



HAL
open science

The Pandects of Theodulf of Orleans.

Caroline Chevalier-Royet

► **To cite this version:**

Caroline Chevalier-Royet. The Pandects of Theodulf of Orleans.: Carolingian Bibles with critical apparatus: state and prospects of research.. Patrick Andrist; Elodie Attia; Marilena Maniaci. From the Thames to the Euphrates. De la Tamise à l'Euphrate. Intersecting Perspectives on Greek, Latin and Hebrew Bibles. Regards croisés sur les bibles grecques, latines et hébraïques, De Gruyter, 2023, Manuscripta Biblica, 978-3-11-099912-9. hal-04121846

HAL Id: hal-04121846

<https://hal.science/hal-04121846>

Submitted on 8 Jun 2023

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Caroline CHEVALIER-ROYET

(Université Jean-Moulin-Lyon 3 – CIHAM – UMR 5648)

The *Pandects* of Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821):

Carolingian Bibles with critical apparatus.

State and prospects of research

1. The Bibles of Theodulf of Orleans: products of the Carolingian Renaissance

1.1 The Carolingian Renaissance represents an important moment in the history of the biblical text in the West. The cultural and religious revival movement encouraged and supported by the Carolingian rulers included fruitful reflections on the text of the Scriptures, which resulted in the production of numerous biblical manuscripts. This development in the history of the Latin biblical text was both quantitative and qualitative in nature: over a period of around sixty years (roughly from 770 to 840) the production of biblical manuscripts increased considerably and, at the same time, their quality improved.¹ Copied in a single volume, the Carolingian Bibles were designed to be easy to handle and use. They have a page layout and textual apparatus which facilitate browsing within the volume and introduce various biblical books for reading. In addition, the copied text gradually benefited from the critical work done by Carolingian scholars who sought to establish a more correct biblical text purged of faults, errors, and interpolations caused by the ignorance or negligence of successive copyists, and to re-establish the *hebraica veritas* which was equated with the Latin translation provided by Jerome. This search for the *hebraica veritas* led to a movement to unify the content of the text: the Hieronymian text, known as the Vulgate, prevailed in the Carolingian period for all biblical books, with variations however for the books of Baruch, Tobit, and Judith, while the Gallican version of the psalter became predominant thanks to the liturgical reform promoted by the Carolingian power – with the exception of Theodulf's Bibles which this essay will focus on.

1.2 The Bibles whose production he oversaw are one of the facets of the rich intellectual output of Theodulf of Orleans – an output which was part of a wider context of religious and cultural reform often referred to as the “Carolingian Renaissance”.² Driving this reform movement, which began during the reign of Pepin the Short, Charlemagne surrounded himself with numerous scholars and artists: thus, Theodulf, a native of Visigothic Spain,³ came to join the Carolingian court at the same

¹ Berger 1893; Bischoff 1965; Fischer 1965; Fischer, *Bibelausgaben*, 1985; Light 1984.

² Contreni 1995; Sot 2002 and 2005.

³ Jacques Sirmond suggested that Theodulf was of Italian origin. Nowadays it is Ann Freeman's theory that has been accepted: Theodulf is thought to have been born and educated in Zaragoza and left Spain together

time as other scholars from all over Europe, such as Alcuin of York and Paul the Deacon who arrived from England and Italy respectively in the 780s. Theodulf's presence in Charlemagne's entourage is first mentioned in a letter dating from 790/791 at the latest, which already celebrates his qualities as a poet.⁴ Theodulf very quickly became a major influence on the sovereign: between 791 and 793 Charlemagne entrusted him with writing *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* (or *Libri Carolini*) which was the Carolingian response to the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787.⁵ This work was seminal in Theodulf's intellectual journey: the exchanges which took place at court around the question of the worship of images, as envisaged by the Greeks in the acts of Nicaea II, fuelled reflections on the biblical text. Thus, Charlemagne and his advisers became aware of the need for a reliable, corrected, and critically accurate biblical text in order to engage in this theological controversy. To this end, the biblical canon had to be delimited. This consisted above all of the *hebraica veritas* which was polemically defined by Jerome, against the Greeks, as his translation of the biblical books from Hebrew. Jerome saw the *hebraica veritas* as a faithful reproduction of the original text in Latin.⁶ But this did not mean that the texts and books that Jerome did not revise on the basis of the Hebrew version or simply revised using the Greek one were excluded from the biblical canon; in the Carolingian period distinctions were blurred and the whole Vulgate was considered to be the work of Jerome. And this was precisely the main goal that Theodulf set himself in his biblical philological work: to rediscover the *hebraica veritas*. He defended this position with irony in the opening of *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*, stating that a new biblical translation should be made using the Septuagint, Theodotion, Symmachus, Aquila, and Jerome because of the falsifications to which the iconodules had subjected the biblical text. He thus ridiculed the attitude of the Greeks for this demand for a new translation of the biblical text into Latin or Greek lay between the patently absurd demand for the law transmitted by Moses and re-established by Ezra to be rewritten and the fanciful suggestion that the New Testament should be replaced by books which, thanks to a greater authority, would proclaim the opposite of what the Gospels announced.⁷ Thus, already in *Opus Caroli Regis contra synodum* Theodulf outlined his desire for a true critical approach to the Bible, one that went much further than the ambitions of other Carolingian biblical editions.

In addition to his position as a theological advisor, Theodulf also acquired an important political role under Charlemagne. He established himself as a practitioner of the Carolingian reform: in his role as *missus dominicus* and together with Leidrad, the future Bishop of Lyons, he went on an

with other *Hispani* in the early 780s because of the political instability in the northern part of the country. But the early years of his life remain obscure. Cf. Freeman 1992; Tigolet 2013.

⁴ *Versus Fiduciae ad Angilramnum presulem*, MGH, *Poetae* 1, 1881, p. 76-77. The author of these verses, addressed to Bishop Angilram of Metz (d. 791), has not been identified. He calls Theodulf – alongside Angilbert – a “divine poet”. Cf. Dahlhaus-Berg 1975, p. 182; Rouquette 2018, p. 7.

⁵ Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*, MGH, *Concilia II, Suppl. 1* 1998; Mitalaité 2007.

⁶ Bogaert 1988.

⁷ “Iam vero quia pene omnis divine legis series ab illis ob imaginum adorationem aut mutilatur aut permutatur, nova necesse est post Moysen legis tradatur scriptio, nova post Ezram legis reperitur restauratio, nova post Septuaginta interpretes, Theodotionem et Symmachum et Aquilam sive etiam beatum Hieronimum legis queratur translatio, nova post apostolos et apostolicos viros Spiritu sancto repletos scrutetur tractatio quae adeo divinis scripturis refragari queat, ut omnes imaginum adorationem spernentes anathematis vinculo nectat.”, Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Opus caroli regis contra synodum*, I, 13, MGH, *Concilia II, Suppl. 1* 1998, lines 28-31.

inspection mission in the Rhône valley and Septimania in 798 at the latest;⁸ he was then appointed Bishop of Orleans in late 797,⁹ which was a delicate mission because of the unrest and disorganisation then affecting the diocese; probably at the same time, Charlemagne personally conferred on him the title of Abbot of Fleury and then entrusted him with the abbeys of Saint Aignan in Orleans and Saint Liphard in Meung; finally, Theodulf restored the Abbey of Saint Mesmin in Micy during the year 798. His mission in Orléanais was clearly defined: to restore episcopal authority and reorganise the different communities by enforcing the reform defined at Charlemagne's court.

1.3 The preserved works of Theodulf bear witness to his intellectual and practical commitment to the cultural and religious reform promoted by the Carolingian sovereign. As soon as he arrived at court Theodulf became part of the circle of councillors closest to the sovereign; he wrote a lot as a poet,¹⁰ as a theologian taking part in contemporary debates,¹¹ as an exegete,¹² but also as a practitioner of the Carolingian reform, first in his role as *missus dominicus*, then as bishop and abbot.¹³ The personal oratory he had built for himself in Germigny-des-Prés attests to his artistic sensibility and the particular role he assigned to images in his representation of the world.¹⁴ He used his pen to defend his stances until his death. Accused of having taken part in the revolt led by Bernard of Italy against Louis the Pious (817), Theodulf was deposed and exiled in 818, probably to the Monastery of Saint Aubin in Angers.¹⁵ To protest his innocence and obtain his rehabilitation, he wrote two exile letters in the form of poems which attest to his poetic talent: pleading his cause, the fallen bishop painted the portrait of the ideal prelate and broadened his argument by attributing

⁸ Magnou-Nortier 1994.

⁹ The precise date is not known but the first mention of Theodulf as bishop can be found in a letter from Alcuin to Charlemagne usually dated to 22 July 798: Alcuin, MGH, *Epistolae IV*, 1895, letter n°149, p. 241.

¹⁰ Theodulf's poems have recently been published together with a translation and a commentary: Rouquette 2018.

¹¹ On images in *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*, cf. Mitalaité 2007; on baptism in *liber de ordine baptismi*, unpublished but studied by Dahlhaus-Berg 1975, p. 92-140; on the procession of the Holy Spirit in *De processione spiritus sancti*, cf. Ménage 2000.

¹² Theodulf did not leave any exegetical commentaries in the strict sense of the term but his work reflects his taste for studying the biblical text and exegetical conceptions: his Bibles and the appendices present in the two complete Bibles (Le Puy and Orleans); Paris BnF, lat . 15679, a real biblical *vade mecum*, presented in Chevalier-Royet 2021, p. 82-88; or his *Versus bibliothecae*, introductory poems to reading and studying the Bible, recently studied in Rouquette 2018, p. 139-208.

¹³ His episcopal capitulars were published by Brommer, Peter (ed.), MGH, *Capitula episcoporum I*, Hanovre, 1984, p. 73-184.

¹⁴ For the latest state of research on Germigny, cf. Sapin 2019.

¹⁵ This episode in Theodulf's life is quite obscure; only sources linked to the imperial court allow us to assume Theodulf's involvement in the revolt led by Bernard of Italy or his lack of loyalty towards Louis the Pious, but Theodulf himself claimed his innocence. However, a hypothesis put forward by several historians helps explain this exile: Theodulf may have been deposed as a result of manoeuvres by an Orleans group which formed around Count Matfrid of Orleans and was "hostile" to his actions. Jonas of Orleans, his successor at the head of the bishopric, was apparently supported by Matfrid. Cf. Dahlhaus-Berg 1975, p.16-21; Tignolet 2013, p. 419. – On Theodulf's place of exile, one hypothesis locates it in Le Mans, cf. Schaller, 1992.

the exercise of true justice to God alone.¹⁶ He eventually died in September 821, in exile, without having obtained justice.¹⁷

1.4 Thus, the work of biblical criticism carried out by the Bishop of Orleans was but a small part of his rich intellectual output; it was also just one of the many undertakings to revise the biblical text that occurred during the Carolingian period.

Indeed, at the heart of the Carolingian reform lies the revival of biblical studies and, first and foremost, the attention paid to the sacred text.¹⁸ The Carolingian rulers themselves constantly reiterated their desire for a purged and unified biblical text. They encouraged the production of biblical and liturgical manuscripts in order to help spread the Gospel message to the souls who were in their care in their capacity as rectors of the *ecclesia*.¹⁹ In this respect, there is an eloquent passage in his *epistola generalis* in which Charlemagne points out that he had long had the books of the Old and New Testaments, corrupted by successive copies,²⁰ corrected: the use of the adverb *iampridem* reveals that at the time this circular letter was written, between 786 and 801, Charlemagne was already aware of undertakings to correct and edit the biblical text. Indeed, as we shall see, there were many such undertakings in the late eighth century, being facilitated by the influx of Italian manuscripts, an increased circulation of manuscripts between cultural centres located in the empire under construction, and the proliferation of *scriptoria*; Charlemagne himself took a personal interest for political and intellectual reasons, without necessarily giving any explicit order.²¹ The example of the sovereign endowing the court with a *scriptorium* and a rich library was emulated by the abbots and bishops of the empire, who were thus encouraged to deploy considerable resources in the service of religious and cultural reform. The impetus provided by the Carolingian central government was therefore decisive.

The number of Carolingian Bibles preserved attests to this emulation between *scriptoria* seeking to establish a reliable and correct biblical text.²² Apart from the Theodulfian revision, four biblical revision undertakings particularly stand out in the history of Carolingian Bibles.

¹⁶ Poems LXXI (ad Aiulfum episcopum) and LXXII (ad Modoinum episcopum) in MGH, *Poetae* I, 1881; or poems 29 and 30 in Rouquette 2018, with commentary p. 449-495.

¹⁷ Dahlhaus-Berg 1975, p. 21.

¹⁸ Fischer 1965; the revival of biblical studies was truly one of the driving forces of the Carolingian Renaissance, cf. Chevalier-Royet 2021, p. 143-163.

¹⁹ Sources paint the picture of a sovereign keen on the concrete implementation of the religious reform and, first and foremost, the necessary correction of the biblical text, cf. Fischer, *Bibelausgaben*, 1965, p. 89.

²⁰ “inter quae iampridem universos veteris ac novi instrumenti libros, librorum imperitia depravatos, Deo nos in omnibus adjuvante, examussum correximus”, *Epistola Generalis*, MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum* I, 1883, p. 80.

²¹ Charlemagne took part in the theological debates around the questions of images or of Adoptionism; his interest was also broader in so far as his religious reform, which promoted the standardisation of the biblical text or liturgical unification, was conceived as a political instrument for uniting the empire. However, he probably never gave an explicit order, cf. Chevalier-Royet 2021, p. 147-149 and p. 172-174.

²² B. Fischer has provided an impressive overview of the biblical manuscripts produced during the reign of Charlemagne, listing them by centre of production: Fischer 1965, p. 163-216.

- First, the Bible made on the orders of Maurdrannus, Abbot of Corbie from 772 to 781,²³ represents one of the first Carolingian attempts to achieve a better biblical text based on Vulgate texts that were in circulation in Italy and northern France.²⁴
- Next, a group of manuscripts, all linked to the Ada Gospels,²⁵ comprises a psalter and eleven particularly luxurious evangelistaries which were probably produced at the court of Charlemagne between 781 and 814; in the absence of any specific study, the ancestry of the text of these manuscripts remains obscure, but their influence was important in Trier, Metz, and Reims.²⁶
- Then, the Bible of Angilram, Bishop of Metz (d. 791), was the first Carolingian Bible made using the *pandect* format which brings together all the Old and New Testament books in a single volume.²⁷ The text transmitted by this Bible is probably representative of the Vulgate text then in circulation in the north of France.²⁸ Angilram's choice of a single-volume Bible is of importance to posterity as it was shortly afterwards taken up by Alcuin and Theodulf of Orleans.
- Finally, Alcuin's revision is famous because it was the most widely disseminated. Alcuin (d. 804), a close advisor to Charlemagne, undertook to correct the biblical text after he was elevated to Abbot of Saint Martin of Tours in 796.²⁹ He was able to rely on an active *scriptorium* which enjoyed significant resources thanks to a rich community.³⁰ Two complete

²³ Five volumes of this Bible, which probably originally comprised twelve, have survived: Amiens BM 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12; the other volumes were lost with the exception of a fragment from the books of Kings found in Paris, BnF, lat. 13 174, f. 136-138. A note on f. 96, Amiens BM 11 attests to Maurdrannus's order: cf. Fischer 1965, p. 186-188.

²⁴ This Bible is labelled with the initial "M" in the critical apparatus of the *Editio Maior: Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, ed. monachorum abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe OSB, 18 vol., Rome, 1926-1994 [Old Testament], henceforth *Editio Maior* in this article. In this edition, launched by H. Quentin, monks belonging to the Order of Saint Jerome set out to reconstruct the Hieronymian text of the Old Testament by collating numerous manuscripts which were representative of the various branches of the Latin tradition of the biblical text. However, the reconstruction of Jerome's text remains an ideal: the text in the *Editio Maior* is a fiction, the result of a tremendous amount of critical work, a fiction which nevertheless proves essential in writing the history of the biblical text. The same intentions were shared by the editors of the New Testament books in the authoritative critical edition *Novum testamentum domini nostri Iesu Christi latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi*, ed. J. WORDSWORTH and H.J. WHITE, Oxford, 1889-1954. On these issues, cf. Gribomont 1961.

²⁵ *Codex aureus*, Trier, Staatsbibliothek 22.

²⁶ Fischer 1965, p. 193-196; Lafitte (et al.) 2007, p. 92-100.

²⁷ We only know the second part of this Bible (from Prov to Rev 12, 13) thanks to photographs; the manuscript (Metz, BM7) which contained this second part was lost in a fire in 1944. This Bible is labelled with the initial "Z" in the *Editio Maior*. The *pandect* format adopted by Angilram is attested earlier, notably with *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino I) which is fully preserved; this Bible was copied at Wearmouth in Northumbria at the very beginning of the eighth century on the model of Cassiodorus's *Codex Grandior*.

²⁸ Fischer, *Bibelausgaben*, 1985, p. 91.

²⁹ Charlemagne did not give Alcuin a specific order but did commission a Bible from him. This was offered at Christmas 801 by Fridugise in the name of his abbot Alcuin who had been unable to travel because of poor health. The letter accompanying the gift and the letter of instructions addressed to Fridugise have survived: Alcuin, letters 261 and 262, MGH *Epist. IV* 1895.

³⁰ The Bible offered to the emperor in 801 is probably one of the first Bibles produced under Alcuin's supervision. But the *scriptorium* in Tours was already very active before Alcuin: two biblical manuscripts (Paris, BnF, n.a.l 1586, copied around 780; Tours, BM 10, copied around 790-800) attest to its output before

Bible manuscripts, fragments from five Bibles, as well as a few evangelistaries, some of which are incomplete, are dated to this period between 796 and 804.³¹ These early Alcuinian volumes are certainly of more modest craftsmanship than the Bibles of the Ada group or Theodulf which were produced in the same period, but they helped establish the formal characteristics of the Alcuinian Bibles (volume dimensions, page layout, order of biblical books, choice of appendices and the Gallican psalter).³² The biblical text of these volumes is also very stable – with the exception of the Gospels –³³ and was the result of classical medieval emendation which involved correcting grammar and spelling. Alcuin and his entourage drew on biblical manuscripts available in Tours which attest to the text that was in circulation in northern France; their decision to systematically favour the readings from the Vulgate text to the detriment of Old Latin texts was decisive in the history of the Hieronymian text.

Even though Alcuin's text was the result of simple emendation rather than "scholarly" editing, the legacy of his Bibles is very important. We must however be careful when using the term "legacy": it should be stressed that there was no quick standardisation of the biblical text at that time and the latter remained variable and relatively heterogeneous in the first half of the ninth century.³⁴ However, the influence of the Alcuinian text gradually spread until it became predominant in the West from around 840-850, remaining so until the thirteenth century. How to explain this success? Alcuin's intellectual reputation was certainly decisive; this aside, the material conditions enjoyed by the *scriptorium* of the rich abbey of Saint Martin of Tours as well as the remarkable stability of the text and layout of the Bibles produced there no doubt also played an important role in their success. Thanks to them, the Vulgate text became widely accepted in the West.

Faced with the Alcuinian text, Theodulf's work quickly fell into oblivion even though his editions, as we shall see, were ultimately more "scholarly". Of course, Theodulf's Bibles were known to the Carolingian scholars; his text, like that of Alcuin, did circulate – sometimes quite far

his arrival – unless Tours BM 10 was one of the first manuscripts produced under his supervision. There is currently no evidence that can help settle this question.

³¹ Production boomed under Alcuin's successors: 43 to 46 Bibles and 18 Alcuinian evangelistaries produced in Tours in the first half of the ninth century have been identified. After 850 production plummeted as a consequence of the Norman raids: only three *pandects* and seven evangelistaries have survived. Cf. Fischer, *Die Alkuin-Bibeln*, 1985, p. 251-269; Bischoff 1965, p. 233-254.

³² There are obviously some differences: in the case of the early Bibles there were some hesitations about the appendices; and in some manuscripts the order of the biblical books varies, which can be explained by the later binding of copybooks used as a working basis in the *scriptorium*. But, overall, the Alcuinian manuscripts are a very homogeneous group. Cf. Fischer, *Die Alkuin-Bibeln*, 1985, p. 275.

³³ The critical apparatuses in the *Editio Maior* for the Old Testament and Wordsworth-White for the New Testament show that the Turonian Bibles always stand out as an easily identifiable group labelled "Φ". However, in the case of the text of the Gospels there are important differences between two groups of manuscripts, with the fault line running through the Bible of Rorigon (Paris, BnF, lat. 3) and an evangelistary (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl., Cod. Guelf. 16, Aug.; Heinemann 2186) which were executed in the years 835-840. B. Fischer has thus hypothesised that the text of the Gospels was revised in the early 830s and the revision was then used in later volumes. Cf. Fischer, *Die Alkuin-Bibeln*, 1985, p. 230-248.

³⁴ B. Fischer cites the example of a Bible produced in Corbie around 830/850 (Paris, BnF, lat. 11532-11533): although it came from the *scriptorium* which helped make the Maurdrampus Bible, this other Bible attests to multiple influences in its biblical books which contain Alcuinian text, Spanish text, Northern Italian text, Maurdrampus's text, and Theodulf's text. Intensive research was carried out in every *scriptorium* and there seems to have been no definitive authoritative text at the time. Cf. Fischer 1965, p. 186-188.

from its area of origin. But the Theodulfian Bibles were probably not helped by their rich and perhaps intimidating critical apparatus; their biblical text, which was inconsistent and contained long-forgotten variants, may have been confusing because of its highly innovative nature; and finally, the *damnatio memoriae* suffered by Theodulf after his death no doubt also hindered the dissemination of his manuscripts.

2. The Bibles of Theodulf of Orleans: a homogenous group of manuscripts

2.1 The group of Bibles executed under the authority of Theodulf stand out both in terms of homogenous editorial choices and the scholarly aspirations of the supervisor of this editing work.

Theodulf made no mention of this biblical critical undertaking in his other works; however, it is possible to identify the period when his Bibles were executed thanks to some biographical clues. The preparation of a biblical edition required means that he only really had at his disposal when he became Bishop of Orleans: Theodulf therefore started his revision after his episcopal consecration in Orleans, thus at the earliest in late 797. His work was interrupted by his dismissal and exile in 818. He set up his *scriptorium* at the Abbey of Saint Mesmin of Micy,³⁵ which was refounded in 798, by following the advice of his friend Benoît of Aniane who sent monks to support him in this task;³⁶ the new school was thus entrusted into the hands of Dructesinde who had recently arrived from Aniane. Thanks to its school and *scriptorium*, Saint Mesmin became an important training centre which continued to flourish under Bishop Jonas, Theodulf's successor in Orleans.

2.2 Six Bibles executed in the Saint Mesmin *scriptorium* between 798 and 818 under Theodulf's supervision have been preserved.

I will list them here in the probable chronological order of their execution,³⁷ preceded by the abbreviation used in the *Editio Maior* of the Bible.³⁸

Θ^S: Bible from Konstanz Cathedral; incomplete manuscript.³⁹

³⁵ The Abbey of Saint Mesmin was founded at the very beginning of the sixth century, during the reign of Clovis, in Micy, around five kilometres from Orleans Cathedral, at the confluence of the Loiret and the Loire. However, the early history of this abbey remains obscure, with no abbot being attested between 593 and Theodulf of Orleans. The question of the location of Theodulf's *scriptorium* at Saint Mesmin has been settled by the arguments put forward by Dahlhaus-Berg 1975, p. 61-72.

³⁶ "Theodulfus quoque Aurelianensum presul, cum monasterium sancti Maximini construere vellet, a iam prefato viro postulat regularis disciplinae peritos. Cui mox adsumum prebuit et bis denos illi monachos, prefecto magistro, misit.", ARDON, *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis et Indensis*, ed. G. WAITZ, MGH, *Scriptorium Tomi XV pars I*, Hanover, 1887, chap. 24, p. 209. This issue was re-examined by Walter Ketteman in his thesis on Benoît of Aniane: he confirms that monks were sent from Aniane to Micy and believes that this occurred twice, cf. Kettemann 2000.

³⁷ This chronological order was established by B. Fischer by studying distinctive features of the text transmitted by these manuscripts: cf. Fischer 1965, p. 135.

³⁸ For the presentation and reference relating to the *Editio Maior*, cf. *supra* note 24; the fragments of the Carcassonne Bible, kept in Copenhagen, were not collated for the *Editio Maior*.

³⁹ *Codex Weingartensis*, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB II 16.

Θ^H: Bible from the Monastery of Saint Hubert in Ardennes; incomplete manuscript.⁴⁰

Θ^A: Bible of Le Puy Cathedral; complete manuscript, particularly luxurious, with pages of purple parchment, copied in gold letters; binding lost.⁴¹

Θ^M: Bible of Orleans Cathedral; complete manuscript, very close to the previous one, particularly luxurious, with pages of purple parchment, copied in gold letters; original binding lost.⁴²

Θ^G: Bible of Saint-Germain-des-Prés; incomplete manuscript with defaced pages.⁴³

Fragments of a Bible that once belonged to Carcassonne Cathedral, now housed in Copenhagen.⁴⁴

To this list we need to add fifteen pages from a Bible which belonged to the collegiate church of Saint Ursus in Solothurn; the Bible was dismembered during the sixteenth century and used to reinforce bindings. These fragments, identified in the cantonal archives and the central library of Solothurn, have been brought together in a virtual manuscript.⁴⁵

This is not an exhaustive list: clues about the use of a Theodulfian biblical text gleaned from various manuscripts show that other Bibles too were produced under Theodulf's supervision.⁴⁶ Thus, Bonifatius Fischer notes that the monks of the monasteries of Reichenau and Saint Gall used a Theodulfian text to correct the biblical text around 810-820.⁴⁷ Another Theodulfian manuscript, now lost, is said to have been used as a model in the making of the Bern manuscript, Burgerbibliothek A. 9, executed in Vienna in the tenth century.⁴⁸ Finally, Clairvaux Abbey also very likely owned a Theodulfian Bible which was used to correct the psalter in Troyes BM 1446 in the twelfth century.⁴⁹ Thus, the Bibles used in Saint Gall and Vienna, which are close to Θ^S and Θ^H, represent the Theodulfian text's early recension, whereas the Bible used later in Clairvaux is more closely related to Θ^G and the Carcassonne fragments, and therefore to the last stage of Theodulf's biblical critical work. It is worth mentioning that *iuxta Hebraeos* psalters were produced in Theodulf's *scriptorium* and circulated independently.⁵⁰

⁴⁰ *Codex Hubertianus*, London, British Library Add. 24 142.

⁴¹ *Codex Aniciensis*, Trésor de la cathédrale du Puy.

⁴² *Codex Mesmianus*, Paris, BnF, lat. 9380.

⁴³ *Codex sangermanensis parvulus* Paris, BnF, lat. 11 937.

⁴⁴ Copenhagen, Royal Library, N.K.S.1. This Bible was used by Jean Martianay in the seventeenth century when he edited Jerome's work. The manuscript was then considered lost until Edward Power identified it in the fragments found in Copenhagen: cf. Power 1924.

⁴⁵ [*sine loco*] *Codices restituti* Cod. 3: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/list/one/sl/0003>; the connection between these fragments and the Saint Hubert Bible was first pointed out by A. Schönherr 1964, p. 204-205.

⁴⁶ However, these clues do not point to any of the six Theodulfian Bibles that are well known today. Cf. Tignolet 2013, p. 219.

⁴⁷ Fischer 1965, p. 136.

⁴⁸ Fischer 1965, p. 136.

⁴⁹ Fischer 1965, p. 137.

⁵⁰ Fischer 1965, p. 176-177.

2.3 Nevertheless, these Bibles share a number of material characteristics. They were all designed as *pandects*. In a poem composed to decorate the bindings of his Bibles, Theodulf used the term *bibliotheca* to describe the result of his efforts.⁵¹ But this is surely a poetic evocation of the immense richness of the volume thus created rather than an allusion to the format used. Indeed, the term *bibliotheca* was then used to refer to the sets of *codices* – often ten volumes – needed to copy all the biblical books. This was the predominant biblical format before the Carolingian editions imposed the *pandect* format.⁵² Perhaps there is also a touch of irony in this: by means of antiphrasis, Theodulf emphasised the ease-of-use of the biblical manuscripts made in his *scriptorium*, unlike the imposing Bibles executed at Saint Martin of Tours under the supervision of Alcuin.⁵³

Indeed, Theodulf made clear editorial choices in order to produce volumes that were easy to use, being probably intended first and foremost for studying the Scriptures. The text was copied in three or two columns,⁵⁴ using a small Caroline minuscule that was highly legible. The reader was provided with graphic aids to facilitate browsing within a volume. For example, in Θ^G the book titles, written in red capital letters, were sometimes followed by a foreword⁵⁵ and then always by a table in which the chapters were numbered using Roman numerals.⁵⁶ Forewords and chapter lists were copied in Caroline minuscule that was smaller than the minuscule used for the biblical text. This made it possible to order the copied parts within a page: titles in capitals, then forewords and *tituli*, and finally the biblical text itself. The upper margin contained a systematic reminder of the book title. In the biblical text itself, the beginning of the chapters was marked by either a red capital or a letter that was retraced or coloured in red. This practice was part of the supervisor's instructions since we can sometimes see the blank space left where the red letter was to be added.

Afterwards, the architecture of Theodulfian Bibles remained stable from one volume to the next: the biblical books were divided into six sections (*ordines*) in a fixed order:

1. *Ordo Legis*: Genesis / Exodus / Leviticus / Numbers / Deuteronomy.

⁵¹ “Qui sim nosse uolens, scito: bibliotheca dicor / Et Veteris Legis ius ueho siue Nouae.”, Theodulfus Aurelianensis, in Rouquette 2018, poem 56, p. 978.

⁵² Bogaert 1988, p. 276.

⁵³ Indeed, in a foreword composed in verse Alcuin used the term *pandects* to describe the Bibles made in the *scriptorium*: “Nomine pandecten proprio vocitare memento / Hoc corpus sacrum, lector, in ore tuo / Quod nunc a multis constat Bibliotheca dicta / Nomine non proprio, ut lingua Pelasga docet ...”, Alcuinus, *Carmen* 65, MGH, *Poetae* I, 1881, p. 283. These verses are cited by Fischer, *Die Alkuin-Bibeln*, 1985, p. 238, who stresses that a dialogue and emulation was thus started between Alcuin and Theodulf through the interposition of biblical manuscripts. However, the different formats adopted by the *scriptoria* reflected different objectives, with the Alcuinian Bibles being produced mainly for liturgical use.

⁵⁴ Only the first two of Theodulf's Bibles use three columns: Konstanz (Θ^S) and Saint Hubert (Θ^H). The format, writing, and arrangement of the text in three columns are very close to *Codex Cavensis* (Cava, Archivio della Badia 1 [14]); moreover, in the case of Θ^H , the canon tables are virtually identical with those in *Codex Cavensis*, which is a witness of the Vulgate text circulating in Spain in the early Middle Ages; cf. De Bruyne 1914-1919.

⁵⁵ The Pentateuch books have no foreword, but there may have been a foreword to the Pentateuch at the beginning of the volume which is now lost. The books of Judges and Ruth do not have a foreword either. All other biblical books are preceded by one and sometimes two forewords.

⁵⁶ This numbering was later supplemented by another using Arabic numerals in the margins of the biblical text.

2. *Ordo Prophetarum*: Joshua / Judges / Ruth / 1-4 Kings / Isaiah / Jeremiah / Baruch / Lamentations / Ezekiel / Hosea / Joel / Amos / Obadiah / Jonah / Micah / Nahum / Habakkuk / Zephaniah / Haggai / Zechariah / Malachi.
3. *Ordo Hagiographorum*: Job / Psalms / Proverbs / Ecclesiastes / Song of Songs / Daniel / 1-2 Paralipomena / Ezra / Esther.
4. *Ordo eorum librorum qui in canone hebraico non sunt*: Wisdom / Sirach / Tobit / Judith / 1-2 Maccabees.
5. *Ordo evangelicus*: Matthew / Mark / Luke / John.
6. *Ordo apostolicus*: Paul / Catholic Epistles / Acts of the Apostles / Revelation.

This classification, typical of Spanish Bibles, has its literary model in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*,⁵⁷ it is also linked to the order Jerome imposed on the Hebrew canon of Sacred Scripture.⁵⁸ It should be noted that Theodulf included the book of Baruch which was missing from most of the manuscripts of the Carolingian period, particularly the Alcuinian recension of the Bible.⁵⁹ Baruch was placed after Jeremiah as in the Spanish manuscripts. Furthermore, Theodulf rejected the apocryphal books: he rejected III and IV Ezra,⁶⁰ attested in the Bible of Maurdramus of Corbie and in most northern French manuscripts; also part of Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians, known as III Corinthians, which appeared in the Italian texts;⁶¹ and finally, the letter to the Laodiceans which was very widespread and was notably included in Peregrinus's edition and accepted as authentic by Gregory the Great, even though he did not place it among Paul's canonical epistles. Thus, the Bishop of Orleans endeavoured to return to the original biblical canon, identifying and excluding apocryphal writings included in the biblical text since patristic times.

2.4 In a desire to accompany his readers, Theodulf added a rich textual apparatus to his Bibles consisting of poems, forewords, tables, and, at the end of the volume, textual aids. This apparatus was supplemented by marginal notes which were placed next to the text within the various biblical books and increased as Theodulf's editing work progressed – I will return to this in the last part of

⁵⁷ The order of the biblical books is described by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies: Liber sextus. De libris et officiis ecclesiasticis, Cap. I: De Veteri et Novo Testamento*: “3. Hebraei autem Veteris Testamenti, Esdra auctore, juxta numerum litterarum suarum, viginti duos libros accipiunt, dividentes eos in tres ordines, Legis scilicet, et Prophetarum et Hagiographorum. ... 10. In novo Testamento duo sunt ordines: primus Evangelicus ...; secundus apostolicus ...”, PL 82, 229A-230B.

⁵⁸ Jerome recalls the order of the Hebrew canon in the foreword accompanying his translation of the books of Kings, which is in fact an introduction to all the biblical books and is often cited under the title *Prologus Galeatus: Prologus sancti Hieronymi in libro Regum in Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 2007, p. 364-366; JEROME, *Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*, 2017, p. 322-337.

⁵⁹ Fischer 1965, p. 178.

⁶⁰ Several books circulated under the name of Ezra in the Middle Ages. I Ezra was the canonical book of Ezra, placed after the Paralipomena in the Hebrew canon; II Ezra was the canonical book of Nehemiah; III Ezra was a particular form of I Ezra in the Septuagint version; and IV Ezra was a book of revelation that was actually limited to some chapters of the book. Thus, Theodulf excluded them from the biblical canon.

⁶¹ The apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians, known as III Corinthians, was published in *Actes de Paul (Ac Paul, X, 2-5): Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* 1997, p. 1117-1177. This apocryphal correspondence could be found in many early versions of the biblical text, notably Syriac, Armenian, Slavonic, and especially Old Latin.

the article. The two complete volumes that have been preserved, Θ^A et Θ^M , afford us a precise overview of this textual apparatus.⁶²

The first element of the textual apparatus consists of various poems: Theodulf first composed a *titulus* subdivided into two parts, one for each binding cover.⁶³ It is the Bible itself, personified, that speaks through these verses: it reminds those who are about to open the volume of Theodulf, whilst in the verses on the back cover it invites them to read so as to come closer to the “inextinguishable light” contained in it. Next, Theodulf inserted a foreword in verse in the genre of *versus bibliothecae*:⁶⁴ this foreword first recapitulates the order of the biblical books (one distich per biblical book), then praises the Bible before concluding with an address to the reader. At the end of the volume an afterword in verse follows the appendix placed after the New Testament:⁶⁵ it presents the opuscles which make up the appendix, praises them, and concludes with an invitation to the reader, in keeping with a tripartite structure comparable to that of the foreword in verse.⁶⁶ The foreword and afterword offer exegetical clues but are also exhortations addressed to the reader. In these verses we find a clear evocation of the various missions assumed by Theodulf who, in order to promote the Carolingian reform, acted both as an exegete charged with elucidating the scriptural message and as *rector* of the *ecclesia* guiding the faithful towards salvation.

Theodulf’s apparatus then includes forewords and tables, as most medieval Bibles do. In Θ^M , after the foreword in verse, on folio 3r we read an extract from Isidore’s *Etymologies* (VI, 1), copied in the shape of a cross on purple parchment, which describes the *ordines* of the biblical books; this general preface is immediately followed by a table of the six sections presented in an ornate architectural setting. The biblical books then come one after the other, sometimes preceded by one or more prologues⁶⁷ and always by a table of chapters. A coloured decorated circle marks the transition between sections; for example, on folio 46v in Θ^M , at the bottom of the first column, a gold, red, and blue circle indicates: “finit primus ordo legis. Incipit secundus ordo propheticus.” The person supervising the volume had certain parts of the Bible copied onto purple parchment, thereby highlighting the most important segments and visually materialising the different parts of the manuscript even when the latter was closed, which facilitated browsing within the *pandect*.

⁶² The other four manuscripts, which are very incomplete, do not have any of the appendices described here.

⁶³ Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *A foris in tabula Bibliothecae* (poem XLII), in MGH *Poetae* I, 1881; poem n°56.I in Rouquette 2018, p. 978-979. This *titulus* is known thanks to an edition of Theodulf’s poems by J. Mabillon, based on a manuscript from Saint Vanne of Verdun now lost but identified in an eighteenth-century catalogue; Cf. Rouquette 2018, p. 9-10 and p. 599-600; Tignolet 2013, p. 153.

⁶⁴ Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Versus bibliothecae* (poem XLI.1) in MGH, *Poetae* I 1881; poem n°2.I in Rouquette 2018, p. 704-721. In Θ^M this poem was copied on three leaves of purple parchment, in two columns, in gold letters (f. 1v to f. 2r).

⁶⁵ In Θ^M the poem was copied in gold letters on purple parchment, in two columns, on folio 348v. It is framed by columns decorated with birds. It was edited by Rouquette 2018, poem n° 2.II, p. 722-727.

⁶⁶ These two poems, foreword and afterword, were commented on and elucidated by Rouquette 2018, p. 164-183.

⁶⁷ Some biblical books have two forewords: for example, all the minor prophets (except Joel who has four forewords!), Daniel, the Gospels of Luke and Mark, and the Epistle to the Romans; the book of Job and the Gospel of John have three forewords.

Finally, in Θ^A and Θ^M an appendix consisting of textual aids and placed just before the afterword in verse closes the volume:⁶⁸ it includes a *chronica* by Isidore of Seville which is a description of the ages of the world announced by the title “Breves temporum per generationes et regna” (from f. 320r);⁶⁹ a collection of explanations of Hebrew names, *De nominibus hebreis* (f. 321v); followed by a section devoted to Greek names (f. 323v) and a collection of patristic quotations explaining biblical symbols (f. 325v);⁷⁰ and, finally, an abridged text (f. 338r), copied without a title and known as *De divinis scripturis* by pseudo-Augustine,⁷¹ which conveys principles of biblical hermeneutics. With the exception of the sections devoted to Greek and Hebrew names which have been studied by O. Szerwiniak, these texts have not, to my knowledge, been the subject of a detailed study; it would be interesting to compare them in order to identify the differences between Θ^A and Θ^M ; and also use them to reflect on the hermeneutic methods favoured by Theodulf, in relation to his poems as well as other manuscripts intended for scriptural studies which were produced in his *scriptorium*.⁷²

2.5 There also arises the question of the biblical text transmitted by the Theodulfian Bibles: it is a Vulgate text, with the exception of the book of Baruch which contains an Old Latin version. Theodulf’s text can be studied using a sample of biblical chapters which can be systematically collated first of all on the basis of their “serene” aspect, noting the variants in relation to various groups of manuscripts, and then linked to the variants, corrections, erasures, and marginal annotations for a given passage.⁷³ The difficulty of such a study lies in the fact that Theodulf never stopped working on his biblical text, continually improving and adding to it; in his desire to be exhaustive, he constantly acquired manuscripts, accumulated data, and multiplied corrections, sometimes contradicting himself from one manuscript to another. The result of his efforts is impressive – it manifests itself very concretely in the corrections and erasures as well as the marginal annotations found in his manuscripts –⁷⁴ but it is also confusing because no version of the biblical

⁶⁸ For example on folios 320r to 346r in Θ^M . The afterword in verse does not mention pseudo-Augustin’s *De divinis scripturis*. E. Rouquette has hypothesised that the afterword was composed for a volume which did not yet contain *De divinis scripturis*, therefore for volumes that came before Θ^A and Θ^M : cf. Rouquette 2018, p. 179-180.

⁶⁹ Isidorus Hispalensis, *Breves temporum per generationes et regna* (CCSL 112), Turnhout 2003.

⁷⁰ This central section of the appendix, the collections of interpretations of Hebrew and Greek names and symbols, is composite: it is based on various sources, works by Jerome including *Liber de interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, *Clavis* by pseudo-Melito, and Book II of *Instructiones* by Eucherius of Lyons. Theodulf composed these three sections on the basis of collections then in circulation, but he also added to and improved them. Moreover, the section on Hebrew names is different in the Le Puy and Orleans Bibles which, according to O. Szerwiniak, have a much more “leafed through” aspect: indeed, Theodulf supplemented the original collection, which certainly already drew on the *Instructiones* by Eucherius, with elements that had been omitted by the first compiler. Cf. Szerwiniak 1994, p. 221-226.

⁷¹ The text begins with the words: “incipiunt capitula in speculum domni Augustini”. This *miroir* was edited by Wehrich (CSEL 12, Vienna, 1887, p. 296-700) who showed that Augustine was not its author. Cf. De Bruyne 1931 and 1933.

⁷² For example Paris, BnF, lat. 15 679: a biblical *vademecum* produced in the Saint Mesmin *scriptorium* at the same time as Theodulf’s Bibles, cf. *supra* note 12.

⁷³ The collated chapters correspond to chapters 1, 14, and 15 of the first book of Samuel: cf. Chevalier-Royet 2007, p. 244.

⁷⁴ It takes the form of a system of marginal annotations which will be discussed in the last part of this article.

text is identical from one *pandect* to another.⁷⁵ The study of this sample of chapters is therefore complex; it shows, however, that Theodulf's Bibles are a clearly distinct set within the Western biblical tradition and allows for two important observations.

Firstly, two groups stand out among the Theodulfian manuscripts, corresponding to two work periods:⁷⁶

- The first group comprises four manuscripts: the Konstanz Θ^S and Saint Hubert Θ^H Bibles represent a first stage in Theodulf's work, before the making of the two luxury manuscripts from Le Puy and Orleans (Θ^{AM}) – the latter are twin but not identical manuscripts since Θ^M attests to editorial progress compared to Θ^A .⁷⁷ Some marginal annotations in Θ^M were based on comparisons with an Alcuinian Bible: it is known that Alcuin gave a Bible to Charlemagne at Christmas 801, which makes it possible to date from this year the completion and dissemination of the first Tours Bibles. It was thus a pivotal year in Theodulf's work: Θ^M was executed around this date; the three previous volumes were therefore produced before 801, before Theodulf had access to the Alcuinian text.
- The second group includes the Saint-Germain Bible (Θ^G) and the Carcassonne fragments which attest to important advances: Theodulf continued his comparisons between the various Latin recensions but also drew comparisons with the Hebrew text, which were recorded in marginal annotations. Thus, these two Bibles correspond to a second stage in Theodulf's editorial thinking and were executed after 801.

Where do the Solothurn fragments fit in this classification? In spite of the necessarily reduced size of the sample, the collation of passages from the first book of Samuel shows that the Solothurn text clearly belongs to the group of Theodulfian Bibles present in the critical apparatus of the *Editio Maior*, and that within this group it is close to the text of the early Bibles, Konstanz and Saint Hubert (Θ^{SH}).⁷⁸ The Solothurn manuscript therefore most likely belongs to Theodulf's earliest work period.

Secondly, this study of a sample of the biblical text of the Theodulfian Bibles makes it possible to determine the ancestry of the texts transmitted. In the early Θ^{SH} Bibles the Spanish influence is predominant: the text is often close to that of *Codex Cavensis*.⁷⁹ Then, as the work progressed, the Theodulfian text became more and more composite: in the last two Bibles, Θ^G and the Carcassonne

⁷⁵ "Theodulf arbeitete am Bibeltext ständig weiter, bald an diesem, bald an jenem Teil ... Daher gleicht kein Exemplar seines Pandekten völlig einem anderen. Man darf nicht ... ein einzelnes Stadium dieser Arbeit herausgreifen, es absolut zum Originaltext Theodulfs erklären und die anderen Handschriften als Vorstufe dazu oder als Weiterentwicklung oder auch nur schlechte Überlieferungen davon betrachten.", Fischer 1965, p. 177.

⁷⁶ Fischer 1965, p. 135 and p. 177; Dahlhaus-Berg 1975, p. 49-53.

⁷⁷ The biblical text is closer to the Hieronymian text. The volume also contains marginal annotations based on new manuscripts, notably an Alcuinian Bible; the section on Hebrew names in the appendix was largely completed in relation to Θ^A .

⁷⁸ A major difference, however, is that the Θ^{SH} text was copied in three columns, whereas the text of the Solothurn fragments was copied in two.

⁷⁹ This Spanish influence can also be seen in the page layout: three columns.

fragments, the Spanish influence is still perceptible but is now on a par with that of Italian texts or the text then in force in northern Francia which was close to the Alcuinian text.⁸⁰

What, then, can we conclude in order to characterise the text of Theodulf's biblical editions? By comparing numerous manuscripts, the Bishop of Orleans sought to purge the biblical text and restore the *hebraica veritas* identified with Jerome's text. In this respect, his enterprise was a success: indeed, the text of his Bibles is correct from a spelling and syntax point of view. Moreover, after collating and characterising the text of the Theodulfian Bibles, a comparison of this sample with the Alcuinian text shows that, in the case of problematic passages, the readings adopted by Theodulf agree with the Hieronymian text reconstructed by the *Editio Maior* twice as often as the Alcuinian readings. What is more, the critical apparatus of the *Editio Maior* shows that the group of Alcuinian Bibles is more often isolated in the textual tradition than Theodulf's Bibles, which means that Alcuin introduced erroneous variants which were then perpetuated by virtue of his text being widely disseminated. However, the Bishop of Orleans' work is limited by the impossibility of identifying a Theodulfian text: such a thing does not exist since all the preserved manuscripts transmitted a different version of the text. Did Theodulf perhaps lack the time to give his work a definitive form? However, despite this limitation, the result of Theodulf's efforts is very convincing: the texts of his Bibles are very often closer to the Hieronymian text than those given by other contemporary families of manuscripts.

Indeed, Theodulf was well aware of the effectiveness of his method as he referred to his editing work in the versified *titulus* composed to decorate the two binding covers of the manuscripts.⁸¹ In the part intended for the first *tabula*, which was thus meant to be read before opening the volume, the Bible, personified, celebrates its own intrinsic richness by contrasting the outside with the inside, that is its "small body" (the manuscript) with its great content (the biblical text). It then asks the reader to remember Theodulf and calls up the image of a file (*lima*) – often attested in the description of the writer's work – to praise the role of the Bishop of Orleans: more than a patron, he was the craftsman who had truly "polished" the biblical text.⁸²

3. Marginal annotations in Theodulfian Bibles: a true critical apparatus

Marginal annotations are the most striking manifestation of the working method used by Theodulf. They are rare in the earliest preserved Bibles – even completely absent in the Solothurn fragments –⁸³ but their number increases considerably in later manuscripts. In the manuscripts from the first

⁸⁰ These are the conclusions reached by B. Fischer and confirmed by my study of the text of three chapters from the first book of Samuel (1 Sam 1 and 1 Sam 14-15): cf. Chevalier-Royet 2007, p.245-246.

⁸¹ Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *A foris in tabula Bibliothecae* (poem XLII), MGH, *Poetae* I, Berlin 1881 ; poem 56 in Rouquette 2018, p. 978-979.

⁸² "... Me quicumque vides, Theodulfi sis memor, oro,/ Cuius me studium condidit, aptat, amat./ Et foris argento, gemmis ornavit et auro,/ Cuius et interius lima polivit. Ave.", poem 56, in Rouquette 2018, p. 978; I have borrowed the patron/craftsman dichotomy from Rouquette 2018, p. 599.

⁸³ Only fifteen pages have been preserved in Solothurn; these fragments may not be representative of the entire manuscript. We can see in the other surviving Bibles that the number of notes varies greatly from one biblical book to another, within the same manuscript; these variations could perhaps be explained by the

work period these annotations are the result of comparing different Latin texts. Then, in the last two manuscripts, the annotations become richer in nature: the notes drawn from the comparison of Latin versions continue to be written but become rarer, while those attesting to a parallel reading of the Hebrew text multiply. This comparison with the Hebrew version was remarkable and remained isolated in the Carolingian period. These marginal annotations have different functions in the manuscript.

3.1 First of all, they are simple corrections made in the margins: adding a term or phrase skipped by the copyist. For example, in the Saint Hubert Bible, at the bottom of the third column on f. 43v, the copyist skipped the end of verse 1 Sam 2:20: a corrector thus added the missing passage *et abierunt in locum suum* in the margin, indicating where the forgotten passage belonged with a sign above the line, after *domino*:

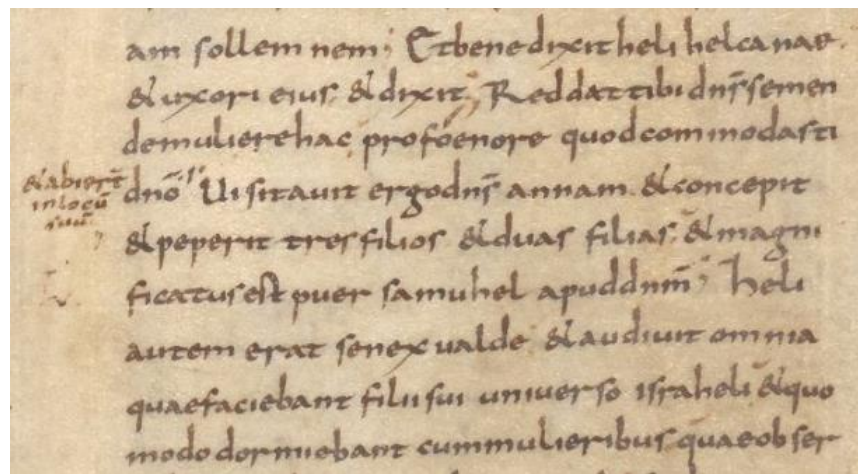


Figure 1. © British Library Board,
Codex Hubertianus (Θ^H), London, British Library Add. 24 142, f. 43v.

3.2 Secondly, they consist of alternative readings suggested for the readers' discernment. The annotators used a system of abbreviations to enter these notes and indicate the origin of the readings.

- In the first four manuscripts (Θ^{SHAM}) all these readings come from comparisons with other Latin texts: *s* for *spanus* refers to a comparison with a text of Spanish origin;⁸⁴ *a* for *Albinus*, the nickname given to Alcuin, refers to a reading from an Alcuinian Bible (these notes introduced with *a* appear from Θ^M onwards); *ij* indicates a reading shared by the Spanish and Alcuinian texts; and finally, *al* for *alii* indicates a reading from other manuscripts.

For example, in the Orleans Bible (Θ^M), at the beginning of the book of Exodus (f. 16r), in the upper part of the right margin, two notes contain competing readings: the first note *s*.

topics Theodulf's circle studied during the execution of a given manuscript: some biblical books were annotated because they were at the centre of the circle's preoccupations at that point in time.

⁸⁴ The notes introduced with the letter *s* are close to the text given by *Codex Toletanus* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Tol. 2.1), labelled Σ in the *Editio Maior*.

at cognovit relates to the passage *et cognovit eos* (Exod 2:25); and the second *a. at soceri* to *cognati* (Exod 3:1).⁸⁵

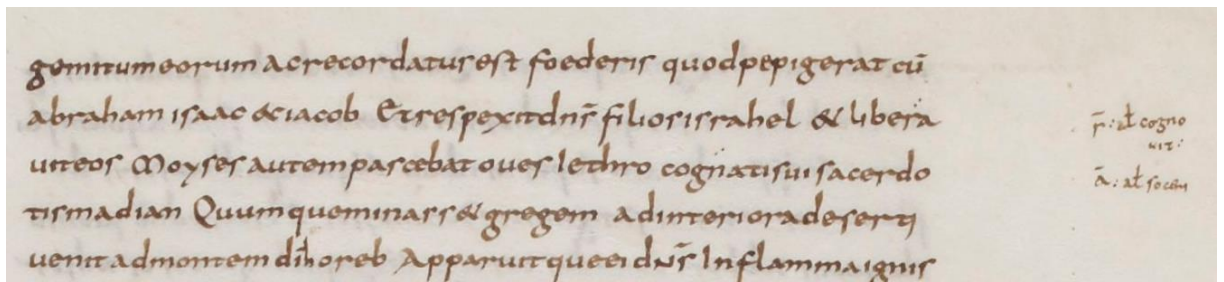


Figure 2. © Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Codex Mesmianus* (Θ^M), Paris, BnF, lat. 9380, f. 16r.

In fact, these notes rectify two problematic terms in the text of Θ^M: in Exod 2:25, Θ^M gives *et liberavit eos* whereas the current critical editions give *et cognovit eos*; and in Exod 3:1, Θ^M gives *soceri* whereas current critical editions give *cognati*. The annotator indicates that the *cognovit* reading was found in a Spanish manuscript (*s*) and the *soceri* reading in an Alcuinian manuscript (*a*).

The purpose of the note is not to correct the biblical text copied: indeed, it is worth noting that these notes fared differently from one manuscript to another. Some were entered in subsequent manuscripts, while others vanished. Rather, it seems that the annotator sought to record the work of comparing manuscripts carried out under Theodulf's supervision, thus providing the reader with the most enlightening variants for reading and studying the Scriptures.

- Then, in the last two manuscripts (Saint-Germain Bible Θ^G and Carcassonne fragments) the notes resulting from the comparison of Latin texts become rarer, while another category makes its appearance: always written in Latin, these notes are preceded by the letter *b* for *hebreus* and attest to comparisons with the Hebrew text. In an article written together with Adrien Candiard,⁸⁶ we studied the notes included in Θ^G, almost all of which are the result of comparisons with the Hebrew version.⁸⁷ The number of these notes varies greatly from one biblical book to another.⁸⁸ The historical books of Samuel and Kings are by far the most annotated as they alone contain half of all the manuscript's notes (1,056 notes): does this mean that when Θ^G was being prepared these historical books were the focus of the studies that were being conducted in Theodulf's *scriptorium*?

⁸⁵ The terms *liberavit* and *cognati* to which these notes refer are identified in the biblical text by two dots inserted in the interline above.

⁸⁶ Candiard/Chevalier-Royet 2012.

⁸⁷ Θ^G has around 2,000 marginal annotations. Only some are introduced with *al* for *alii* indicating a reading taken from other manuscripts: we find one in the book of Numbers (f°36r), five in the book of Jeremiah (f°122r, 123r, and 124r), fifteen in the book of Ezekiel (between folios 135v and 142v), a few in the Minor Prophets, and at least one such note in the book of Job (f°155v).

⁸⁸ The book of Judges offers no notes based on the Hebrew version; the books of Ruth, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel have only a few scattered notes; Genesis, Job, and Psalms are modestly glossed, while other books such as Deuteronomy and Kings contain a large number of notes.

Here is for example the *incipit* of 1 Samuel on f. 63r in Θ^G which contains two notes introduced with *b* in the left margin:

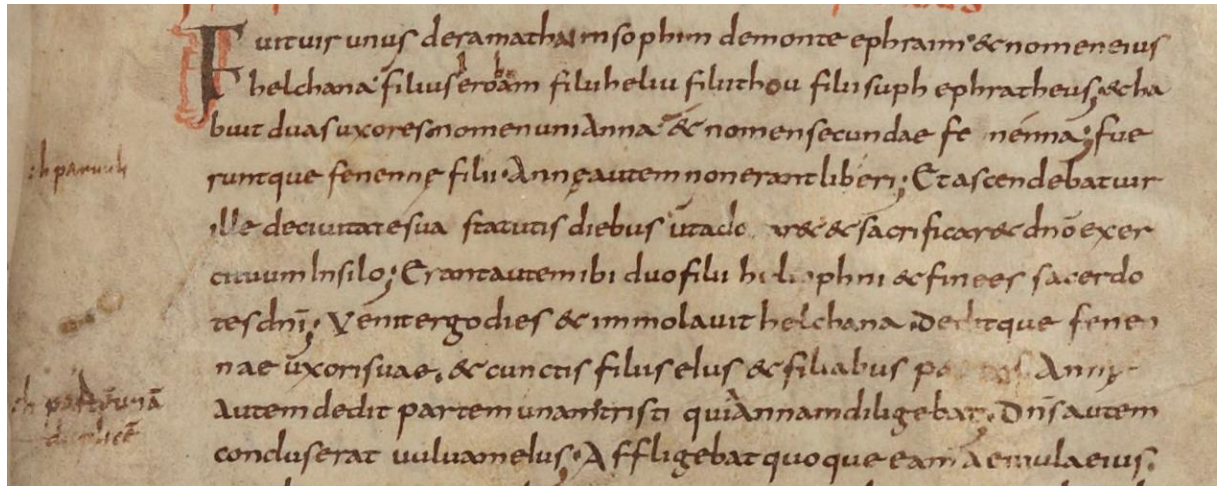


Figure 3. © Bibliothèque Nationale de France,

Codex sangermanensis parvulus (Θ^G), Paris, BnF, lat. 11 937, f. 63r.

The first note concerns *liberi* (1 Sam 1:2): the annotator indicates that the Hebrew version gives *parvuli*, a translation which is indeed closer to the Hebrew text than the *liberi* adopted in the Vulgate text.⁸⁹ The second note concerns the phrase *Annae autem partem unam tristis*, indicating that the Hebrew text does not give *tristis* but *partem unam duplicem*.⁹⁰ An examination of the content of the notes in the books of Samuel and Kings sheds light on the intentions of the manuscript annotator. He was first of all a stickler for the literal meaning. He always translates word for word where Jerome gave free rein to the genius of the Latin language, restores singulars where Jerome translated Hebrew collective singulars as plurals, corrects the absence or presence of possessive pronouns, removes verbs where the Hebrew text uses noun phrases,⁹¹ and so on. The notes are certainly all literally correct but they seem very clumsy from the point of view of the Latin text. In fact, we need to understand that the annotator did not seek to improve the Hieronymian translation. The flawed text presented in the note does not replace Jerome's text but enriches it by revealing the underlying Hebrew text: it thus offers scrupulous readers who were not proficient in Hebrew direct access to the *hebraica veritas*, in the manner of Origen's *Hexapla* or biblical correctories produced in Paris from the thirteenth century onwards.⁹²

⁸⁹ The Hebrew term *yeladim* emphasises the age of the children rather than kinship: it is therefore better rendered as *parvuli* than *liberi*.

⁹⁰ *Tristis* may have been introduced in the Vulgate version due to confusion over the term *apayim*. G. Dahan thinks that *apayim* should perhaps be translated here as *duplex* rather than connect it to the expression of a feeling, thus agreeing with the annotator of Θ^G .

⁹¹ Candiard/Chevalier-Royet 2012, p. 26-28.

⁹² This systematic study of the marginal annotations on the books of Samuel and Kings also shows that the reference text the annotator used was a single text in a form extremely close to that of the present text, that is *Codex Leningradensis* (St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, F.B.19 A) which was copied in Cairo around 1008. This assertion is based on three main arguments relating to the number, *qere*, and vowels: cf. Candiard/Chevalier-Royet 2012, p. 28-33. This Theodulfian Bible, produced between 801 and 818 at Saint Mesmin of Micy in Orléanais, confirms that the Masoretic text that was being developed in the East

In light of these observations, the annotations entered in the margins of the various Theodulfian biblical manuscripts that have survived to this day should therefore be seen as a true critical apparatus in the contemporary sense of the term. In fact, the study of the two categories of glosses present in Theodulf's manuscripts, which resulted either from comparing Latin texts among themselves or from a parallel reading of the Hebrew text, shows that they are not intended to improve the Vulgate text copied in the central part of the page and established beforehand with the greatest of care; they in fact give access to Theodulf's workshop by recording competing Latin readings that could be of interest to the study of the biblical text and by revealing the underlying Hebrew text to a non-Hebraist reader. This enterprise, which was completely original for the Carolingian period, reveals the extent of the biblical editing work carried out by Theodulf in his *scriptorium* at Saint Mesmin of Micy.

The research avenues opened up by these initial results are therefore numerous and promising. The work on Theodulf's Bibles has only just begun. As regards their critical apparatus, several avenues should be explored: no overall study has been carried out on the annotations present in the six Theodulfian Bibles that have been preserved. It would indeed be necessary to look at the books that were particularly commented on, the nature of the notes, and their provenance in order to try to follow the work carried out at the *scriptorium* of Saint Mesmin of Micy; it would also be necessary to compare the notes on the same biblical book from one manuscript to another (in this respect, the book of Psalms which can be found in most of the Theodulfian manuscripts could afford an interesting overall view). It may thus be possible to get an idea of the biblical manuscripts collected by Theodulf and to describe more precisely the stages of his philological reflections on the biblical text. This description would then have to be linked to Theodulf's other works (poems, episcopal capitulars, treatises on baptism and the Holy Spirit; the biblical *vademecum* Paris, BnF lat. 15 679) in order to try to gauge how the philological work done by the Bishop of Orleans fed into his exegetical and theological reflections and, more broadly, shaped his view of the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES :

Bible

Editio Maior. Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem, monachorum abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe OSB (ed.), 18 vol., Rome 1926-1994 [Old Testament].

Novum testamentum domini nostri Iesu Christi latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi, Wordsworth J. /White, H.J (ed.), Oxford, 1889-1954.

Prologus Galeatus. Prologus sancti Hieronymi in libro Regum in Weber R. (ed.), *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (5th ed.) 2007, p. 364-366

Jérôme, *Préfaces aux livres de la Bible* (Sources chrétiennes 592), Canellis, Aline (ed.), Paris, 2017.

circulated far and quickly; thanks to its marginal notes, it could be the first proven witness to the circulation of the Masoretic text in the West.

Écrits apocryphes chrétiens, BOVON F. / GEOLTRAIN P. (ed.), Paris, 1997.

Other sources :

- Alcuinus, *Epistolae* 149, 261 and 262, in Dümmler, Ernst (ed.), MGH, *Epistolae IV*, Berlin 1895.
- Alcuinus, *Carmen* 65, in Dümmler, Ernst (ed.), MGH, *Poetae I*, Berlin 1881, p. 283.
- Ardo, *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis et Indensis*, in Waitz, Georg (ed.), MGH, *Scriptorum XV-pars I*, Hanover, 1887.
- Epistola Generalis*, in Boretius, Alfred (ed.), MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum I*, Hanover, 1883, p. 80.
- Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae VI. De libris et officiis ecclesiasticis, Cap. I: De Veteri et Novo Testamento*, in *Patrologia Latina* 82, 229A-230B.
- Isidorus Hispalensis, *Breves temporum per generationes et regna* (CCSL 112), in Martin, José Carlos (ed.), *Chronica*, Turnhout 2003.
- Pseudo-Augustin, *speculum* (CSEL 12), in Wehrich, Franz (ed.), Vienna 1887, p. 296-700.
- Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Versus Fiduciae ad Angelramnum presulem*, in Dümmler, Ernst (ed.), MGH, *Poetae I*, Berlin 1881, p. 76-77.
- Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, Freeman, Ann (ed.), MGH, *Concilia II, Suppl. 1*, Hanover, 1998.
- Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *De processione spiritus sancti*, Ménage, Christian (ed.), doctoral thesis, École des Chartes, Paris, 2000.
- Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Capitula*, in Brommer, Peter (ed.), MGH, *Capitula episcoporum I*, Hanover 1984, p. 73-184.
- Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Versus bibliothecae* (poem XLI.1) in Dümmler, Ernst (ed.), MGH, *Poetae I*, Berlin 1881 ; poem n°2.I in Rouquette, Énimie, *Theodulfica Musa. Étude, édition critique et traduction des poèmes de Théodulf d'Orléans*, doctoral thesis, Veyrard-Cosme, Christiane (supervisor), Université de Sorbonne-Nouvelle Paris 3, 2018.
- Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *A foris in tabula Bibliothecae* (poem XLII), in Dümmler, Ernst (ed.), MGH, *Poetae I*, Berlin 1881 ; poem 56 in Rouquette, Énimie, *Theodulfica Musa. Étude, édition critique et traduction des poèmes de Théodulf d'Orléans*, doctoral thesis, Veyrard-Cosme, Christiane (supervisor), Université de Sorbonne-Nouvelle Paris 3, 2018.
- Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Ad Aiulfum episcopum* (poem LXXI), in Dümmler, Ernst (ed.), MGH, *Poetae I*, Berlin 1881 ; poem 29 in Rouquette, Énimie, *Theodulfica Musa. Étude, édition critique et traduction des poèmes de Théodulf d'Orléans*, doctoral thesis, Veyrard-Cosme, Christiane (supervisor), Université de Sorbonne-Nouvelle Paris 3, 2018.
- Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Ad Modoinum episcopum* (poem LXXII) in Dümmler, Ernst (ed.), MGH, *Poetae I*, Berlin 1881 ; poem 30 in Rouquette, Énimie, *Theodulfica Musa. Étude, édition critique et traduction des poèmes de Théodulf d'Orléans*, doctoral thesis, Veyrard-Cosme, Christiane (supervisor), Université de Sorbonne-Nouvelle Paris 3, 2018.
- Versus Fiduciae ad Angelramnum presulem*, in Dümmler, Ernst (ed.), MGH, *Poetae I*, Berlin 1881, p. 76-77.

STUDIES

- Berger, Samuel, *Histoire de la vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*, Nancy 1893.
- Bischoff, Bernhard, *Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen*, in Bischoff, Bernhard (ed.), *Das Geistige Leben (Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben, II)*, Düsseldorf 1965, p. 233-254.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice, *La Bible latine, des origines au Moyen Âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions*, in *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19 (1988), p. 137-159 and 276-314.
- Candiard, Adrien / Chevalier-Royet, Caroline, *Critique textuelle et recours à l'hébreu à l'époque carolingienne. Le cas exceptionnel d'une bible de Théodulf*, in Noblesse-Rocher, Annie (ed.), *Études d'exégèse médiévale offertes à Gilbert Dahan par ses élèves*, Turnhout 2012, p. 13-34.

- Chevalier-Royet, Caroline, *Les révisions bibliques de Théodulf et la question de leur utilisation par l'exégèse carolingienne*, in Shimahara, Sumi (ed.), *Études d'exégèse médiévale. Autour d'Haymon d'Auxerre*, Turnhout 2007, p. 237-256.
- Chevalier-Royet, Caroline, *Les livres des Rois dans l'empire carolingien. Exégèse et actualité*, Paris 2021.
- Contreni, John J., *The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture*, in McKitterick, Rosamond (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: II, c. 700-900*, Cambridge 1995, p. 709-757.
- Dahan, Gilbert, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval (XII^e-XIV^e s)*, Paris 1999.
- Dahlhaus-Berg, Elisabeth, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas. Typologische Exegese und isidorianisches Geschichtsbild bei Theodulf von Orleans*, Köln 1975.
- De Bruyne, Donatien, *Étude sur les origines de la vulgate en Espagne*, in *Revue Bénédictine* 31 (1914-1919), p. 373-401.
- De Bruyne, Donatien, *Étude sur le Liber de divinis scripturis*, in *Revue Bénédictine* 43 (1931), p. 124-141.
- De Bruyne, Donatien, *Étude sur le Liber de divinis Scripturis. III. - Un Abrégé du VII^e siècle*, in *Revue Bénédictine* 45 (1933), p. 119-141.
- Fischer, Bonifatius, *Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen*, in Bischoff, Bernhard (ed.), *Das geistige Leben (Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben, II)*, Düsseldorf 1965, p. 156-216.
- Fischer, Bonifatius, *Die Alkuin-Bibeln*, in Fischer, Bonifatius, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im hohen Mittelalter*, (Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 11), Freiburg-in-Brisgau 1985, p. 202-403.
- Fischer, Bonifatius, *Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters*, in Fischer, Bonifatius, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im hohen Mittelalter*, (Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 11), Freiburg-in-Brisgau 1985, p. 35-100.
- Freeman, Ann, *Theodulf of Orleans, a Visigoth at Charlemagne's court*, in Fontaine, Jacques / Pellistrandi, Christine, *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique*, Madrid 1992, p. 185-194.
- Gribomont, Jean, *Les éditions critiques de la Vulgate*, in *Studi Medievali* 2 (1961), p. 363-377.
- Ketteman, Walter, *Subsidia Anianensa. Überlieferungs- und Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Witzas-Benedikts, seines Klosters Aniane und zur sogenannten "anianischen Reform"*, doctoral thesis, Geuenich, Dieter (supervisor), University of Duisburg 2000.
- Lafitte, Marie-Pierre (ed.), *Trésors carolingiens. Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve*, Paris 2007.
- Light, Laura, *Versions et révisions du texte biblique*, in Lobrichon, Guy / Riché, Pierre (ed.), *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*, Paris 1984 p. 55-93.
- Magnou-Nortier, Elisabeth, *La mission financière de Théodulf en Gaule méridionale d'après le contra iudices*, in Guichard, Pierre et al. (ed.), *Papauté, monachisme et théories politiques. Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à M. Pacaut*, Paris 1994, p. 89-110.
- Mitalaité, Kristina, *Philosophie et théologie de l'image dans les Libri Carolini*, Paris 2007.
- Power, Edward, *The lost ninth century Bible of Carcassonne*, in *Biblica* 5 (1924), p. 197-201.
- Rouquette, Énimie, *Theodulfica Musa. Étude, édition critique et traduction des poèmes de Théodulf d'Orléans*, doctoral thesis, Veyrard-Cosme, Christiane (supervisor), Université de Sorbonne-Nouvelle Paris 3, 2018.
- Sapin, Christian (ed.), *Germigny, un nouveau regard*, in *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre – BUCEMA, Special Issue 11* (2019), <http://journals.openedition.org/cem/16003>.
- Schaller, Dieter, *Theodulf's Exil in Le Mans*, in *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 27 (1992), p. 91-101.
- Schönherr, Alfons, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Solothurn*, Solothurn 1964.
- Sot, Michel, *La première Renaissance carolingienne : échanges d'hommes, d'ouvrages, de savants*, in *Les échanges culturels au Haut Moyen Âge, Actes du XXXII^e Congrès de la SHMESP*, Paris 2002, p. 23-40.
- Sot, Michel, *Héritage et innovations sous les rois francs (Ve-Xe s)*, in Boudet, Jean-Patrice et al. (ed.), *Histoire Culturelle de la France. 1. Le Moyen Âge*, Paris 2005 (reprint).
- Szerwiniack, Olivier, *Des recueils d'interprétations de noms hébreux chez les Irlandais et le wisigoth Théodulf*, in *Scriptorium* 48/2 (1994), p. 187-258.
- Tigolet, Claire, *Exsul et exsul erat. Théodulfe (vers 760-820/821): Parcours biographique*, doctoral thesis, Le Jan, Régine (supervisor), Paris, Université de Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2013.

MANUSCRIPTS

Theodulfian Bibles (in chronological order) :

Codex Weingartensis: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB II 16 [labelled Θ^S in the *Editio Maior*]

Codex Hubertianus : London, British Library Add. 24 142 [labelled Θ^H in the *Editio Maior*]

Codex Aniciensis: Trésor de la cathédrale du Puy [labelled Θ^A in the *Editio Maior*]

Codex Mesmianus: Paris, BnF, lat. 9380 [labelled Θ^M in the *Editio Maior*]

Codex sangermanensis parvulus: Paris, BnF, lat. 11 937 [labelled Θ^G in the *Editio Maior*]

Copenhagen, Royal Library, N.K.S.1

Fragments of Solothurn : [sine loco] *Codices restituti* Cod. 3: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/list/one/sl/0003>;

Other Manuscripts :

Amiens, BM 6, 7, 9, 11, 12 [Bible of Maurdramnus of Corbie, labelled M in the *Editio Maior*]

Cava, Archivio della Badia 1 (14) [Bible of Cava or *codex cavensis*, labelled C in the *Editio Maior*]

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Tol. 2.1 [Bible : *codex Toletanus*, labelled Σ in the *Editio Maior*]

Metz, BM 7 [lost Bible of Angilram of Metz]

Paris, BnF, lat. 3 [Bible of Rorigon, from Tours]

Paris, BnF, lat. 11532-11533 [Bible of Corbie]

Paris, BnF, lat. 13 174 [fragments of a Maurdramnus's Bible, from Corbie]

Paris, BnF lat. 15 679 [Theodulfian biblical *vademecum*]

Paris, BnF, n.a.1 1586 [Bible from Tours]

St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, F.B.19 A [*codex Leningradensis*, hebrew Bible]

Tours, BM 10 [Bible from Tours]

Trier, Staatsbibliothek 22 [or *codex aureus*, evangelistary from Charlemagne's court]

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl., Cod. Guelf. 16, Aug.; Heinemann 2186 [evangelistary from Tours]