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Vulgate Bible: Sapiential Books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Song of Songs) with the *Glossa ordinaria*

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment

Northern France (Paris?), c. 1240-1260

iii (paper) + i (lifted parchment pastedown) + 180 + iii (paper, first and last paper endleaves are decorative black and gold paper matching the pastedowns) on parchment, modern foliation in pencil, top outer recto, complete (collation i^s ii-v¹² vi¹⁰ vii-xiii¹² xiv^s xv¹² xvi¹⁰), horizontal catchwords (mostly trimmed, visible in quires 2, 4, 9, 12, and 15), ruled in lead in three columns with the top three, middle three, and bottom three horizontal rules full across, and with extra double horizontal rules for the running titles and in the lower margin, full-length vertical bounding lines, with an extra set of double vertical lines in the outer margin, prickings remain in the top and bottom margins (justification 204 x 130-128 mm.), written by several hands in a gothic bookhand with up to 46 lines of gloss and up to 23 lines of biblical text, ruled with three columns with the biblical text copied in a larger script on every other line, and the glosses on every line in a smaller script in one to three columns, depending on the proportion of text to gloss on a given page, both text and gloss begin below the top line, red and blue running titles and paraps, one-line red or blue initials with pen decoration in the opposite color, six large parted red and blue initials, 8- to 5-lines (with extensions up to 32 lines) at the beginnings of books and some prologues (ff. 1, 49, 64v, 91v, 92 [two initials]), ff. 159-end, no running titles and red decoration only, occasional stains, pronounced on ff. 97-100, which are stained and cockled (text remains completely legible), ff. 132-158v, original parchment of poorer quality, off-cuts, with irregular margins, and color variation, tape repairs on ff. 135 and 180, generally in very good condition with wide margins. Bound after 1896 in black (it has also been described as very dark blue) morocco by W. J. Mansell (binder's ticket inside front cover), gold tooled with two sets of double fillets forming two rectangular panels, the inner decorated with fleurons at the corners, spine with five raised bands lettered in gilt, "Biblia/ Libri/ Sapientiales/ Soec/ XII-XIII," gilt doublures, pastedowns and facing endleaves of decorated (black and gold) paper, in very good condition, a few small scratches front cover. Dimensions 330 x 230 mm.

A stately, classic example with outstanding medieval and modern provenance of the most influential medieval commentary on the Bible, the Ordinary Gloss. This is the Gloss in its mature form: a large-format manuscript copied by professional scribes who had mastered the intricacies of its formidable layout. Despite the numbers that survive, thirteenth-century copies of the Gloss have been neglected in the scholarly literature. Here we see abundant evidence of active use, including copious glosses on the Gloss added in the margins, all inviting further study. Manuscripts in this condition, with such remarkable provenance, have become rare on the market.

PROVENANCE

1. Written in Northern France, very likely in Paris, c. 1240-1260, based on the evidence of the script and penwork decoration (likely in the earlier part of this date range). The script and successful mastery of the complicated layout of the *Glossa ordinaria* suggests this was a product of professional scribes in Paris, likely produced under the direction of one of the commercial booksellers there; it passed through the Parisian booktrade again when it was acquired by Gilles de Royes in 1459 (see below). One of its most important

features are the extensive marginal additions to the manuscript in several hands (two main glossing hands using ink, and additional notes in plummet), most added not long after the manuscript was completed and evidence of active use by students of the Bible, likely students of theology at the university. The earliest of these annotators was particularly interested in biblical *distinctiones* and copied numerous examples in the margins. *Distinctiones*, schematic lists of the various meanings of a word in the Bible, were often used in composing sermons. The link between exegesis and preaching is underlined here by the presence of a sermon following the biblical text.

2. Eric Millar in his typed description of the manuscript (included in the documentation accompanying the manuscript) raised the possibility that plummet notes in the lower margins of ff. 126v and 129v suggest a possible connection with Bayeux; our examination of these folios did not reveal evidence to support this claim.
3. Notes on the contents, front parchment flyleaf, verso.
4. Gilles de Roye (1415-1478), chronicler and abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Royaumont, who received the volume in February 1459(n.s.) from one of the four *grands libraires* of Paris, Jean Guymier (known 1454-1478, d. 1486; Rouse and Rouse, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 324-326, vol. 2, pp. 72-73, 405). Gilles de Roye was from a noble Piccard family; he entered Cîteaux as a young man, and then studied at the College of St. Bernard in Paris, where he remained as a professor after his graduation. He served as abbot of Royaumont from 1454-1459.

Gilles exchanged it for duplicate manuscripts from the monastery library, as stated on f. 180v: "Ce livre a este acquis par frere gille de Roye [added above the line in the original hand: abbe de Royaulmont] de jehan Guymier libraire de paris par exchange fait avec luy des iiii livres des Rois et de lucas et Johannes glosati lesquelx estoient doubles en la librairie de Royaulmont, et nen y avoit point de pareil a ce present. Fait le moys de Fevrier lan mil CCCCLVIII." (This book has been acquired by Gilles de Roy [abbot of Royaumont] from Jehan Guymier stationer in Paris by an exchange made with him of the four books of Kings and of Luke and John, glossed, that were duplicates in the library of Royaumont, [whereas] there was no book similar to this one at the present time. Made by me in February 1458).

Royaumont, located about thirty miles north of Paris, was founded and richly endowed in 1228 by the French king Louis IX; it was given to a commendatory abbot in 1549, and its fortunes declined, although it was part of the reform of Cistercian abbeys commanded by Richelieu in 1635. It was dissolved in 1791. However, given the date of the exchange of manuscripts described in the note on f. 180v, it is unclear whether our volume was ever part of Royaumont's library. Gilles was deposed in 1459, the month before his transaction in Paris, and it has been suggested by Huglo that he instead took the manuscript with him to the Cistercian Abbey of Les Dunes (Huglo, 2005). It is true that our manuscript lacks an *ex libris* from Royaumont; however, there is a volume described as "Gloses sur les livres Sapientaux" in the 1791 catalogue of their library, which may or may not be a description of our manuscript (Huglo, 2003, p. 384, no. 68;

on p. 404, Huglo states that there was there was no entry in this catalogue that could be our manuscript, a puzzling statement).

Perhaps belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Les Dunes (Ten Duinen), between Bruges and Dunkirk, taken there by Gilles de Roye after he was removed from the abbacy of Royaumont (Huglo, 2005, pp. 208-210).

5. Likely belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Aulne-sur-Sambre, in the diocese of Liège, about 100 miles south-east of Les Dunes, since it was part of a group of manuscripts from this abbey acquired by Sir Thomas Phillipps (see below).
6. Front parchment flyleaf, "Parabole et Ecclesiasticus glosati. Ex Abbatia de Royaumont," in ink (18th century?).
7. Belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), his *Catalogue*, nos. 4734 and 20567: acquired "Ex Bibl. Monasterii de Alna" with about 115 other Aulne manuscripts (most of which were acquired after his death by the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels); f. 180v, "T.F.F. 1894," initials of Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick (1856-1939), Phillipps's grandson. Phillipps numbers are no longer present in the manuscript; this information was supplied by A. N. L. Munby (1913-1974) writing to Eric Millar; a copy of this correspondence accompanies the manuscript.
8. Purchased by the bookseller H. S. Nichols at the Phillipps sale, London, Sothebys, March 21, 1895, lot 87, £56; in H. S. Nichols' catalogue, 1896, no. 29, priced £95 (clipping, with a note in Sydney Cockerell's hand, stuck to front flyleaf, f. iii verso).
9. Belonged to Harold Baillie Weaver (1860-1926): his sale at Christie's, 29 March 1898, lot 146, bought by Tregaskis for £15 (as reported in the catalogue of the Ryrie sale; not included in Millar's description).
10. Belonged to Michael Tomkinson (1841-1921) of Franche Hall, Kidderminster, with his armorial bookplate, inside front cover; his sale, London, Sotheby's, July 3, 1922, lot 1105, bought by Davis and Orioli for £13 10s.
11. Sold by them two weeks later to Eric George Millar (1887-1966) for £20, scholar, collector of medieval manuscripts, and Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, inside front cover, printed book label, "From the Library of Eric George Millar"; his notes, front flyleaf, f. iii verso (his detailed typescript description included in the documentation accompanying the manuscript).
12. Millar sale, London, Sotheby's, June 18, 1962, lot 114, bought by Quaritch (three days after the sale, Millar wrote to Sotheby's that "the prices were very satisfactory, especially the £520 for the Sapiential books, for which I had paid £20!!"; Cf. Turner, 1968, p. 15, no. 63, mistakenly stating that the manuscript had been acquired by the Bibliothèque royale, Brussels as MS IV.214, after its ownership by Millar (on this, see Huglo, 2003, pp. 399-406).

13. Quaritch, Catalogue no. 833, 1962, no. 2, pl. II, priced £800 or \$2240; sold by them to Philip C. Duschnes (c. 1897-1970), of New York.
14. Front flyleaf, f. iii, in pencil, "638/ No. 1838."
15. Belonged to Dr. Charles Caldwell Ryrie (1925-2016), who acquired it from Warren Howell, April, 1964; his sale, New York, Sotheby's, December 5, 2016, lot 6. Ryrie was a renowned theologian and the editor of a bestselling study Bible; his collection was one of the world's greatest private collections of English Bibles, resulting from decades of careful acquisition and research. Purchased privately at the Ryrie sale and subsequently sold by the buyer to Les Enluminures.

TEXT

ff. 1-48, [Proverbs, first gloss, upper margin], incipit, "Jer. lungat epistola ..."; [left margin, five glosses], "Latine similitudo ..."; Notandum quod uulgata editio ..."; "Prouerbiorum liber non ..."; "Quid autem utilitatis ..."; "Adolescenti scilicet ..."; [right margin, six glosses], "Parabole salomonis ..."; "Parabole grece. Latine similitudines quod uocabulum ideo salomon ..."; "Ad intelligenda uerba ..."; "Ut sincera ..."; "Astutia que incipientibus neccesaria ..."; "Et adolescenti. Singulariter ..."; [biblical text], incipit, "Parabole [interlinear glosses: id est parabolis salomonis] salomonis filii dauid [id est pacificus] ..." [f. 48, last gloss] "Date ei de fructu Hoc vir ille ... munerante deo cui est honor et gloria";

Proverbs with the *Glossa ordinaria*; a quick comparison of the glosses with the text printed in Rusch in 1480/1 (Online Resources) shows the same basic text, but with variations. No added marginalia in this book. Chapters (modern) are numbered in various ways: in red and blue through chapter 5, then in black ink (roman numerals), and then from f. 16 on (chapter 11) in lead point; f. 35v on, in black ink; f. 44v, in red and blue. Initials in the biblical text do not correspond one to one with the chapter divisions (e.g., on f. 27, there is an initial at "Qui invenit," Proverbs 18:22, and one at "Melior pauper," Proverbs 19:1; but not all modern chapters are marked by an initial (for example, see f. 28v, chapter 20). Some, certainly not all, glosses begin with tie marks to link them to the biblical text, and symbols are also used to indicate the continuation of a gloss on the following page.

ff. 48v-64v, [f. 48v, four prologues or prefatory glosses], incipit, "Jer. Memini me ..."; "Jeronimus. Verba ecclesiastes; Tribus nominibus uocatum est ..."; "Gregorius. Quomodo hic liber sit exponendum ..."; "Jer. Tradunt hebrei hunc librum salomonis ..."; [f. 49] incipit, "Alleg. Pacificus et dilectus dei patris et ecclesiastes ..."; "Jeronimus. Pro uanitas uanitatatum secundum quosdam interpretes possumus dicere ..."; "Vanitas uanitatatum. Omnis homo uiuens ..."; "Male opinuantur quidam nos ..."; "Si cuncta que fecit deus ..."; [f. 49, Ecclesiastes, biblical text], incipit, "Uerba ecclesiastes [interlinear gloss: contionatoris] filii [paterna dignitas]..."; [f. 64, concluding gloss], "Legitur salomon deum ... eius observa hoc est etc.";

Ecclesiastes with the *Glossa ordinaria*; the text shows general agreement with Rusch 1480/1, and not with the early version edited in Kostoff-Kaard, 2015; with additional marginal and interlinear glosses throughout, added by contemporary hands; many of these provide additional commentary, some identified as "Hugo" (presumably Hugh of St. Cher, whose commentaries date c. 1235); there are also numerous *distinctiones* illustrating the different meanings of a biblical

word, for example, on f. 51v, "Nota quod tria sunt utilia ..., Item iiii sunt inutilia ..."; and f. 57v, "paupertas," with its various interpretations, "spiritum," "rerum defectu," "sensu," "bonis spiritualibus," (that is, illustrating the different types of poverty: spiritual, lacking in things, of the senses, and of spiritual goods). Chapters are numbered in the margins in red and blue roman numerals, but in almost all cases there is not an indication in the text where the chapter begins (one exception is on f. 63v, chapter 12, where a red paraph marks the beginning of the chapter).

ff. 64v-91v, [copied in a glossing script], incipit, "Liber sapientie ...," *Explicit prefatio. Incipiunt capitula*, incipit, "De diligendo iusticiam et in simplicitate querere deum. Non zelati mortem quam deus non fecit ... xxx. [only number]. De bona hospitalitate. Ut ad veram sapientiam ... " [chapter list to Wisdom; not identical to those in De Bruyne, 1914, cf. B, pp. 173-175]; [marginal glosses] "Non solum facite"; "Ut caro obediat spiritui"; "Terram. Carnem scilicet discere ..."; "Rabanus. Hunc librum ieronimi asserit ..."; [f. 64v, biblical text] "Diligite iustitiam [interlinear: non solum facite] ..."; ... [f. 91v, last marginal gloss] "Misericors et miserator dominus semper ...";

Wisdom, with the *Glossa ordinaria*; the text of the gloss, at least at the beginning, appears is similar to Rusch 1480/1 (Online Resources); the inclusion of a chapter list is noteworthy (chapter lists, which summarize biblical books according to older chapter divisions, are uncommon in Bibles after c. 1230). Modern chapters are usually numbered in red and blue roman numerals, and often, but not always, coincide with an initial in the text.

ff. 91v-158v, incipit, "[prologue] Multorum nobis ..."; [f. 92, prologue], "Librum ihesu filii syrach dicit se ieronimus apud hebreos reperisse ..."; [first marginal glosses] "R. Omnis sapientia a domino deo est etc. Incipit ab eterna dei sapientia ..."; "A Domino deo etc. Quia Christus fons uite lux vera ..."; "R. Harenam maris, etc. Corporalia spiritualibus ..."; [f. 92, biblical text], "Omnis sapientia ... Prior omnium creata est [interlinear: id est predestinata est in ornari]" ... [last marginal gloss] "Dum lucem ... filii lucis";

Ecclesiasticus with the *Glossa ordinaria*; numerous marginal notes added in at least two hands; modern chapters are numbered in the margins in red and blue, which do not always correspond with initials in the text.

ff. 159-179, [f. 159, eight prefatory glosses], incipit, "Salomon [added: id est] pacificus ..."; "Sponsus et sponsa ..."; "Quatuor michi in hoc opera ..."; "Si uis ascendere ..."; "Notandum quod sponsa ..."; "Incarnatione filii ..."; "Omnes anime motionis ..."; "Synagoga ..."; [f. 159v, first marginal gloss, left hand column], incipit, "Vox precedentium aduentum christi ..."; [first marginal gloss, right hand column], "Tangat me dulcedine ..."; [f. 159v, biblical text], incipit, "[O]sculetur me ... [first interlinear gloss] Delectet et certificet"; [f. 179, last marginal gloss] "Assimilare. ita fuge quod per gratiam ... odor christi sunt";

Song of Songs with the *Glossa ordinaria*; the text appears to be similar to the Rusch 1480/1 edition (Mary Dove's modern edition, 1994, was not available for comparison); no added marginalia; chapters are numbered in the margins in red roman numerals and begin with red initials. It is interesting that this appear at the end of the manuscript; the usual order would have placed this following Ecclesiastes and before Wisdom.

ff. 179v-180, *Sermo de sancto andrea*, incipit, "Gloriosam mortem magna quam odibile uitam complectens ... Secundo Mach. vi. [2 Macc. 6:19], Verbum istud dicitur de eleazaro vestro etate grandevo et morum honestate decorato ... quo semper frinitur [*sic*, for *finitur*] christi presentia ... qui vivit et regnat benedictus deus in secula seculorum, Amen."

Anonymous sermon, likely lacking a modern edition, and perhaps never printed; see Schneyer, 1965, p. 282, and especially Horowski, pp. 498-499, and p. *6, discussing the question of authorship (describing Rome, Library of the Pontifical Theological Faculty of St. Bonaventure, MS Arm.2.A.9, this sermon on f. 49v); also found in Assisi, MS 539, f. 184v, Benediktinerstift Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 156, and Uppsala, University Library, MS C380, f. 2v. Huglo's discussion of this sermon seems to imply that it was an addition to the manuscript contemporary with the lifetime of Gilles de Roye (2005, pp. 208-210), but this cannot be correct. If this is an addition, it is a contemporary one, dating not long after the copying of the manuscript.

f. 180v, Blank apart from the note concerning Gilles de Roye and Jean Guymier; transcribed above, Provenance.

Sapiential Books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, with the Song of Songs out of the usual order and copied at the end) with the *Glossa ordinaria*. There is no modern critical edition of the entire Gloss, although the text of the *editio princeps*, printed in Strasburg in 1480/1 by Rusch is a useful basis for comparison, GW 4282, ISTC ib00607000 (Online Resources; see also Froehlich and Gibson, 1992; Zier, 2004, pp. 165-168, and Andrée, 2016 explore some of the differences between this printed text and the manuscript tradition). To date there are editions only of selected books (Dove, 1997; André, 2005; Kostoff-Kaard, 2015; see also Sharp, 2015).

In general, the text in this manuscript does corresponds to that printed by Rusch, but with significant differences, as one would expect. Our study of the text was necessarily cursory, and further research will be of interest. The chapter divisions in our manuscript (numbers for modern chapter divisions, along with more numerous divisions indicated by initials), and the chapter list found before Wisdom, are equally of interest to scholars of the Bible, and suggest links with earlier manuscripts.

The text known as the Ordinary Gloss on the Bible (or the *Glossa ordinaria*), was one of the twelfth century's greatest achievement, and one that had a lasting influence on the study of the Bible to the end of the Middle Ages and even later. It consists of the biblical text, copied in a distinctive, larger script, accompanied by patristic and medieval commentaries on the text, copied in a smaller script on the same page. The Bible and its Gloss gave readers—often teachers and students of the Bible—access to the complete biblical text and commentaries in one convenient location. The textual history of the *Glossa ordinaria* is complicated; it was not a text written, or even conceived of, by a single author, but rather the result of a long process. Beginning with the teaching of master Anselm of Laon (d. 1117) and his brother Ralph (d. 1134) at the Cathedral School of Laon c. 1110, it gradually grew over the course of the twelfth century to include all the books of the Bible. We should note that complete sets of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the entire Bible were always rare. This is a text that circulated most commonly as

individual commentaries on a single biblical book, or on a collection of related books like our manuscript.

Thirteenth-century copies of the Gloss have traditionally been neglected by scholars of the Gloss, although this is beginning to change, and manuscripts such as the one described here therefore offer numerous avenues for further research. One can still read statements that the Gloss was scarcely copied by the middle of the thirteenth century. As Lesley Smith has observed, nothing could be further from the truth. Indeed, Smith concluded that thirteenth century copies far outnumber twelfth century ones (Smith, 2009, pp. 181-183). The same predominance of thirteenth-century copies is found in the careful studies of the glossed John (Andrée, 2008), and Song of Songs (Dove, 1997), and in Zier's survey glossed Bibles now at the BnF (2004, p. 157). Modern research into the text of the Gloss has taught us that in the case of many books of the Bible, the text reached its final form only in the thirteenth century (Zier, 1993, and Andrée, 2016, citing earlier studies; see also Kostoff-Kaard, 2015, whose research has shown that the Gloss on Ecclesiastes existed in two versions).

Thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Glossa ordinaria* are therefore certainly of interest for their text. In addition, manuscripts like the one described here are interesting as material objects, representing the Gloss in its mature form. Larger than twelfth century copies, they present the Gloss using the sophisticated "alternate-line layout," explored by Christopher de Hamel's classic study (1984), which transformed the presentation of the Gloss by c. 1170. In this format, one set of rules were used for both the biblical text and the glosses. Scribes copied the text of the Bible in a larger script on every other ruled line, and then interwove this text with the glosses, copied in smaller scripts on every line, adjusting the layout of each page to accommodate different ratios between biblical text and gloss. Our manuscript is a skillful example of this intricate layout.

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ONLINE RESOURCES

Glossa Ordinaria, Strasbourg 1481, book 3 (which includes the Sapiential Books)

https://dhb.thulb.uni-jena.de/receive/ufb_cbu_00000256

and Incunable Short Title Catalogue

<https://data.cerl.org/istc/ib00607000>

Glossae Scripturae Sacrae-Electronicae (Gloss-E), Martin Morard, ed., Paris, CNRS-IRHT

<https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/index.php>

Martin Morard, ed., Fabio Gibiino et alii, *Biblia latina cum Glossa ordinaria*, ed. A. Rusch, Strasbourg, 1481, correctae et emendatae

<https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/livres-liste.php>

Royaumont Abbey (official website)

<https://www.royaumont.com/fr/histoire-abbaye>

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