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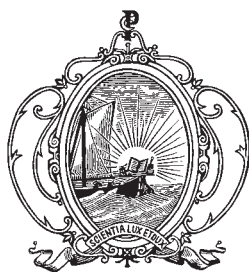
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The Layout of Early Latin Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles and their Oldest Manuscripts

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the layout of the earliest Latin commentaries on Paul, with a particular focus on the treatment of the biblical text. Two types of evidence are used: the physical format of the oldest surviving manuscripts and internal evidence about the structure of the commentary. After an examination of the evidence for quotation practice from the fourth to the sixth century, the following authors are considered: Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Augustine, the Budapest Anonymous Commentary, Pelagius, Rufinus' translation of Origen and the Latin version of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Commentary manuscripts copied between the fifth and ninth centuries exhibit a variety of layouts, and provide evidence for the substitution of the biblical text, the loss of distinguishing features and even changes in format. Nevertheless, each work has a textual tradition which reflects characteristics of its structure and may offer indications of the possible original layout. The significance of the presentation should be taken into consideration in the creation and use of modern critical editions of these writings.

How did the earliest Latin commentators on the New Testament intend their work to be presented? With what sorts of layout were they familiar, and did they choose to conform to these or adopt something new? To what extent does their textual tradition reflect later expectations about the commentary format and, indeed, the biblical text? The paucity of manuscripts surviving from the time of these writers and the following centuries makes these questions difficult to answer with confidence. Nevertheless, in bringing together the evidence which does remain, this article hopes to make a fresh contribution to the study of early New Testament commentaries and their reception. The focus will be

¹ The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 283302 (COMPAUL). I should like to thank my colleagues on the COMPAUL project, Tommy Wasserman, and Patrick McGurk for their comments on a draft of this article, as well as Daniel Hadas, Thomas O'Loughlin, Gert Partoens, Luise Frenkel, Walter Dunphy, Marie Pauliat and other delegates at the Seventeenth International Patristics Conference for additional information and feedback on my presentation. Thanks too to the holding institutions who have kindly granted permission for the reproduction of images.

on Latin commentators on Paul from the fourth and fifth centuries: Marius Victorinus, Jerome, Augustine, Pelagius, the writer known as Ambrosiaster, and a further anonymous commentary, only preserved in a Budapest manuscript, which has been attributed to Constantius, an anti-Pelagian writer in Rome.² In addition, Rufinus' translation of Origen and the Latin version of Theodore of Mopsuestia were created during this period. Two sorts of evidence will be investigated: the internal evidence from the text and structure of the commentary as it has been transmitted, and the external evidence of the layout of manuscripts of these works. The latter is mostly restricted to those copied before the tenth century, although in some cases it is necessary to use later witnesses.

Ancient Observations on Quotation Practice

Authors in late antiquity commonly composed by dictating to a secretary but there are indications that some, at least, were concerned about the physical presentation of their work.³ Guidance on the way in which quotations were to be indicated is rare. Augustine reproduced portions of his opponents' treatises in his polemical works in order to provide a basis for his refutation. Some of these are presented in the form of dialogues, in which he turns his opponent's text into an imaginary interlocutor (e.g. *Contra Faustum*, *Contra Gaudentium* and the second book of *Contra litteras Petiliani*). In each case, the source is clearly indicated before the extracts: Augustine describes the practice as 'putting his words first in extracts under his own name and, underneath, my response to each detail'.⁴ This is also found in transcripts of genuine dialogues, such as *Contra Felicem Manichaeum* and the Conference of Carthage in 411. In other writings, such as the first and third books of *Contra litteras Petiliani* or *Contra Iulianum*, the quotations are integrated into the treatise and identified by comments such as *quod dicis* or *inquis*. An explicit instruction about quotation marks comes from Rufinus of Aquileia, in his *Apology against Jerome*:

² Theodore S. De Bruyn, 'Constantius the *Tractator*: Author of an Anonymous Commentary on the Pauline Epistles?', *JTS* ns 43 (1992), 38-54.

³ Examples of this may be seen in Augustine's instructions about the division of *De ciuitate dei* between codices (*Letter to Firmus/Epistula 1A*), or the references to the use of different coloured inks for the Eusebian apparatus in the Gospels (Jerome, *Epistula ad Damasum*) and Priscillian's canons for the *Pauline Epistles* (ed. Georg Schepss, CSEL 18 [Vienna, 1889], 111). The latter practice goes back to Eusebius' own *Letter to Carpianus* (quoted in Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th edition [Stuttgart, 2012], 90*).

⁴ *Uerba scilicet eius sub ipsius nomine prius ponens particulatim et sub meo per singula responsionem meam* (*Retractiones* 2.25). On this practice, see further Hugh A.G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John. Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts* (Oxford, 2008), 42.

In order that the insertions I am now making in this work from elsewhere may cause no confusion to the reader, they have single marks at the beginnings of the lines if they are mine and double ones if they are my opponent's.⁵

This presentation is also found in Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans*, which will be discussed below. The fifth-century treatise known as *Praedestinatus*, ascribed by its most recent editor to Arnobius the Younger, explains that it indicates quotations from the book it refutes with a marginal symbol:

Wherever the words are from this book, they are revealed by horizontal dashes at the end of each line.⁶

This type of mark is found for non-biblical quotations in early manuscripts of other Latin works.⁷

The first reference in Latin to the presentation of biblical quotations, however, appears to be in the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, in his explanation of the *diple* symbol:

Copyists of our day put this in books of ecclesiastical writers to separate or to indicate quotations from the Holy Scriptures.⁸

In fact, the use of the *diple*, shaped like an arrow-head (>), goes back at least as far as Aristarchus of Samothrace, librarian of Alexandria in the second century BC, who employed it to draw attention to matters of interest in the text of Homer. In Greek literary works, it often indicates the beginning of a new section or speech. Numerous early Christian manuscripts in Greek include *diploi* alongside biblical quotations, including a papyrus fragment of Irenaeus of Lyons copied around the year 200 where they mark the text of *Matth.* 3:15-6.⁹

⁵ *Sane ne in legendo error sit ex his, quae huic scripturae nunc aliunde inserimus, si quidem mea sunt, simplices ad uersuum capita habent notas, si accusatoris mei, duplices* (Rufinus, *Apology*, 1.12). Text and translation from Caroline P. Hammond, 'A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium Preserving Conventions used by Rufinus of Aquileia', *JTS* ns 29 (1978), 366-91: this study, which I encountered late in the preparation of this article, has an overview of Latin quotation practice on 378-81; see also Caroline P. Hammond Bammel, 'Products of Fifth-Century Scriptoria Preserving Conventions Used by Rufinus of Aquileia', *JTS* ns 30 (1979), 430-62 and 35 (1984), 347-93.

⁶ *Ubi cumque autem eiusdem libri sunt dicta, lineis a tergo uersuum iacentibus deteguntur*. (*Praedestinatus* 3.17, ed. Franco Gori, CChr.SL 25B [Turnhout, 2000]).

⁷ See further C.P. Hammond Bammel, 'A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium' (1978), 381 and Patrick McGurk, 'Citation Marks in early Latin Manuscripts', *Scriptorium* 15 (1961), 3-13 (reprinted in Patrick McGurk, *Gospel Books and Early Latin Manuscripts* [Aldershot, 1998], 8).

⁸ *Hanc scriptores nostri adponunt in libris ecclesiasticorum uirorum ad separanda uel [ad] demonstranda testimonia sanctorum scripturarum* (Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.21.13, ed. W.M. Lindsay [Oxford, 1911]).

⁹ P.Oxy. III 405; Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 4413. On the history and early examples of the *diple* in Latin, see P. McGurk, 'Citation Marks' (1961); the later development of

Quotation Practice in Latin Manuscripts from the Fourth to the Sixth Centuries

The earliest surviving Christian manuscripts in Latin offer evidence for the treatment of biblical quotations in the fourth and fifth centuries.¹⁰ The oldest Latin gospel book, Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae, is written in *scriptio continua* except for occasional blank spaces left at the end of sense units.¹¹ Similar spaces sometimes occur before or after quotations from the Old Testament, although not all quotations are consistently marked in this way. Nevertheless, the widespread use of spaces as ‘the standard method of indicating a citation’ in secular literature means that their use here may be significant.¹² It is important also to remember that quotations are not distinguished at all in several fifth-century gospel books, as well as some patristic writings.¹³

Despite the references above, the marginal *diple* only becomes widespread in Latin book production at the end of this period. The first definite examples occur in manuscripts connected with Rufinus of Aquileia (see Image 1).¹⁴ In two fifth-century gospel codices from north Italy, *diplai* appear not to have formed part of the initial layout but to have been added by a later hand.¹⁵ This is also the case

the sign, in which double *diplai* become modern quotation marks is treated in Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause And Effect. A History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992), 57-8 (see plate 7 for a manuscript with the Isidore text quoted above). A recent survey of *diplai* in Greek Bibles is provided by Ulrich Schmid and Marcus Sigismund, ‘Die Markierung von Zitaten in den Handschriften’, in M. Karrer, S. Kreuzer and M. Sigismund (eds), *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament*, ANTF 43 (Berlin, 2010), 75-152.

¹⁰ Useful lists are given in Elias Avery Lowe, ‘Some Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts’, *Classical Quarterly* 19 (1925), 197-208, and, especially, E.A. Lowe, ‘More Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts’, *Classical Quarterly* 22 (1928), 43-62, from which some of the information in the following paragraphs has been taken. Additional bibliography on manuscripts of the Latin New Testament is supplied in Hugh A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament* (Oxford, 2016).

¹¹ Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, 1163 (Vetus Latina 1), copied in Africa in the fourth century, perhaps from a much earlier exemplar. Examples of spaces after citations occur in *Matth.* 4:4 on fol. 49r, or *Matth.* 12:17 on fol. 82r.

¹² P. McGurk, ‘Citation Marks’ (1961), 4 n. 3.

¹³ The gospel books include Codex Palatinus (Trent, Museo Nazionale: Castello del Buon Consiglio, s.n.; Vetus Latina 2), Codex Sarzanensis (Sarezzano in Tortona, Bibliotheca Parrocchiale, s.n.; Vetus Latina 22) and the earliest manuscript of Jerome’s revised text (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1395); Verona, Bibliotheca Capitolare, XXVIII [26] is an early copy of Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana* with no indication of quotations.

¹⁴ Image 1 is a copy of Augustine’s *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* (Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 192; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13368 and nouv.acq. lat. 2199) which Hammond Bammel believes was produced around 420 (‘Products of Fifth-Century Scriptoria’ [1984], 378). See also the discussion below of Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 483 [413].

¹⁵ The recent edition of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1394 et al. (Vetus Latina 16), Rudolf Gamper et al., *Die Vetus Latina-Fragmente aus dem Kloster St. Gallen. Faksimile, Edition, Kommentar* (Zürich, 2012) identifies the *diplai* at *Mark* 13:14 (p. 107) as the work of a fifth-century corrector. In Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 6 (Vetus Latina 4), the *diplai* seem to have been added at the same time as the marginal Eusebian apparatus; the text of the citations is also slightly indented (e.g. *John* 2:17, fol. 128v, *John* 12:13-5, fol. 178r).

with the earliest surviving manuscript of Augustine, which may have been written in Africa during the author's lifetime as a presentation volume for Simplicianus of Milan.¹⁶ The copyists of the sixth-century Harley Gospels and Codex Fuldensis of the whole New Testament consistently supply marginal marks alongside Old Testament quotations.¹⁷ In the Freising fragments of the Epistles, a citation beginning in the middle of the line is preceded by a space and a reverse *diple* (<).¹⁸ *Diplai* are found in sixth-century witnesses to Augustine, Hilary and Fulgentius of Ruspe.¹⁹ A half-uncial copy of Augustine's *Confessions* has double *diplai* (>>) or an s-shaped symbol alongside each line.²⁰ The s-shaped symbol, which becomes the commonest marginal quotation mark in later Latin manuscripts, is also found in a contemporary collection of Augustine's shorter works.²¹ The oldest witness to Ambrose's *Commentary on Luke*, probably from the sixth century, marks citations 'by a line of flourishes in the left margin'.²² Two sixth-century manuscripts of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* use differing symbols to distinguish between quotations from secular and biblical sources.²³

¹⁶ St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Q.v.1.3: see William M. Green, 'A Fourth Century Manuscript of Saint Augustine?', *Revue bénédictine* 69 (1959), 191-7; William M. Green, 'Textual Notes on Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*', *Revue des Études augustiniennes* 8 (1962), 225-31; Kenneth B. Steinhauser, 'Codex Leningradensis Q.v.I.3.: Some Unresolved Problems', in Duane W.H. Arnold and Pamela Bright (eds), *De doctrina christiana. A Classic of Western Culture* (Notre Dame, 1995), 33-43. *Diplai* only appear in the first text contained in this codex, *De diuersis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*. Although Green suggested that some of the additions were made by Augustine himself, my own examination of this manuscript leads me to believe that they are from a later period in its history.

¹⁷ London, British Library, Harley 1775; Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bonif. 1. The Harley Gospels use the so-called 'corrupt *diple*', sometimes doubled, or a dot and horizontal line (see P. McGurk, 'Citation Marks' [1961], 9); Codex Fuldensis has the original form of the *diple* (e.g. fol. 67r), although quotations in the *Pauline Epistles* are marked by projection into the margin (e.g. fol. 212v).

¹⁸ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6436 (Vetus Latina 64); an example may be seen at *Rom.* 15:12.

¹⁹ Hilary: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2160 (and St Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, III.15.B, although no quotations are present on this single leaf); Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini s.n.; Fulgentius: Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Regin. 267, which indicates quotations with double reversed *diplai* ('<<'). Manuscripts of Augustine are listed in the text.

²⁰ Rome, Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Sessor. 55 [2099].

²¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13367. Elias Avery Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century. 11 vols and supplement* (Oxford, 1934-1971), *passim*, describes these later marks as 'flourishes' rather than *diplai*.

²² E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (1938), III 347, *ad loc.*: the manuscript is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H.78 sup. and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, G.V.15.

²³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 12214 has small 's' and shapes more closely resembling *diplai* for biblical quotations (e.g. foll. 20v, 24r, 111v) and a variety of symbols for non-Christian works, including some shaped like '7' (foll. 16v, 17r), large 'S' (fol. 51v) and dashes (foll. 65v, 81r); Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 607 has double quotation marks for biblical verses (e.g. foll. 7v, 16v, 99v) and dashes (e.g. foll. 26v, 28, 36, 84r) or s-shapes for classical authors (e.g. fol. 80r).

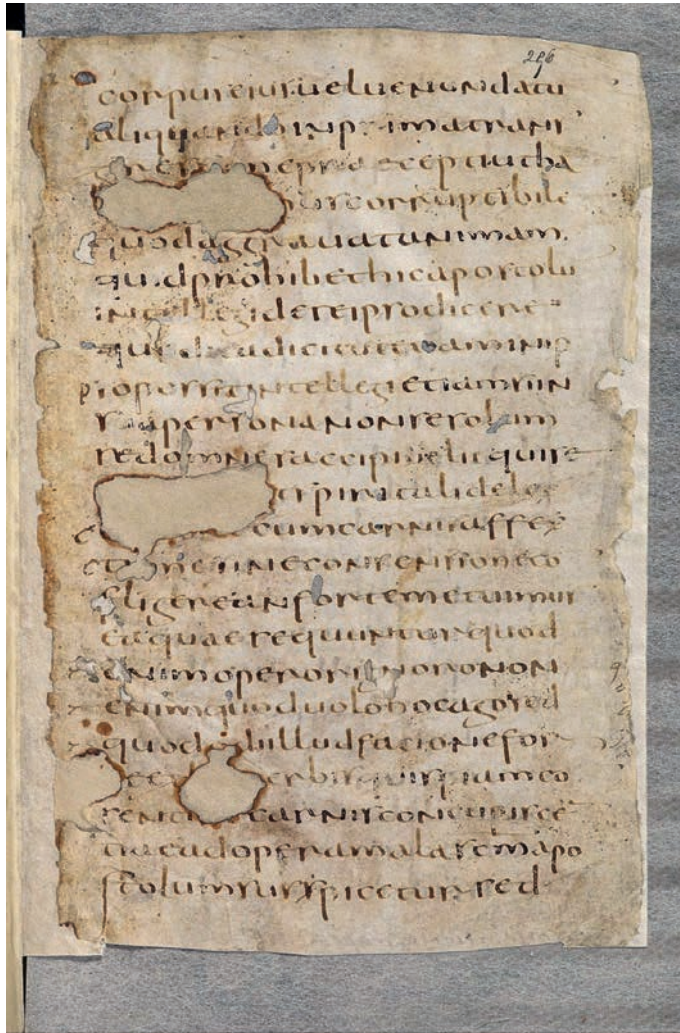


Image 1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 13368, fol. 256r
 (Augustine, *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*).
Diplai may be seen in the left margin alongside lines 17-19.
 (Reproduced from gallica.bnf.fr by permission.)

The predominant means of marking biblical quotations in fourth- and fifth-century Latin manuscripts appears to have been the indentation of each line by a width of one to three characters, also known as *eisthesis*. This is seen in a number of biblical manuscripts from this period, including the fourth-century

Codex Vercellensis.²⁴ Patristic examples include the earliest Augustine manuscript, as well as copies of Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrose, Hilary and Priscillian.²⁵ Indentation is also found in conjunction with other forms of marking quotations. The Freising fragments indent all quotations, in addition to their occasional use of a reverse *diple*.²⁶ A fifth-century manuscript of Hilary of Poitiers has a space of five characters' width before the beginning of a quotation, with subsequent lines indented (see Image 2).²⁷ Most striking is the combination of indentation with the use of red ink. This is attested for biblical quotations in the five remaining pages of a fourth-century manuscript of Cyprian's letters, as well as the bilingual Codex Claromontanus of the Pauline Epistles.²⁸ A fifth-century codex containing Hilary's *De trinitate*, Ambrose's *De fide* and the proceedings of the Council of Aquileia, along with significant Arian marginalia, has the first line of each quotation in red.²⁹ Apart from these three manuscripts and two copies of Hilary's commentary on the Psalms, the use of red ink for quotations is barely attested before the seventh century.³⁰ An interesting feature of a manuscript of Ambrose's theological works from the end of the fifth century is the use of a smaller form of half-uncial writing as well as indentation for biblical verses.³¹

²⁴ Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare Eusebiano, *sine numero* (Vetus Latina 3); see, for example, John 2:17 on p. 192. Fifth-century examples include Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17225 (Codex Corbeiensis, Vetus Latina 8), Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, 21, and the bilingual Codex Bezae (Cambridge, University Library, Nn.2.41, Vetus Latina 5).

²⁵ For the St Petersburg manuscript of Augustine, see note 16 above. The indentation of quotations is only found in *De doctrina christiana*. It begins on folio 118r, with *qui autem diligit* at 1.23.23 and *nemo umquam* at 1.24.24. In 1.24.25, *caro concupiscit* and *nemo enim umquam* are indented, but *sed nutrit et fouet* is not. Most longer biblical quotations are indicated in the remaining chapters of Book 1, but the only quotation indented in the remaining pages of Book 2 is *dentes tui sicut grex* (2.6.7, fol. 129r). Other writers are found in the following manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10592 (Cyprian); Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, G.V.37 (Cyprian); Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 701 (509) (Lactantius); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13246 (Ambrose; see below); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 152; lat. 2630; lat. 8907; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare XIII (11); XIV (12) (all Hilary); Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q. 3 (Priscillian).

²⁶ See above; indentation is also found with *diplai* in the manuscript of Augustine's shorter works mentioned in note 21 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13367), and was employed by the copyist in the Verona gospel manuscript (note 12 above).

²⁷ Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 452.

²⁸ London, British Library, Add. MS 40165A and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 107 (Vetus Latina 75).

²⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8907.

³⁰ Both manuscripts of Hilary are from the fifth century: in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XIII (11), Latin quotations are indented but Greek quotations (possibly just single words) are written in red; all quotations are indented in Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 452 (381) and Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 1593, but the first verse of each Psalm is in rubrics.

³¹ Ravenna, Archivio Archivescovile, *sine numero*. Compare also a sixth- or seventh-century uncial manuscript of Augustine, in which quotations from his earlier works are written in half-uncial (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. lat. 210).

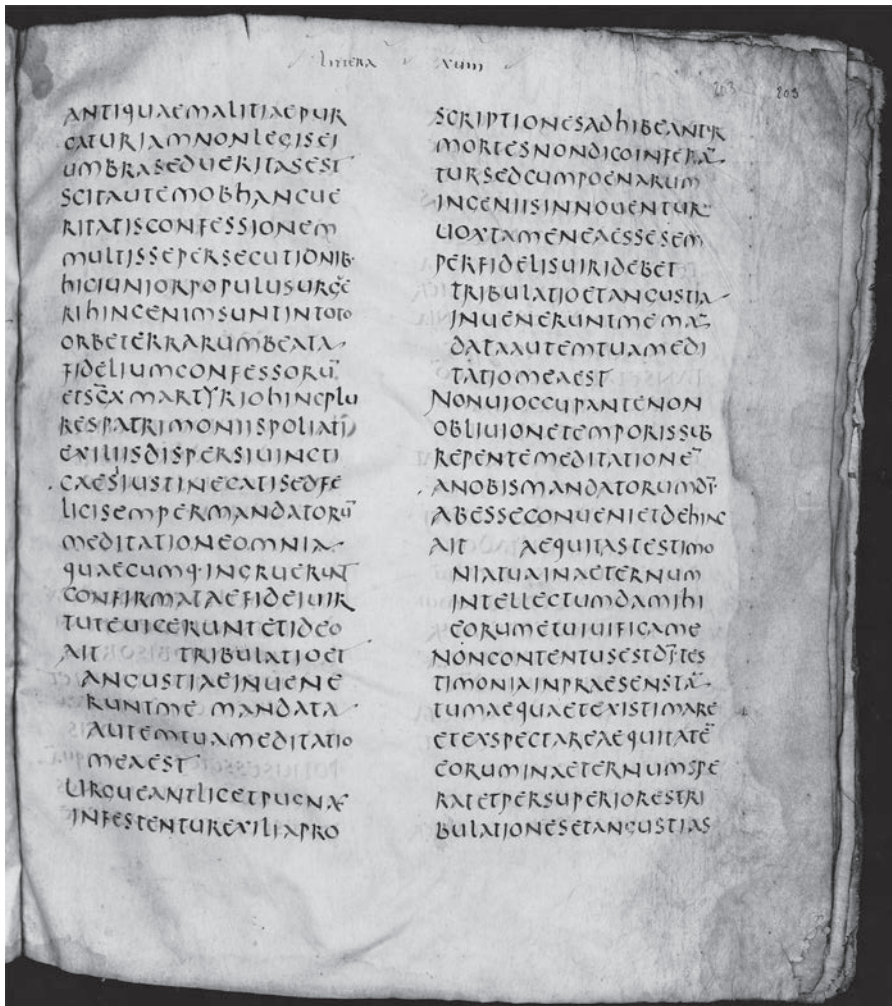


Image 2. Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 452, fol. 203r (Hilary, *Tractatus super Psalmos*). The quotations are marked by indentation, along with a space before the initial words when they do not begin a new line.

(Reproduced by kind permission.)

Biblical verses are handled in a variety of ways in two early copies of Latin Old Testament commentaries. The most ancient manuscript of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (Image 3) sets the lemma, the verse quoted at the beginning of each section, on a line of its own which projects into the left margin (*ekthesis*). It begins with an enlarged letter (*littera notabilior*) and is

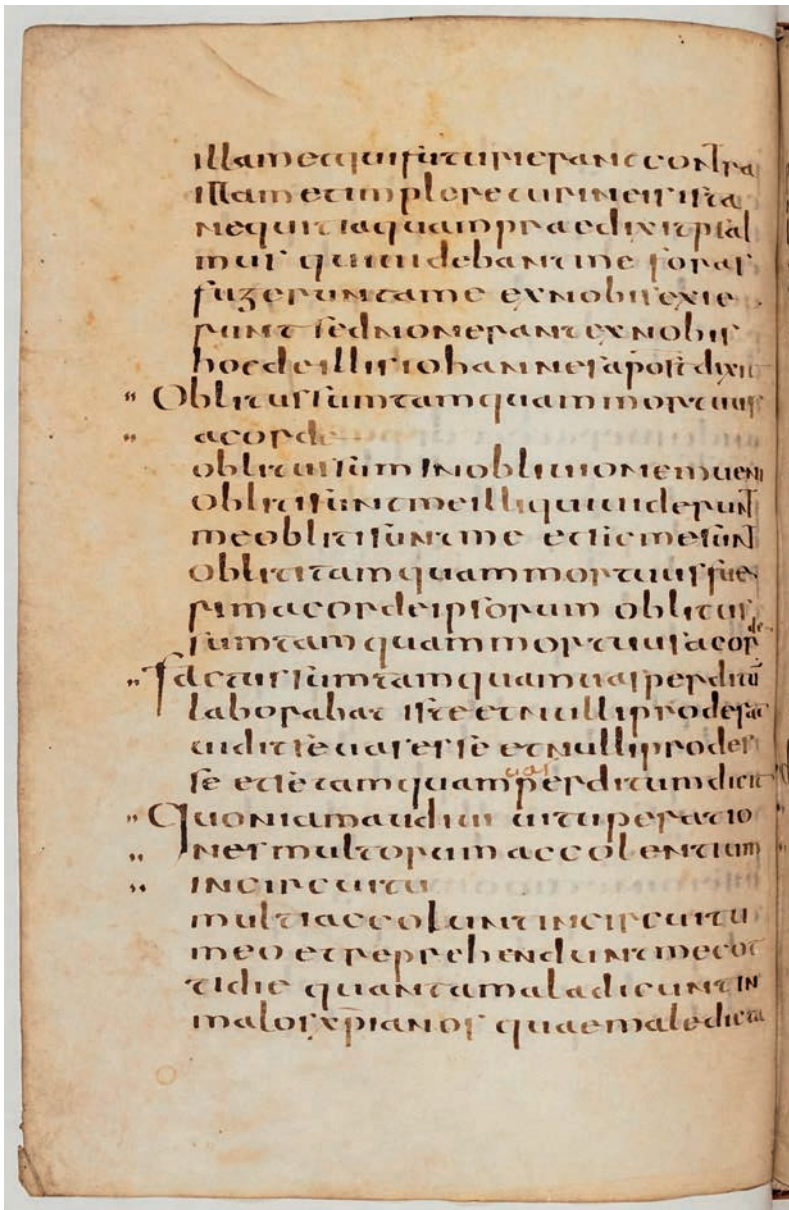


Image 3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 9533, fol. 45v
 (Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*). Biblical lemmata are marked by *ekthesis*,
 a *littera notabilior* and a double s-shaped flourish in the margin.
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marked by a double s-shaped symbol in the margin alongside each line of biblical text.³² The fifth-century Würzburg manuscript of Jerome's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* treats the lemmata very inconsistently.³³ The first verse is marked by projection and an enlarged letter; the second verse begins on a new line but is indented; the next verses are not put on a new line but preceded by a space of three characters. From verse five onwards, a pattern develops of lemmata on a new line with projection, an enlarged initial, and a horizontal dash in the margin alongside the first line. In the middle of the second chapter of the biblical book, however, lemmata are no longer allocated a new line, but preceded by a space; the line on which the quotation begins is marked by a marginal dash as well as a symbol shaped like a comma, and the latter continues alongside all subsequent lines. In much of the latter half of the manuscript, marginal symbols are abandoned altogether. The variety of practices in this early witness demonstrates that paratextual features are at least as vulnerable as the text of a work to alteration through the inadvertence of a copyist.

In conclusion, Latin manuscripts from the time of the composition of these commentaries and from the following centuries demonstrate that biblical quotations were sometimes indicated as part of the layout of the page, although this was not always consistent. Fourth-century authors were likely to be familiar with at least one of five principal means of marking text from a different source: spaces, indentation, projection, rubrication, and marginal symbols such as the *diple*. In addition, the use of a different form of script for quotations, first attested in the fifth century, became much more common in later witnesses after the adoption of minuscule script at the end of the eighth century.

Marius Victorinus

The commentaries on three Pauline Epistles by Marius Victorinus, written some time after the year 363, are transmitted by a slender thread: a single fifteenth-century codex, copied twice in the sixteenth century, and a later sixteenth-century manuscript deriving from a similar source to the first.³⁴ These witnesses

³² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9533. Lowe dates this half-uncial manuscript to the sixth century ('More Facts' [1928], 53; *Codices Latini Antiquiores* [1953], V 587), a date accepted by Clemens Weidmann (CSEL 93.1B, 2011); the tenth-century date on the *Gallica* website (last accessed 24th July 2015) appears to be erroneous.

³³ Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q. 2.

³⁴ The earliest is Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus latinus 3288A: its two copies are both in the Vatican (Ottob. lat. 3288B and Vaticanus lat. 3546). The fourth manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 469) was copied by Sirmond from a Codex Herivallensis, now lost: Alexander Souter, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul* (Oxford, 1927), 9, identifies Herivallensis as Herentals in Belgium, but Sirmond's own edition does not confirm this and other scholars prefer the Abbey of Hérivaux in the

indicate that Victorinus, who was already famous as a teacher of rhetoric before his conversion to Christianity, began each section of commentary by quoting the relevant biblical lemma before his exegesis. The length of the lemma can vary from two words (e.g. *Gal.* 1:9) to several sentences (e.g. *Philip.* 2:2-5).³⁵ Although the lemma is normally separate from the following exegesis, there are a few instances in which it is interrupted or preceded by Victorinus' own words. This is seen in *Eph.* 1:1, where the latter half of the verse is only quoted verbatim as part of another sentence: *scribit igitur Paulus sanctis, inquit, qui sunt Ephesi et fidelibus in Christo Iesu*.³⁶ This implies that Victorinus himself intended the biblical text to be included as part of his commentary, and may have read it out directly from his copy of the Epistles. Support for this is provided by the affiliation of the biblical lemmata in the surviving witnesses to this work, which transmit an Old Latin form rather than the Vulgate. This version appears to be even older than the texts of the few surviving pre-Vulgate manuscripts of Paul; it also corresponds closely to the lemmata of the commentary by Ambrosiaster. Shorter quotations in the body of the text, which are integrated into the grammar of the exposition and therefore more resistant to alteration than the lemmata, share the same affiliation.³⁷ Victorinus offers no explicit observations about his practice of quotation, although it is possible that this may have appeared in his lost commentaries on the earlier Epistles. He merely describes his approach as a 'simple commentary' (*commentatio simplex*).³⁸ The late date of the surviving manuscripts means that they are unlikely to be guides to ancient practice. Those lemmata which are combined in some way with Victorinus' own words, even though they make up a very small proportion of the whole, suggest that he did not intend a formal distinction to be made between the biblical text and his own exposition in the layout of the manuscripts. The inclusion of the source text, preceding each unit of

Ile-de-France (e.g. Édouard des Places, 'Marius Victorinus commentateur de saint Paul', *Biblica* 55 [1974], 83-7). The most recent edition of the commentary is Franco Gori (ed.), *Marii Victorini Opera. Pars Posterior: Opera Exegetica*, CSEL 83.2 (Vienna, 1986); a study and English translation of the *Galatians* commentary is offered in Stephen A. Cooper, *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians* (Oxford, 2005).

³⁵ The structure of the commentary is described in S.A. Cooper, *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians* (2005), Chapter 4, especially 100-1.

³⁶ It is not entirely clear whether the first occurrence of *Eph.* 1:1 (following *nunc quoque isdem uerbis*) is intended to stand as a lemma or is quoted as a comparison with the openings of other letters; even so, both instances of the latter part of the verse are integrated into Victorinus' own text. Other cases where the lemma is not separate from the commentary include the progressive quotation of *Gal.* 1:15-6, and the addition of *item* before the second half of *Phil.* 4:7.

³⁷ See also A. Souter, *Earliest Latin Commentaries* (1927), 10-1.

³⁸ This term appears in the *Commentary on Ephesians*; he also uses *expositio simplex* at *Eph.* 1:11 and *Gal.* 4:18. See further S.A. Cooper, *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians* (2005), 111ff.

exegesis, constitutes the pattern for the self-contained presentation of the majority of early Christian commentaries.³⁹

Ambrosiaster

The anonymous commentary on Paul known as Ambrosiaster and composed in Rome between 366 and 384 is attested by a substantial number of copies. Vogels' edition is based on twenty-seven manuscripts.⁴⁰ Eighteen of these date from the eighth or ninth centuries, while one goes back to the middle of the sixth century.⁴¹ Several pages of Ambrosiaster's third recension of his *Romans* commentary have recently been identified among the undertexts of the palimpsest Codex Carolinus, copied around the end of the fifth century.⁴² The transmission of multiple authorial recensions of the same commentary (three of *Romans*, two of the other Epistles) is an unusual aspect of the tradition of Ambrosiaster.⁴³ His commentary is structured in a very similar way to that of Marius Victorinus, with sequential biblical extracts at the beginning of each section.⁴⁴ These lemmata are, it seems, always grammatically separate from the following exegesis. However, there is at least one instance in the later recension when Ambrosiaster changes his division of the biblical text: at *Gal.* 4:27, after *scriptum est enim*,

³⁹ On the influence of Victorinus' structure, see S.A. Cooper, *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians* (2005), 183-4. A contrast is provided by a Greek-Latin glossary attested in a papyrus copied in the early fifth century, which has to be used in conjunction with a biblical manuscript (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, BP XXI; Gregory–Aland P99).

⁴⁰ The edition is in three volumes: Heinrich J. Vogels (ed.), *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur Commentarius in Epistulas Paulinas*, CSEL 81.1-3 (Vienna, 1966-1969).

⁴¹ Monte Cassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, 150 (Image 4 below). A note at the end of the manuscript indicates that it was corrected in the year 570 by the priest Donatus in the monastery of Lucullanum in Naples.

⁴² Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Weissenburg 64. The Ambrosiaster fragments occupy folios 210r-217v, 276r, 281r and 318r-325v. A partial transcription by Stefanie Gehrke is available at: <http://diglib.hab.de/edoc/ed000006/index.php?transcript=palimpsest_Ambrosiaster_Gehrke>. In addition, a further ninth-century witness to Ambrosiaster's exposition of *Romans* and *1 Corinthians* was identified last year: Nicolas De Maeyer and Gert Partoens, 'A New Identification of the Pauline Commentary in Manuscript *Oxford Bodleian Library Laud. Misc. 106*', *Sacris Erudiri* 53 (2014), 7-14.

⁴³ Two authorial recensions also appear to be transmitted of Ambrosiaster's *Quaestiones*: see Marie-Pierre Bussières, 'Ambrosiaster's Method of Interpretation in the Questions on the Old and New Testament', in Josef Lössl and John W. Watt (eds), *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle in Late Antiquity: The Alexandrian Commentary Tradition between Rome and Baghdad* (Farnham and Burlington, 2011), 49-66.

⁴⁴ S.A. Cooper, *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians* (2005), 183-246, argues for the use of Victorinus' commentary by Ambrosiaster, although there are no verbal parallels in the exegesis, as well as by Augustine; on the structure of Ambrosiaster's commentary, see also Wilhelm Geerlings, 'Zur exegetischen Methode des Ambrosiaster', in G. Schöllgen and C. Scholten (eds), *Stimuli* (Münster, 1996), 444-9.

he inserts the comment *in Esaia hoc habetur quod subiectum est*. There are also differences in the lemmata of the two recensions: for instance, the first recension gives the text of *Gal.* 1:4 as *qui se dedit pro peccatis nostris ut liberaret nos a praesenti saeculo malo*, whereas the later recension has *qui dedit semetipsum pro peccatis nostris ut liberaret nos de praesenti saeculo maligno*. This derives from a later adjustment of the text of the first recension rather than an authorial change.⁴⁵

In the Monte Cassino manuscript (Image 4), the lemma is written in the same half-uncial script as the rest of the text, but it always occupies a separate line and each row is indented by the width of one or two characters. A symbol comparable to a *diple*, shaped a little more like an ‘s’, is also set against each line of quotation, level with the left margin of the rest of the text. The Wolfenbüttel palimpsest is also written in half-uncial script throughout. In this witness, sections begin on a new line with the initial letters projecting into the margin. Two of the visible biblical lemmata are also indicated in this way (*Rom.* 6:15 and 6:16 on fol. 211r), but three others are not, starting instead in the middle of a line (*Rom.* 1:17 on fol. 210v; *Rom.* 7:8 on fol. 216r; *Rom.* 12:15 on fol. 281r).⁴⁶ In every case, the commentary immediately follows the end of the lemma, rather than beginning on a new line. The variation between these two manuscripts shows that, even within two centuries of the work’s composition, different forms of layout are present in the manuscript tradition.

Eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts of Ambrosiaster demonstrate that the most common devices for distinguishing the biblical text in this period are rubrication and the use of marginal quotation marks, which are normally mutually exclusive. Rubricated lemmata tend to be in the same minuscule script as the rest of the text.⁴⁷ Generally speaking, the exact fit of rubricated text written by the first hand to the space available implies that it was copied at the same time as the commentary sections from the same exemplar. There are a few instances in which lemmata are in both red ink and capital letters: in these cases, the fit of text to the available space is sometimes less precise and may have been written separately.⁴⁸ Sometimes only the initial letter of the lemma is rubricated.⁴⁹ Quotation marks, shaped like ‘s’, ‘ss’ or ‘w’, are added by the

⁴⁵ See below. Ambrosiaster’s biblical text is reconstructed in H.J. Vogels, *Das Corpus Paulinum des Ambrosiaster*, Bonner Biblische Beiträge 13 (Bonn, 1957).

⁴⁶ There is a mark in the left margin alongside the quotation of *Rom.* 6:16 which may be a *diple*, but it is impossible to be confident from the available images and none of the other quotations appear to be marked in this way.

⁴⁷ E.g. Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Aa 18; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1759; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 330.

⁴⁸ E.g. *Romans* in the Fulda and Paris manuscripts mentioned in note 47, the majority of Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, 87.

⁴⁹ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 101.

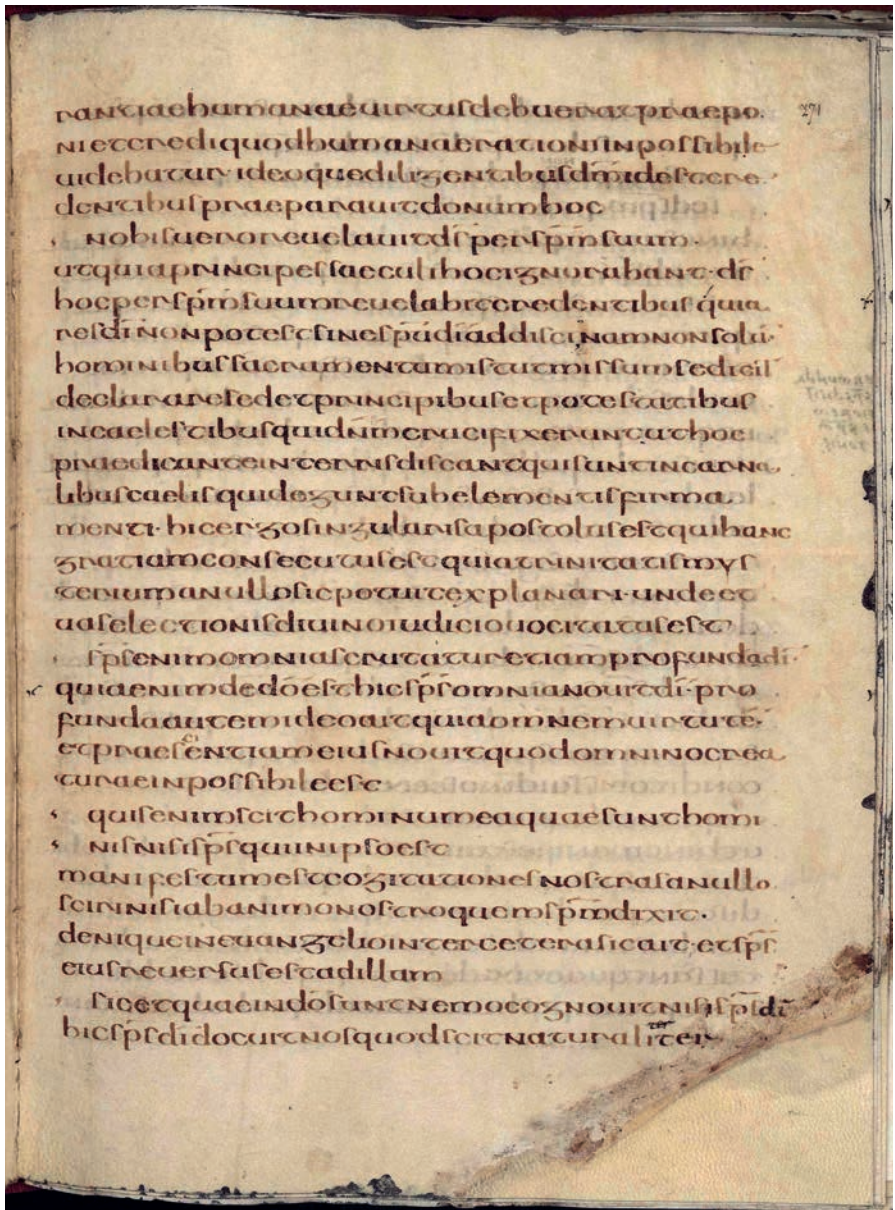


Image 4. Monte Cassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, cod. 150, p. 271.
 (Ambrosiaster, *Commentary on Paul*). Biblical lemmata are on separate lines,
 marked by indentation and a marginal symbol.
 (Reproduced by kind permission of the authorities of the Archive.)

copyist in the margin.⁵⁰ The Vienna manuscript of the later recension generally has marginal quotation marks although some lemmata are written in capitals.⁵¹ The only surviving manuscript of the earlier recension of *Galatians* and *Ephesians* is an eighth-century codex now in Florence (Image 5).⁵² This appears to be the sole other witness in which the lemmata begin on a new line, as in the Monte Cassino manuscript. They are indicated by larger initial letters projecting into the margin and the Insular quotation mark consisting of two dots and a comma ('...',') before and after the biblical text.⁵³ However, the copyist has used the blank space at the end of the preceding line to write the continuation of the first line of the new section, in order not to leave too much empty parchment. These witnesses suggest that the initial practice may have been to begin each lemma and each section of exegesis on a new line, but this was later abandoned, possibly for reasons of economy of parchment.

As mentioned above, differing forms of biblical text are found in the manuscripts of Ambrosiaster. The presentation of the lemmata on a separate line, so that they could readily be distinguished from the commentary, would have assisted in the replacement of the text. It has long been observed that the biblical text was already altered in the Florence manuscript of the earlier recension: in the case of *Gal.* 1:4, quoted above, this is confirmed by the use in both recensions of *malignitas* in Ambrosiaster's exposition, matching the lemma of the later recension.⁵⁴ There are, however, cases in which biblical quotations in the commentary have been adjusted as well as the lemma (e.g. *antecessores* rather than *praecessores* in *Gal.* 1:17). The persistence of Old Latin readings in the substituted text, as well as the date of the Florence manuscript, suggest that the alteration was made at an early point in the transmission of the text. This is also the case in the Vienna and Amiens manuscripts of the later recension, in which the lemmata have been replaced with another Old Latin text: in *Romans* this matches the version used by Rufinus in his translation of Origen's commentary, and Hammond Bammel has proposed that this took place during the fifth or early sixth century in a scriptorium connected with Rufinus.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ E.g. the non-rubricated portions of the Amiens manuscript; St Gall 101; Cologne, Dombibliothek, Cod. 34; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6265; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 13339; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 100; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 106.

⁵¹ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 743.

⁵² Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashb. 60.

⁵³ On this symbol, see P. McGurk, 'Citation Marks' (1961), 7: it appears to be of Anglo-Saxon rather than Irish origin.

⁵⁴ See A. Souter, *Earliest Latin Commentaries* (1927), 60; H.J. Vogels, *Das Corpus Paulinum des Ambrosiaster* (1957), 111; compare also the persistence of *placuit* in the exegesis of *Gal.* 1:15 despite the reading *complacuit* in the lemma of the Florence manuscript.

⁵⁵ C.P. Hammond Bammel, 'Products of Fifth-Century Scriptoria' (1984), 371-2.

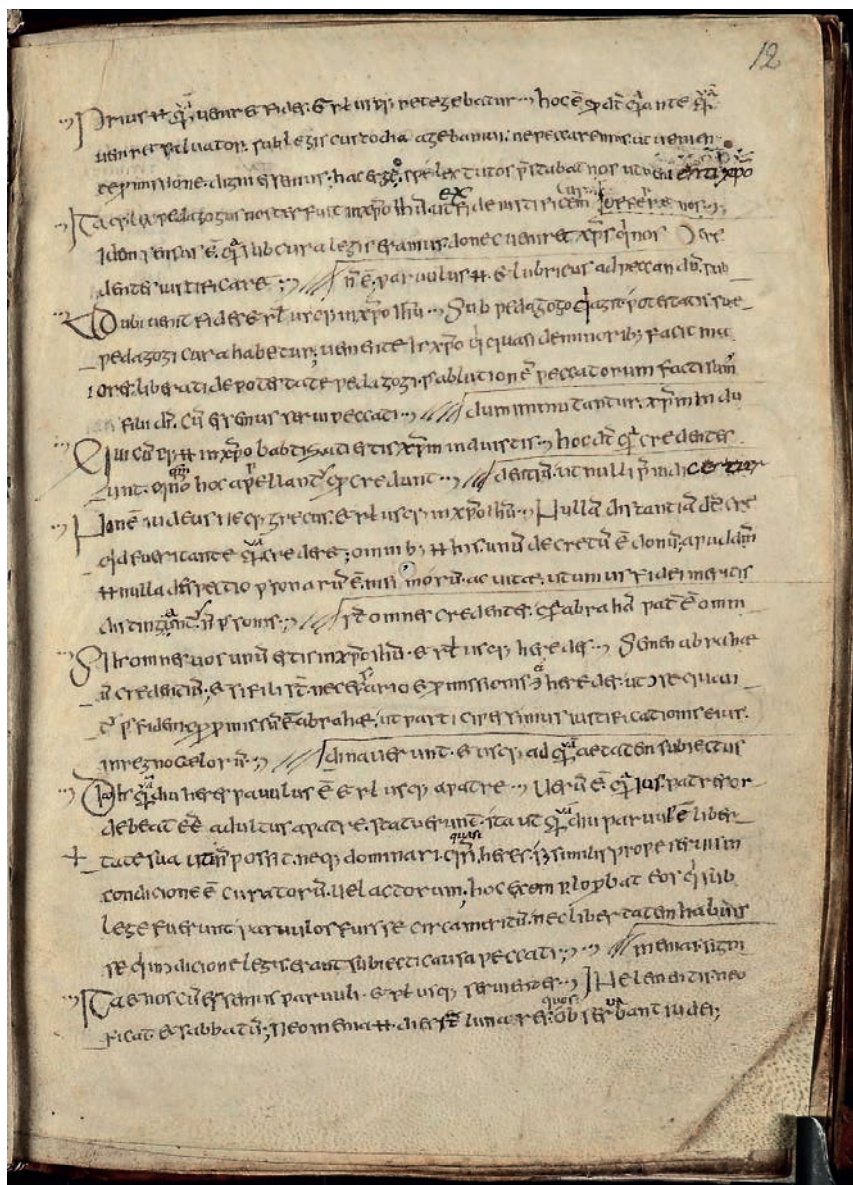


Image 5. Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Ashb. 60, fol. 12r (Ambrosiaster, *Commentary on Paul*). Biblical lemmata are marked by *ekthesis*, a *littera notabilior* and an insular quotation mark (...) in the margin. Text written in blank space at the end of the line above is marked off by various lines. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana.)

Another point of interest in the textual tradition of Ambrosiaster is the combination of different recensions in manuscripts of the whole commentary. For example, one manuscript has the earlier recension of 1 and 2*Corinthians* but the later recension of the subsequent epistles;⁵⁶ another has the earlier recension of *Romans* but the later recension of *Ephesians* and *Galatians*.⁵⁷ It is tempting to connect the use of different sources with a change in layout, yet both the manuscripts in Fulda and Paris which have the *Romans* lemmata in capitals but the other Epistles in minuscule script have the later recension throughout. The differing formats in the Amiens manuscript suggest that the distinction of biblical text and commentary may have been due to the preferences of individual copyists as much as the influence of an exemplar, with no particular form of standardisation. In this respect, the manuscripts of Ambrosiaster show how the presentation of New Testament commentaries evolve over time.

Jerome

Jerome's commentaries on four of the *Pauline Epistles*, composed in 386, are attested in manuscripts from the late eighth century onwards.⁵⁸ This is the date of the Vienna copy of his *Commentary on Galatians*, to which there are nine further witnesses from the subsequent century.⁵⁹ Rubrication is less common in these than in manuscripts of Ambrosiaster: the principal exception has the lemmata written in red capitals and, in addition, indicated by red quotation marks in the margin from the middle of Book One onwards (Image 6).⁶⁰ Only one of the other thirteen manuscripts used in Raspanti's edition of *Galatians* features rubrication, in the form of red initials.⁶¹ A ninth-century manuscript of Jerome's commentaries on *Ephesians*, *Titus* and *Philemon* has the biblical lemmata written in an uncial script and alternating lines of red and black ink.⁶² The Vienna manuscript indicates quotations with marginal symbols; another copyist uses a distinctive triple s-shaped symbol,⁶³ while in two other witnesses some marginal symbols may be first hand, others appear to have been added later, and several

⁵⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell Empt. 9.

⁵⁷ Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXV. A considerable number of manuscripts of Ambrosiaster contain part of Pelagius' commentary for the end of 1*Corinthians* and beginning of 2*Corinthians*, which was presumably added to replace a missing portion at an early point in the tradition: this even affects the sixth-century Monte Cassino manuscript. See further below.

⁵⁸ The most recent editions are Federica Burchi (ed.), *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli apostoli ad Titum et ad Philemonem*, CChr.SL 77C (Turnhout, 2003); Giacomo Raspanti (ed.), *Commentarii in epistulam Pauli apostoli ad Galatas*, CChr.SL 77A (Turnhout, 2006).

⁵⁹ The earliest manuscript is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1002.

⁶⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1854.

⁶¹ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 340.

⁶² Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Weißenburg 13.

⁶³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 9531.

lemmata are not indicated at all.⁶⁴ A similar situation pertains in the ninth-century Wolfenbüttel manuscript.⁶⁵ in Book One, the lemmata are marked by a red number and marginal symbols; only the latter are found in Book Two, while the quotation marks alongside the lemmata in Book Three are infrequent and largely secondary. The contemporary Harvard manuscript has the lemmata in Jerome's commentary on *Ephesians* written in capitals, often decorated with red ink, but in the *Galatians* commentary this is only true of a single lemma, *Christo confixus sum cruci*.⁶⁶ This exceptional presentation is matched by a manuscript in Paris,⁶⁷ which also features it for *et mansi apud eum diebus quindecim* (*Gal.* 1:18, fol. 9v), a portion of text missing from the Harvard manuscript. This coincidence, as well as other points of contact between these two witnesses, suggests that they are likely to derive from a shared ancestor which itself may have depended on a codex with all the lemmata in capitals. Few of the other *Galatians* lemmata in the Harvard manuscript appear to be indicated by the copyist: most of the marginal quotation marks are by a later hand.

Two further ninth-century manuscripts contain Jerome's three other Pauline commentaries in an identical format.⁶⁸ The lemmata are written in black capitals throughout, and are sometimes repeated in particularly lengthy sections.⁶⁹ Certain longer quotations from other biblical books, especially in the *Commentary on Ephesians*, are indicated with marginal quotation marks which appear to be by the first hand. In the Karlsruhe witness, these take the later s-shaped form, while in the Cologne manuscript they are slightly more curved and always followed by a medial dot. In a third witness to these three commentaries, also from the ninth century, the lemmata are in black capitals as far as *Eph.* 1:9, but after this are marked by an 'ss' symbol in the margin until *Tit.* 1:16, where the capitals re-appear for just six verses.⁷⁰ In *Ephesians*, 'ss' is also used to mark quotations from other biblical books, making these indistinguishable from the lemmata. In *Titus* and *Philemon*, this manuscript uses a single 's' to indicate the text of these Epistles.

Jerome quotes the biblical text sequentially at the beginning of each section of the commentary. In the earlier commentaries on *Titus* and *Philemon*, the lemma is grammatically separate from his exegesis, but this is not always the

⁶⁴ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 128 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 14850. A ninth-century fragment of this work (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. frag. 9) appears to have a few quotation marks in the margin written by the copyist, but not all the biblical text is indicated in this way.

⁶⁵ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Weissenburg 28.

⁶⁶ Cambridge MA, Harvard University Houghton Library, MS Typ 495. The lemma is at *Gal.* 2:19, on fol. 4v.

⁶⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 14850; this lemma occurs on fol. 23r.

⁶⁸ Cologne, Dombibliothek, Cod. 58 and Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 81.

⁶⁹ E.g. *Titus* 1:7 at Cologne foll. 118r and 120v, and Karlsruhe foll. 87r and 89r.

⁷⁰ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 129: see in particular pp. 212-7 of this manuscript.

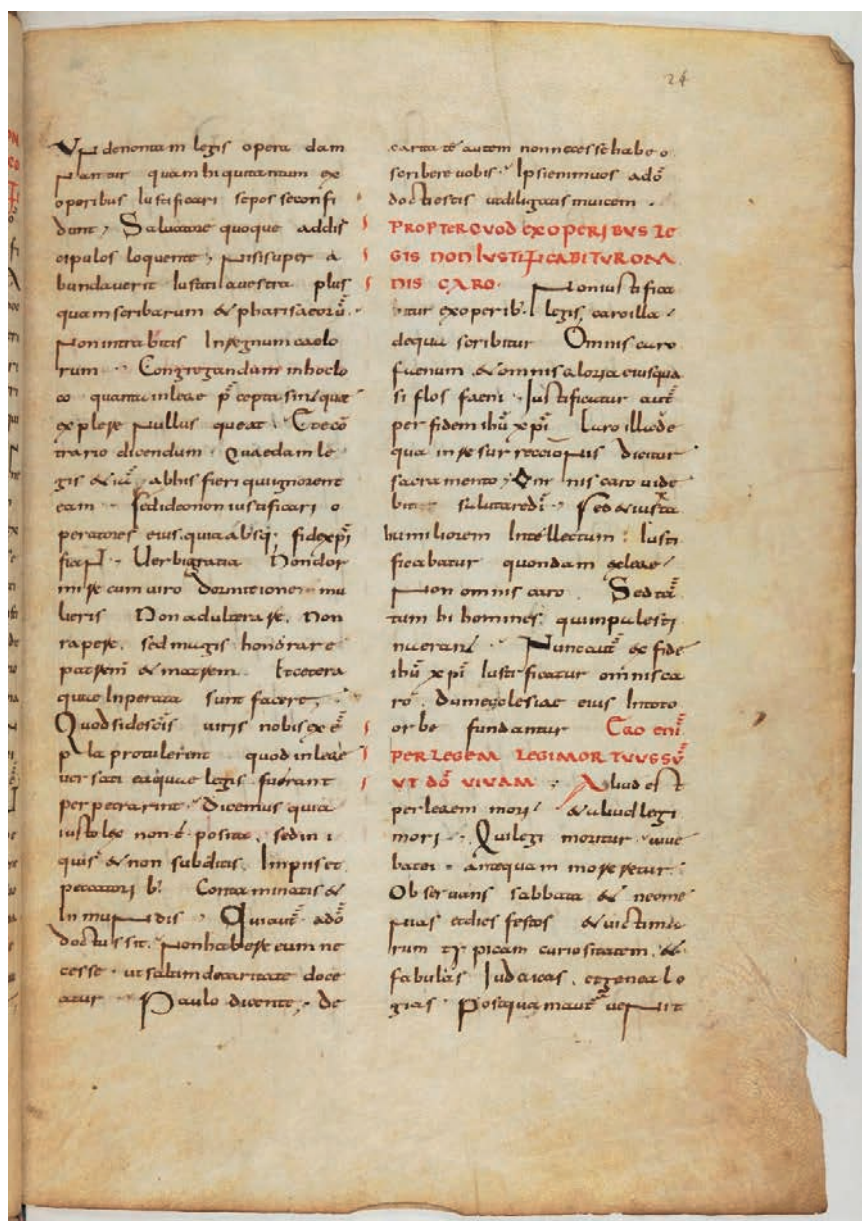


Image 6. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1854, fol. 24r (Jerome, *Commentary on Galatians*). Biblical lemmata are written in capitals and red ink, and marked with a single s-shaped flourish in the margin. (Reproduced from gallica.bnf.fr by permission.)

case in the commentaries on *Galatians* and *Ephesians*. At *Eph.* 5:14, for example, he extends the lemma with an alternative reading: *et illuminabit te Christus, siue orietur tibi Christus* ('and Christ will enlighten you, or, Christ will rise upon you'). This is taken even further in *Gal.* 5:11, where Jerome interrupts the lemma, reading: *euacuatum est (siue, ut in graeco melius habet, cessauit) scandalum crucis* ('has emptied, or, as it better reads in Greek, has removed, the scandal of the cross'). This suggests that he saw the quotation of the biblical text as an integral part of his commentary and did not intend it to occupy a different space in the manuscript layout. The general lack of rubrication or separation of the lemmata in surviving manuscripts of the *Commentary on Galatians* is likely to reflect this authorial conception as well as the difficulty of distinguishing them from Jerome's own text in certain places.⁷¹

Despite the integration of certain lemmata into Jerome's *Commentary on Galatians*, there is evidence of some editorial adjustment to the biblical text to bring it into accordance with a different version.⁷² Generally speaking, the trend is towards the introduction of Vulgate readings, but there are also secondary Old Latin variants (e.g. the dative singular *ecclesiae* in the lemma at *Gal.* 1:2, or *impudicitia* in the lemma of *Gal.* 5:19, both of which are contradicted by Jerome's exegetical comments). This also affects quotations in the course of Jerome's exposition: for example his lemma of *Gal.* 5:21 features three non-Vulgate readings, including *talia* and *possidebunt*, but the quotation of this verse in his exegesis in all manuscripts matches the Vulgate, with *haec* and *consequentur*. It may be that the lack of a clear indication of the lemmata in their manuscript confused an editor seeking to introduce the later form.

Augustine

In his *Commentary on Galatians*, written around the year 394, Augustine treats the biblical text in a different fashion to his predecessors. In contrast to his preceding commentary on certain parts of *Romans*, he describes the *Galatians* commentary as 'not selective, passing over some of it, but continuous and complete'.⁷³ However, although the initial sections of commentary begin with

⁷¹ At the interrupted lemma of *Gal.* 5:11, Paris 1854 returns to black ink and minuscule script from *euacuatum* onwards.

⁷² See further Hugh A.G. Houghton, 'The Biblical Text of Jerome's Commentary on Galatians', *JTS* ns 65 (2014), 1-24. The other commentaries are still to be evaluated.

⁷³ *Non carptim, id est aliqua praetermittens, sed continuanter et totam* (*Retractationes* 1.24). Johannes Divjak (ed.), *Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera IV.1*, CSEL 84 (Vienna, 1971), includes both the *Romans* and *Galatians* commentaries. For a criticism of this edition, however, listing a further tenth-century manuscript (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS lat. fol. 759), see Jean Rousselet, 'À propos d'une édition critique: pour mieux lire les Commentaires d'Augustin sur les Épîtres aux Romains et aux Galates', *Revue des Études augustiniennes* 18 (1972), 233-48. See also

a lemma which stands by itself, after the first chapter of the Epistle he takes a much more flexible approach. This sometimes involves interrupting the biblical text with *inquit* (*Gal.* 2:3, 2:20, 3:2, 3:14, 3:19 *etc.*) or other parenthetical comments (*e.g.* *Gal.* 2:5); alternatively, it may be prefaced with an introductory phrase such as *consequenter dicit* (*Gal.* 3:9, 3:23) or *quod autem ait* (*Gal.* 2:10, 3:10). In some places, he quotes the Epistle a few words at a time, interspersed with a brief comment on each phrase (*e.g.* *Gal.* 2:4, 4:12-3), thoroughly incorporating it into the flow of his exposition. Augustine's method appears to have been to work from a manuscript of *Galatians*, quoting the text as he went. This means that his lemmata have to be extracted from the continuous sequence of the commentary, normally taking the first occurrence of each as the form which he read out of his codex.⁷⁴ Augustine may quote certain phrases multiple times, sometimes in the form of a 'resumptive citation' when he repeats the text he has just been expounding before proceeding to the next lemma (*e.g.* *Gal.* 1:7, 3:13, 5:13). On several occasions, he rephrases or reorders the text (*e.g.* *Gal.* 1:10, 3:29). Despite Augustine's claim to be complete, however, there are several occasions when the biblical text is so thoroughly embedded into his exposition that it is impossible to reconstruct the form found in his codex (*e.g.* *Gal.* 2:7-9, 3:16-8).

This continual engagement and interaction with the Epistle suggests that Augustine intended his commentary to be written as a single, continuous text rather than to distinguish between lemma and exposition. As he used Jerome's commentary and is likely to have been familiar with that of Marius Victorinus, one may wonder whether he was following codices of the earlier commentators in which quotations were not marked.⁷⁵ Of the twenty-eight manuscripts used by Divjak in his edition, just five predate the tenth century. On only one of these are quotations indicated by the copyist, although the marginal marks are often missing from the sequential text of the Epistle.⁷⁶ The same is true in a

Johannes Divjak, 'Zur Textüberlieferung der augustinischen *Expositio in epistolam ad Galatas*', *SP* 14 (1976), 402-9. A stimulating paper on the textual tradition of Augustine's *Commentary on Galatians* was given at the Seventeenth International Patristics Conference by Daniel Hadas, who also drew attention to the presence of this commentary in the Harvard manuscript (see below). For a study and English translation of the work, see Eric Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians* (Oxford, 2003).

⁷⁴ For more on this method of working, see H.A.G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John* (2008), especially 58ff.

⁷⁵ On Augustine's use of Jerome and Marius Victorinus and apparent lack of familiarity with Ambrosiaster until later in his career, see E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians* (2003), 20-56 and S.A. Cooper, *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians* (2005), 188. However, Antoon A.R. Bastiaensen, 'Augustin commentateur de saint Paul et l'Ambrosiaster', *Sacris Erudiri* 36 (1996), 37-65 suggests that Augustine may in fact have used Ambrosiaster in his commentary on *Galatians*.

⁷⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 17394.

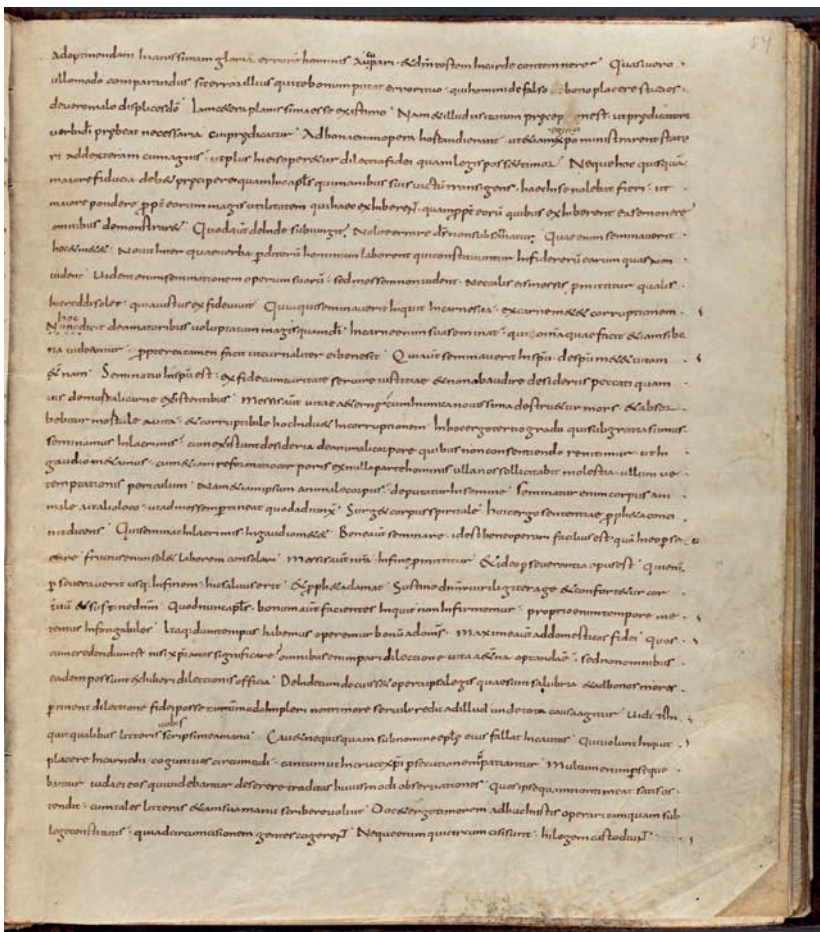


Image 7. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Houghton Library, MS Typ 495, fol. 54r (Augustine, *Commentary on Galatians*). S-shaped marks can be seen in the right margin alongside biblical quotations. (Public domain.)

ninth-century manuscript not reported by Divjak (Image 7).⁷⁷ Two contemporary witnesses have no indication of the biblical text, and this also appears to be true of other manuscripts of this commentary.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Cambridge MA, Harvard University Houghton Library, MS Typ 495, foll. 40r-55r: this manuscript also includes Jerome's *Commentary on Galatians* (see above).

⁷⁸ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 137 and 151. Divjak does not mention any marking of the biblical text in his description of manuscripts in the preface to his edition. E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (1934), I 5a does not refer to citation marks in his description of the oldest

Budapest Anonymous Commentary

The anonymous commentary on the *Pauline Epistles* written in Rome at the end of the fourth century is preserved in a single manuscript copied around the year 800 in Saint-Amand (Image 8).⁷⁹ Unusually for a commentary, the portions of biblical text are longer than the exegetical comments: between *Rom.* 9:25 and 11:12, there are seventy-five lines from the Epistle and only six lines of exposition, while there is just one comment in the whole of *Ephesians* (fol. 71r). At least two copyists worked on the manuscript, who distinguished the different types of text in several ways. Both lemmata and exegesis begin on a new line: the initial letter is in black or red, respectively, and projects into the left margin. There is usually a quotation mark in the outer margin alongside each line of biblical text, although if no comments are present on a page these are omitted in the latter half of the manuscript. On folios 1 to 58, the end of each section is marked by a symbol consisting of a triangle of dots above a comma, in red for commentary text and in black for the quotations: this seems to be a stylised version of the decorative *hedera* symbol. From folio 59 onwards, these are discontinued: instead, the exegetical sections are written in a smaller script. The text of the *Pauline Epistles* in the lemmata corresponds to one of the forms circulating in Italy prior to the Vulgate. Nevertheless, discrepancies between the lemmata and biblical citations in the commentary indicate that the two are not mutually dependent, and Dunphy has proposed that the commentary is a direct translation from Greek.⁸⁰

The relative size of the passages of biblical text and commentary has led to the suggestion that the commentary originated as marginal glosses in a biblical codex.⁸¹ This may be confirmed by some problems with the sequence of lemmata and commentary in *1 Corinthians*. For example, the comment *aut nomen mulieris*

surviving manuscript of the *Commentary on Galatians*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 491, although the accompanying image shows biblical quotations in the exposition of *Romans* marked by a large initial. I have not been able to consult images of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1975; of the later manuscripts available online, some have sporadic marginal quotation marks (e.g. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1639, 2033 and 10444) and others have no markings at all (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1974; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 12.28).

⁷⁹ Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 1. The *editio princeps* and study is Hermann J. Frede, *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*, AGLB 7-8 (Freiburg, 1973-1974). For the attribution to Constantius, see de S. De Bruyn, 'Constantius the *Tractor*' (1992).

⁸⁰ Walter Dunphy, 'Glosses on Glosses: On the Budapest Anonymous and Pseudo-Rufinus. A Study on Anonymous Writings in Pelagian Circles (Part 3)', *Augustinian Studies* 46 (2015), 43-70, especially 66.

⁸¹ Rosalind F. MacLachlan, 'A Reintroduction to the Budapest Anonymous Commentary on the Pauline Letters', in Hugh A.G. Houghton (ed.), *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament*, Texts and Studies 3.11 (Piscataway NJ, 2014), 93-106. This is proposed independently in Walter Dunphy, 'Glosses on Glosses: On the Budapest Anonymous and Pseudo-Rufinus. A Study on Anonymous Writings in Pelagian Circles (Part 1)', *Augustinian Studies* 44 (2013), 227-47, 228.

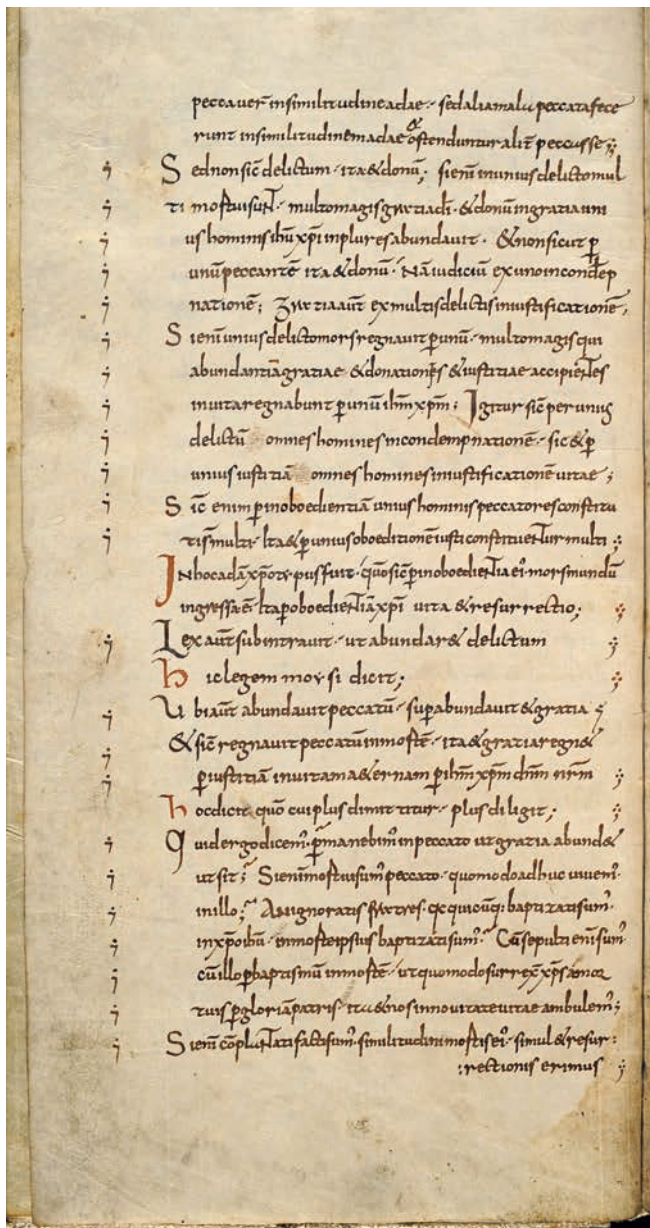


Image 8. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 1, fol. 9v (Budapest Anonymous Commentary). Biblical text is marked by a symbol in the left margin and black initials, commentary sections by red initials. The stylised *hedera* can be seen on the right hand side at the end of each section. (Reproduced by kind permission.)

aut turbis aut regionis alicuius ('either the name of a woman, or a group, or some district') interrupts the quotation of 1Cor. 1:8. Clearly, this is a gloss on Paul's reference to Chloe, yet unlike most comments which follow the relevant lemma, this has been placed immediately before the lemma beginning with *Cloes*. It is easy to imagine how a marginal comment linked to a single word in the biblical text could end up being incorporated in the wrong place by an inattentive copyist when the work was being copied in a different format. The inconsistency is heightened by the fact that neither the preceding nor following biblical lemmata are complete sense units.⁸² Similarly, the first comment following 1Cor. 2:1 picks up on the biblical word *sermonis*, but the next two comments, which both feature the word *timore*, refer forward to its occurrence in 1Cor. 2:3. The sequence of lemma followed by comment is only restored with the comment on *non in persuasione* in 1Cor. 2:4. As with the previous example, the confusion is coupled with breaks in lemmata which make no grammatical sense and the absence of *hederae*. The consistent presentation of the commentary, however, along with the division of the work between multiple hands and the small number of corrections suggest that the present manuscript was copied from one in the same layout. The conversion of the marginal format to the more common lineated commentary must have taken place at some point between the fifth and eighth centuries. The origin of the commentary as annotations in the margins of a biblical codex might explain why it remained anonymous.

The late fourth century seems a surprising early date for the creation of a biblical commentary in the margins of a Latin biblical manuscript.⁸³ Most surviving examples date from the eighth century onwards, such as the Würzburg Paul (Image 9).⁸⁴ This is a copy of the Epistles written in Ireland in the middle of the eighth century. The spacing of the lines is wide in order to permit the copying of interlinear glosses above the biblical text.⁸⁵ Some of these were copied by the first hand from the manuscript's exemplar but many others were added later, along with marginal extracts from several commentators: a number of these are identified as Pelagius while others are written in Irish. The complicated format of each page is the result of successive layers of additions rather than a single authorial conception: nevertheless, it is easy to imagine how, if a

⁸² In addition, the customary *hedera* symbols are missing from the end of the lemma and comment.

⁸³ The earliest surviving parallel might be the substantial fifth-century Arian scholia added to the margins of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 8907 shortly after it was copied. See Roger Gryson (ed.), *Scolies ariennes sur le concile d'Aquilée*, SC 267 (Paris, 1980) and, further, Caroline P. Hammond Bammel, 'From the School of Maximinus. The Arian Material in Paris MS. Lat. 8907', *JTS* ns 31 (1980), 391-402. Luise Frenkel has also suggested to me that further parallels may be found in the marginal and interlinear glossing of legal codes.

⁸⁴ Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.12.

⁸⁵ A similar example from the same time and place, but with slightly less space between the lines of biblical text and fewer comments, is the Würzburg Matthew (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.61).

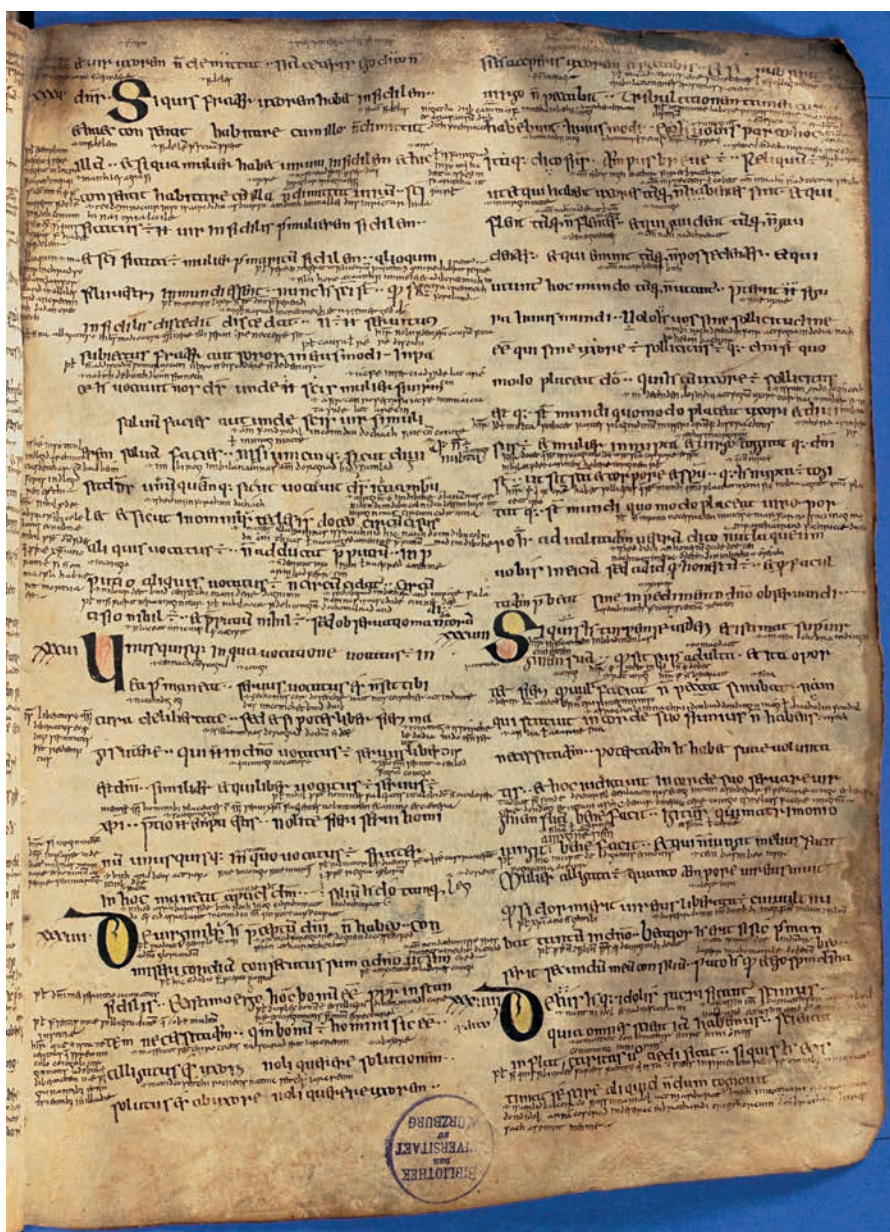


Image 9. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 12, fol. 10r (the 'Würzburg Paul'). Glosses can be seen written in the margin and between the lines of the biblical text. The last marginal gloss in each column is identified as Pelagius (PE).

(Reproduced by permission.)

later copyist wanted to create a unified commentary from these dispersed comments, their various placings could lead to confusion in their distribution in the new format, as in the Budapest Anonymous Commentary.

Pelagius

Pelagius' approach in his *Commentary on Paul*, composed in Rome between 406 and 410, is to cite the biblical text in short phrases, normally followed by a single sentence of exegesis.⁸⁶ His exposition sometimes takes the form of a reformulation of the lemma or a single gloss, although it may also include quotations from other books of the New Testament and introduce alternative explanations with the word *aliter*. The biblical lemmata sometimes stand by themselves, but on other occasions are connected with Pelagius' argument by the use of relative clauses: the commentary reads like a series of glosses interrupting the full sequential text of each Epistle.⁸⁷ The commentary appears to have undergone an early revision in two stages between 412 and 432, which may partly have been the work of Pelagius' disciple Caelestius and is known as Pseudo-Jerome. A second revision, made by Cassiodorus and his pupils at a point when the commentary was circulating anonymously, used to be attributed to Primasius.⁸⁸ Despite the absence of Pelagius' name from all surviving manuscripts, the Würzburg Paul and Sedulius Scottus both cite him by name.

The two principal manuscripts of the uninterpolated text of Pelagius' commentary were both identified by Alexander Souter in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁸⁹ The Karlsruhe witness is written by several hands: biblical lemmata are sporadically indicated in *Romans* and *Ephesians* by means of a variety of marginal quotation marks; the other Epistles are presented as continuous text. There is no distinction at all between the lemmata and commentary in the Balliol manuscript.⁹⁰ However, there is a significant difference

⁸⁶ The only edition remains Alexander Souter (ed.), *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St Paul: Text, Texts and Studies 9.2* (Cambridge, 1926). See also the English translation of Theodore de Bruyn, *Pelagius's Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (Oxford, 1993). For Pelagius' use of the Budapest Anonymous Commentary, Rufinus' translation of Origen, and Augustine, see T. de Bruyn, *Pelagius's Commentary* (1993), 4–6, while A. Souter, *Earliest Latin Commentaries* (1927), 226–8, demonstrates his use of Ambrosiaster and Jerome.

⁸⁷ See further A. Souter, *Earliest Latin Commentaries* (1927), 215–6. It may not be coincidental that Pelagius was in part reliant on the collection behind the Budapest Anonymous Commentary (see W. Dunphy, 'Glosses on Glosses [part 1]' [2013], 228).

⁸⁸ T. de Bruyn, *Pelagius's Commentary* (1993), 27–8. For the attribution to Caelestius, note the comments in W. Dunphy, 'Glosses on Glosses (part 1)' (2013), 228.

⁸⁹ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 119, copied around the year 800, and Oxford, Balliol College, MS 157, produced in Italy around the fifteenth century.

⁹⁰ In Balliol 157, Pelagius' commentary is followed by Jerome's commentaries on *Galatians* and *Ephesians*. Oxford, Merton College, 26 is a copy of the Balliol manuscript made within six decades of its production.

between the biblical text of these two witnesses: the Balliol manuscript has an Old Latin form of the Epistles similar to that transmitted in the ninth-century Book of Armagh,⁹¹ whereas the Karlsruhe manuscript has an early form of the Vulgate. The analysis of the biblical quotations in the exegesis has led to the conclusion that the Karlsruhe text best represents that used by Pelagius, which also seems to be the earliest example of the revised Latin text of the Pauline Epistles later adopted in the Vulgate.⁹² The Old Latin text must therefore have been the result of substitution of the lemmata by an editor at some point during the transmission of the work, presumably in order to match a local form of biblical text. Souter's observation that the portion of Pelagius which fills a lacuna between 1 and 2*Corinthians* in the latter recension of Ambrosiaster corresponds to the form in the Balliol manuscript indicates that this took place before the middle of the sixth century.⁹³ The replacement of the text would have been a more complicated task if the lemmata and exegesis were not formally differentiated.

In the same year that Souter rediscovered the Karlsruhe manuscript, Mercati identified the earliest surviving witness to Pelagius' *Commentary*: two leaves in the Vatican from a sixth-century manuscript in semi-uncial script (Image 10).⁹⁴ In this fragment, each of the lemmata begins on a new line and is marked by an initial *diple*; in most cases, every line of biblical text projects into the margin by two characters. The exegesis follows immediately, on the same line as the lemma finishes. The layout of this manuscript therefore has certain similarities with the two oldest surviving witnesses to Ambrosiaster, although the identification of *every* line of biblical text by projection is rare.⁹⁵ Souter's claim that '[these fragments] show the way in which Pelagius arranged his work' is probably overconfident, given the interval of at least a century.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the clear identification of the lemmata in such a layout would have made it easier to substitute the biblical text. This happened not just in an early ancestor of the Balliol manuscript, but also in at least one of the interpolated versions

⁹¹ Dublin, Trinity College, MS 52 (Vetus Latina 61).

⁹² See further Hermann J. Frede, *Pelagius, der irische Paulustext, Sedulius Scottus*, AGLB 3 (Freiburg, 1961); *id.*, 'Der Paulustext des Pelagius', *Sacris Erudiri* 16 (1965), 165-83; T. de Bruyn, *Pelagius's Commentary* (1993), 8-9. The argument that Pelagius' text precedes the Vulgate is put forward in Karl T. Schäfer, 'Pelagius und die Vulgata', *NTS* 9 (1962), 361-6.

⁹³ A. Souter, *Earliest Latin Commentaries* (1993), 207.

⁹⁴ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10800; Giovanni Mercati, 'Two Leaves of a Sixth-Century MS of Pelagius on St Paul', *JTS* os 8 (1907), 529-35.

⁹⁵ Only the first line of the lemmata is projected in the fifth-century copies of Augustine and Jerome's Old Testament commentaries mentioned above; compare also the early manuscript of Rufinus below. G. Mercati, 'Two Leaves' (1907), 530, notes that two vertical lines were ruled on each page to align the left-hand margins of the biblical text and commentary respectively, although there are a few occasions on which the copyist does not follow the scheme consistently.

⁹⁶ Alexander Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St Paul: Introduction, Texts and Studies* 9.1 (Cambridge, 1922), 228.

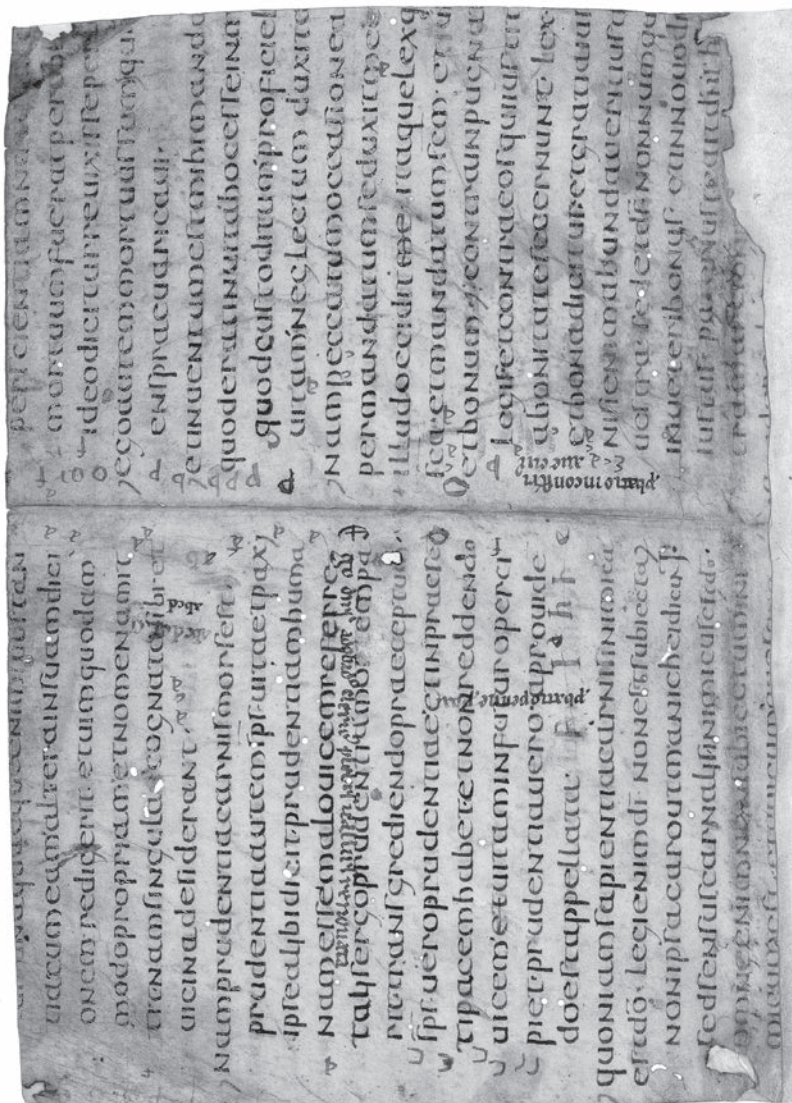


Image 10. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatic. lat. 10800 (*Pelagius, Commentary on Romans*).
The lemmata project into the left margin, and a *diple* may be seen along the first line of each.
(Reproduced by permission.)

which has Old Latin readings which differ from Balliol 157 in a number of the lemmata.⁹⁷ In this Paris manuscript, the text is written continuously, but the beginning of each biblical citation is sometimes indicated by a marginal quotation mark as well as a symbol in the body of the text shaped like ‘T’ or, in later books, like the ‘s’ shaped quotation mark: both these indications, especially the marginal symbols, become less frequent in the latter part of the manuscript. Although many of the interpolations in this manuscript post-date Pelagius, Souter suggests that some of the additions may have been made by the author himself.⁹⁸

Rufinus’ Translation of Origen

The earliest surviving Latin manuscript of a commentary on Paul is the fifth- or sixth-century copy of Rufinus’ translation of Origen’s *Commentary on Romans* (Image 11).⁹⁹ The biblical lemmata are indicated by one or two s-shaped marginal marks alongside each line. Quotations which start in the middle of a line are usually preceded by a space and a quotation mark, and close with another space. New sections, whether biblical or exegetical, project very slightly into the left margin. In her examination of this manuscript, Caroline Hammond Bammel concluded that it preserves Rufinus’ original layout for this commentary and contains a number of features which represent practices of a fifth-century scriptorium, including the form of the *nomina sacra* abbreviations and the use of half-uncial script.¹⁰⁰ What is more, she suggests that the format used by Rufinus may have evolved during the first book of the translation: initially, all lemmata are indicated by a single mark, but from the latter part of *Rom.* 1, double marks are used for the principal lemma and single marks for repetitions and quotations from other biblical books. Rufinus’ use of single or double quotation marks in his *Apology against Jerome* was quoted above: in this commentary it may even derive from his exemplar of Origen, as it is also found in the Tura papyrus of this commentary.¹⁰¹ It has long been known that, rather than translating Origen’s lemmata directly, Rufinus supplied the biblical text from an Old Latin manuscript. For this reason, the initial lemmata are grammatically separate from the exposition, although verses repeated during the commentary function as secondary lemmata.

⁹⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 653, copied in Italy around the year 800.

⁹⁸ A. Souter, *Pelagius’s Expositions: Introduction* (1922), 255 and 259.

⁹⁹ Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 483 [413].

¹⁰⁰ C.P. Hammond Bammel, ‘A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium’ (1978); *ead.*, ‘Products of Fifth-Century Scriptoria’ (1979 and 1984). See also *ead.*, *Der Römerbrieftext des Rufin und seine Origenes-Übersetzung*, AGLB 10 (Freiburg, 1985), which has a discussion of biblical lemmata in Origen and Rufinus on 173-203.

¹⁰¹ *Ead.*, ‘A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium’ (1978), 382-3.

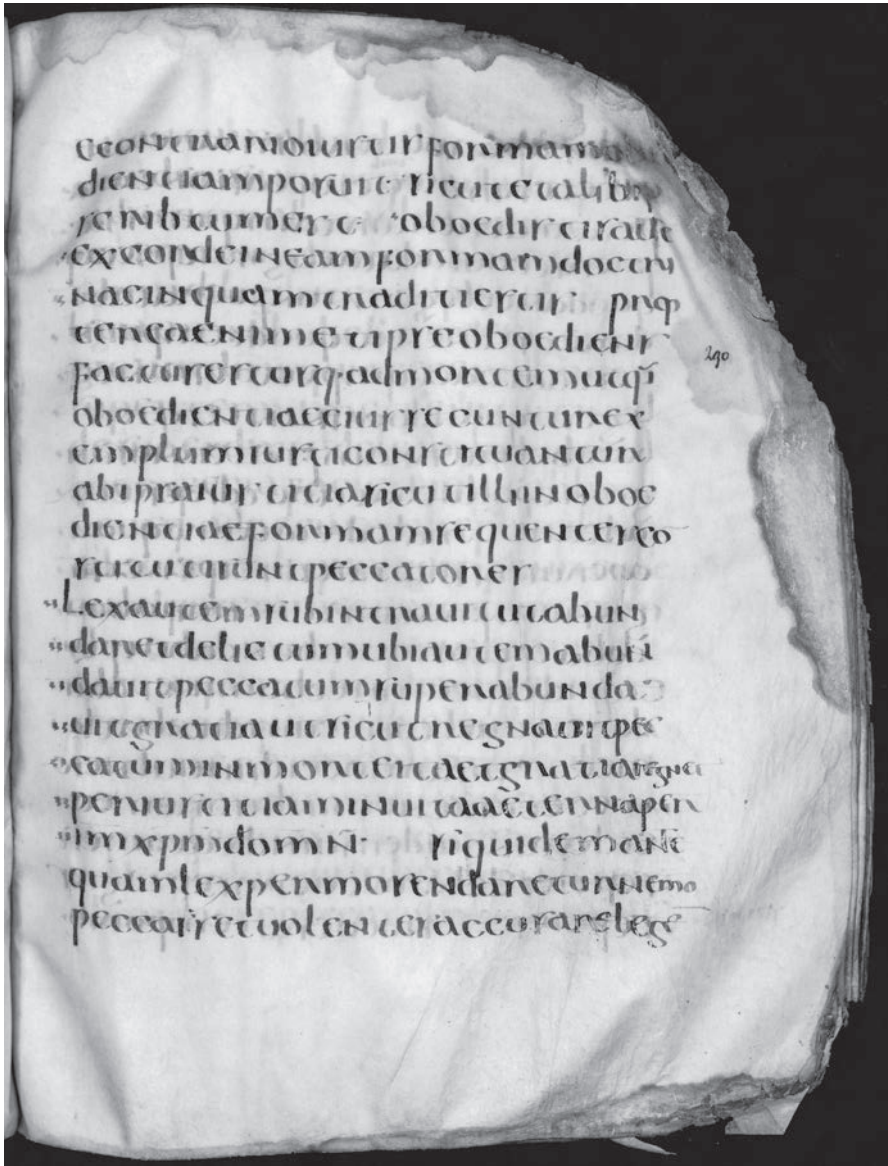


Image 11. Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 483, fol. 290r (Origen, *Commentary on Romans*, translated by Rufinus). Double marginal quotation marks can be seen alongside the lemma in the bottom half of the page; an illustrative quotation begins in the middle of line 3, preceded by a blank space and a single quotation mark and marked by single quotation marks in the left margin alongside the two following lines. (Reproduced by kind permission.)

Hammond Bammel notes that most of the subsequent copies of this commentary derive from this witness through the intermediary of an eighth-century insular minuscule manuscript.¹⁰² Few features of the original layout are preserved in the copies from the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. One witness has double quotation marks for the first lemma, but then all subsequent lemmata and quotations are indicated by a single mark apart from a few pages in which double marks are used.¹⁰³ Most of the initial lemmata are also indicated by an outsize capital and projection into the margin, although some quotations are preceded by spaces. In the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, the majority of lemmata begin on a new line and all quotations are indicated by a single y-shaped marginal mark up to fol. 114r, where 'ss' symbols are adopted instead.¹⁰⁴ From fol. 102r onwards (*Rom.* 12:10), most quotations of *Romans* are written in capitals, although longer lemmata revert to minuscule after a couple of lines. A single marginal quotation mark, shaped like ÷, is the only indication of lemmata in Books 1-5 of the ninth-century Paris copy of this commentary.¹⁰⁵ In Books 6-10, written in a more compressed format, a variety of marks are used: single 's', the insular '.,' (e.g. fol. 121v), and a 'q' shape which may be a derivative of the latter symbol. The presence of these marks on the same page, sometimes in combination, suggests that the exemplar for this witness may have preserved Rufinus' distinction between double and single quotation marks, at least in part. The copyist who added part of Rufinus' commentary in the eighth century to replace text missing from the beginning of the sixth-century Ambrosiaster manuscript made a deliberate effort to match the format of the rest of the manuscript.¹⁰⁶

Rufinus' translation of Origen therefore offers a unique perspective on the transformation of the original layout in later copies. The distinction between different sorts of marginal marks is almost entirely lost, and the inclusion of these marks in the spaces before quotations in the body of the text is abandoned. It is instructive that the Wolfenbüttel manuscript has introduced new lines for the lemmata and both standardised and increased the level of projection into the left margin. The Monte Cassino manuscript demonstrates that the format of each commentary was seen as being flexible rather than a key part of the textual

¹⁰² *Ead.*, 'Products of Fifth-Century Scriptoria' (1979), 440.

¹⁰³ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 127; double marks re-appear on foll. 115r-151r.

¹⁰⁴ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Weissenburg 74. Isolated 'ss' marks are occasionally seen in this witness (e.g. fol. 24v, 64v, 75v, 113v), apparently through scribal inattention.

¹⁰⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12124.

¹⁰⁶ Monte Cassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, 150, pp. 1-64. See C.P. Hammond Bammel, 'Products of Fifth-Century Scriptoria' (1979), 445-6: it is impossible to tell from the single plate of this manuscript available exactly how lemmata were handled. The same is true of the one online image of the ninth-century copy of the commentary held in Manchester, John Rylands Library, latin 174.

transmission. The discrepancies between different copies, and often within the same manuscript as well, also bear witness to the way in which the layout could change regardless of the form of the exemplar. Nevertheless, certain features can survive as inconsistencies through many generations of copying: in a twelfth-century manuscript of this commentary, the first few pages feature both double and single s-shaped marks before the latter prevail for the rest of the codex.¹⁰⁷

The Latin Version of Theodore of Mopsuestia

A commentary on the *Pauline Epistles* written in Greek by Theodore of Mopsuestia around the beginning of the fifth century is primarily preserved in a Latin translation made a few decades later, probably in Italy. Both of the principal surviving manuscripts seem to have contained a composite commentary on Paul, consisting of Ambrosiaster's exposition of *Romans* and 1 and 2 *Corinthians* and Theodore's exposition of *Galatians* to *Philemon*.¹⁰⁸ Many of the lemmata in Theodore's commentary are grammatically separate from the exposition, although they are usually introduced by the preceding sentence. Some, however, are interrupted by brief interjections or questions into units which do not stand by themselves (e.g. *Gal.* 1:7-8, 3:25-6; *Eph.* 1:6, 4:30-5:3; *Phil.* 3:5). There are more than a few occasions on which *inquit* ('he says') intrudes into the lemma, probably corresponding to the Greek *φησί*.¹⁰⁹ This coheres with Swete's conclusion that the Latin biblical text is a direct translation of the Greek commentary.¹¹⁰ It is less clear whether the alternative renderings found in the lemmata of *Eph.* 1:10 (*instaurare uel potius recapitulare*) and *Phil.* 2:7 (*in schemate uel specie*) represent Theodore's own glosses or were introduced by the translator following comparison with a Latin biblical codex.

In the Amiens manuscript copied in the ninth or tenth century, biblical quotations are accompanied by s- or w-shaped marginal marks alongside each line (Image 12). On the opening pages, they are written in red capitals, alternating lines of red and green capitals, or occasionally black minuscules. What is more, the text featured in this way comprises not just the lemmata in sequence,

¹⁰⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1643.

¹⁰⁸ Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 88; London, British Library, Harley MS 3063. There is also a single page from an eighth- or ninth-century Latin manuscript of Theodore at Cambridge MA, Harvard University Houghton Library, MS Lat 433, although I have not been able to find an image of this.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. *Gal.* 2:6, 3:6, 3:21, 3:23 etc. Compare Theodore's introduction of *φησί* into the lemma at *Rom.* 9:14, 12:13 and 13:14 (in catena fragments), and the extant Greek portions of the commentary at *Gal.* 4:7 and *Phil.* 3:16 and 17. Contrast, however, the fragments of commentary for *Gal.* 2:20 and *Phil.* 1:12.

¹¹⁰ H.B. Swete (ed.), *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistola B. Pauli Commentarii*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1880-1882): on the biblical text see I.xli-xliv.

but also repetitions of the Pauline text within the commentary, and some of Theodore's own observations.¹¹¹ Such a chaotic presentation implies that there was no consistent marking of lemmata in the exemplar. Later in the manuscript, the presentation becomes more regular: some lemmata are written in the same script as the rest of the text and only indicated by an enlarged first letter. In certain Epistles, a *hedera* symbol identical to that in the Budapest Anonymous Commentary is found at the end of each portion of exegesis and each quotation. In the slightly earlier London manuscript, the lemmata appear to be marked by double *diplai* in the left margin and enlarged or coloured initials. Unfortunately, as all the Greek fragments of this work are transmitted in catena manuscripts, no comparison can be made between the layout in the two traditions.¹¹²

Later Manuscripts and Commentaries

The trend in manuscripts of these early commentaries copied after the ninth century is to reduce the distinction between the biblical text and the passages of exegesis. The use of rubrication for the lemmata is discontinued, and marginal quotation marks are the principal means of identifying biblical passages. Even in ninth-century manuscripts, it has been observed that the copying of marginal material in general, and quotation marks in particular, becomes much less consistent. Where these marks are present in later copies, they are often restricted to the first line of each quotation and not placed alongside subsequent lines; they also become less prominent. An example of this is offered by a twelfth-century manuscript of Ambrosiaster.¹¹³ In this witness, there is a double dot (‘..’) in the margin at the start of most lemmata, although even this is not consistent. The complete absence of indication of biblical text in the fifteenth-century Balliol manuscript of Pelagius has been noted above. The reduction of distinctions between biblical text and exposition not only makes it less easy to separate the two visually but may also be seen as enhancing the authority of the commentator's exegesis by placing it on the same level as the biblical text.

Such canonisation of patristic exposition may be seen in the commentaries of Bede, who quoted extensively from earlier commentators. These sources were indicated by letters in the margin, such as AU for Augustine and HI for Jerome. Unfortunately, like other marginal material, these were rarely

¹¹¹ E.g. *denique adiecit* on fol. 3r, *quomodo dixit ergo aliud* on fol. 5r and various lines on foll. 6v and 7v-8r.

¹¹² In another paper delivered at the Seventeenth International Patristics Conference, Maya Goldberg announced that a Syriac translation of four of the epistles from Theodore's *Commentary on Paul* is present in the manuscript Diyarbakir 22, of which she is currently preparing an edition. See Maya Goldberg, 'New Syriac Edition and Translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia's Reconstructed *Commentary on Paul's Minor Epistles*: Fragments from MS (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22', *SP* 96 (2017), 293-300.

¹¹³ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plutei XIV.2.

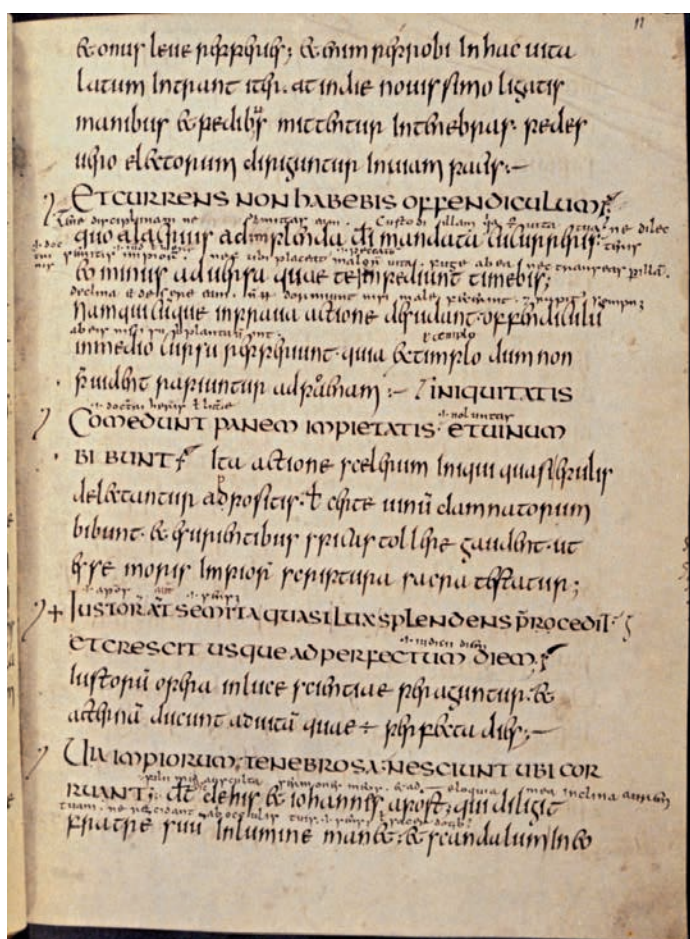


Image 13. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 819, fol. 11r (Bede, *Commentary on Proverbs*). The lemmata are written in capitals, with a *diple* in the left margin and a *hedera* at the end of each. (Reproduced by kind permission.)

accurately transmitted in later copies despite being part of the original authorial conception.¹¹⁴ Later Carolingian commentators such as Hrabanus Maurus and Claudius of Turin followed this example of identifying their sources in the margin, and it is even found in the twelfth-century Pauline commentary

¹¹⁴ See Michael M. Gorman, 'Source Marks and Chapter Divisions in Bede's *Commentary on Luke*', *Revue bénédictine* 112 (2002), 46-75.

of Gilbert of Poitiers.¹¹⁵ The earliest manuscript of Bede's *Commentary on Proverbs*, produced in his own Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium, bears witness to a very specific layout (Image 13).¹¹⁶ Each lemma begins on a new line, is marked by a *diple* in the left margin, concludes with the *hedera* symbol, and is written in uncial script. The body of the exposition is written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, but other biblical quotations are marked by marginal symbols.¹¹⁷ This level of detail makes it highly likely that the author himself was responsible for the presentation. There is no evidence, however, that this complex format was extended to copies of other commentaries produced in Northumbria, and with the demise of the scriptorium Bede's own works were copied in a more conventional way.

Another example of a later commentary drawing on earlier writers, which also has an unusual format, is the commentary on *Romans* attributed to Helisachar, chaplain to Charlemagne's son Louis the Pious (Image 14).¹¹⁸ This is composed of extracts principally from Ambrosiaster (identified as Ambrose), Augustine, Origen (in Rufinus' translation) and a Latin version of Chrysostom. The source's name and the biblical lemma are written in red capitals before each section of commentary, with several commentators sometimes being quoted for the same verse. The lemma appears to be taken directly from the patristic source, which means not only that Old Latin readings are preserved, but also that the text of the verse varies before each passage of exegesis. For example, at *Rom.* 5:6 (fol. 23v ff.), the lemma for Ambrosiaster begins *ut quid enim Christus cum adhuc peccatores essemus*, that of Origen *adhuc enim Christus cum essemus infirmi* and that of Chrysostom *ut quid enim Christus cum adhuc infirmi essemus*. The creation of a biblical commentary solely from a single earlier author appears to have begun with Peter of Tripoli's use of extracts from Augustine to gloss the *Pauline Epistles*.¹¹⁹ This reached its apogee in the ninth century with the extensive excerpts from Augustine assembled by Florus of Lyons. Later commentaries, such as the *Glossa ordinaria* initiated by Anselm of Laon in the eleventh century, are often laid out in three columns: the continuous biblical text, sometimes with interlinear glosses, occupies the middle column, while extracts from earlier writers, usually unattributed, are arranged on either side.

¹¹⁵ E.g. London, British Library, Royal 2.F.1, where the source marks include AMB, AU, IE and AIMO (for Ambros[iaster], Augustine, Jerome and Haimo of Auxerre). For Claudius of Turin, see Michael M. Gorman, 'The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious', *Speculum* 72 (1997), 279-329; on Carolingian scholarship more generally, John J. Contreni, 'The patristic legacy to c. 1000', in Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (eds), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. II. From 600 to 1450* (Cambridge, 2012), 505-35.

¹¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819.

¹¹⁷ See M.B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect* (1992), 180-1.

¹¹⁸ This is only preserved in the ninth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 11574. A paper on this commentary, as part of work towards a new edition, was presented by Shari Boodts at the Seventeenth International Patristics Conference.

¹¹⁹ This work is lost, but is mentioned by Cassiodorus at *Institutiones* 1.8.9.

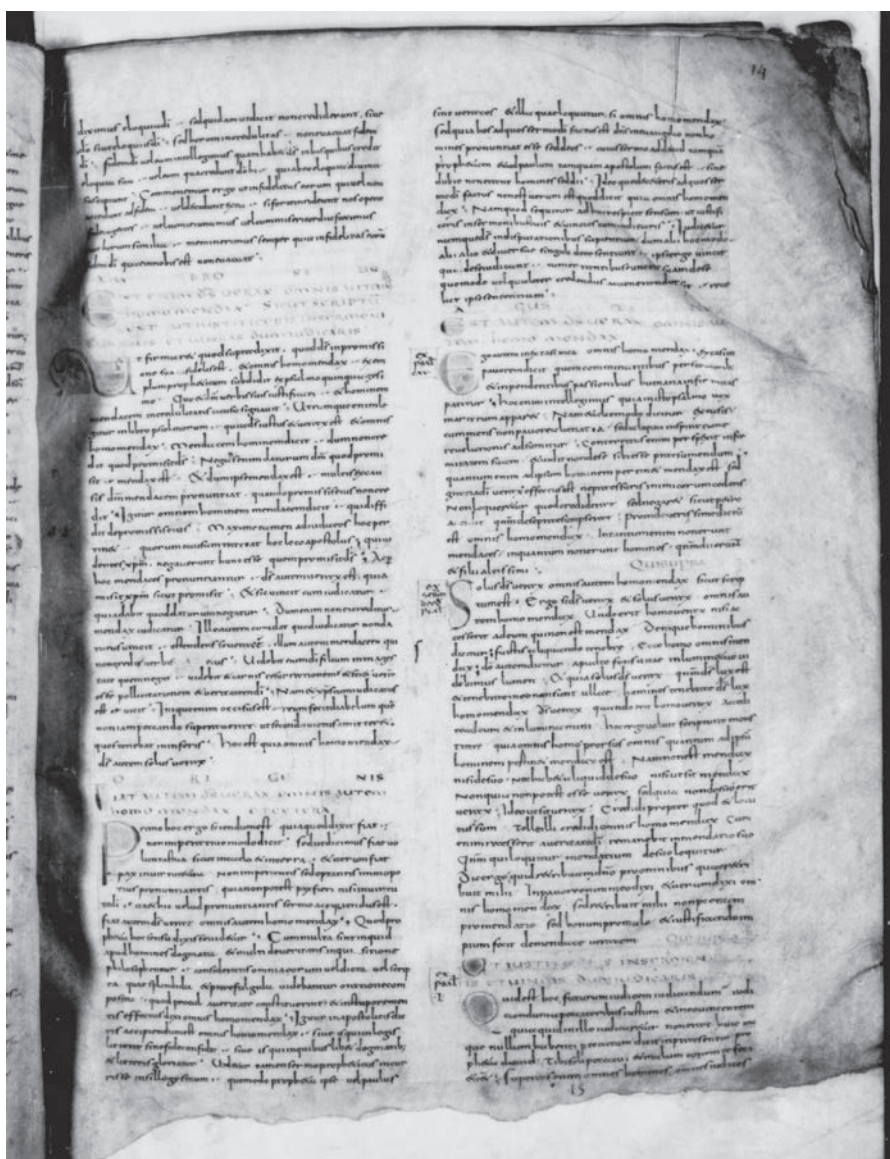


Image 14. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 11574, fol. 14r (Helisachar?, *Commentary on Romans*). Biblical lemmata are written in red capitals, reproducing the text used in the source writing. Extracts from Ambrose and Origen begin in the left column, while on the right there are three extracts from Augustine with the source text indicated in a little box between the columns.
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Conclusions

This survey has highlighted the variety in the manuscript presentation of early Latin commentaries on the *Pauline Epistles*. Biblical lemmata may be indicated by one or more of the following practices: rubrication, indentation (*eisthesis*) or projection (*ekthesis*), marginal quotation marks, spaces, and out-size or capital letters. Sometimes they are set on lines of their own, or begin with a new line but are immediately followed by commentary. It appears that, to a large extent, the layout of commentary manuscripts depends on contemporary scribal practice: the use of capital letters as a distinguishing feature only becomes possible after the adoption of minuscule script in the eighth century, while the form of marginal quotation marks varies widely. Both Hammond Bammel and McGurk observe that the manner of indicating quotations largely corresponds to the type of script: uncial manuscripts tend to employ indentation or the traditional form of the *diple*; half-uncial script is more consistently accompanied by *diploi*; minuscule copies use later forms of marginal symbols.¹²⁰ There is an overall trend towards the avoidance of empty half-lines or blank space, especially as commentaries were normally produced for private study rather than as presentation copies or for liturgical reading. This can be seen in the practice of beginning the lemma on a new line: present in some of the earliest witnesses, the blank space is filled in in eighth-century copies and almost all manuscripts from the ninth century onwards treat commentaries as largely continuous texts. Another trend is towards the reduction or even elimination of marginal material: the use of quotation marks is normally more sporadic than other means of identifying lemmata and appears to become more so in later manuscripts. In many cases the indications included by copyists are supplemented by subsequent users. Similarly, while the initial practice is to place a mark alongside each line of a biblical quotation, this can be simplified to a single mark corresponding to the beginning of a lemma, especially by the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Such general tendencies in the treatment of earlier works sometimes contrast with the presentation adopted by authors of the eighth and ninth centuries for their own commentaries.

The differences between commentary manuscripts of a similar date, and the lack in most cases of witnesses from the first three or four centuries of a work's transmission mean that considerable caution must be employed in using surviving manuscripts as evidence for the original format of a commentary. The discrepancies between the two earliest surviving manuscripts of Ambrosiaster as to whether lemmata are indented or projected, and whether the exposition starts on a new line or immediately follows the lemma, exemplify the divergences which could have been introduced during the first century or so. Furthermore,

¹²⁰ P. McGurk, 'Citation Marks' (1961), 6-7; C.P. Hammond Bammel, 'A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium' (1978), 380.

the inconsistencies within these manuscripts, and also the sixth-century fragments of Pelagius, raise questions as to how attentive early copyists may have been to matters of layout and, indeed, whether their exemplars were consistent. The textual tradition of Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans* shows how authorial indications were lost over the course of a few centuries, especially as part of the shift to minuscule script during the late eighth century.

Internal evidence therefore often provides the key to understanding the original layout of a commentary. The interruption or grammatical incorporation of lemmata, or their separation from the following exposition, is central to the author's conception of the relationship between their source and comments. The length of biblical quotations, such as Pelagius' atomistic approach, or the number of repetitions of text from the lemma during the commentary, may also affect the work's presentation. Admittedly, authors themselves may not be consistent: Augustine's separate treatment of the first chapter of *Galatians* contrasts with his interventionist approach to the rest of the Epistle, while Jerome's interruptions to the lemmata of the same Epistle are largely restricted to the last of his three books. One of the most surprising results of the present survey is the degree to which commentators on Paul interact with their lemmata, beginning as early as Marius Victorinus. There is little formal evidence for the treatment of Scripture as a privileged or inviolable source, to be carefully separated from the words of the expositor.¹²¹ Only Ambrosiaster's commentary and Pelagius' glosses appear consistently to preserve the integrity of the lemmata. The vulnerability of separate lemmata to wholesale replacement with another form of biblical text is seen in the textual traditions of Ambrosiaster and Pelagius. The facts that these examples involve pre-Vulgate texts and appear to have occurred in the sixth century imply that this was carried out while the lemmata occupied separate lines. Conversely, evidence for the alteration of the biblical text in sequential commentaries is sporadic, and the continued transmission of an Old Latin form likely to correspond to that used by the author offers a further indication of the integrity of the textual tradition.

Finally, what significance does this study have for the modern understanding of these commentaries and their reception? The presence of the biblical text in all these commentaries indicates that their authors and copyists intended them to be read as complete in themselves, rather than in conjunction with a biblical manuscript.¹²² The variety of scriptural texts in circulation in the fourth century may have contributed to the inclusion of complete lemmata, insofar as exegesis requires attention to the exact wording of the source. The separation, or not, of the lemmata may also shed light on the author's attitude to their own work: Pelagius offers a series of glosses, while the Budapest Anonymous Commentary

¹²¹ This is not, of course, to deny the commentators' reverence for the authority of Scripture: see, for example, S.A. Cooper, *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians* (2005), 88.

¹²² The original form of the Budapest Anonymous Commentary, of course, stands apart.

simply consisted of marginal annotations; Marius Victorinus and Ambrosiaster expound a canonical text, usually keeping their own contributions separate from their source; Jerome and Augustine engage more closely with the biblical wording, the latter integrating the biblical text so deeply into his exposition that it is sometimes difficult to separate the two. Nevertheless, it is clear that subsequent users felt the need to indicate the biblical lemmata, whether or not they were marked by the author or a manuscript's copyist. Perhaps this was to aid navigation: apart from occasional division into books, none of these texts has any structural guide to assist the reader apart from the biblical citations. It has already been suggested above that the discontinuation of the distinction between lemmata and exposition in later manuscripts of these commentaries reflects the acceptance of the patristic expositions themselves as canonical, on the same level as the biblical text: this could be seen as the logical outcome of the attitudes towards commentary.

Most modern printed editions of Christian writings in Latin follow a standard typographical layout, with the text split into paragraphs (usually numbered) and the words of biblical quotations indicated in italics. This largely derives from the presentation of these works in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which were used as the basis for early printed texts. The present study has shown that the original layouts of fourth-century commentaries may have been very different. Given that the physical presentation of a work contributes to its understanding and interpretation by both ancient and modern readers, it is worth considering whether modern editors should attempt to present a work in the manner most closely resembling its original form, particularly in this digital age when the cost of paper is not such a prohibitive factor.¹²³ For instance, the layout of Pelagius' commentary with each biblical extract and comment on a new line, as in the sixth-century fragments, would promote the understanding of the work as a series of glosses rather than a more discursive commentary. While the use of italics for illustrative citations and repetitions of the biblical text reveals at a glance the way in which the Bible is woven into exegesis, ancient readers seem not to have made so great a distinction between the words of an author and their source text. In the case of Augustine and Jerome, the same could also apply to the lemma text of their commentary. Of course, in each case, the text itself is more important than the physical form

¹²³ The two principal editions of the Latin Vulgate, for example, reproduce the layout *per cola et commata* found in Codex Amiatinus, with minimal punctuation. Although this slightly postdates the revision of the text, it is closer to the ancient form than a continuous and heavily punctuated presentation. The format of later commentators may be presented with greater confidence. For example, editions of Sedulius Scottus use capital letters for his lemmata (Bengt Löfstedt [ed.], *Sedulius Scottus: Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Matthäus*, AGLB 14, 19 [Freiburg, 1989, 1991]; Hermann J. Frede and Herbert Stanjek (eds), *Sedulii Scotti Collectaneum in Apostolum*, AGLB 31-2 [Freiburg, 1996-1997]). M.M. Gorman, 'Source Marks' (2002), 258-63 and 274-5, argues for the inclusion of source marks in editions of Bede's commentaries.

it takes in any generation. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this survey, in drawing attention to the differing formats of biblical commentaries and the ways in which these may reflect authorial design and later reception, has made a case for the value of studying the presentation as well as the text of New Testament commentaries.