library', p. 129; and see also p. 147.

[86] Marsden, *The Text*, pp. 130–2; and on Bede's direct use of Greek scripture, see Laistner, 'The Library', p. 140.

Bede's contribution to Ceolfrith's bibles

As I noted above, Paul Meyvaert has wondered whether the handwriting in the Amiatinan diagrams might be that of Bede, and it is tempting to use this to bolster my own argument that the emendations in the sister pandect are his also. But that would be to argue in a circle, with conjecture endlessly chasing speculation; the case cannot be proven. It is plausible enough, nevertheless, to imagine Bede (whether or not he wrote the text in the Amiatinan diagrams), steadily emending the Ceolfrithian biblical text during the second and third decades of the eighth century. His interest in textual criticism of the Bible is well established, as we have seen, and there is evidence enough that even in Amiatinus, which was available only until early 716, deliberate emendations were already being made, surely under Bede's influence, if not by his own pen. As I have pointed out already, our view of the 'Ceolfrithian' (perhaps we ought to say 'Bedan–Ceolfrithian') text of scripture is inevitably restricted, because it was all but cut off in 716. But the sister leaves offer us a glimpse of the Northumbrian after-life of that text, during the period when it was still in use daily by the Wearmouth–Jarrow brethren and under the scrutiny of Bede, who never stopped reading and learning and reappraising. If all three of the Northumbrian pandects had survived complete and could be compared, I suspect that they would together resemble in a modest way the bibles produced nearly one hundred years later under the direction of Bede's continental successor in textual study, Theodulf – constituting between them, that is, a critical edition of the Vulgate.[87]

[87] I acknowledge the generous input of George Hardin Brown and Paul Meyvaert during the preparation of this article, which began as a paper given at a conference on 'The Golden Age of Northumbria' at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, July 1996.