

The Constitution and Functions of Collections of Patristic Extracts: The example of the Eucharistic Controversy (9th–11th centuries)

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The collections of patristic extracts that are frequently found in medieval manuscripts¹ are one of the main modes of transmission of the Church Fathers² in the Middle Ages: these collections (called in tables of contents *florilegia*, *flores*, *analecta*, *collecta*, *compendia*, *dicta*, *sententiae* and also *miscellanea*...) deliberately bring together texts which are chronologically, geographically, and generically diverse.³ But they are not simple receptacles: their organisation brought about connections, reconfigurations and rewritings that had a decisive influence on the transmission, perception and reception of the documents contained within them. Grouping them into collections responded to the desires of readers in a position to develop or modify them. These carefully composed *miscellanea* came also to have a particular importance for the transmission of ancient texts because, on one hand, they demonstrated the *auctoritas* attributed to certain authors and, on the other hand, they

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- ¹ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Florilegia of Patristic Texts," in *Les Genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales. Définition, critique et exploitation, Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–27 mai 1981* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut des études médiévales, 1982), 165–80.
- ² The term "Church Fathers" was used for influential writers and eminent teachers of the Church, especially after the Lateran Council of 649. This expression was not unknown in late Antiquity but it indicates mostly, in the 5th–6th centuries, the "318 fathers" of the Council of Nicaea of 325 and, more widely, participants in the Ecumenical Councils.
- ³ Birger Munk Olsen, "Les florilèges d'auteurs classiques," in *Les Genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales*, 151–64.

neglected others, removing sometimes definitively the possibility of reading them. They contributed to determining who were and who were not the Church Fathers and, consequently, they are one of the sources of legitimate authority in the Christian world.⁴ The power of patristic *florilegia* thus extends into the present day, too, as it shapes our own views of the past, and the miscellany's form stands as an important source for knowledge about this past.

Because of the difficulty of making an exhaustive typology of medieval collections based on generic, linguistic and cultural criteria, I will limit my study to patristic *miscellanea* composed in polemical contexts in France between the ninth and eleventh centuries. The constitution of these patristic miscellanies was different from that of the great anthologies made during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (the *Florilegium Angelicum*,⁵ the *Florilegium Gallicum*,⁶ and, in the development of Christian canon, the *Decretum Gratianum* or the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard⁷) which also contain numerous patristic extracts. Indeed, the small patristic anthologies that I would like to study comprise only extracts of the Church Fathers. They show the emergence of the *auctoritas* of the Fathers from the fifth century and their influence on medieval thought and theological science. This investigation will examine the birth of the "patristic argument" that, along with the Bible and the Councils, is one of the three authoritative sources in the ecclesiastical Canon.

Within the framework of this volume, I would like to focus on a famous example, the Eucharistic controversy of the eleventh century between Berengar of Tours and Lanfranc of Pavia from 1059 to 1079. This controversy was crucial, first for the central rite in Christian religious practice and, secondly, for the process by which an intellectual and scholarly community took shape. In addition the numerous *florilegia* that

⁴ Edward Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980).

⁵ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "The 'Florilegium Angelicum.' Its Origin, Content and Influence," in *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. Jonathan J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1976), 66–114.

⁶ Beatriz Fernández de la Cuesta González, *En la Senda del 'Florilegium' Gallicum, edición y estudio del florilegio del manuscrito Córdoba, Archivo Capitular 150*, Textes et études du Moyen Age 45 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des Instituts d'études médiévales, 2008).

⁷ Alain Boureau, "L'usage des textes patristiques dans les controverses scolastiques," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 91 (2007): 39–49.

it produced show the influence of patristic texts on the doctrinal debates. In this paper, I will first seek to extend the boundaries of the current research in this field, tracing the history of patristic anthologies from the fifth century. Secondly, I will recall the origin of the Eucharistic controversy before studying the functions of the main miscellanies during this conflict and a recently found *florilegium* of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

1. The medieval 'florilegia': one of the main modes of transmission of the Church Fathers

The emergence of patristic *florilegia*⁸ was essentially due to two factors:

1. the lists of the writers considered as authorities, the Church Fathers (see the *Decretum pseudo-Gelasianum*⁹ or Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*¹⁰);
2. the codicological context of the Early Middle Ages. The rise of the codex in Late Antiquity and then the development of Caroline Minuscule in the eighth to ninth century made possible an increase in the contents of books, which allowed them to include works by various authors.

The codex became a "collection" or "corpus," its table of contents opening with the words: *in hoc corpore continentur*. Among these "corpora," it is necessary to distinguish between collections of complete texts and collections of excerpts. Patristic miscellanies had appeared in late

⁸ Joseph T. Lienhard, "The Earliest 'florilegia' of Augustine," *Augustinian Studies* 8 (1977): 21–31; Eligius Dekkers, "Quelques notes sur des florilèges augustinieniens anciens et médiévaux," *Augustiniana* 4 (1990): 27–44; François Dolbeau, "La formation du canon des Pères, du IV^e au VI^e siècle," in *Réceptions des Pères et de leurs écrits au Moyen Âge. Le devenir de la tradition ecclésiale*, ed. Nicole Bériou, Paris, forthcoming.

⁹ Ernst von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis im Kritischen Text* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1912); Charles Pietri, "Synode de Damase ou Décret de Gélase?," in *Roma Christiana: recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)* I (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1976), 881–84.

¹⁰ Roger A. B. Mynors, ed., *Cassiodorus, Institutiones*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); English translation by J. W. Halporn, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning, and On the Soul*, Translated Texts for Historians 42 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004).

Antiquity, as the example of Augustine's *florilegia* demonstrates from the fifth century onwards, in the form of large collections of excerpts or small *florilegia*, which were useful for meditating, preaching, studying and debating during the controversies. It is however advisable to distinguish between the *florilegia* composed only, for example, of Augustine's excerpts and the mixed *florilegia* consisting of various authors.

In the first case, we can consider the collection of Augustine's follower Prosper of Aquitaine, which contains 392 short *sententiae* taken from the works of Augustine. At the same time, Vincent of Lérins compiled another, very different Augustinian collection, the *Excerpta ex universa beatae recordationis Augustini episcopi in unum collecta*, which contains roughly ten long extracts. We know of a third collection, the *florilegium* of Eugippius, abbot of Lucullanum near Naples, which contains 338 long extracts.

In the sixth century, there were many Augustinian *florilegia*, such as the *Contra Philosophos* and *Contra Iudaeos*, which contain 2000 quotations of Augustine; the Early Middle Ages also knew numerous anthologies with the famous compilation of Bede, at the beginning of the eighth century, and that of Florus of Lyon on Paul's epistles, in the ninth century, which contains thousands of Augustinian extracts. There were also small *florilegia* composed of small collections on a subject or a debate of which the Fathers were ignorant: for example, the Augustinian "*florilegium* of Verona," a small anthology of Augustinian extracts, created within the framework of the Three-Chapter Controversy in the middle of the sixth century. In the Early Middle Ages, there were also mixed *florilegia* containing extracts of the Bible and different patristic texts. The best example is the *florilegium* entitled *Liber Scintillarum*, the "book of sparks" from the words of God and Church Fathers, compiled by the monk Defensor of Ligugé, around 700.

2. The patristic miscellanies during the Eucharistic controversy

a) The origin of the Eucharistic controversy

Debate on the Eucharist was raised in the ninth century when Ratramnus, a monk from the French Abbey of Corbie, wrote a treatise *De*

*Corpore et Sanguine Domini*¹¹ against his abbot, Pascasius (785–860). In 831 Pascasius had composed a treatise on this subject also entitled *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*.¹² Pascasius taught a complete identity between the historical body of Jesus Christ born of Mary and the Eucharistic Body and thus insisted on the daily repetition of the suffering of Christ. At the request of the king, Ratramnus wrote against his abbot that the bread and wine are only images (*figurae*) of Christ and are not really changed by the consecration. He did not intend to deny a true presence of Christ but only to oppose a complete identification of the historical body with the Eucharistic Body. He spoke instead of a *repraesentatio* of the unique suffering and death. He stressed the Eucharist as symbolic rather than corporeal. His treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, which was condemned by the Synod of Vercelli in 1050, influenced all subsequent theories that contradicted the traditional teaching of the Church.¹³

Within two centuries the issue had reached such a point of gravity that a formal declaration was evoked from the Holy See. Indeed, in 1079, Berengar of Tours, who favoured Ratramnus' position against what he considered the excessive realism of Pascasius, had to make a declaration of faith in the Eucharistic presence. This controversy had begun thirty years earlier.¹⁴ Berengar was a mature scholar who apparently taught as a member of the cathedral chapter of Saint-Martin of Tours. Between the years 1040 and 1045, he came to the conclusion that the Eucharistic doc-

¹¹ Jan Nicolaas Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Ratramnus, De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1974).

¹² Paulus Beda, ed., *Paschasius, De Corpore et Sanguine Domini cum appendice Epistola ad Fredugardum*, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969); Jean-Paul Bouhot, "Extraits du *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* de Pascale Radbert sous le nom d'Augustin," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 12 (1977): 119–73.

¹³ W. V. Tanche, "Ratramnus of Corbie's Use of the Fathers in his Treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini*," in *VIII International Conference on Patristic Studies* (1979), ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *Studia Patristica* 17 (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1983), 176–80.

¹⁴ Nicholas M. Haring, "Berengar's Definitions of Sacramentum and their Influence on Mediaeval Sacramentology," *Mediaeval Studies* 10 (1948): 109–46; Jean de Montclos, *Laufanc et Bérenger. La controverse eucharistique du XI^e siècle*, *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense* 37 (Leuven: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1971); Jacob van Sluis, "Adelman of Liège. The First Opponent of Berengar of Tours," *Nederlandsch theologisch tijdschrift* 47 (1993): 89–106.

trine of Pascasius was a superstition contrary to the Scriptures and to the Fathers. He promulgated his view among his many pupils in France and Germany, and the controversy arose because of his letter to Lanfranc of Pavia, his former fellow-student in 1049. In this letter, Berengar expressed his surprise that Lanfranc should agree with Pascasius and condemn John Scotus (confounded with Ratramnus) as heretical. The letter was sent to Rome, where Lanfranc sojourned and caused the first condemnation of Berengar by a Roman Synod held under Pope Leo IX. Then Hildebrand invited Berengar to Rome to address the Lateran Council in 1059, but this assembly would not receive his doctrine and forced him to burn his books and recant. Returning to France, he also returned to his former convictions and wrote strongly against Lanfranc and Nicholas II for their ideas on the Eucharist, arousing violent reactions. In 1079 a Roman Council required Berengar to sign a statement which unequivocally maintained the conversion of substance in terms that allowed no other interpretation. In 1088, he returned to France where he died.

The controversy was definitively resolved by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which adopted the doctrine of transubstantiation, introducing the Aristotelian concept of "accidents" into the discussion of the Eucharist.¹⁵

b) Elements for a typology of patristic miscellanies

As we have said, miscellanies of patristic extracts were not a new type of collection.¹⁶ Some had even played an important role in the Carolingian world, particularly during doctrinal controversies; the debate on God's predestination between Gottschalk of Orbais¹⁷ and his former abbot Rabanus Maurus and his metropolitan Hincmar of Reims gave a real importance to this type of miscellany. Gottschalk's predestinarian doctrines claimed to be modelled on those of St. Augustine, from whom he quotes

¹⁵ Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2006), 451.

¹⁶ Dennis E. Nineham, "Gottschalk of Orbais: Reactionary or Precursor of the Reformation?," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989): 1–18; David Ganz, "The Debate on Predestination," in *Charles the Bald. Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981; repr. Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), 353–73; Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, *Florus von Lyon als Kirchenpolitiker und Publizist* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 1999); Bernard Boller, *Gottschalk d'Orbais de Fulda à Hautvillers: une dissidence* (Paris: SDE, 2004).

¹⁷ Boller, *Gottschalk d'Orbais*; Nineham, "Gottschalk of Orbais."

voluminously. For instance, he replied with his *Longer Confession* (*Confessio prolixior*), which presents a collection of quotations—sometimes without comment—from Augustine, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Gregorius and Isidorus. There were many defenders of Gottschalk's Augustinian theology, including Lupus of Ferrières, Ratramnus of Corbie, Prudentius of Troyes and the deacon Florus of Lyon (who also made a famous Augustinian *florilegium*). Nevertheless, Hincmar used Augustinian works and the text of Hilary of Poitiers on the Trinity to compose his *De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio* and to refute the predestinarian theories of Gottschalk, which were condemned at the second Council of Quierzy in 853.

Concerning sacraments, the best example is the "*Florilegium on the Symbolism of Baptism*" (late eighth century) which held a crucial role in the interpretation of the Roman rite and in the uniformity of baptismal practice. It was widely distributed by the Church, as evidenced by the numerous copies that have been found.¹⁸ The debate on the Eucharist between Pascasius and Ratramnus of Corbie, in the middle of the ninth century also produced several *florilegia* on the sacraments.¹⁹ For example, we know that Pascasius' *De corpore et sanguine Domini* was completed by a *florilegium* of twenty-one texts and that his *Epistula ad Frudegardum* contains a short *collectum* of patristic quotations.²⁰ The same goes for the Eucharistic controversy of the eleventh century: almost all texts of Pascasius, Ratramnus, Berengar, Lanfranc and others²¹

¹⁸ Jean-Paul Bouhot, "Un florilège sur le symbolisme du baptême de la seconde moitié du VIII^e siècle," *Recherches augustiniennes* 18 (1983): 151–82.

¹⁹ Guy Morin, "Les *Dicta* d'Hériger sur l'Eucharistie," *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908): 1–18.

²⁰ Jean-Paul Bouhot, *Ratramne de Corbie. Histoire littéraire et controverses doctrinales* (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1976); and Bouhot, "Extraits du *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* de Pascale Radbert."

²¹ The best example is the text written by Alberic of Monte Cassino at the end of the controversy in 1079. It praises the language and the doctrine of Saint Augustine which "as an eagle following another eagle, uses a divine and spiritual language" (*Aduersus Berengarium Diaconum de Corpore et Sanguine Domini* III: *haec beatus Augustinus exponens, quasi aquila post aquilam uolans, diuina et spiritali utitur locutione*). The imitation of Augustine's style (*utitur locutione, utitur similitudine, utitur uerbis*) is as important as the doctrine itself, because the Fathers had never really known this controversy; see Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079, Alberic of*

contain miscellanies of quotations from patristic texts. These examples are not exhaustive, but we can already draw some conclusions.

3. Functions of patristic 'miscellanea'

a) The 'florilegia' and patristic 'auctoritas'

The numerous *florilegia* show that at first the collections of *excerpta* were perceived as a mode of argumentation in their own right, which contributed to the *auctoritas* of the Fathers.²² They reflect indeed a mode of learning and teaching in the mid-ninth and mid-eleventh centuries, when scholars still expected ancient authorities to provide the answers to most questions.

The patristic *miscellanea* do not play, however, the same role: in the debate between Pascasius and Radbert at Corbie, in the second half of the ninth century, *florilegia* are composed to reconcile points of view. At the end of his life, Pascasius sent a patristic *florilegium* with a letter to Frudegard, a monk at Corbie, in which he finally supported a "middle doctrine." He insisted on the identity between the sacramental body and the historic body of Christ but rejected, like Ratramnus, any materialist conception of the Eucharist. In this case, through the *florilegia*, the Church Fathers are mediators much like St. Paul, the mediator par excellence, presenting the teaching of Christ. The patristic *florilegia* seem, however, to play another role in the controversy of the eleventh century. The Church Fathers are often quoted to discredit the opposition, not to reconcile the parties. In addition, both sides often quoted the same patristic excerpts, although using them to support opposite theses. Indeed, scholars expected ancient authorities to provide answers to their questions; however, in the case of the Eucharist, they were often disappointed, because the relevant patristic texts were vague, off the point and susceptible to various interpretations. This difficulty forced the ecclesiastical community to seek formulations of their positions that would attract the widest possible support. This fact reveals, it seems to me, a new stage in the reception of the Church Fathers in so far as their thought seems to be less important for the dispute itself than for the in-

Monte Cassino against Berengar of Tours (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

²² Michel Zimmermann, ed., *Auctor et Auctoritas. Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale*, Mémoires et documents de l'École des Chartes 59 (Paris: École des chartes, 2001).

terpretation and comments of the contemporaries of the controversy, although everybody agrees in their admiration of the style of patristic literature.

b) An unknown 'florilegium' of the Eucharistic controversy (BNF, lat. 5340, fol. 145r-146v)

We can examine, as an example, an unknown *florilegium* that I have just edited and that aptly illustrates this evolution.²³ I will first present indications which show that this *florilegium* was inspired by the teaching of Berengar of Tours: the codex BNF, lat. 5340 is a legendary composed in the centre of France. Its exact date of origin is unknown, though scholars have assigned it to the mid-eleventh century from palaeographic study. This patristic *florilegium* is on two folios between the *Vita Eusicii* (Eusicius of Celles) and the *Vita Maximini* (Maximinus of Micy). It was probably copied in the region of Tours where both saints were honoured in the eleventh century, as we can see in a missal of Tours from the mid-eleventh century (Paris, BNF, lat. 9434-5).

The patristic extracts preach a doctrine very close to the teaching of Berengar on the Eucharist. We can recognize, in the second extract of the *florilegium*, Augustine's "Theory of Signs," which decisively influenced Berengar's thought and which defines the "sacrament" as the "sacred sign" of a spiritual-symbolic presence and not a real presence (*sacramentum—sacrum signum*).²⁴

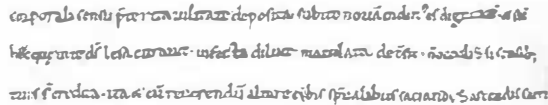
*De sacramento quod accipit cum ei bene commendatum fuerit, signacula quidem rerum diuinarum esse uisibilia sed res inuisibiles in eis honorari, nec sic habendam spetiem benedictione sanctificatam, quemadmodum in usu quolibet; dicendum etiam quid significet, cuius illa res similitudinem gerat.*²⁵

²³ Stéphane Gioanni, "Un florilège augustinien sur la connaissance sacramentelle: une source de Bérenger de Tours et d'Yves de Chartres?," in *Parva pro magnis munera, Études offertes à François Dolbeau par ses élèves* ed. Monique Goulet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 699-723.

²⁴ Haring, "Berengar's Definitions," 111: "While, despite definitions, Carolingian and post-Carolingian writers continued to use *sacramentum* as the Fathers had done in a wide sense, comprising sacred things both material and spiritual, actions and words, Berengar made a first determined effort to narrow and restrict it to the consecrated material, visible element. Hence his patristic quotations and especially his Augustinian definitions are purposely chosen to prove that the dualism, *sacramentum* and *res*, does not convey the notion of substantial change."

²⁵ Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, XXVI, 50 (2): "On the subject of the sacrament, indeed, which he receives, it is first to be well impressed upon his notice

Besides, almost all the extracts are also quoted by Berengar, sometimes in the same order, and with the same variants: for example, the eucharistic food—*cibis* in the manuscript tradition of Eusebius's text²⁶—becomes *cibis spiritualibus* in Berengar's *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*²⁷ and in the *florilegium*:



cum reuerendum altare cibis satiandus
ascendis
ascendis

Figure 21: Paris, BNF, lat. 5340, fol. 146v, 11th century.

I studied, in a recent paper, other elements that show that Berengar used and perhaps even made this patristic *florilegium*. I shall not repeat them here. In any case, this example is interesting because the most important surviving work of Berengar, his treatise *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum* that was found at the end of the eighteenth century in a single manuscript, did not circulate in his own lifetime. All the texts or manuscripts of Berengar or anyone else who taught a spiritual interpretation of the Eucharist were prohibited. That may be why this *florilegium* is copied (almost hidden) between two *Vitae* in a legendary of the region of Tours. But this example is also interesting because it shows that numerous patristic quotations can be found (besides this *florilegium*) in the work of Berengar as well as that of Yvo of Chartres, although the two defend opposite positions:

that the signs of divine things are, it is true, things visible, but that the invisible things themselves are also honoured in them, and that that species, which is then sanctified by the blessing, is therefore not to be regarded merely in the way in which it is regarded in any common use. And thereafter he ought to be told what is also signified by the form of words to which he has listened" (English trans. S. D. F. Salmond). This extract is quoted in the *florilegium* (fol. 145r) and also by Berengar in *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum* (II, 1025–26; II, 1659–60; III, 153–58).

²⁶ Eusebius Gall., *Hom.*, 17, 3, p. 198: *cum reuerendum altare cibis satiandus ascendis*.

²⁷ Robert B. C. Huygens, ed., *Beringerius Turonensis, Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum* (= *De sacra Coena*), *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 84 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988).

<i>Excerpta Augustini</i> BNF, lat. 5340, fol. 145r-146v (P)	Berengar, <i>Rescriptum</i> <i>contra Lanfrannum</i> (CCCM, 84)	Yvo of Chartres, <i>Decretum</i> , PL 161 (<i>Ivo.</i>)
1. Augustine, <i>De catechizandis rudibus</i> , XI, 16 (5-6)		col. 147C-148A, II, cap. 8
2. Augustine, <i>De catech.</i> , XXVI, 50	II, 1025-1026, p. 129; II, 1659-1660, p. 146-147; III, 153-158, p. 193-194.	col. 147C-148A, II, cap. 8.
4. Augustine, <i>Enn. Ps.</i> 103, 20	III, 657-660, p. 208	col. 163C-163D, II, cap. 12
5. cf. Cyprian, <i>epist.</i> 63, 13, 1		
8. Augustine, <i>De bapt.</i> , 3, 5, 8	II, 118-121, p. 104	col. 314D-315A, IV, cap. 234
9. Augustine, <i>De bapt.</i> , 3, 7 10	II, 121-123, p. 104	
11. Matth. 18, 7	I, 27, p. 35	col. 314D-315A, IV, cap. 234
12. Iob 21, 14	I, 36-37, p. 36; I, 272-273, p. 43; I, 601, p. 52	
16. Eusebius Gallicanus, <i>Hom.</i> , 17, 1-3 (+ Ioh. 6, 56)	I, 1536-1539, p. 78	col. 139C-140C, II, cap. 4
<i>marginalia</i> (fol. 146r)	III, 300-301, p. 197	
II Reg. 5, 12	II, 1152-1153, p. 132	
Ioh. 3, 16	II, 2391-2392, p. 166	
		col. 698, I, cap. 10

We can remark that seven excerpts (out of sixteen) are repeated. This is interesting because we know that, after the death of Berengar, Lanfranc and his follower Yvo of Chartres²⁸ received all of Berengar's papers. Let us now consider the main variants of the texts:²⁹

ut *P Ivo.*: ut nobis *ed.*

in die cene *P Ivo.*: **in hac die** *ed.*

substantiam *P Ivo.*: substantia *ed.*

comedite *P Ivo.*: edite *ed.*

ubi precipit uirtus *P Ivo.*: uerbi praebebet uirtus *ed.*

²⁸ Franz P. Bliemetzrieder, *Zu den Schriften Ivos von Chartres* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1917); Fabrice Délivré, "Du chronologique au systématique. Les canons du concile de Chalcédoine (451) dans les collections d'Yves de Chartres (fin xi^e-début xii^e siècle)," in *L'Antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales. Textes et représentations VI^e-XIV^e siècle*, ed. Stéphane Gioanni and Benoît Grévin, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 405 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2008), 141-63.

²⁹ Abbreviations used below: *P* = BNF lat. 5340; *Ivo.* = Yvo of Chartres; *ed.* = edition of Eusebius Gallicanus, *Collectio homiliarum*, ed. Fr. Glorie, CCSL 101 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1970).

esse non debeat *P Ivo.*: non debeat uideri *ed.*

substantiam *P Ivo.*: substantia *ed.*

indutus es *P Ivo.*: indutus *ed.*

sunt credita ita et *P Ivo.*: credis ita et *ed.*

cibis spiritualibus *P Ivo.*: cibis *ed.*

honora et *P Ivo.*: honore *ed.*

maxime totum haustu interioris hominis *P Ivo.*: maxime haustu interiori *ed.*

Several points show that Yvo of Chartres had probably read a copy of the *florilegium* or the *florilegium* itself. For example, the expression *in hac die*, which indicates the Ascension Day in Eusebius' text, is replaced, only in the *florilegium* and in the quotation of Yvo's *Decretum*, by the expression *in die cene*, the day of the Last Supper.

* * *

The patristic miscellanies composed during the Eucharistic controversy in the eleventh century demonstrate the contemporary interest in small, patristic *florilegia* and sometimes allow us to reconstruct the readings of medieval authors. The producers of these short collections present themselves as aware that the miscellany's form had meaning and as capable of using the ideology of this form in conscious ways to take control of their environment. Indeed, the examples we have presented show that patristic *florilegia* are a key element of intellectual history in that they directly influenced the theologians who used them during their deliberations and their works. Finally, these *florilegia* also reveal an important aspect of the reception of the Fathers; indeed, the fact that the same extracts of the Fathers are used to defend the opposing views indicates that the original patristic speech was gradually losing its strength. The words of the Fathers are no longer arguments as such. They seem to be less important than contemporary interpretation. Patristic literature was still the object of worship but was relegated to the margins of theological science. This was the first step in the process that distinguished between theology and patristic literature. In this light these small patristic *miscellanea* can also be considered as original compositions.³⁰

³⁰ Munk Olsen, "Les florilèges d'auteurs classiques."

Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies:
Composition, Authorship, Use

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

SONDERBAND XXXI

Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

INTRODUCTION	1
Lucie Doležalová and Kimberly Rivers	

I. TAXONOMY AND METHODOLOGY

<i>Medieval Miscellanies and the Case of Manuscript British Library, Cotton Titus D.XX</i>	14
Greti Dinkova-Bruun	
<i>The Art of Regensburg Miscellanies</i>	34
Adam S. Cohen	
<i>Looking for the Purpose behind a Multitext Book: The Miscellany as a Personal "One-Volume Library"</i>	70
Eva Nyström	

II. AUTHORSHIP AND NON-AUTONOMY OF TEXTS

<i>Non-autonomous Texts: On a Fifteenth-Century German "Gregorius" Manuscript (Constance, City Archive, Ms. A I 1)</i>	84
Diana Müller	
<i>The Appearance of "Artes praedicandi" in Medieval Manuscripts</i>	102
Siegfried Wenzel	
<i>Creating the Memory of God in a Medieval Miscellany: Melk MS 1075, Jean de Hesdin (fl. 1350–1370), and Late Medieval Monastic Reform</i>	112
Kimberly Rivers	
<i>Multiple Copying and the Interpretability of Codex Contents: "Memory Miscellanies" Compiled by Gallus Kemli (1417–1480/1) of St. Gall</i>	139
Lucie Doležalová	

III. Use

<i>An Educational Miscellany in the Carolingian Age: Paris, BNF, lat. 528</i> Alessandro Zironi	168
<i>The Constitution and Functions of Collections of Patristic Extracts: The Example of the Eucharistic Controversy (9th–11th centuries)</i> Stéphane Gioanni	182
<i>Theological Distinctions, Their Collections and Their Effects. The Example of In Abdiam and In Naum</i> Csaba Németh	194
<i>The Wiesbaden Miscellany. The Deliberate Construction of a Haphazard Collection</i> Kees Schepers	218
<i>An Interpretation of Brunetto Latini's Tresor in a Fifteenth-Century Miscellany Manuscriptnscripts</i> Dario del Puppo	240
<i>The Romances of British Library, Cotton Vitellius D.III</i> Elizabeth Watkins	256
Contributors	270
<i>Index librorum manuscriptorum</i>	275
General Index	279
Colour Plates	285

Figures

- Figure 1: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14731, fol. 78r, Table of the Temple Showbread (*Mensa propositionis*). See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 2: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14731, fol. 80r, Noah's Ark. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 3: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14731, fol. 82v–83r, Labyrinth / Jericho. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 4: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14731, fol. 83v, World map. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 5: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13002, fol. 7v, Microcosm. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 6: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13105, fol. 83r, Initials from Honorius, *Inevitable*. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 7: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13074, fol. 81v–82r, Scenes from the Life of James the Less. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 8: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14159, fol. 187v, Sons of Noah diagram. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 9: An example of an easily recognizable break between codicological units, where the blank leaf at the end of the preceding unit was later used for personal annotations by an owner of the book (Cod. Ups. Gr. 8, fol. 87v–88r).
- Figure 10: Compared to Figure 9, the break between the units is here less apparent, since the space left over at the end of the quire was in a second relay utilized by the scribe himself. The micro-texts added at the end of the unit link up with the preceding narrative and rhetorical texts, whereas the next unit, beginning on f. 104, is devoted to medical texts (Cod. Ups. Gr. 8, fol. 103v–104r).
- Figure 11: Drawing of a cherub. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 12465, fol. 75v. By permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 12: Drawing of a seraph. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 12465, fol. 76v. By permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.
- Figure 13: Conrad Celtis's mnemonic alphabet, Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 1075, pp. 878–79. Image provided by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Collegeville, MN.
- Figure 14: Alphabetic table to the Rule of St. Benedict: *Signationes capitulorum Regulae S. Benedicti secundum alphabetum*. Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 1075, pp. 881–82. Image provided by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, Collegeville, MN.
- Figure 15: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 972b, p. 150, *Cena nuptialis*.
- Figure 16: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 293, p. 29, *Cena nuptialis*.

Figure 17: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 692, p. 13, *Cena nuptialis*.

Figure 18: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 692, cover.

Figure 19: Paris, BNF, lat. 17371, fol. 153 (electronic elaboration).

Figure 20: Paris, BNF, lat. 528, fol. 71v (electronic elaboration).

Figure 21: Paris, BNF, lat. 5340, fol. 146v, 11th century.

Figure 22: Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 3004 B 10, fol. 1v: *Salvator Mundi* (copyright Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv). See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

Figure 23: Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 3004 B 10, fol. 2v (copyright Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv). See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

Figure 24: Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 3004 B 10, fol. 3r (copyright Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv). See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

Figure 25: Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 3004 B 10, fol. 24v: *The Adoration of the Magi* (copyright Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv). See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

Figure 26: New Haven, CT, Beinecke Library, 1030, c. 52v.

Figure 27: New Haven, CT, Beinecke Library, 1030, c. 53r.

Figure 28: New Haven, CT, Beinecke Library, 1030, c. 2r.

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