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## THE ANGLO-HEBRAIC ORIGINS OF THE MODERN CHAPTER DIVISION OF THE LATIN BIBLE

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THE USUAL ACCOUNT of the origin of the modern chapter divisions of the Bible is that they were the invention, beginning in about the year 1200, of Stephen Langton, professor of theology at the University of Paris from 1180 to 1206 and the first great scholastic commentator of the Vulgate Bible<sup>1</sup>. The divisions have been presented as Langton's application of the organizing principles of Aristotelian logic (*genus* and *species*) to divide into units of roughly equal length the continuous text of Jerome's translation that in the original Hebrew was presumed to have been undivided within each book<sup>2</sup>. It has also been suggested that Langton developed this schema of chapter division in the University of Paris after 1194-1195 to facilitate reference to the text in the preparation and editing of his own extensive *Postilla*<sup>3</sup>.

1. The authors wish to express their special gratitude to Patricia Stirnemann whose thoughtful discussion informs virtually every page of this paper.

2. See Ceslas Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'Exégèse latine au Moyen Age*, Paris: Bibliothèque Thomiste, 26, 1944, pp. 162-63; Richard H. Rouse & Mary A. Rouse, «The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures», *Archivium fratrum praedicatorum*, 44 (1974), pp. 5-30 (10); Amaury d'Esneval, «Division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l'édition Parisienne du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle», *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 62 (1978), pp. 559-68 (559-61); Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, «La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge: Aperçu historique, état des questions», *Revue théologique de Louvain*, 19 (1988), pp. 276-314 (297-98).

3. Frederick W. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928, págs 35-36; Christopher Holdsworth, «Stephen Langton», *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited

The so-called «Langton divisions» came to supplant a variety of varying Biblical chapter divisions, of which the earliest examples for the Old Testament originated in late antiquity, with a single schema of chaptering that was essentially uniform from codex to codex and therefore convenient within the University for purposes of reference in the composition of marginal glosses, commentaries, *correctiones* and concordances, as well as in the preparation of liturgical tables<sup>4</sup>. Commentaries on Scripture and liturgical instructions that referred to chapters had had in the Latin tradition few antecedents before the final decades of the twelfth century<sup>5</sup>. However, in Hebrew, two fixed systems of standard textual location had existed as part of Hebrew Bibles containing the Massorah from at least as early as the tenth century. Eventually, at least one of these was used by commentators on the Torah for references and may have been so employed at an early date<sup>6</sup>.

Until now, the earliest known manuscripts of the Bible containing the divisions that modern scholars commonly attribute to Langton, originated from Paris and have been dated to the first decade of the thirteenth century, exclusively on the basis of palaeographical and art historical judgment<sup>7</sup>.

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by Joseph Strayer, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982-89, p. 517; Walter F. Sprech, «Chapter and Verse Divisions», *Oxford Companion to the Bible*, edited by Bruce Metzger & Michael D. Coogan, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 105.

4. For one of the rare examples of preserved numbered chaptering in an ancient codex, see E. A. Lowe, «A Sixth-Century Italian Uncial Fragment of Maccabees and Its Eighth-Century Northumbrian Copy», *Scriptorium*, 16 (1962), pp. 84-85.

5. In eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts of the *Ordines* attributed to Gregory IX, for the Old Testament, only citations in the Book of Psalms were identified by chapter numbers. However, for the Gospels, reference was occasionally made to numbered chapters following the numbering of the Eusebian sections. A single reference to Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians employed an enumeration first recorded in the Codex Amiatinus, see Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931-61, III, pp. 290, 353, 393, 394, 424, & 454; *Patrologia Latina (PL)* 78: 951 & 962. In the mid-twelfth century, the numbering system of the Alcuinic Bibles was used for making corrections on the Latin Vulgate by the Cistercian Nicolas Manjacorria, see P. T. Van den Gheyn, «Nicolas Maniacoria, correcteur de la Bible» *Revue Biblique*, 8 (1899), pp. 289-295; Heinrich Denifle, «Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts», *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 6 (1886), pp. 263-311 (273-274) & 461-607, *passim*. At the end of the twelfth century, Peter the Cantor used the same Alcuinic numbers, see Artur Landgraf, «Die Schriftzitate in der Scholastik um die wend des 12. zum 13. Jahrhundert», *Biblica*, 18 (1937), pp. 74-94 (78).

6. Christian D. Ginsburg, *The Massoreth Ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita*, London: Longmans, 1867, p. 135, n. 108. See also, Michèle Dukan, *La Bible hébraïque: Les Codices copiés en Orient et dans la zone séfarde avant 1280*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, p. 107.

7. Laura Light, «French Bibles c. 1200-50: A New Look at the Origin of the Paris Bible», *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration, and Use*, edited by Richard Gameson, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 155-76.

However, the first textual evidence linking Langton (who died in 1228) to the authorship of these divisions dates on the basis of codicology from c. 1230-1235. This evidence exists in two forms. The first is two rubrics in a single Latin Bible of English origin now in Lyons that identifies chapter divisions in the books of Genesis and Proverbs with Langton as archbishop of Canterbury<sup>8</sup>. The second consists of two c. 1230 lists of chapter incipits for the entire Bible, one apparently of English origin, preserved at Oxford (forming part of a sermon collection); the other from the abbey of Saint Victor in Paris<sup>9</sup>. Both lists were arranged in what became in the 1230's the standard order of Biblical books, but which was neither the order of the Lyons Bible nor that of the earliest manuscripts with the new divisions. In both lists, Langton was identified as archbishop, but in the Oxford manuscript the identification occurs only in a table that was added, apparently in the early fourteenth century (no name is present in the original text, which lacks its first leaf). The first categorical statement that Langton actually invented the modern chapter divisions of the Vulgate was made by the English Dominican chronicler Nicolaus Trevet a century after Langton's death<sup>10</sup>. The assertion that he

8. Lyons, BM 414 (340). Only the reference to Langton in the rubric of Proverbs was recorded by Auguste Molinier & Félix Desvernay, *Catalogue générale: Départements*, 30 (1900), pp. 102-103. The rubric to Genesis appears on f. 33. The dating is on the basis of codicological evidence; the scribe or scribes of this Bible alternate between writing above and below the first ruled line. This Bible also contains as an original component the sole surviving copy of Robert Grosseteste's *Concordance*, see S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste: Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940, pp. 122-24.

9. Oxford, Magdalen College MS 168, ff. 78-86; see Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, pp. 35 and 170-176. Powicke, following E. Mangelot, «Chapitres de la Bible», *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 2 (1899), col. 564 asserts that a list (was it the first leaf of the Magdalen MS?) existed in «Bodleian MS 487, f. 110», but this reference appears to correspond to a completely unrelated codex of the fifteenth century. Paris, BNF lat. 14417, fol. 125-126v, *Über verschieden Eintheilungen der Heiligen Schrift insbesondere über die Capital-Eintheilung Stephen Langtons im XIII. Jahrhundert*, edited by Otto Schmid, Graz: Leuchner & Lubensky, 1892, pp. 59-91 and Paulin Martin, *Introduction à la critique générale de l'Ancien Testament de l'origine du Pentateuque: Lessons professées à l'École Supérieure de Paris Théologie*, Paris: Maisonneuve & Charles Leclerc, 1886-1889, pp. 464-471. These lists were likely compiled from discrete lists for each Biblical book. The Saint Victor list has chapter divisions for II Chronicles otherwise unrecorded in the corpus of manuscripts with modern chapter divisions, but which are present as part of the older «pre-Langton» chaptering of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Kennicott 15. Perhaps the compiler inserted here an older list of incipits in error.

10. *Annales sex regum Angliae*, London: English Historical Society, 1845.

did so as a professor in Paris first occurs in another English chronicle composed later in the fourteenth century<sup>11</sup>.

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In addition to early Parisian manuscripts, English and non-Parisian French monastic manuscripts with the modern chapter divisions also exist. Indeed, until now the earliest known datable manuscript with the modern chapter divisions comes from Canterbury, Langton's titular see from 1207 until his death in 1228. This codex is Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 5 (*olim* 29), probably copied within a decade after Langton actively assumed his episcopal functions in 1213 and surely before the year 1231 (the date of an added note)<sup>12</sup>. It is the only English or Parisian Bible dating from the first third of the thirteenth century to be included in any of the modern catalogues of dated and datable manuscripts. Other early or at least relatively early English copies of the Vulgate with the modern chaptering include Eton College MS 26, Oxford, Oriel College MS 77, Columbia University Western MS 85, Durham Cathedral MS C.III.22, and Paris, BNF lat. 10419. A full list of early thirteenth-century Bibles of English origin with modern chaptering has yet to be assembled<sup>13</sup>. This omission stems from the fact that late nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars had assumed that the divisions identified with Langton were of Parisian origin. Consequently, English and non-Parisian French monastic manuscripts with modern chaptering have been regarded as witnesses to the diffusion of a new practice radiating from Paris and not as potential documentation for determining the new system's locus of origin.

Laura Bruck and Paul Saenger's current interest in early thirteenth-century English Biblical manuscripts began with their attempt to broaden the criteria for assigning English origin to thirteenth-century Bibles beyond

11. Henry Knighton (*d. ca.* 1396), *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X*, edited by Roger Twysden, London: Fletcher, 1652, col. 2430; *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, Rerum britannicorum medii aevi scriptores*, London: J. R. Lumby, 1889-95 I, 211.

12. See Auguste Émile Louis Marie Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, Paris, 1885-92, I, 2-3; Charles Samaran & Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date I*, Paris: CNRS 1959, p. 412. The *terminus ante quem* of 1231 is established by a dated note on the final leaf.

13. There is need of a list for England equivalent to the excellent one provided by Light's «French Bibles c. 1200-1230», pp. 155-176. BNF lat. 10419 has been described as Italian but it is not, see François Avril & Patricia Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire VI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1987, num. 110.

the usual indicators provided by illumination and minor decoration, an effort all the more important because of the standardized character of early thirteenth-century book scripts, which afford only fragile indications for distinguishing between Insular and Continental hands. They were encouraged in this endeavor by their knowledge that Robert de Courçon, an Englishman, had often been reported to have been the first scholar after Langton to have employed the new chapter numbers before his death in 1219<sup>14</sup>. In an earlier study published in *Syntagma*, Saenger had noticed that Thomas Gallus (who Saenger identified as English or Welsh, and who in the second decade of the thirteenth century was among the earliest scholars to employ systematically the so called «Langton» divisions) had used a variant form of the new chapter division for his commentary on the Song of Songs in 1218<sup>15</sup>. In addition, Saenger's initial examination of English Biblical manuscripts containing marginal graphic alphabets revealed variant chapter divisions in at least two English codices<sup>16</sup>. He and Laura Bruck then embarked on what they believe to be a pioneering effort to collect comparative data on thirteenth-century Parisian and English Bibles to determine if the variations that had been encountered formed part of a larger pattern. A test sampling was arbitrarily established that drew from 19 Biblical books that included the five books of Moses and the prophet Isaiah in their entirety, the Books of Chronicles, and sections chosen from the poetic books including Song of Songs, Job, Proverbs, Wisdom and Sirach. The Gospels of Luke and Mark were also surveyed. The test books thus included

14. Limited evidence of chapter division is present in two of eight surviving *Summa*. However, they are absent in London, British Library MS Royal 19.E.XIV and Paris, BNF lat. 14524. According to Landgraf they were added interlineally in Paris, BNF lat. 15747 and integrated into the text in at least one leaf of Bruges, BM lat. 247, see Landgraf, «Schriftzitate», pp. 88-89; V. L. Kennedy, «The Content of Courçon's *Summa*», *Mediaeval Studies*, 9 (1947), pp. 81-107. In fact, 1204-1208, the oft-repeated date of composition of Courçon's *Summa* is little more than a supposition, without any direct evidence, see Marcel Dickson and Christiane Dickson, «Vie de Robert de Courçon», *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 9 (1934), pp. 60-142 (67 & 72). Chapter references may have been added to the original work either by the author in his revisions, or by his secretaries, or by subsequent scribes, who re-divided the chapters of the *Summa* itself and provided tables referring to them as well as other reader aids including running headings. In the published portions of the *Summa*, there are no original chapter divisions, see Georges Lefèvre, *Le Traité «De usura» de Robert de Courçon*, Lille: L'Université, 1902; V. L. Kennedy, «Robert Courçon on Penance», *Mediaeval Studies*, 7 (1945), pp. 291-336.

15. P. Saenger, «The British Isles and the Origin of the Modern Mode of Biblical Citation», *Syntagma*, 1 (2005), p. 89.

16. Urbana, University of Illinois MS 4135 and Paris, BNF lat. 10419.

elements of the Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament Apocrypha, and the New Testament. Up to now in all, more than 80 manuscript Bibles have been examined, either *in situ*, or on microfilm, or on CD Rom. For the Hebrew Bible and the Apocrypha in particular, distinct patterns emerged. These may be divided into the following groups:

1) A few variants that to date have been recorded uniquely in codices prepared at St. Albans before 1200, where, as shall be shown, we believe, that the modern mode of chaptering may have originated. These include Genesis 13 beginning at 12:20b, Exodus 9 beginning at 8:29, Exodus 10 beginning at 9:27, Exodus 13 beginning at 12:50, Exodus 23 beginning at 22:31b, Leviticus 20 beginning at 20:2b and Isaiah 5 beginning at 5:8.

2) Variants that occurred with equal frequency in English codices and in Parisian manuscripts copied prior to the establishment in about 1234 of the standard portable Parisian Bible (defined not only by its size, but by its modern chaptering, suppression of *capitula* lists, fixed order of books, and presence as an appendix of the standard glossary of Hebrew names). Examples of such variants include Exodus 7 beginning with 6:29 and Exodus 25 beginning at 24:16b.

3) Variants that occurred either solely or with far greater frequency in codices of English origin than in the entire Parisian corpus examined to date. Examples of such instances include Genesis chapter 2 beginning with verse 25 and Exodus 16 beginning at chapter 15, verse 27.

4) A very limited set of variants from the schema in use today that occurred with regularity as part of the standardized Bibles copied in Paris from c. 1234 until the fifteenth century. (These variations were frequently found in English codices but in combination with numerous other variants). This Parisian schema of chapter division (not quite the modern chapter division) seems to have prevailed in Paris until a version close to the modern schema evolved in printed Bibles published in Germany and by German printers in Italy and Lyons in the fifteenth century. Examples of the restricted set of standard Parisian manuscript variants from the modern Vulgate include Genesis 6 beginning at 5:31b and in the book of Job chapter 14 beginning with verse 5. The final confection of modern chaptering that suppressed all such variants was achieved in the post-Trent Clementine Bible of 1592<sup>17</sup>.

17. T. H. Darlow & H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, London: Oak Knoll Press, 1903-1911, II, pp. 961-963. I am grateful to Jennifer Fink Butler who as a Kemper Foundation Intern at the Newberry Library in summer 2006 gathered data on this and the other printed Bibles discussed in this paper.

Early on in our research, it became apparent that certain of the English and early Parisian variants often reflected anterior chapter divisions, particularly those present in the Alcuin Bibles, a schema of chapters which however, occurs (at least for the Pentateuch) fully developed for the first time in the Bible of Abbot Maurdramnus, Amiens, BM, MSS 6, 7, 9, 11 and 12, copied in an Insular center, the Benedictine Abbey of Corbie c. 771-783. This schema of chaptering thus in fact predates Alcuin's revision and related annotation in the Codex Amiatinus suggests that this mode of chaptering originated in England<sup>18</sup>. The influence of Alcuinic numbers on the schema identified with Langton was suggested by manuscripts, both English and French, in which both the chapter division associated with Langton and those of Alcuin were marked, the former in the margin, the latter in intra-textual spaces. Such manuscripts formed in effect a concordance between the two enumerations. In the earliest of these codices, the «Langton» chapters were added *post factum*, probably from lists and often after the text had been glossed, in a manner that graphically distinguished them from the initial Alcuinic numbers, either by decoration, ink color, formality or by script, since the new enumeration was often written in arabic numbers. Examples include Paris, BNF lat. 11537, likely copied in Paris at the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century (where the distinction between the Alcuinic numbers and the modern ones was made by decoration)<sup>19</sup>, Paris, BNF lat. 14233, likely copied at the abbey of Saint Victor in Paris earlier in the first decade of the thirteenth century (where the distinction was frequently made by using arabic numerals for the modern numerals)<sup>20</sup> and Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS 12-15, a Bible in four volumes copied at the abbey of Cîteaux in 1109 for abbot Stephen Harding, to which the modern chapter numbers with variants common to early English and Parisian manuscripts (our group 2) were added at Cîteaux at the very end

18. David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der Francia, 20, Paris: Sigmaringen, 1990, pp. 132-33; W. M. Lindsay, «The Old Script of Corbie: Its Abbreviation Symbols», *Revue des bibliothèques*, 22 (1912), pp. 405-425 (407); *idem*, «The Abbreviation Symbols of *ergo, igitur*», *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 29 (1912), pp. 56-64 (62). Many of these distinctions were marked at an early date by signs without numbers in the Codex Amiatinus, Henri Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, Rome: Desclée, 1922, p. 287.

19. Paulin Martin, «Le Texte parisien de la Vulgate latine», *Museon*, 8 (1899), pp. 444-465 (448). Laura Light, «Versions et révisions du texte biblique», in *Le Moyen Age et la Bible* edited by Pierre Riché & Guy Lobrichon, Bible de tous les temps, 4; Paris: Beauchesne, 1984, p. 84, n. 100.

20. Light, «French Bibles», p. 173 (num. 2).

of the twelfth century (here the distinction was made both by ink color and by formality)<sup>21</sup>. That the last of these codices was very early and originated in a monastic milieu away from Paris is in itself suggestive. An English example of Alcuinic numbering supplemented by the modern divisions may be as early or earlier. It is Eton College MS 26 from the monastery of St. Albans, where in about the year 1200 the distinction was made both by formality and the use of Arabic numbers<sup>22</sup>.

The earliest Bibles with concordant chapter divisions provided at their inception (i.e. with both sets of numbers written by the original scribe or scribes) are probably English. They include Oxford, Oriel College MS 77, likely copied c. 1215, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 5 from Canterbury and New York, Morgan Library 791 of unknown origin thought by some to be from St. Albans<sup>23</sup>. Parisian examples of original dual numbering include Paris, BNF lat. 16747 (dating in my judgment in its final confection from the second decade of the thirteenth century), Arsenal MS 65, copied late in the first third of the thirteenth century, and Paris, BNF lat. 36, an unusual Cistercian Missal/Bible from Beauvais but copied in Paris in the mid-thirteenth century<sup>24</sup>. This last codex is the latest in date among known examples of a Vulgate Bible containing concordant Alcuinic and modern numbering<sup>25</sup>.

21. Auguste Molinier, Henri Omont, *et alii*, *Catalogue générale: Départements*, 5 (1889), pp. 4-6; Charles Samaran *et alii*, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine*, V (1965), p. 169 and plate IX.

22. Rodney M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey, 1066-1235*, Woodbridge: University of Tasmania, 1982, I, pp. 89-90 (num. 16); Neil Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, II, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 653-56; Montague R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895, pp. 13-14.

23. H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum mss qui in collegiis aulisque oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, reprint of the Bodleian Library's annotated copy of the 1852 edition, Wakefield: E. P. Publishing, 1972), I, *Collegii Oriensis*, p. 27; Rodney M. Thompson, *Manuscripts from* p. 122. Another early English manuscript, Columbia University Western MS 85 was prepared for intertextual insertion of a variant form of Alcuinic numbers, but never rubricated.

24. Light, «French Bibles», p. 174 (num. 3) dates Paris, BNF lat. 16747 to the first decade of the thirteenth century, but I would place it later; the scribe abandoned writing out the Alcuin numbers in the second chapter of Genesis, indicating the older divisions in the Pentateuch thereafter only by a lateral colon or sign but providing no numbers. For Paris, BNF lat. 36, see Victor Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris: s. n., 1924, num. 913.

25. The date of 1234 offered by D'Esneval (following Leroquais) is not the date of the Bible, but rather the date of composition of a supplemental text, see «La Division de la Vulgate Latine», p. 561.

In Mazarine 5, calligraphically executed arabic numbers were provided by the rubricators to distinguish numbers of the new system that Langton employed from those identified with Alcuin. Because of the general propensity of the thirteenth-century English scribes to use arabic numbers (which were graphically less ambiguous) more frequently than their Continental contemporaries, and because the system of graphic alphabetic subdivisions to disambiguate references within the modern chapters began in England and among Insular scholars (notably Thomas Gallus) at Saint Victor, we theorized that the modern chapter divisions themselves might have originated in England and subsequently migrated to the Continent. Indeed Saenger had suggested this possibility (with Mazarine 5) in mind, in his *Syntagma* article<sup>26</sup>.

To attempt to confirm the thesis that the chapter division first used by the British scholars Langton, Courçon and Thomas Gallus was of Insular origin, we expanded our survey to include pre-1200 English and French Bibles to determine if the Alcuinic system (first recorded at Corbie and resembling the Codex Amiatinus and therefore of likely Insular origins) was in fact more prevalent in twelfth-century English monastic Bibles than in those copied in Paris. To date, the evidence tentatively suggests that such may have been the case, i.e. that the Alcuinic divisions were more consistently observed in English twelfth-century manuscripts with numbered chapter divisions than in codices produced in Paris, where chapter numbering patterns were more diverse (although the Alcuinic schema was well represented). Examples of mid-twelfth-century Bibles of English origin with Alcuinic divisions for the Pentateuch include Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 2 (from Bury St. Edmunds)<sup>27</sup>, the same Cambridge library's MSS 3-4 (from Dover Abbey)<sup>28</sup>, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. E. Inf. 1 (from Winchester or St. Albans)<sup>29</sup> and, it would appear, also the twelfth-century Bible of Winchester Cathedral<sup>30</sup>. In contrast,

26. Saenger, «The British Isles», p. 82.

27. Except for Leviticus, which is related to the enumeration in the Codex Amiatinus, see M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912, pp. 3-8.

28. James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 8-14; C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 3, London: Harvey Miller, 1975, num. 69.

29. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, p. 34; Andrew Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, num. 47.

30. Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982, pp. 262-63.

French Romanesque Bibles seem more diverse. Indeed, Paris, BNF lat. 14395, the only surviving twelfth-century Bible prepared at the abbey of Saint Victor, and one of the few apparently written in Paris, had no numbered chapter divisions within the text, and its *capitula* lists, except those for Genesis, do not correspond to the Alcuinic enumeration<sup>31</sup>. On the other hand the original numbering of Stephen Harding's Bible at Cîteaux was Alcuinic and the *correctiones* of the Vulgate text left by the Italian Cistercian Nicolaus Maniacoria used the Alcuinic chaptering for its references, evidence which suggests that at least in the extended French sphere of Cîteaux, Alcuinic numbering enjoyed a certain pre-eminence<sup>32</sup>. In this context, it should be noted that the pattern of «Christian versification», i.e. versification denoted by colored (in later centuries usually red) initials was also first evident in the Maurdramnus Bible, and that it, like chaptering, formed part of the Alcuinic tradition. Alcuinic versification appears in twelfth-century English Bibles and in the thirteenth century it was ubiquitously employed however with greater standardization in Paris than in England<sup>33</sup>.

In the course of his survey of English Bible chapter divisions, Saenger's attention was drawn to Corpus Christi College MS 48, a codex from the royal abbey of St. Albans that he had first examined in summer 2002 as a part of his study on Hebraic influence on the English tradition of graphic verse numbering. In the book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, CCC 48 contained, in proximity to the acrostic verses of chapters 1-4, an expertly calligraphed Hebrew alphabet, written in gold. Dr. Ben Outhwaite, the Director of the Genizah Project at Cambridge University Library believes that the scribe who wrote them was a Jew, possibly with Sephardic training<sup>34</sup>. Others have offered like opinions<sup>35</sup>. According to Walter Cahn the codex

31. Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor*, Paris: A. Durand & Pedone-Lauriel, 1869, p. 12. Paris, BNF lat. 11534, possibly Parisian, clearly does not correspond to the Alcuinic enumeration and was for large portions originally undivided into numbered chapters, see Spicq, *Esquisse*, p. 162.

32. For Dijon BM 12-15, see Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 270-71.

33. It is probable that the *pecia* system played a role in stabilizing verse division in Parisian Bibles, see for example Paris, BNF lat. 28, the best example of a mid-thirteenth-century manuscript where capitals clearly denote verses throughout. Cf. Gilbert Dahan, *L'Exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval*, Paris: Cerf, 1999, p. 176.

34. Personal communication, autumn 2006.

35. Personal communication of Christopher de Hamel. See also James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 95; and especially Walter Cahn, «St. Albans and the Channel Style in England», in *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975, pp. 187-211 (193).

was executed at St. Albans during the reign of abbot Simon (1167-1183), and modern scholars beginning with Richard Hunt have accepted this date without hesitation<sup>36</sup>. It is apparently the sole twelfth-century Latin manuscript Bible of English origin to contain graphic Hebrew, a phenomenon that became increasingly common in England after 1200<sup>37</sup>. In contrast on the Continent (in keeping with the tradition of Jerome) the presence of Hebrew in any form other than transliteration was extremely rare<sup>38</sup>. In the broader context of the history of the Latin Bible, the presence of graphic Hebrew letters in proximity to the acrostic verses contained in Lamentations, Proverbs or the Psalter is a reliable indication of contact with rabbinic scholarship. It may be noted that in the Renaissance such Hebrew letters were present in late-fifteenth-century manuscripts of the Psalter and in many of the new scholarly translations of the Hebrew Bible into Latin

36. R. W. Hunt, 'The Library of the Abbey of St. Albans', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker*, edited by M. B. Parkes & A. G. Watson, London: Scholar Press, 1978. See also L. M. Ayres, 'A Tanner Manuscript in the Bodleian Library and Some Notes on English Painting of the Late Twelfth Century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 32 (1969), págs. 41-54 (46); Thomson, *Manuscripts from Saint Albans Abbey*, pp. 81-82. The parchment on f. 1 where an ex libris of St. Albans would have occurred (according to the abbey's usual practice under Abbot Simon) has been cut out. James in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Corpus manuscripts dated this codex late s. 12*, but he misdated the closely related New Testament, Cambridge, St. Johns College 183 (G. 15) assigning it to s. 12-13, when in fact it was a gift of Abbot Simon to the Abbey, see N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960, pp. 3 & 11; Pamela Robinson, *Catalogue of the Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1988, num. 306, cf. M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Saint John's College Cambridge*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913, p. 216.

37. See the remarkable study of Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les Manuscrits hébreux dans l'Angleterre médiévale: Etude historique et paléographique*, Collection de la Revue des études juives, 29; Paris: Institute de Recherche et d'histoire des textes, 2003.

38. To date, we have knowledge of but one example to add to the twelfth-century codex cited in Saenger, 'The British Isles', p. 102, n. 29; Paris, BNF lat. 36 from the thirteenth century, see Samuel Berger, *Quam notitiam linguae hebraicae habuerint Christiani medii aevi temporibus in Gallia*, Nancy: Berges-Levrant 1893. Graphic Hebrew seems to be entirely absent in ninth-century Theodulfian manuscripts and among the twelfth-century manuscripts from Saint Victor, see Avrom Saltman, *Pseudo Jerome: Quaestiones on the Book of Samuel*, Leiden: Brill, 1975; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1964, p. 103, n. 1; *idem*, 'A Commentary on the Hebraica by Herbert of Bosham', *Récherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 18 (1951), pp. 29-65 (47), cf. p. 155; Dahan, *L'Exégèse chrétienne*, p. 207. See on the ancient Greco-Roman origins of Hebrew transliteration, Alexander Sperber, 'Hebrew Based Upon Greek and Latin Transliterations', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 12-13 (1937-38), pp. 103-274.

and the vernacular that were printed in the sixteenth century<sup>39</sup>. Both in diglot English manuscripts of the thirteenth century and in diglot printed editions of the sixteenth century, Hebrew had influence on text format including versification and chaptering<sup>40</sup>.

We know from the chronicles of St. Albans (of which this portion was composed by Matthew Paris, the thirteenth-century historian) that abbot Simon, known for his love of beautiful manuscripts and other art work, had contact with Jewish bankers, with whom he contracted great debt<sup>41</sup>. We speculate here that his debt to England's Jews may have been more than pecuniary. Specifically it is also known from the chronicles of the abbey that abbot Simon assembled, authenticated and annotated (*glossata*) copies of the Bible that the abbot kept in a chest within the church, the traditional venue for books pertaining to the celebration of the Holy Offices<sup>42</sup>. The textual influence of the original Greek (and possibly of the original Hebrew) has been detected in Bibles identified with the Abbey<sup>43</sup>. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that abbot Simon had Hebrew characters placed in CCC 48 by a Jewish scribe to give to a deluxe transcription of Jerome's Latin version of his *Hebraica* a genuine measure of visual verisimilitude to the Jewish original.

Such a thesis is sustained by the highly unusual three-column page text format of CCC 48 and another closely related St. Albans codex, the aforementioned Eton College 26, generally thought to have been copied a little later than CCC 48<sup>44</sup>. In the entire Middle Ages, only three earlier examples

39. For an example of a Psalter dating from the second half of the fifteenth century with marginal Hebrew letters, see Newberry Library MS 183, Saenger, «The British Isles» *PL* 8; for examples of printed Hebrew letters in sixteenth-century Bibles, see the Olivetan Bible of 1535, the Matthew Bible of 1537 and the Estienne Bible of 1558 (Lyon, Jean de Tournes), etc., see Darlow and Moule, nos. 3710 and 17.

40. This is particularly striking in Sebastian Münster's 1534-1535 new translation of the Hebrew Bible into Latin, Darlow and Moule, num. 5087. For manuscripts, see Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MSS 5 and 8; see Olszowy-Schlanger, *Manuscrits hébreux*, nums. 1 and 2.

41. Henry Thomas Riley, *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani* Rolls Series, 28, v. 4; London: H. M. S. O., 1867-69, pp. 190-93.

42. Riley, *Gesta abbatum*, p. 184.

43. Walter Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, p. 112. For a possible relationship to the Hebrew, note the variant recorded in Exodus 2:5. Influence from the Hebrew Bible may also have been received from consultation of one or another copy of the Theodulfian text, which is yet to be critically edited, see below at n. 46.

44. Thomson dates this codex to the end of the twelfth century, *Manuscripts from St. Albans*, p. 89.

of three-column copies of the Latin Vulgate are known, the oldest of which are the two earliest surviving Theodulf Bibles, London, BL Add. 24142, formerly in the Abbey of Saint Hubert in the Ardennes and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB.II, 16. formerly in the library of the Cathedral of Constance<sup>45</sup>. The Theodulf text as preserved in Add. 24142 was marked by both emendations based on the original Hebrew as well as by emulation of Hebrew text format and punctuation<sup>46</sup>. It also had dimensions notably smaller than the giant Alcuinic Bible but equivalent to those of many of the larger medieval Hebrew Bibles<sup>47</sup>. Like the Theodulf Bibles and the Cîteaux Bible of Stephen Harding (which also evinced direct contact with the Hebrew original), CCC 48 was arranged in a rare four-part order of Old Testament books that segregated the Old Testament Apocrypha i. e. those texts not present in the Hebrew original and placed them at the end<sup>48</sup>. CCC 48 is the sole Bible to our knowledge dating from the second half of the twelfth century to have returned to this Theodulfic order and one of the few to replicate the relatively modest dimensions of a Theodulfian codex.

The other six surviving Theodulf Bibles were written in the normal two-column format, and the three-column arrangement as well as other aspects of Theodulfian format was emulated later only twice from the ninth to the

45. Elisabeth Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas: Typologisches Exegese und isidorianisches Geschichtsbild bei Theodulf von Orléans*, Cologne: Böhlau, 1975, pp. 49-50. For facsimiles of Additional MS 24142, see Frederic G. Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1900, num. XV; Margaret T. Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West*, Notre Dame & London: Notre Dame University Press, 1993, num. 6.

46. See Bonifatius Fischer, «Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen», *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, edited by Wolfgang Braunfels, Düsseldorf, 1965-68, II, pp. 178-179. The Psalter of Additional MS 24142 has been reported as being written in Jerome's format of *cola et commata*; it is not, but rather in lines of verse that correspond to the original Hebrew; cf. Henri de Sainte-Marie, *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jerome, 1954, pp. viii-ix.

47. Rosamond McKitterick, «Carolingian Bible Production: The Tours Anomaly», in Gameson, *The Early Medieval Bible*, p. 74; cf. Dukan, *Bible hébraïque*, pp. 215-217. For the «giant» dimension of Alcuin Bibles from Tours, see David Ganz, «Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours», in Gameson, *The Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 61-62.

48. Gibson, *Bible in the Latin West*, p. 32. This arrangement of Biblical books, an expansion of the Hebrew division into three parts, was without antecedent in the writings of Saint Jerome, but was sanctioned by Isidore, *Etymologiae*, Liber VI, I. For the presence of this arrangement in the Bible of Stephen Harding, see J. P. P. Martin, *Saint Etienne Harding*, Amiens: Rousseau-Lerog, 1887; Denifle, «Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien» p. 270; Light, «French Bibles c. 1200-1230», p. 160.

mid-twelfth century (in Spain in the La Cava Bible and in a fragment of a Bible in Visigothic script preserved at Columbia University<sup>49</sup>). In contrast to the overwhelmingly dominant Latin Vulgate tradition of two-column Bibles, three columns was the usual text format for Hebrew Bibles from the earliest surviving codices copied in the tenth century to those transcribed in England prior to the year 1300<sup>50</sup>.

The display of three columns was important in Jewish tradition. Jewish tractates dating from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages required that at least three columns be written on each membrane composing a Torah scroll, and when reading the Torah from scrolls, these treatises commanded that at least three columns of text be displayed<sup>51</sup>. Among early copies of the Hebrew Bible, British Library OR MS, the Aleppo Codex, the Cairo Codex, the Leningrad Codex, the Firkowitz fragment and the preponderance of larger format Bible fragments found in the Cairo Genizah were all written in three columns<sup>52</sup>. Indeed, the only dated medieval codex likely written in England, London, Valmadonna Trust MS 1, copied in 1189 (and whose dimensions are comparable to both the Theodulfic Bibles and to CCC 48) evinced this format, as apparently did another Masoretic Bible, now lost, that formed part of a marriage dowry contracted in the city of Lincoln in 1271<sup>53</sup>. Only in the thirteenth century did it become usual for Hebrew Bibles, especially in smaller format, to be written in two columns, like their late Medieval Latin counterparts<sup>54</sup>.

49. See John Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination*, New York: Braziller, 1977, plates 1 and 2; McKitterick, «Carolingian Bible Production», p. 74. Consuelo Dutschke has brought to my attention Plimpton MS 27, *C.L.A.*, num. 1654.

50. Approximately 73% of all Hebrew codices dated before 1200 were written in 3 columns, and the three-column format was particularly prevalent among larger codices approximating the dimensions of CCC 48; see Dukan, *Bible hébraïque*, pp. 204 and 234 ff.

51. A. Cohen, *The Minor Tractates of the Talmud*, London: Soncino Press, 1965, *Masseket Sefer Torah*, p. 635, 638. *Masseket Soferim*, pp. 219 & 223. For the dates of these tractates, see Israel Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah*, translated & edited by E. J. Revell, *s. l.*: The Society of Biblical Literature, 1980, p. 136.

52. See Yeivin, *Introduction*, pp. 15-22; Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, translated by E. F. Rhodes, second edition, Grand Rapids: Eedermans, 1995, nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24; Dukan, *Bible hébraïque*, p. 217.

53. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les Manuscrits hébreux*, pp. 238-42; M. Beit-Arié, *The Only Dated Medieval Manuscript Written in England (1189 CE) and the Problem of Pre-Expulsion Anglo-Hebrew Manuscripts*, London: Valmadonna Trust Library, 1985; Myer David Davis, *The Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290*, London, 1888, pp. 289-302.

54. For examples, see Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, London, 1897, pp. 469-778. Two columns was the format of the second Rabbinic Bible, Würthwein, *Text of the Old Testament*, num. 26. The three-column

There are additional indications of Hebraic concern in the milieu of CCC 48. In Lamentations in proximity to the Hebrew letters, a rare mystical and Christianizing interpretation of the Hebrew alphabet is included in addition to that of Jerome. Walter Cahn once speculated that this unusual text might reflect the milieu of St. Albans' celebrated Hebraist, Alexander Neckham, but identification of Neckham as a possible author is not tenable since the same text occurs at least a generation earlier in the Bury Bible<sup>55</sup>. The brief text, however, appears to be peculiar to England and surely reflects an interest at St. Albans in Hebrew<sup>56</sup>. In addition, CCC 48 contained as an appendix an alphabetical glossary of Hebrew words, drawn from the Old Testament, an expanded version of Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*<sup>57</sup>. Modern students have routinely stated that Jerome's glossary of Hebrew names was first enlarged and arranged in a continuous alphabetical sequence and appended to Vulgate Bibles at the University of Paris in the early thirteenth century<sup>58</sup>. However, the carefully alphabetized expansion of Jerome's glossary of Hebrew names in the Corpus Bible was not arranged book by book as was the case in the earliest glossaries of Hebrew names copied in Paris, but in a continuous alphabetical sequence. The Corpus appendix thus constitutes a very early antecedent for the glossary that became after 1234 a standard appendix to small format, portable Parisian Bibles<sup>59</sup>. We have not encountered an alphabetical glossary akin to that of St. Albans in any other twelfth-century biblical codex and therefore it is reasonable to conclude that it was compiled at the abbey.

It is well known that later in the thirteenth century, some forms of the expanded Jeromean glossary were attributed explicitly in manuscripts to

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format for larger Bibles survived into the Renaissance; e.g. Marcello Simonetta & Jonathon J. G. Alexander, *Federico da Montefeltro and his Library*, New York, 2007, pp. 26-27.

55. Cahn, «St. Albans and the Channel Style», p. 205, n. 43; cf. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2, f. 278.

56. It was translated into Anglo-Norman dialect, J. Bonnard, «Un Alphabet hébreu-anglais du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle», *Revue des études juives*, 1882, pp. 255-265 (255-59).

57. Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana manuscripta: La Tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de saint Jérôme*, The Hghe: Martinus Myhoff, 1969-1972, num. 201.

58. Amaury d'Esneval, «Le Perfectionnement d'un instrument de travail au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les Trois glossaires bibliques d'Etienne Langton», in *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'occident médiéval*, edited by G. Hasenohr & Jean Longève, Paris, 1981, pp. 165-75.

59. Paris, BNF lat. 26, one of the earliest French Bibles to have the glossary of Hebrew names as an appendix does not appear to be Parisian. The glossary is included in Dole, BM MS 15, the earliest dated Parisian portable Bible, recorded by Light, «French Bibles», p. 156.

Langton<sup>60</sup>. It, however, should also be noted that Alexander Neckham (1157-1217), the noted St. Albans Hebraist of the twelfth century, was also credited in later manuscripts with composing an expanded glossary of Hebrew names<sup>61</sup>. Whether Neckham had any connection with the glossary of CCC 48 is at this point a matter of pure conjecture. Nevertheless, it may be noted that Neckham was born, educated and taught at St. Albans, an abbey which had direct lines of contact with Saint Victor's of Paris, whose friars included the noted English Hebraist Andrew of Saint Victor, later abbot of Wigmore (d. 1175)<sup>62</sup>. In his *Syntagma* article Saenger had compared the lateral two point sign consistently used to denote alphabetically designated chapter septants in BNF lat. 10419 from Oxford c. 1230 to the vertical colon-like *soph pasuq* that marked the end of the verse in Hebrew Bibles. (In secular Hebrew manuscripts a horizontal form of the *soph pasuq* was employed as a terminal note at the end of sentences<sup>63</sup>). In Cambridge, Saint Johns College 183 and the Dublin codex, Trinity College 51, both from St. Albans at the time of Abbot Simon, the two point sign (both in horizontal and vertical form) was used to denote the graphic frontiers of a *capitulum*, a function for which it was subsequently used in the early thirteenth century at the abbey of Saint Victor and other Parisian schools<sup>64</sup>.

When Saenger examined CCC 48 for its Hebrew letters and versification in 2002 he noted that the chaptering in the books of Genesis and Lamentations followed the modern schema, but Lamentations being a very short book with very special verse structure, such was not a definitive indication of the presence of modern chaptering. Subsequently in Chicago he verified from microfilm that the entire Bible present was divided into modern chapters (allowing for customary variants), except for the Gospels in which an earlier chaptering system, long present in the British Isles and in general relatively close to that later identified with Langton, was still used<sup>65</sup>. Because

60. Martin, «Le Texte parisien», *Muséon*, 9 (1890), pp. 55-70 (64-69). Langton is explicitly cited as author in the colophon of Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS 341, cited by d'Esneval, «Perfectionnement d'un instrument de travail» p. 173, n. 15.

61. Frederick Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, Madrid, 1940-1980, II, pp. 71-72.

62. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 112-95.

63. Personal communication of Mme. Olszowy-Schlanger, September 2006.

64. See BNF lat. 14232, indication of I Chronicles 19, BNF lat. 14233, indication of Song of Songs 4 and 5. The sign is used ubiquitously in BNF lat. 16747. I am indebted to Mme. Olszowy-Schlanger for informing me of the Hebrew use of the horizontal *soph pasuq*.

65. For the Pentateuch, the correspondence to «Langton numbering» is 99.5%; for I Chronicles the correspondence is 99.5%; for Job the correspondence is 100%. For the old chaptering of the Gospels, see Donatien de Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la*

he detected carefully executed erasures and alterations of numbers in a portion of its *capitula* list and occasionally in the body of the text (and obvious alterations in Eton College 26) he did not cite these two books as early English examples of modern chaptering in his *Syntagma* article.

Moreover, a third related codex, the surviving second volume of a two-volume Bible from St. Albans, Dublin Trinity College 51 (of dimensions comparable to CCC 48) had yet to be examined<sup>66</sup>. This last codex was examined by Saenger in May 2006, and it too contains modern chapter divisions also with occasional evidence of contemporary re-numbering. In it, unlike CCC 48, the Gospels too were divided into the modern chapter division, suggesting that the modern chaptering had by the time of its transcription spread from the Old Testament to the New and that the new divisions had not yet been perfected when the anterior Corpus codex was confected. Consistent with this observation, palaeographers and art historians have argued that the copying of the Dublin codex followed closely after the transcription of the Cambridge, Corpus Christi Bible, although neither its text, nor its order, nor its variant chapter divisions indicate that it was a direct copy from either the Corpus codex or a common model. However, the prologue to the Pauline Epistles in all four biblical codices from St. Albans from the time of abbot Simon and his successor contains an explicit attribution to Pelagius that constitutes an unusual and undeniable bond of textual affinity limited within England to St. Albans<sup>67</sup>.

Other points of similarity link the twelfth-century Bibles of St. Albans. The Cambridge, Corpus Christi codex contained a table of *capitula* for the Old Testament that corresponded neither to the modern chapter divisions nor the Alcuinic divisions. This table was partially altered by one of the original scribes to agree with the divisions that the same scribes had placed in the text. For the New Testament, like tables were placed before the Gospels and the Epistles. A similar prefatory table was also prepared for the Dublin codex which in this instance included *capitula* for both the Old

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*Bible latine*, Namur: s. n., 1914, pp. 500-526, cols. A and B; Patrick McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A. D. 800*, Brussels: Erasme, 1961. Christopher de Verey, *The Durham Gospels*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 20; Copenhagen: s. n., 1980, pp. 18-21.

66. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, pp. 54, 62 and 121-22; Marvin L. Colker, *Trinity College Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1991, pp. 91-92. Thomson identifies this codex as copied by the same hand present in Saint John's College 183, possibly for presentation to the abbey of West Dereham established in 1188.

67. Hunt, 'The Library of the Abbey of St. Albans', pp. 252; Alexander Souter, *Pelagius' Exposition of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, Cambridge: University Press, 1922, I, pp. 343-44.

and New Testaments. Grouped prefatory tables are also found in St. John's College 183, where in this New Testament the *capitula* are placed in two sets (as in CCC 48), one grouping prior to the Gospels and the other prior to the Epistles, but here also including the chapters of the Apocalypse. The displacing of tables of *capitula* from their usual position as prefaces to individual books to the beginning of the codex (or an important section thereof) converted them into veritable tables of contents, similar to tables subsequently placed at the head of thirteenth-century scholastic summas. This innovation, surely intended to facilitate reader access, was peculiar to the British Isles and perhaps to St. Albans. The earliest rudimentary example occurs in Oxford Auct. Infra 1, usually referred to as the Auct. Bible (which has been claimed on art historical criteria for St. Albans). Here tables to all four books of Kings were gathered together and placed prior to I Samuel<sup>68</sup>.

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In my judgment, the alteration in numbering both in the tables and text in CCC 48 and the Dublin MS date from the twelfth century and indicate that the introduction of the new system of chaptering was likely on-going under Abbot Simon at the time these two Bibles were produced or very soon thereafter. Palaeographically, the numbers especially at the beginning of CCC 48 and throughout Dublin 51, all placed in the margin, form a kind of gloss. In palaeographic form, they resemble the original numbering of Cambridge, St. John's College MS 183, a small and portable New Testament from St. Albans (a gift of abbot Simon to the abbey) that is also one of the earliest dated examples of protogothic script in England<sup>69</sup>. The abbey's chronicles had spoken of abbot Simon's Bibles as being glossed. The placing of numbers in the margin was characteristic both of Hebraic tradition and the Theodulfian Bibles<sup>70</sup>. In contrast in the Alcuinic Bibles, numbers generally were written within the text, where they complemented formatted paragraphs.

68. See Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, p. 34. Contrary to Thomson's assertion, the prefatory tables to Kings is an argument for tying the Auct. Bible to St. Albans, but clearly not a decisive one, cf. Walter Fraser Oakeshott, *The Two Winchester Bibles*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, p. 108.

69. See the remarks of Neil Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, p. 3.

70. For the Hebrew tradition, see Dukan, *Bible hébraïque*, p. 105; for the Theodulfian Bibles, see Raphael Loewe, «The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate», in the *Cambridge History of the Bible*, Cambridge: University Press, 1963-70, II, p. 128.

Various details of the decoration and rubrication of both CCC 48 and Dublin Trinity College 51 would seem to confirm that the numbering was contemporary to the copying of the codices. First, it is clear that the scribes in both codices sought not to complement an earlier numbering system (the practice in the earliest thirteenth-century Parisian Bibles, for example BNF lat. 14233) but rather to obliterate an initial and incomplete non-Alcuinic numeration (which I have not yet identified in any other Bible) and substitute the new schema, subsequently identified with Langton. The emendating scribe of the manuscript Bible of Stephen Harding in Cîteaux had distinguished graphically between the added modern numbers from the original Alcuinic ones by using black ink and making the modern numbers less formal. In contrast, CCC 48 evinced only very limited palaeographic distinction between the first incomplete numbering and the final numbering. More formal new numbers were used for Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus and the Book of Numbers; more cursive numerals were employed for the balance of the Bible. Palaeographically the more cursive ones appear almost identical to the older enumeration that is clearly visible in the text in the four Gospels and the unrevised portion of the table of *capitula* of the Old Testament, as well as in the two tables of *capitula* of the New Testament. However the new numbers are set off by two points (rather than one point) and consistently evince the convex rather than the concave form of the initial minim stroke of the letter v. Although the concave form was far more common, both forms of *v* were known in England in the second half of the twelfth century, where, however they were used, as on the Continent, without encoded meaning or distinction of grammatical function<sup>71</sup>.

Another indication that the present numbering of CCC 48 was intended to be viewed as part of the codex's initial confection is that in the anterior portion of the codex numbered in the more formal script (of which the color seems identical to the rubrication of the running headings) tendril flourishes of the initials were re-drawn to cover erasures, to give a convincing appearance of being original. However, for the Book of Isaiah, the modern numbers were the only numbers present. The absence of re-numbering in the Prophets would tend to suggest that the modern numbers in this portion were placed in the codex before the final confection of the text had been completed, likely after the initial numbering for anterior

71. See for example, George F. Warner & Henry J. Ellis, *Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters in the British Museum*, London: The British Museum, 1903, num. 76.

books had been deemed unsatisfactory and replaced. In England and particularly at St. Albans in the last third of the twelfth century, the conscious manufacture of a Bible without numbered chapter division in the most important of the Major Prophets would seem unlikely.

The numbers of the Dublin codex in their form closely resemble the more formal numbers of CCC 48 (and of St. Johns 183). Graphic guides are present for minor initials and the modern enumeration, and in a number of instances, the color of the ink of the initials and the color of the ink of the numerals appears to be identical. In this Bible too, for Isaiah, the modern numbering seems to be the only schema ever present in the codex. In contrast, the modern chaptering of Eton codex 26, except for Genesis (where the renumbering was done by erasure) was clearly informal and *post factum* in the mode common in Paris in the early decades of the thirteenth century, but here done at St. Albans in about the year 1200. For Eton 26, obliterating its Alcuinic enumeration, would have rendered its marginal glosses and liturgical tables, both keyed to the Alcuinic numeration, unusable. Here, it is important to note that both in England and in Paris, in the earliest Bibles with modern chapter numbers, the cross references in the glosses were invariably to the older enumeration, even when, as in Mazarine 5, the new numbering was original with the codex. Marginal glosses referring to the new numbering occur only in c. 1220, that is, at the time when Langton, Courçon and Thomas Gallus were editing their works<sup>72</sup>. Most of the earliest codices with the new numbering contained no marginal glosses.

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An inference as to how the numbers were inserted may be drawn from CCC 48 which contains at the beginning of the New Testament an unusual, perhaps unique, table of incipits for the Eusebian sections of the Gospels, that Senatus of Worcester termed *capitula* in his *Epistle to Master Alfred*, which here served as a prefatory text<sup>73</sup>. This table's presence reflects a nascent interest in the precise sectioning of Scripture, and by its genre, as an *incipitarium* of Biblical text divisions, it anticipated the two previously

72. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 12, which Light dates 1210-1220 appears to be one of the earliest manuscripts with marginal glosses with cross references referring to the modern numbers, see f. 132 verso and f. 154 verso. Arsenal MS 65 contains glosses in Job and Ecclesiastes that appear to be keyed to the modern enumeration, see f. 174.

73. Edmund Martène & Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, Paris: F. Delaulne, 1717, vol. I, cols. 484-86.

discussed thirteenth-century tables of chapter incipits that identified the modern chapter divisions with Langton. Such a list, here present in calligraphic form as part of the Bible, in practice likely served in a less formal mode to standardize the Eusebian sections, which like the chapter divisions at St. Albans, often did not coincide with the presence of capital initials in the text. Such standardization, not fully achieved in Gospel Books of the ninth and tenth century, was necessary for the correct use of Eusebius' concordance, in which there was a renewed interest in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England<sup>74</sup>. The list of incipits in CCC 48 also has resonances with the ordinal of text incipits that the English Franciscan friar Haymo of Faversham assembled in about 1230 for the portable Roman Breviary and the new liturgical tables that listed incipits of lessons for the Holy Offices, of which one of the earliest examples occurs in Eton 26. This process of insertion of numbers with tie marks, probably from a list, is notably apparent in portions of Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 12<sup>75</sup>. Only in the 1230's did Paris stationers confect *exempla* in which modern chapter numbers were provided, enabling a single scribe to copy numbering matched to formatted paragraphing, thus rendering discrete lists of chapter incipits superfluous in Bible production<sup>76</sup>.

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That the earliest modern chapter divisions occur in two related manuscripts that antedate Langton's use of the same divisions, the earlier of which was visually inspired by Hebrew codices is in our judgment no coincidence. Early three-columned Hebrew Bibles including Valmadonna Trust MS 1 contained marginal designations of the numbered sections of the *sederim* or the portions of the Torah that in the Palestinian tradition were to be read at each Sabbath as part of a triannual cycle for the continuous

74. Senatus' epistle was also present in Dublin, Trinity College 51 and in a New Testament from St. Albans, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Finch e.25; see Cahn, «St. Albans and the Channel Style», p. 205, n. 36. I have not yet had the opportunity to examine the Oxford codex, which cannot be microfilmed; Thomson places it in the last quarter of the twelfth century, *Manuscripts from St. Albans*, p. 104. The Eusebian sections were still being marked in English Bibles in the mid-thirteenth century, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. G.168.

75. See both Books of Chronicles and Proverbs.

76. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 37; Giovanna Muranno, *Opera diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, *Textes et Etudes du Moyen Age*, num. 29; Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, p. 318. Jean Destrez & M. D. Chenu, «Exemplaria universitaires des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles», *Scriptorium*, 7 (1953), pp. 68-80 (73).

reading of the entirety of the five books of Moses<sup>77</sup>. Such marginal divisions of the text were in fact inserted from lists of incipits, fragments of which survive in the Cairo Genizah<sup>78</sup>. They were also copied in Hebrew Bibles as part of the Masorah<sup>79</sup>. These Hebrew lists antedate and may well have served as models for the Latin lists that had an analogous function of inserting chapter divisions in Latin Biblical manuscripts of the twelfth and early thirteenth century that were written without formatted chaptering.

For the five books of Moses the total number of *sederim* (175 according to the Jewish tractates) closely approximates 187, the number of the chapters in the modern Vulgate, and a significant percentage of the *sederim*'s division points are indeed identical. Taking into account variants in English Vulgate Latin Bibles, variants present in Hebrew manuscripts and very close misses, about 64% of the Langton chapters in Genesis replicate the divisions of the Hebrew. For Leviticus, the ratio is 70% and overall for the Five Books of Moses, 61% of the modern divisions coincide with known *sederim* demarcations<sup>80</sup>. Because modern scholarship has generally concluded that Langton knew little if any Hebrew, students of the Jewish Bible have tended to assume that the resemblances in the number, character, and demarcation of the Jewish section division to those of the Christians are coincidental, reflecting the putative inherent narrative structure of the text<sup>81</sup>. Indeed, it would be fascinating to give an undivided text of Genesis to a group of today's high school students to see whether they would replicate the 50 divisions we know. However, if the modern chapters were invented at St. Albans, the direct influence of graphic Hebrew divisions upon a Latin page format intended to be a verisimilitude of the Hebrew original is entirely plausible. Alexander Neckham, schoolmaster at St. Albans, commented on the Hebrew punctuation in variance to that of the Christian Bible in a

77. Personal communication of Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, September 2006.

78. Jacob Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, New York: Ktav, 1971, I, p. li.

79. Dukan, *Bible hébraïque*, pp. 105-106.

80. The calculation adjusts for the fact that chapter divisions in the modern Hebrew Bible in a few instances diverge from the Vulgate. The correspondence between *sederim* and modern chapters has recently been noted by Dukan, *Bible hébraïque*, p. 109; cf. Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, London: Trinitarian Bible Society, 1897, p. 25.

81. See the remarks of J. Derenbourg, «Manuel du lecteur d'un auteur inconnu», *Journal asiatique*, 16 (1870), p. 529; Malachi Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Louvain, 1958, p. 123; cf. Yeshayahu Maori, «The Tradition of Pisquot in Ancient Hebrew Manuscripts», *Textus*, 10 (1982), pp. 134-35.

manner that reflects that he had visual contact with the carefully executed versification and punctuation of a Masoretic codex<sup>82</sup>.

Art-historical evidence seems to offer confirmation of our thesis. According to ancient rabbinical tradition, the Masoretic apparatus of the Hebrew Bible with its vowels, accents and text divisions had been established by Moses on divine authority when he as scribe set down the Pentateuch<sup>83</sup>. In this light it is significant, as Patricia Stirnemann has suggested to me, that the Genesis initial of CCC 48, in a departure from traditional iconography, depicted Moses receiving the tablets, presenting a unique and powerful graphic statement of the close relationship of the Latin Vulgate text of CCC 48 to the Jewish original. Indeed, according to Walter Cahn, the artist of CCC 48 specifically inserted Moses into an iconography drawn from British Library, Royal MS 13 D.VI, the first volume of Saint Albans' copy of Josephus' *Antiquities* in Latin translation<sup>84</sup>.

The earliest St. Albans Bibles with the modern chapter divisions offer no indication that the divisions were used for reference or cross reference purposes. Indeed in Eton 26 from St. Albans, as has been stated, the new numbers implicitly interfered with such references. Marginal cross references referring to Alcuinic enumeration occur in Mazarine MS 5 from Canterbury and in early thirteenth-century manuscripts from Paris, including BNF lat. 11537 in which the new numbers, identified by their decoration, were carefully added so as not to obscure the previously written glosses. Other volumes in St. Albans' library confirm a new and apparently innovative interest in the use of new chapter divisions for reference purposes. For example, the abbey's late twelfth-century copy of Rupert of Deutz's *Liber de divinis officiis* contains as a contemporary marginal gloss biblical chapter references that identify the *loci* of the citations contained within Rupert's text<sup>85</sup>. However, the chaptering system to which the annotator of this codex refers corresponds neither to the modern schema, nor to the schema of Alcuin, nor to that of the Codex Amiatinus, nor to any other of the late antique and early medieval systems enumerated by Father Donatien de Bruyne in his monumental survey of the major chaptering schemas of the

82. Raphael Loewe, «Alexander Neckham's Knowledge of Hebrew», *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1958), pp. 17-34 (21).

83. Ginsburg, *Massoreth ha-Massoreth*, p. 47.

84. Cahn, «St. Albans and the Channel Style», pp. 193-94 and 206, n. 46. Royal MS 13.D.VI bears a St. Albans ex libris from the first half of the thirteenth century, see Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans*, p. 99.

85. Oxford Christ Church 97. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans*, num. 57.

early Middle Ages<sup>86</sup>. The older system used by Alcuin with its more numerous chapters per book actually had a certain advantage for making the precise cross-references intrinsic to the syncretic compositions drawn from Scripture produced in twelfth-century Paris at the abbey of Saint Victor<sup>87</sup>. In the second decade of the thirteenth century the division of each modern chapter into septants, enumerated *a-g*, came to afford equivalent precision in cross-reference. Use of septant division of the new chapter divisions can first be documented in the writings of Thomas Gallus in 1218, the approximate date of Oxford Oriel College MS 77, the oldest known Biblical codex with graphic marginal alphabets.

No modern scholar has explained why the chapters attributed to Langton should have been subdivided in the early thirteenth century into seven sections. However, in Jewish tradition, the weekly readings of the *sederim* on each Sabbath, like the *parashat* of Babylonian custom, were divided among seven men, and so, if we accept the Hebrew divisions to be the inspiration for modern chapters, a division of these new chapters into seven sections, like the original Hebrew, might well have been deemed highly appropriate<sup>88</sup>. Late medieval Hebrew manuscripts actually contain marginal Hebrew letters (which had the value of numbers) to indicate the seven divisions within each of their (Babylonian) sections, and it would seem unlikely that this Jewish graphic practice documented by codices of German and Middle Eastern origin could have been inspired by the analogous use of marginal alphabets in the Bibles, Latin and vernacular, that were principally copied in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries<sup>89</sup>.

There are other indications in late antiquity and the Middle Ages where the Hebraic page seems to have directly influenced the text format of Western Bibles. The unusual three-column format of the Greek Codex Vaticanus dating from the time of Constantine and the four-column format of the Codex Sinaiticus must be placed in the context of Hebrew tradition of displaying three or more columns which we have discussed<sup>90</sup>. Students of Greek paleography have noted that the sectioning evident in other early Greek Biblical

86. See above, note 65.

87. For examples, see Richard of Saint Victor's *De tabernaculo*, and *Adnotationes mysticae in Psalmos*, PL 196: 211-462.

88. Cohen, *Minor Tractates of the Talmud*, pp. 257-58.

89. See Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition*, pp. 687 (num. 42), 715 (num. 49), 763 (num. 48).

90. Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, nums. 13 and 14.

codices appears to draw inspiration from the Hebrew *Pisquot* or paraps<sup>91</sup>. The chaptering schema of the Codex Amiatinus, apparently inherited at least in part from late Antiquity and possibly devised at Vivarium, has striking similitudes to the *parashat* (the longer liturgical divisions of Babylonian custom designed for an annual reading of the Torah which in the thirteenth century supplanted the *sederim* in the observance of Western European Jewry). Indeed, Otto Schmid observed over a century ago that Alcuinic chaptering (which we find fully developed for the first time in the Bible of Maurdramnus and in rudimentary form in annotations in the Codex Amiatinus) often corresponded to and in some places exactly replicated the *pisquot*, the short paragraphs that formed the oldest of the Hebrew Bible's text divisions<sup>92</sup>. Indeed, codices like Mazarine 5, Arsenal 65 and Paris, BNF lat. 36, with dual Alcuinic and modern chaptering, replicated on some leaves Hebraic patterns by presenting a hierarchy of divisions comparable to that found in medieval Hebrew codices where both *sederim* and *pisquot* were clearly marked<sup>93</sup>.

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The question then arises; if the first emanation of modern chapter numbering predates the use of the new numbers as a reference system in the marginal glosses, liturgical tables and scholastic concordances of the university, what function did the new chapters initially serve? In response, we suggest that they may have served precisely the same function as the *sederim* on which they were modeled, i.e. they aided the decorous performance of *lectura continua* that in Christian monasticism formed a fundamental component of the Night Office or Matins. As part of eleventh-century Benedictine reform, *lectura continua* was expanded into the readings of the refectory<sup>94</sup>. *Lectura continua* thus constituted an important element of the Benedictine reforms, from which the Cistercian order developed, and Cîteaux, as we have seen, was linked at an early date to the

91. Henry A. Sanders, *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, New York: McMillan, 1917, pp. 14-16, cf. pp. 114-15.

92. Otto Schmid, *Über verschiedene Eintheilungen der heiligen Schrift*, Graz, 1892, pp. 46-47; cf. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition*, pp. 25-26.

93. In this context, it is perhaps something more than coincidence that the usual glossary of Hebrew names in BNF lat. 36 was supplemented by a brief note on Hebrew grammar, containing a rare example of graphic Hebrew, see above note 38.

94. See Diane J. Reilly, *The Art of Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders: Gerard of Cambrai, Richard of Saint Vanne and the Saint Vaast Bible*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 53.

new divisions. If in Jewish tradition, Hebrew Bibles with three columns served as guides for segmenting readings performed from the far larger Torah scrolls (where the divisions were not marked), the segmentation of Scripture in the relatively modest sized codices like CCC 48 might well have helped in planning the annual cycle of reading from the giant Romanesque Choir Bibles that monks used for *lectura continua*. The absence of the Psalter from CCC 48 suggests that the volume was created with a liturgical function in mind. Since the Book of Isaiah had an honored place in Christian *lectura continua* often at Advent, it is logical that scribes at St. Albans would have taken new care to divide it<sup>95</sup>. Numbered divisions surely would have facilitated a correlation between the extent of each day's readings and the calendrical injunction of monastic customaries. Gathering tables of *capitula* as prefatory material would have further facilitated pious observance.

If our global thesis of an origin of modern chaptering inspired by Hebrew *sederim* and the Jewish model of *lectura continua* is correct, Langton did not invent the modern system to serve as a reference system. However, he was undeniably the first major scholar to make use of the new mode of chaptering for referential purposes in organizing and reorganizing the drafts of his voluminous opus. The early presence of the new numbering at Cîteaux suggests that Langton may have come into contact with the new system during the six years (1207-1213) that he spent in the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny<sup>96</sup>. Pre-modern Biblical chapter numbering occurs in manuscripts of his *Postilla*, including Paris, BNF lat. 384, copied *ca.* 1230 but the rubrics of which designate Langton not yet as archbishop (the title he received in 1213) but as «de Languatonna». In this codex, which likely is at least in part a faithful copy of an early Langton draft, chapter numbering (only some of which is modern) was inserted into the already extant text of the commentaries, much as the divisions and numbers were inserted *post factum* into early thirteenth-century Parisian Bibles. The identification of Langton with the new chaptering, like Langton's identification with the glossary of Hebrew names suggests that, although he personally was not a Hebraist, he was profoundly touched by the general reception of Hebrew learning that flourished in monastic culture in the late twelfth century both in England and in France.

95. See for example, the customs of Cluny in Alfric's letter to the monks of Eynsham, in *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, Sieburg: Kassius Hallinger, 1963-83, VII, 2, p. 149, 3, p. 183; Andrieu, *Ordines*, III, 40 and 148; Reilly, *Art of Reform*, pp. 70-71.

96. For Langton's close ties to the Cistercians, see D'Esneval, «Perfectionnement d'un instrument de travail», pp. 170 and 175, n. 4.