

MHRA TEXTS AND DISSERTATIONS

VOLUME 2

*The Vorau 'Moses'
and 'Balaam'*

*A Study of their Relationship
to Exegetical Tradition*

D. A. WELLS

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D. A. Wells, *Vorau Moses and Balaam*

THE VORAU *MOSES* AND *BALAAM*

A Study of their Relationship
to Exegetical Tradition

by

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PREFACE

The relative neglect of twelfth-century Middle High German literature compared with the later courtly works is nowhere more apparent than in the case of the *Vorauer Bücher Moses*. Since the sole complete edition appeared in 1849, there have been only two full-length studies concerned with the work, and both of these consisted almost exclusively of philological and stylostatistical demonstrations of separate authorship for the poems found only in the Vorau MS. No detailed investigation of the subject-matter has previously been undertaken, and no satisfactory attempts have been made to show whether specific sources can be identified for the allegorical passages and what original contribution is made by the vernacular poets. Another unresolved difficulty is whether the individual authors worked as a team or whether the sequence of the works is fortuitous.

The close connexion of these problems of source, content and composition indicated the need for a study of the poems in their relationship to the exegetical background. It was soon apparent that the *Moses* and *Balaam* contained sufficient allegorical material in themselves for a study of reasonable length, whereas the allegorization of the *Vorau Genesis* seemed relatively insignificant. The thematic relationship proposed by earlier critics on the basis of textual parallels also suggested that the investigation be confined to the *Moses* and *Balaam*. The short *Marienlob*, which has less in common but which stands between these works in the MS, forms the subject of an appendix.

In contrast to the *Vorauer Bücher Moses* itself, there have been many earlier publications devoted to the patristic and medieval interpretation of the biblical exodus history, and the same is true of its apocryphal elaboration, important for the *Moses* section of the German epic. The bibliography includes a selection of material dealing wholly or in part with this background, in addition to the literature mentioned in the text and in the footnotes which acknowledge direct use of the work of others.

The present work represents a revised version of a dissertation submitted to the University of Cambridge in July, 1966, and approved for the Ph.D. degree early in 1967. The chief revisions consist of the expansion of chapter 31 to include new material on the exegetical tradition associated with Num. 2, and of the Conclusions, where some consideration of the literary aspects of the poems has been incorporated. A new Appendix II deals with the structure of the *Balaam*. For reasons of space, Appendix II of the thesis which listed textual parallels within the *Vorauer Bücher Moses* and between these and other Early Middle High German works has been

omitted, and it has occasionally been found necessary to refer the reader to the original dissertation on points of minor detail.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my research supervisor, Dr R.A. Wisbey of Downing College, Cambridge, who read and directed this work at every stage since its inception; I should also like to record my thanks to my examiners, Professor D.H. Green of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dr P.F. Ganz of Hertford College, Oxford. In this book I have taken account of many of their helpful comments and criticisms.

University of Southampton,
January 1969

D.A.W.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Standard abbreviations referring to the books and versions of the bible are not listed)

- Bachofer, Diss. W. Bachofer. Der Wortschatz der Vorauer Bücher Moses. Vorarbeiten zu einer Ausgabe. Diss. (masch.), Hamburg, 1961.
- BGDSLH* Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. Halle, 1874—.
- BGSLT* Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. Vol. 77—. Tübingen, 1955—.
- CChr Corpus Christianorum (collectum a monachis O.S.B. abbatiae S. Petri in Steenbrugge). Ser. Latina. Vol. 1—. 1953—.
- Clavis* Clavis Patrum Latinorum qua in novum Corpus Christianorum edendum optimas quasque scriptorum recensiones a Tertulliano ad Bedam commode recludit Eligius Dekkers, opera usus qua rem praeparavit et iuvit Aemilius Gaar. Ed. altera aucta et emendata. Steenbrugge, 1951. (Sacris Erudiri, 3).
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Editum consilio et impensis Academiae Litterarum Caesareae Vindobonensis. Vol. 1—. Vienna, 1866—.
- D. Precedes page-and-line references to J. Diemer (ed.), Deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts, Vienna, 1849.
- Diemer Ibid.
- Ehrismann G. Ehrismann. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. 4 vols. Munich, 1918-35. (Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts an höheren Schulen, 6).
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, hrsg. von der Kirchenväter-Commission der Königl. Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vol. 1—. Leipzig, 1897—.
- MSD K.V. Müllenhoff and W. Scherer (eds.), Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII.—XII. Jahrhundert. 3. Ausg. von E. Steinmeyer. Berlin, 1892.
- Münscher, Diss. A. Münscher. Die Bücher Mosis der Vorauer Handschrift. Eine grammatisch-metrische Untersuchung. Diss., Marburg, 1908.
- PG J.P. Migne (ed.). Patrologiae cursus completus seu bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica omnium ss. patrum, doctorum, etc. Series Graeca. 161 vols., Paris, 1857-66.

- PL J.P. Migne (ed.). *Patrologiae cursus completus, sive bibliotheca universalis integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica omnium ss. patrum doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum qui ab aevo apostolico ad usque Innocentii III. tempora floruerunt*. 221 vols. with indices. Paris, 1844-64.
- QF *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*. Hrsg. von B. ten Brink und W. Scherer, etc. Strasbourg, 1874-1918.
- Spic. Soles.* *Spicilegium Solesmense, complectens sanctorum patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera, selecta e Graecis orientalibusque et Latinis codicibus; publici juris facta curante J.B. Pitra*. Vols 2 and 3, Paris, 1855.
- Stegmüller *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi; collegit, disposuit, edidit F. Stegmüller*. 7 vols., Madrid, 1950-61.
- Wells D. Wells. *The Vorau Moses and Balaam: a study of their relationship to exegetical tradition*. Diss. Cambridge, 1966.
- ZDA *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum (und deutsche Literatur)*. 1841-.

INTRODUCTION

The expression *Vorauer Bücher Moses* (VBM) is a collective term describing five vernacular poems which form part of the Early Middle High German (MHG) works in MS 276 of the Styrian monastery of Vorau. The VBM comprises, in the order in which they appear in the Vorau MS, the *Genesis*, *Joseph*, *Moses*, *Marienlob* and *Balaam*; of these, the *Joseph* is identical with the last part of the earlier *Wiener Genesis* (lines 3446-6062 in Dollmayr's edition), though textually inferior. The other poems are known only from the Vorau MS, except for the Linz fragment (L) of the *Moses* which corresponds to lines 57, 23 - 66, 8 in Diemer's edition of the work.¹

Ehrismann's literary history² contains a concise account of the theme and content of the VBM, and Polheim in his introduction to the facsimile edition describes the Vorau MS and the place of the VBM within it.³ While modern critics agree in assigning the date of the MS to the end of the twelfth century,⁴ the date of composition of the five poems has never been placed later than 1150. The purpose of the present study, which concerns only the Vorau *Moses* (VM), *Marienlob* (VMar) and *Balaam* (VBal), can be best explained through a brief review of what is most relevant in the earlier literature. Since editions and critical works alike are few in number, both these categories will be included in a single chronological survey.

In 1849 Diemer published his diplomatic text of the vernacular poems of the Vorau MS excluding the *Kaiserchronik* and *Joseph*.⁵ Apart from the short VMar and the inclusion of part of Diemer's own text of the *Vorau Genesis* and VBal in de Boor's recent anthology,⁶ this remains the sole edition of those parts of the VBM found only in the Vorau MS.⁷ Diemer's introduction contains a brief description of the VBM, while his notes include sporadic indications of Latin parallels to the exegetical material in the poems.⁸ His suggestion that Isidore of Seville is a partial source⁹ appears to be based on only the most cursory consideration of the patristic and medieval bible commentaries.

The Linz fragment was published in 1862 by Lambel¹⁰ and again in 1928 by Wilhelm and Newald.¹¹ The reading of L has some bearing on the exegetical background to the VM and forms a valuable supplement to Diemer's text.

In his survey of the poems of the Vorau MS Scherer observed the strong exegetical content of the VM and enumerated the chief allegories.¹² His remark on the sources of the theological material, 'Die Quellen für die Deutungen sind noch nicht hinlänglich nachgewiesen',¹³ remains true to this day for by far the

greater part of the non-biblical content of the poem, and epitomizes the *raison d'être* of the present work. Scherer also discussed the VBal and realised that the author knew the VM and wished to complement it: apart from the textual parallels between the two works, the VBal describes objects related to those in the VM, adding allegories which did not feature in the longer poem and omitting them when they had already been explained.¹⁴

Roediger, reviewing Scherer, tried to distinguish a separate *Joshua* poem starting at D. 67, 15 and to find further parallels between the VM and other Early MHG works, many of which are, however, commonplace formulae and do not indicate borrowing.¹⁵ Nevertheless it remains true that textual correspondences are both frequent within the VM itself and significant for establishing the close relationship between the poems we shall consider.¹⁶

Waag believed that the arrangement of the VBM conformed to a typological plan, and that all the poems except the *Joseph* had a single author.¹⁷ The MSD collection had included the VMar but the edition is unsatisfactory inasmuch as it attempts to force the work into an artificial framework of five 24-line stanzas.¹⁸ The notes, however, are more useful and are not confined to the VMar.¹⁹

Kelle attempted to examine the authorship problem from the point of view of the Latin sources. Finding resemblances between Rupert of Deutz's *De Trinitate et Operibus Ejus* and both *Vorau Genesis* and VM, but not between Rupert and the VBal, he concluded that one author composed both *Genesis* and VM whereas the VMar and VBal were the work of independent writers, though the poet of the VBal evidently knew the VM.²⁰ A glance at the parallels quoted by Kelle²¹ reveals the lack of perspective of his argument, for Rupert is almost the only patristic or medieval exegete mentioned, while only a small selection of the allegorical passages of the VM and VBal is discussed.

A. Münscher's philological study of 1908 concludes that the poems forming the VBM are the work of different authors,²² and this view has never been subsequently challenged. In a discussion of the source-problem Münscher convincingly rejects Kelle's argument, showing that of the short exegetical passages in the *Vorau Genesis* almost all are couched in the most general terms and appear in the work of earlier exegetes besides Rupert of Deutz, or can be traced to the Vulgate itself, thus rendering the search for a secondary source irrelevant. The longest of the passages does not even find a parallel in Rupert's work.²³ Münscher emphasises the preponderance of allegory in the VM, and points out that here too Rupert fails to supply a consistent source.²⁴

Münscher accepted Scherer's observation that the VBal appears from its content to be a sequel to the VM.²⁵ Ehrismann showed that the second poet seems also to have known the VMar,²⁶ and reconciled these thematic relationships with the evidence of a different author for each poem by suggesting that the VBM is a compilation written by a syndicate of authors, probably monks of one and the same monastery. The *Joseph* was added from the *Wiener Genesis*, and because of the

allegorical passages dealing with the blessings of Jacob suited the overall typological plan of the VBM.²⁷ Ehrismann's findings were accepted by Steinger.²⁸

In his dissertation of 1934 A. Bayer surveyed earlier literature on the authorship of the VBM, favouring especially the dissective methods of the nineteenth-century critics. On the basis of the use of the *-ot* ending he concludes that the VM may have had more than one author.²⁹ It would seem that Bayer takes too little account of the content of different parts of the work; all but three of his fifteen examples of the rhyme form in question occur in exegetical rather than narrative sections, and many are rhymes in *bezeichnenot*, a word which will for obvious reasons appear only in allegorical contexts.³⁰

The VBM is treated in M.P. Buttell's work on twelfth century MHG verse, but no further light is thrown on the source-problem, as Kelle's views appear to be taken for granted.³¹

Menhardt also endorses Kelle's work in his attempt to locate the origin of the Vorau MS in Regensburg, since the *De Trinitate et Operibus Ejus* was dedicated by its author to a future bishop of that city.³² Menhardt's article includes a description of the VBM and an indication of some of the textual parallels to other works,³³ but it is difficult to accept his somewhat arbitrarily expressed view that only the *Genesis*, *Joseph* and VM form part of a literary plan,³⁴ which seems to ignore entirely the close thematic relationship of the VM and VBal.

H.G. Jantsch's study of 1959 aims to deal with the nature of allegorical exegesis in the whole corpus of Early MHG literature.³⁵ The chapters on the VBM detail the exegetical passages, often with lengthy quotations.³⁶ Jantsch's commentary, however, makes almost no reference to earlier or contemporary parallels and is concerned only with the presentation of the allegories, their diffuseness or simplicity, the terminology used and the relative felicity or incongruity of the correspondences between letter and allegory, type and antitype, as they strike the author. The chief danger of this subjective approach to theological material is pointed out by F. Ohly: Jantsch treats the MHG works as if the ideas they contain are unique, instead of deriving as they do from the huge body of patristic and medieval exegesis.³⁷ Besides criticising this lack of historical perspective, reviews of the book seem to suggest that the difficulty experienced in pursuing the tenuous thread of Jantsch's argument through a tortuous maze of abstraction, exclamation, circumlocution and parenthesis is not confined to English-speaking readers.³⁸

Apart from Münscher's monograph, Bachofer's dissertation of 1961 is the only full-length work to deal exclusively with the VBM.³⁹ His vocabulary studies are described as a by-product of a complete indexing of the vocabulary of the *Vorau Genesis*, VM, VMar and VBal preparatory to a new edition.⁴⁰ The relative distribution of certain words over the four poems suggests considerable difference in usage and so adds to the evidence that each was written by a different author. Though his use of vocabulary for the study is selective, Bachofer is scrupulously careful to avoid drawing conclusions from words whose employment may have

been dictated by thematic rather than stylistic considerations, and the work carries conviction.

Bachofer rejects the conception of the VBM as a planned entity executed by a team of authors. Though his arguments do not take into account the related exegetical content of some of the poems, his introductory survey draws a significant parallel with the problem of the composition of the Early MHG MS collections: those who see the MSS as constructed according to a plan with an overall thematic purpose are more likely to regard the VBM as the work of a syndicate than scholars who treat the arrangement of the large MSS as more or less coincidental.⁴¹

Of equal importance for the present study is Bachofer's excursus on the source-problem,⁴² later published as a separate article.⁴³ Diemer had located the origin of a Latin passage included in the VM (D. 66, 28-67, 9), but failed to name the work from which it was taken.⁴⁴ Bachofer identifies the source as the anonymous *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, attributed in the Middle Ages to Philo of Alexandria, and shows that the author of the VM also draws on the Pseudo-Philo for his vernacular text.

Bachofer's edition of the VMar has already appeared as part of Henschel and Pretzel's anthology.⁴⁵ The edited text, which will be used in the present work, is printed opposite a diplomatic copy of the MS, and itself follows the MS closely.

The VMar has also been edited by Maurer. While the long-line stanzas, the existence of which is by no means beyond dispute,⁴⁶ make for a system of line-numbering differing from Bachofer's, the edition is accompanied by a full bibliography.⁴⁷

It will be apparent from the foregoing survey that no study of the VBM in its relationship to the historical exegetical background has yet appeared. On the one hand there are the primarily grammatical and philological studies of Münscher and Bachofer; on the other, Jantsch's concern with the nature of allegorical portrayal in Early MHG literature rather than with the theological content of the allegory, and Kelle's attempt to find a Latin source by comparing the VBM with the work of a single medieval exegete. There is no detailed examination comparable to the studies of E. Schröder⁴⁸ and Teuber⁴⁹ on the *Anegegne*, for example, and it is this deficiency which the following chapters will attempt to remedy.

Since the aim of much of the VBM is plainly theological rather than literary, it would seem that a full appreciation of the achievement of the poets can be ascertained only when the exegetical tradition in which they write has been studied in depth. By examining this tradition in its entirety we may hope to judge the relative importance of the different allegories associated with any given detail of the biblical narrative, and so understand something of the poet's method. Whether he mentions only the most commonplace allegorical topics; whether, when faced with a choice of possible allegories, he selects the commonest, and if not, why; whether he ever adds original details to the traditional exegesis, or presents it in an unusual form; such are the questions to which, it is hoped, we may sometimes

supply an answer. Furthermore, it is only after considering the whole exegetical background, or at least a large proportion of it, that we can point with any degree of conviction to any work or works as a direct source of the vernacular poets, for it will be apparent from the very first chapter that rarely does any particular allegorical detail remain the property of a single exegete.

The *Vorau Genesis* has been excluded from this study. As stated earlier, the allegorical passages in this poem formed the basis of Kelle's discussion of the source-problem, and Münscher's refutation of Kelle's arguments serves to underline the fact that the allegorization of the *Vorau Genesis* is, in contrast to the VM, relatively sporadic and commonplace. Reference will nevertheless be made to the *Vorau Genesis* at certain points in the argument.

The *Joseph*, which can hardly be considered apart from the rest of the *Wiener Genesis*, will also form no part of the present interpretation. However, the close thematic and textual harmony of the VM and the VBal, already mentioned above, necessitated the inclusion of the latter work, while it was also found convenient to devote an appendix to the short VMar which stands between the VM and VBal in the MS and was perhaps conceived as part of a typological whole.

As indicated earlier, it would be wrong to expect from the vernacular MHG poets methods of allegorization which differ in their essentials from those of contemporary theologians writing in Latin, and no attempt will be made here to recapitulate earlier scholarship on the patristic and medieval system of scriptural exegesis; some of the most important works are listed by F. Ohly at the end of his essay 'Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter'.⁵⁰ At the risk of tedium it seemed best always to describe the spiritual senses of an interpretation by their conventional epithets, allegorical, tropological and anagogical, rather than to confuse the discussion with a terminology more varied but lacking any medieval authority.⁵¹ The term 'typological' will be employed to express the relationship between O.T. prefiguration and N.T. fulfilment, while besides its restriction to one of the three levels of spiritual exegesis, the word 'allegorical' will also be used in its broader and more general sense to denote the whole system of biblical exposition whose rôle in the three MHG poems forms the chief subject of these pages.

One danger encountered in examining the exegetical traditions of the exodus is that some of the notions concerned may be too widespread to allow of any useful conclusion. Thus the interpretation of the crossing of the Red Sea as a type of baptism is a medieval commonplace, and its appearance in the VM does not of itself enable us to say anything constructive about the vernacular poem. The same can be said of the exegesis of the Passover lamb as Christ, where we need not seek a source beyond the Pauline epistles. Less attention has accordingly been paid to these fundamental notions than their relative significance in the whole allegorical scheme might seem to warrant. It is in the treatment of such minor and less stereotyped details as the components of the tabernacle of Moses that the individual contributions of the MHG poets to the centuries-old tradition

will become apparent. Here also the critical literature is much smaller, and it can be hoped that the studies will add to knowledge of the allegorical traditions in their own right, apart from elucidating the vernacular poems.

However, for reasons of space only those allegories will be considered which are encountered in the MHG works. Thus the allegorization of the plague of darkness, absent from the VM but an intrinsic part of the traditional exegesis of the plagues of Egypt in the commentaries, will receive no mention here. Similarly the chapter on the Passover will not deal with the blood smeared on the door-posts and lintels of the houses, of which the VM again has no allegorical treatment; but information on this matter can of course be found by referring to the exegetical sources of related details of the Passover lamb and the manner in which it is to be eaten.

Even when a particular allegorical topic does feature in the German poems, the exegetical literature is often so great that no hope can be entertained of adducing every earlier parallel to the tradition. In order to limit the material and at the same time to cite what is likely to be relevant, the Christian exegesis referred to has, apart from the early centuries, been confined to the Western Church and few authors living after 1200 have been quoted, as a glance at the bibliography will show. It is, on the other hand, of little importance that such works as the late twelfth-century allegorical dictionaries postdate the VBM, for by their very nature they contain much older material.⁵² Another considerable restriction has been placed on the scope of the Latin material by citing only edited literature. Parallels have also been quoted from MHG sermons where the presence of an exegetical detail testifies its currency.

Bachofer's edition has been used for the VMar and Diemer's diplomatic text for the VM (D. 32, 1-69, 6) and the VBal (D. 72, 8-85, 3). When Diemer is quoted, the lines of the MHG have been rearranged to show the versification of the poetry rather than the position of each word in the MS line; the different printed forms of the letters s and z have been ignored; the MS abbreviations have sometimes been written out in full; and occasionally Diemer's text has been emended in the light of subsequent criticism.

Proper names have usually been given the forms of the A.V. rather than those of the Vulgate; otherwise the Vulgate text should be understood in all biblical references. In order to restrict the compass of the footnotes, references to modern works have been much abridged, but full details will be found in the bibliography. References to most patristic and medieval exegetical works have likewise been reduced to the volume and column or page of a series, e.g. the *Patrologia Latina* or *Corpus Christianorum*; here again the bibliography will supply fuller information, including dating and authentication when modern scholarship does not share the editor's attribution of a work, as is frequently the case with Migne.

The first part of this study deals with the passages in the MHG works where the

presence of exegetical material is beyond dispute. Such passages are at once obvious to the reader: they often correspond exactly to the MS sections indicated by the capitals, and the allegorization is frequently introduced by *daz bezeichnenet*. . . or an alternative formula. These lines have been discussed in the order of their occurrence, starting with the first overt allegory in the VM (D. 35, 12-18) and working through to the end of the VBal.

There are also many instances in the remainder of the poems where material appears which does not derive from the Vulgate. Sometimes this consists of a brief allusion to the spiritual interpretation of a particular context which lacks the straightforward parallel drawn between fact and allegory, type and antitype found in the case of the explicit allegorization mentioned in the previous paragraph. This more subtle and allusive technique is characteristic of the *Millstätter Exodus* rather than the VM,⁵³ for the former work is almost entirely lacking in the detailed allegorical exposition so much in evidence in our text. Nevertheless, what we may describe as implicit exegesis occurs in the VM and VBal also, as when the O.T. Decalogue is replaced by the N.T. form of the Law (D. 55, 11-19). On other occasions, pure narrative derives from a source other than the bible; apart from the passages based on the Pseudo-Philo as demonstrated by Bachofer, the most striking example is the legend of Moses's infancy (D. 33, 13-34, 11). Such implicit exegetical matter and apocryphal legend forms the subject of the second part of the thesis; again the order of the chapters adheres to the sequence in which the relevant passages occur.

NOTES

- 1 Described by Menhardt, *BGDSLH* 78 (1956), pp. 416-417.
- 2 *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, II, 1 (1922), pp. 91-99 and 216-217. Cf. also de Boor, *Die deutsche Literatur von Karl dem Großen bis zum Beginn der höfischen Dichtung* (1960), pp. 160-161.
- 3 Die Struktur der Vorauer Handschrift, pp. V-XXII of *Die deutschen Gedichte der Vorauer Handschrift* (1958).
- 4 See Polheim, op. cit., p. VI.
- 5 *Deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts*.
- 6 *Mittelalter: Texte und Zeugnisse*, I (1965), pp. 41-4; 220-4.
- 7 The new edition of W. Bachofer is to appear in the series *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*.
- 8 Anmerkungen, pp. 3-31.
- 9 Einleitung, p. XL.
- 10 *Germania* 7, pp. 230-5.
- 11 *Poetische Fragmente des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 1-4.
- 12 *Geistliche Poeten der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, II: *Drei Sammlungen geistlicher Gedichte*, QF 7 (1875), pp. 46-8.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51.
- 15 *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 1 (1875), pp. 75-78.
- 16 See Wells, Appendix II.
- 17 *BGDSLH* 11 (1886), pp. 101-105.
- 18 MSD, 3rd ed. (1892), XL, pp. 154-158.
- 19 *Ibid.*, Anmerkungen pp. 248-251.
- 20 *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, II (1896), pp. 110-119.

- 21 Ibid., pp. 309-321.
- 22 *Die Bücher Moses der Vorauer Handschrift. Eine grammatisch-metrische Untersuchung* Diss., Marburg.
- 23 Münscher, pp. 140-3.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 143-4.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 125, 153.
- 26 Ehrismann, II, 1, p. 96 n. 2.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 97-9.
- 28 'Bücher Moses' (Vorauer), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Stammler, I (1933), cols. 329-332.
- 29 *Der Reim von Stammsilbe auf Endsilbe im Frühmittelhochdeutschen und seine Bedeutung für eine sprachliche und literarische Chronologie*. Diss., Tübingen (1934), pp. 95-111.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 108-109.
- 31 *Religious Ideology and Christian Humanism in German Cluniac Verse* (1948), pp. 230-241.
- 32 *BGDSL* 78 (1956), p. 418.
- 33 Ibid., pp. 411-421.
- 34 Ibid., p. 412.
- 35 *Studien zum Symbolischen in frühmittelhochdeutscher Literatur*.
- 36 Ibid., pp. 83-107; 190-2.
- 37 *Germanistik* 1 (1960), p. 323.
- 38 Cf. Schieb, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 81 (1960), cols. 1085-1088; Soeteman, *Neophilologus* 45 (1961), pp. 241-3; Ganz, *German Life and Letters* 14 (1960-61), pp. 213-4; Wisbey, *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies* 22 (1960), p. 314. Further references, Wells, p. 15 n. 2.
- 39 *Der Wortschatz der 'Vorauer Bücher Moses'. Vorarbeiten zu einer Ausgabe*. Diss. (masch.), Hamburg.
- 40 Ibid., p. 1.
- 41 Ibid., pp. V-VII.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 248-265.
- 43 *BGDSL* 84 (1962), pp. 123-141.
- 44 Diemer, Anmerkungen pp. 24-6.
- 45 *Die kleinen Denkmäler der Vorauer Handschrift* (1963), pp. 176-183; notes, pp. 67-71 in the separate supplement. See also de Boor, *Mittelalter: Texte und Zeugnisse*, I (1965), pp. 404-406.
- 46 Cf. W. Schröder, *Festschrift J. Quint* (1964), pp. 194-202; *BGDSL* 87 (1965), pp. 150-165.
- 47 *Die religiösen Dichtungen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, I (1964), pp. 352-355.
- 48 *QF* 44 (1881), pp. 39-68.
- 49 *BGDSLH* 24 (1899), pp. 249-360. Even in an essay of this length far too little of the Latin material is considered for the correct conclusion to be drawn; see Scheidweiler, *ZDA* 80 (1943), pp. 11-45; Rupp, *Deutsche religiöse Dichtungen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (1958), pp. 269 ff.
- 50 *ZDA* 89 (1958-59), pp. 21-22. See especially Auerbach, *Archivum Romanicum* 22 (1938), pp. 436-489; Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri* (1950); de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale* (1959-64); Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952).
- 51 Cf. Ohly, *ZDA* 89 (1958-59), pp. 10-11.
- 52 Cf. F. Ohly, *ZDA* 86 (1955-56), p. 213.
- 53 Cf. Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, pp. 108 ff.

PART I
Explicit Allegorization

1. MOSES IN MIDIAN

The first exegetical passage in the VM occurs when the poet describes the signs given to Moses by God in order to convince the people of his authority. One is the ability to change his staff into a serpent (D. 35, 7-18; cf. Exod. 4, vv. 2-6; 7, v. 12). The staff is interpreted as the Cross.

According to a tradition dating back to patristic times, the rod is taken to signify the divine power and the changes in its form as Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection.¹ Though this and similar notions are widespread, the vernacular poet is following another tradition for which many parallels can be adduced. Thus Origen interprets the rod as the Cross:

Virga vero per quam geruntur haec omnia, per quam Ægyptus subijcitur et Pharaeo superatur, crux Christi sit, per quam mundus hic vincitur, et princeps huius mundi cum principatibus et potestatibus triumphatur (GCS 29, p. 177).

This exegesis is closely followed by Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 301 C), Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 34 B) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 203 B; 206 C) beside their interpretations in the other tradition.

It is important to remember that the rod is used by Moses and his brother not only to impress the Egyptians (Exod. 7, v. 12), but also on occasions before and during the exodus such as the plagues,² the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod. 14, v. 16), the drawing of the water from the rock³ and the sprouting of Aaron's rod (Num. 17), all of which have great allegorical importance and are dealt with later in the VBM. We shall also consider the implicit typological significance of God presenting the staff to Moses (D. 35, vv. 7-8).⁴ It is to be expected that exegetes regard the rod as a unifying element which binds these actions together in the light of their future significance. Thus Didymus of Alexandria (PG 39, 697-698 A) wrongly associates the rod with the sweetening of the bitter waters of Marah (Exod. 15, vv. 22-25), since the wood which effects this also generally signifies the Cross, as in the VM.⁵ When the poet writes 'ime mac der slange niht gescaden' (D. 35, 16) he is likewise thinking of a typologically significant incident during the exodus – the raising of the brazen serpent in the wilderness which saves the Hebrews from the snake-bites (Num. 21, vv. 4-9). The association with this episode is established not only by the figure of the serpent common to both types, but also

by the fact that the brazen serpent also signifies Christ crucified, and the poet later returns to this theme in his own treatment of the incident (D. 62, 3-14),⁶ where some degree of verbal similarity is apparent.⁷ Such an association frequently occurs in the Augustinian exegetical tradition of the changing staff, to which references were given above. Here, mention is made of the serpent in the wilderness and of John 3, vv. 14-15, the key to its interpretation.⁸ With D. 35, 16, however, the poet refers not to the brazen serpent as such but to the serpents which caused the bites and made a cure necessary. They are usually interpreted collectively as evil spirits or sins;⁹ all such emanate from the Devil who is clearly implied with 'ime mac der slange niht gescaden'. This is the natural interpretation for the poet to employ in adapting the account of a multitude of snakes to a context which demands only a single serpent. That *serpens* may signify the Devil is clear from other biblical contexts,¹⁰ and in any case the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 415 A) follows Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 355 A) in describing the serpents of Num. 21 as *venena diaboli*. The VM does not, however, interpret the rod in the context of the water drawn from the rock (D. 48, 7-16; 50, 20-30), though here again the Cross is the usual antitype (e.g. Augustine, CChr 33, pp. 260-1; cf. Gaudentius, CSEL 68, p. 21). Quodvultdeus clearly associated the various incidents of the exodus with the Cross as their common antitype:

O agne occise, o Christe sancte pro nobis crucifixe, qui ut lapsa reparares in cruce pependisti: ipsa est illa virga regni tui, crux ipsa, inquam, qua virtus in infirmitate perficitur; ipsa illa virga crux, ipsa illa virga quae floruit ex radice Jesse; ipsa illa virga quam portabat Moyses, quae conversa in serpentem glutiit magorum serpentes. . . (PL 40, 696)

Caesarius of Arles is similarly aware of the significance of the rod, used by Moses to perform many miracles of the deliverance from Egypt:

Ligni crucis etiam umbra vel figurae in veteri quoque testamento plurimum valuerunt. Nullum Moyses signum sine ligni sacramento peregit: ut enim signa et prodigia in Aegypto faceret, virgam accepit a Domino; et ad signa quaeque divinitus audiebat, et dicebatur ei: ELEVA VIRGAM TUAM.¹¹ Non utique deus virgae auxilio indigebat; sed erigebatur, ut scire possumus quantum esset illud futuri ligni mysterium, cuius fuerat umbra figuratum virgae illius sacramentum. (CChr 103, p. 463)

Caesarius writes in similar fashion when he interprets the rod in this precise context.¹² In the twelfth century, we find Peter Lombard following the exegetical tradition of the rod as the Cross first described above in the words of Origen (PL 171, 686 D – 687 A). Though the other exegesis is commoner in patristic and medieval tradition as a whole, that followed by the VM, was clearly well known at the time the poem was written. We shall conclude by noting Wolbero of St Pantaleon (Cologne), who in his commentary on the Song of Songs refers in general terms to the rod of the exodus as the Cross (PL 195, 1061 D), and Garnerius of Rochefort's allegorical compendium, which cites the transformation

of the rod before Pharaoh as evidence that it signifies the Cross. Eleven other interpretations of *virga* are given, for example:

Vexillum crucis, ut in Exodo: 'Tulitque Aaron virgam coram Pharaone' (Exod. 7, v. 10), quod ordo praedicatorum vexillum crucis coram regibus et principibus praedicabat. (PL 112, 1080 D – 1081 A)

It is thus evident that in the allegory of the rod changing to a serpent the VM is following a well-authenticated tradition. Of its many exponents we shall, in the light of our examination of the other exegetical passages in the poem, find it possible to select the *Glossa Ordinaria* as a likely source.¹³ The MHG exegesis may derive from the context of the rod in the presence of Pharaoh (Exod. 7, v. 9 ff.; 8, vv. 16-17; PL 113, 203 B, 206 C), and the allusion to the brazen serpent from the earlier gloss on the miracle with the rod in the wilderness (Exod. 4, vv. 2-6; PL 113, 193 D).

It is important to bear in mind that the poet does not merely reproduce the familiar type, but develops the notion in his own way:

D. 35, 14 sver daz insigele güt.
 du het an sinen müt.
 wil erz offenlichen tragen.
 ime mac der slange niht gescaden.
 deme wirt daz cruze tivre.
 ein stap unde ein stivre.

While the reference to the serpent in the wilderness is probably not original if the *Glossa Ordinaria* was indeed the immediate source, these lines also add a personal and tropological dimension to the interpretation, for the poet finds in the plain allegory of the Latin models a moral lesson for his audience. The Cross he sees as a sign of baptism. Provided the wearer acknowledges the mark on his soul ('wil erz offenlichen tragen') he is adequately protected. The suggestion of protection against danger is an important aspect of the *sphragis* or sign of the cross imprinted on the forehead at baptism, and one might read this line even more literally as a reference to the crusader whose spiritual regeneration was felt to be closely akin to baptismal purification.¹⁴

By pointing to the full significance of the rod in the exodus narrative as a whole together with the MHG poet's personal allusions, we have attempted to show the profound exegetical implications in these lines. Turning now to the other sign given by God, the VM explains that when Moses withdraws his hand from his bosom, it turns leprous, but on replacing it, it becomes whole again (D. 35, 18-29; cf. Exod. 4, vv. 6-7). This, according to the poet, signifies clerics whose deeds are only pure as long as they are united with God. In this case we find the VM does not follow the commonest tradition of the commentaries on the passage which is an allegory and regards the hand as the Jews who have separated themselves from divine grace but will one day recognize their Redeemer.¹⁵ The notion that leprosy signifies sin is not as common as we might expect in works relating to the immediate context. However,

the late twelfth-century compendium of Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 985 A)¹⁶ supplies a close parallel to the exegesis of the VM:

Manus, membra Christi, ut in Exodo (4, v. 6) manus Moysi producta est de sinu leprosi, in sinum revocata, in pristinum rediit: quod immunda fiunt membra Christi, cum peccando a gratia exeunt; cum vero poenitendo redeunt, emundantur. (PL 112, 993 D – 994 A)

The vernacular poet may well be following a similar passage; alternatively, he may have in mind other O.T. narratives where people are stricken with leprosy as a punishment for their sins. In such cases the commentaries naturally associate leprosy with sin. Examples of this are Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron (Num. 12)¹⁷ and Elisha's servant, Gehazi (4 Kings 5, vv. 20-27).¹⁸ It is perhaps significant that the leper Naaman (4 Kings 5) and Aaron's sister are both presented as fundamentally God-fearing like the *geistliche livte* (D. 35, 25) of the German poem. The story of Naaman forms the Lesson for the Monday of the third week in Lent in which the theme of cleansing from sin plays a prominent part in the liturgy.

Münscher mentions this passage of the VM when refuting Kelle's theory that Rupert of Deutz is the poet's exegetical source.¹⁹ He refers to Scherer's suggestion that the *wadelare* of D. 35, 29 are 'die umherschweifenden Geistlichen, die Vaganten und Goliarden'.²⁰ Such a reading is presumably founded on the belief that *geistliche livte* can only be clerics.²¹ It would, however, seem more probable that *wadelare* signifies all who waver in their faith or stray from the fold. This interpretation is supported by the *Glossa Ordinaria* exegesis of Luke 17, v. 12, dealing with the ten lepers healed by Christ:

Leprosi sunt haeretici, qui quasi varios colores habentes in eodem corpore, varias sectas, nunc falsitatis, nunc veritatis, permiscent in eadem praedicatione. Hi autem quia vitantur et ab Ecclesia removentur longe, necesse habent ut magno clamore interpellent.

Qui contra Decalogum peccaverunt, nec amando Deum (de quo male sentiunt), nec proximum, a quo dividuntur, sub denario ad Deum clamant et sanantur, dum in Ecclesiae societate doctrinam integram veramque assequuntur, et omnia secundum Catholicae fidei regulam disserunt, et varietate mendaciorum quasi lepra carent. Sed unus gratias agit, id est qui in unitate Ecclesiae per humilitatem remanent; qui vero per superbiam elati mundatori sunt ingrati, novem sunt, quia per unitatem a perfectione denarii deficiunt. (PL 114, 319 AB)

This passage both equates leprosy with sin and incorporates the notion of wandering or wavering found in the VM. Whatever the full significance of *geistliche livte*, we may regard these lines with the other examples given above as an indirect source of the MHG interpretation. That the poet prefers the tropology to the established allegorical exegesis of the relevant verses of Exodus in the Latin commentaries would seem to emphasise the didactic nature of much of his work.²²

The VM thus shows a total awareness of the typological significance of the rod of Moses in its interpretation of the transformation to a serpent, while the exegesis

of the leprous hand of Moses finds the poet ready at the same time to deviate from the commonest allegorical traditions for his own didactic purposes.

NOTES

- 1 E.g. Hilary of Poitiers, *Tract. Myster.* I, 31, ed. Brisson, pp. 124-6; Augustine, CChr 41, p. 65; *ibid.*, p. 81; Gregory-Paterius, PL 79, 726 A; Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 290 BC; Pseudo-Bede, PL 91, 295 D – 296 A, cf. 367 A; Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 22 C – 23 B; *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 193 C – 194 B; Peter Damian, PL 145, 1014 AB; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 584 D – 585 C (cf. Münscher, *Diss.* pp. 143-4). The same exegesis is found in the Greek fathers: Gregory of Nyssa, PG 44, 334 CD; Cyril of Alexandria, PG 69, 470 CD; PG 77, 446 D ff. See Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 198. Other interpretations are found in Augustine, CChr 39, pp. 1008-9; CChr 41, pp. 81-2; PL 42, 880 (Christ's passion); Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 239 B – 240 A (rod of correction), cf. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, I (1844), p. 17.
- 2 Though in this context the rod is only once mentioned by the VM (D. 38, 4) and its rôle is not important for the Latin exegetes. See, however, Wackernagel, *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete*, X, p. 24, lines 23 ff., where the rod changing to a serpent is emphasised as that which also effects the plagues. The sermon is of the twelfth century.
- 3 Exod. 17, vv. 2-7; Num. 20, vv. 6-13. Cf. *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 242 B.
- 4 See below, p. 126
- 5 See below, pp. 67-70.
- 6 See below, p. 71 ff.
- 7 Cf. especially D. 35, 16 and D. 62, 13 which may in turn be a reminiscence of *Ezzolied* 333-4; the couplet in the *Ezzolied* follows immediately upon the passage borrowed in D. 41, 1-6, cf. *Ezzolied* 326-32 (ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 298).
- 8 See below, p. 71.
- 9 Thus Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 492 BC (*maligni spiritus*) and Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 658 A (*suggestiones daemonum*). For other references, see below, n. 10.
- 10 E.g. Rabanus Maurus, PL 107, 486 D ff., on Gen. 3, vv. 1 ff.; Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 1051 D; Alan of Lille, PL 210, 942 C. The usual exegetical interpretation of the serpent into which the rod is transformed treats it as divine wisdom on the basis of Matt. 10, v. 16 'estote prudentes sicut serpentes' (Origen, GCS 29, p. 177, also refers to Gen. 3, v. 1), while the serpents which come from the rods of Pharaoh's magicians signify worldly wisdom: thus Pseudo-Bede, PL 91, 301 C, Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 34 B and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 203 B; 206 C, all following Origen closely.
- 11 Cf. Exod. 7, vv. 9, 19; 8, v. 16; 14, v. 16; Num. 20, v. 8.
- 12 CChr 103, p. 391. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 398, also p. 403 where Origen is followed.
- 13 Cf. below, pp. 28-29.
- 14 For a full discussion of this subject, see Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, pp. 381 ff., to which the author kindly drew my attention. Elsewhere I have tried to show that Professor Green's argument as a whole exaggerates the significance of the crusading aspect of the Millstatt poem: see *The Times Literary Supplement*, 12th October 1967, p. 972. For another possible crusading reference in the VM, see below, p. 144.
- 15 Thus Isidore, PL 83, 290 D – 291 A; Pseudo-Bede, PL 91, 296 B; Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 23 D – 24 A (follows Isidore); *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 194 C (follows Isidore); Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 240 A-C; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 585 AB. For Tertullian, the incident signifies the resurrection of the body, CChr 2, p. 957, and for Hilary of Poitiers, that we should rest in the bosom of the patriarchs (*Tract. Myster.* I, 31, ed. Brisson, p. 126); Gregory of Nyssa interprets it as the Incarnation, PG 44, 334 CD, cf. Cyril of Alexandria, PG 69, 471 C – 474 D and Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 198.
- 16 Cf. Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, III, pp. 263-4, where both meanings are found. Leprosy signifies heretics according to Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 803; 1263; and Quodvult-deus, *Lib. promiss. et praedict. Dei* II, 10-11, ed. Braun, pp. 314-20. But see also *ibid.*, I, 48, Braun pp. 260-2.
- 17 Cf. Origen, GCS 30, pp. 37-44, followed by *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 401 B – 402 D.

- ¹⁸ Cf. Rabanus Maurus, PL 109, 233 A -C, used by *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 614 B. See also Hesychius of Jerusalem's commentary on the opening of Lev. 14 (PG 93, 951 B-D), followed by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 391 B-D) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 336 A); and Cassiodorus, CChr 97, p. 460.
- ¹⁹ Diss. pp. 143-144.
- ²⁰ Cf. QF 7 (1875), p. 47.
- ²¹ For fourteenth-century examples of the phrase used unequivocally to denote clerics, see Burger (ed.), *Urkunden der Benedictiner-Abtei zum hl. Lambert in Altenburg* (1865), CCXLI, pp. 233-4; CCCXVI, pp. 278-9. If this is also the sole meaning of the VM, the expression may perhaps be seen as a direct exhortation to a clerical audience.
- ²² A vernacular sermon ed. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten* I (1844), p. 104, where the subject is the Gospel concerning the healing of the ten lepers, explains the leprosy of Moses's hand in the following way: 'sich als Moyses sin hant uzzecich wart do er si in den bösen schöb. als wirstu och uzzecich an diner sele. swenne din (hant) unrecht güt zuchet un du dc denne in dinen bösen sciubest. alle die wile ez dar inne liget so müstu immer uzzecich sin. swenne aber du din hant mit dem bösen güt her für ziuhest dc du ez wilt wider geben. sich so wirt din hant zehant gesunt. dc ist dc du denne an der sele zehant bist worden gesunt. Bittent unsern herren als die X hiute het gesunt gemacht. dc er uns also och an unser sele mache gesunt.' Though more elaborate than the VM exegesis, the interpretation here is fundamentally the same.

2. THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT

The numbering of the VM plagues differs from that of the Vulgate.¹ The seventh biblical plague has been expanded to form two distinct plagues, and the murrain, fifth in the traditional order, has been replaced by the locusts, eighth in Exodus.² The account breaks off after the eighth plague which is followed by the MS lacuna of fol. 89^f (D. 40, 14).

This departure from the traditional order of the plagues need occasion no surprise, since variations occur even in the order and numbering of the Ten Commandments.³ Philo and Josephus,⁴ both major influences on the Christian patristic tradition, also vary the order of the plagues. The following table will make clear the relative positions of various works:

Plague	Vulgate	VM	Philo	Josephus	Millstätter Exodus
Blood	1	1	1	1	1
Frogs	2	2	2	2	2
Gnats	3	3	3	3 (<i>pediculi</i> , lice)	3
Flies	4	4	8	4 (<i>bestiae</i> , beasts)	3
Murrain	5		9		4
Boils	6	6	7	5	5
Hail	7	7,8	4	6	6
Locusts	8	5	5	7	7
Darkness	9	(?9)	6	8	8
Firstborn	10	(?10)	10	9	9

Josephus does not number the plagues as he describes them and merely omits the murrain from his account. While the VM makes the same omission, there are no further similarities; the German poet does not, for instance, follow Josephus in naming the third and fourth plagues as lice and wild beasts, but keeps to the usual tradition with *mukken*, *fligen*. Hence there is insufficient evidence for supposing that Josephus has influenced the VM here.

Philo's drastic change in the order of the plagues after the first three presents no problem. It suits his own artificial classification, whereby three plagues are initiated by Aaron, three by Moses, one by them both, and the final three by God.⁵ This classification, which also appears in the eleventh or twelfth century *Midrash Exodus Rabbah*,⁶ dictates the order in which the plagues are presented.

The *Millstätter Exodus* omits the plague of gnats but adds many features derived from the biblical account of this plague to its description of the flies.⁷

With the unique enumeration of the VM plagues in mind we may now proceed to explore the Latin parallels to the MHG exegesis. Philo has left no allegorical interpretation of the individual plagues, though he emphasises that, far from being random punishments, they were carefully administered by God and particularly suitable for the crimes of the Egyptians.⁸ Josephus similarly gives as one of his reasons for describing the plagues the fact that it befits man to avoid provoking God's anger by his iniquities.⁹ Of the early Christian fathers, Irenaeus sees an analogical significance in the plagues of Egypt, associating them as he does with those of Apoc. 15 and 16 (PG 7, 1068 A).

Detailed exegesis, however, begins with Origen's fourth homily on Exodus (GCS 29, pp. 177-180). His interpretation of the plague of blood (pp. 177-8) has much in common with that of the VM:

D. 38, 9 die irreclichen lere.
 di di ubelen livte lerent.
 ê si sich ze gote gecheren.

Origen follows his initial 'mystic', i.e. allegorical, exegesis of the plagues with a second, 'moral', i.e. tropological, interpretation (p. 180); this is not relevant in the context of the first plague. Gregory of Nyssa similarly sees its significance as corrupt doctrine (PG 44, 343-4 C ff.). A sermon of Caesarius of Arles on the plagues (CChr 103, pp. 403 ff.) closely follows Origen, as does Isidore of Seville's commentary (PL 83, 292 B – 294 C)¹⁰ for all plagues except the fourth. The Pseudo-Bede writes entirely within the same framework (PL 91, 301 D – 303 D) and then adds a passage from Orosius (CSEL 5, pp. 496-9) in which the ten plagues are associated with the ten Roman persecutions (PL 91, 303 D – 304 D). Augustine was familiar with this interpretation, but rejected it on the grounds that the true number of persecutions against the Church was indeterminable (CChr 48, pp. 650-2).¹¹ Rabanus Maurus first renders the Origen-Isidore-Pseudo-Bede tradition on the plague of blood, later adding the comparison to the persecution under Nero (PL 108, 34 D – 35 B; 45 CD). That Origen is followed besides the Pseudo-Bede is clear from the insertion of a long passage (PL 108, 44 A – 45 B) found in the earlier writer but not in Pseudo-Bede. Rabanus also includes passages from Augustine's *Quaestiones* (CChr 33, pp. 78 ff.) which do not influence the exegesis.

Bruno of Segni is another who interprets the plague of blood as the worldly wisdom of philosophers and poets (PL 164, 246 A – D). Honorius of Autun's *De Decem Plagis Aegypti Spiritualiter* shows the same resemblance to the VM in his exegesis of the first plague (PL 172, 267 BC). More significant for the VM than any of these works, however, is the *Glossa Ordinaria*. A passage in the Gloss (PL 113, 204 D) from Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 292 C) explains that Egypt signifies the world and that the plagues as a whole have a spiritual significance. Each plague is expounded accordingly. In essence the work adheres to the tradition we have been

considering, but the paragraphs selected from Origen, together with those from other authors, form a body of evidence strongly suggesting that the Gloss is the source of this, as indeed of all the plagues interpreted in the MHG poem.

The theme of worldly wisdom is emphasised in the commentary not only in the remarks on Exod. 7, vv. 17-19, but also in the preceding and succeeding passages. Origen's fourth homily on Exodus is cited on the folly of worldly wisdom in the context of Moses's rod devouring those of the Egyptian magicians (PL 113, 203 C). The same notion is linked to that of erring philosophers when Origen (GCS 29, p. 182) is again quoted for Moses's visit to Pharaoh by the river (Exod. 7, vv. 15-16; PL 113, 204 B). Having reached the biblical verses describing the plague of blood, the Gloss continues to emphasise the theme of worldly wisdom with a passage attributed to Strabo:

Aqua in sanguinem versa mundanam sapientiam significat, in qua omnis qui manserit necatur, sicut in sanguine piscis. (PL 113, 204 D)

Now follows the interpretation of Origen:

Aqua fluminis vertitur in sanguinem, cui Hebraeorum pueros tradiderant necandos, ut auctoribus sceleris poculum redderet sanguinis: et cruorem polluti gurgitis, quem parricidali caede maculaverant, potando sentirent. Allegorice quoque aquae Ægypti erratica et lubrica philosophorum dogmata sunt, quos parvulos sensu et intelligentia deceperunt: at ubi crux Christi lumen veritatis ostendit, necis suorum in poenas et reatum sanguinis exiguntur. (PL 113, 205 A)

Here, the *auctoribus sceleris* may be identified with *di ubelen livte* and the *erratica et lubrica philosophorum dogmata* with *di irreclichen lere*. The third line in the VM exegesis, 'ê si sich ze gote gecheren', is paralleled by the final reference to the contrasting light of truth.

The same themes are pursued by the comments of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Egyptians' efforts to dig for water near the river (Exod. 7, vv. 24-25):

Quia gentilitas confusa de meditatione saecularis philosophiae, cum videt nihil vitale nec salubre esse in illa, studet investigando circumquaque quaerens haustum sapientiae, nec invenit, donec perveniat ad eum qui ait: Qui sitit, veniat ad me et bibat. (John 7, v. 37; PL 113, 205 C)

The last phrase of this passage also is close to 'ê si sich ze gote gecheren'.

We have attempted to show that the *Glossa Ordinaria* is a likely source of the VM exegesis of the first plague, since an emphasis on the same interpretation is consistently found in the commentary before, during and after the passages dealing directly with Exod. 7, vv. 17-19. That the Gloss does not merely reproduce exegetical commonplaces is shown by the presence of another very strong tradition of interpretation differing from that of the German poem, namely the association of the ten plagues with the Ten Commandments. While Origen drew the parallel in general terms (GCS 29, p. 177),¹² the first full exponent of the tradition appears to have been Augustine, whose *Sermo de decem plagis Ægyptiorum et decem praeceptis*

legis explains the first plague as punishing those who worship mortal creatures, i.e. blood, thus breaking the first commandment (CChr 41, p. 82).¹³ Augustine's exegesis is clearly conditioned by the need to find convincing parallels between each plague and its corresponding commandment; indeed, he freely admits the difficulty when trying to associate the death of the firstborn with the final commandment against covetousness.¹⁴ Hence we find close parallels between Augustine and the VM with some plagues, and complete divergence with others. Augustine's work is later reproduced by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 100 D – 105 A), while his disciple Quodvultdeus associates the plagues with the Decalogue in similar fashion,¹⁵ though without reversing the fifth and sixth commandments as does Augustine.

Another sermon of Caesarius of Arles furthers the same tradition by reproducing Augustine's treatment in its entirety (CChr 103, pp. 407-416). In the eleventh century Peter Damian wrote a work similar to Augustine's,¹⁶ much of the exegesis, including the reversal of the fifth and sixth commandments, resembles Augustine, though there are no verbal parallels. On the first plague, Damian suggests that the blood signifies the blind soul which transgresses the purity of the true faith.

The *Glossa Ordinaria* itself incorporates different traditions in its passages on the plagues. Besides the comparison of the plague of blood to the first commandment (PL 113, 205 AB) from Augustine (CChr 41, p. 82) and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 100 D – 101 A), the Gloss includes Orosius's comparison of the plagues to the persecutions (PL 113, 213 B – 214 C),¹⁷ besides Origen's tropology (PL 113, 216 C – 217 B).

Rupert of Deutz is another who compares the plagues to the Decalogue. He finds it convenient (PL 167, 596 D) to equate the first commandment with the miracle of Aaron's rod (God) devouring the rods of the magicians (false gods), but because of a different enumeration of the commandments the first nine plagues are paralleled by the same commandments as in Augustine's work,¹⁸ though the fifth and sixth are not reversed. With the final plague is equated Christ's destruction of original sin. For Rupert the first plague signifies the consciences of the idolatrous Egyptians made bloody by the worship of graven images (PL 167, 598 D – 599 C).¹⁹

The second plague, the frogs, is interpreted by the VM as vanity and loquacity (D. 38, 14-19). Here the Augustinian tradition linking the plague to the second commandment corresponds to the other school of exegesis deriving from Origen. As a result, the notions found in the VM are closely paralleled by almost all the Latin exegetes.

Origen interprets the frogs in his allegorical exegesis (GCS 29, p. 178) as the songs of poets, though the subsequent tropology (GCS 29, p. 180) comes closer to the MHG: the frogs signify the vain babble of the world (*vanam et inanem loquacitatem*). Origen's treatment is handed down virtually unchanged by Caesarius of Arles (CChr 103, p. 404), Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 292 CD), Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 301 D – 302 A) and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 35 BC)²⁰ as before. Again

we may cite the lines of Origen found in the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

Ranae significant carmina poetarum, quae inani et inflata modulatione, velut ranarum sonis et cantibus, mundo deceptionis fabulas intulerunt: ad nihil enim animal illud utile est, nisi quod sonum vocis improbis et importunis clamoribus reddit. (PL 113, 205 D)

This passage provides a source for almost every detail of the VM exegesis. The statement that the frogs 'sluffen uz den posken' (D. 38, 12) is, as Bachofer comments,²¹ a seeming contradiction to the Vulgate which describes them as coming from the rivers and swamps (Exod. 8, vv. 3-6). Bachofer vainly seeks an Early MHG example of *busch* with the meaning 'river', 'marsh', and on the basis of an Alem. *bosch* 'mit Rietgräsern bewachsener Höcker in Sumpfwiesen', 'Erhöhung des Seegrundes', comes to the unconvincing conclusion that the VM poet must have used a specifically dialectal word to translate Vulgate *palus*. However, Bachofer has been too rigidly bound by the notion that the Vulgate can be the only source of the narrative, which in this instance is doubtless influenced by the exegetical source; for the passage from Origen is immediately preceded in the *Glossa Ordinaria* by a comment of Strabo that there are three types of frogs – the third of which 'in vepribus agat' (PL 113, 205 D).

Augustine – himself probably influenced by the earlier tradition of Origen – found no difficulty in associating the plague of frogs with the prohibition against taking the Lord's name in vain: the frogs are, therefore, the vain chatters who deny Christ (CChr 41, pp. 83-4).²² The Augustinian exegesis is handed on, as for the first plague, by Quodvultdeus,²³ Caesarius (CChr 103, p. 408) and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 101 A ff.), while Peter Damian gives a similar interpretation in his own words: the frogs are heretics and philosophers who break the second commandment with their vain speeches against Christ (PL 145, 689 CD). Vanity and loquacity remain the key-notes of the exegesis of Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 246 D ff.), Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 599 C – 600 A) and Honorius of Autun (PL 172, 267 C), all chronologically close to our text. Later, frogs are seen as types of philosophers and heretics in the allegorical works of Alan of Lille (PL 210, 921 D), Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 1037 B) and the Pseudo-Melito,²⁴ though the plague in Exodus is not always specified as a textual source.

The Augustinian tradition on the plague of frogs (CChr 41, pp. 83-4) is included in the *Glossa Ordinaria* in the passage following that of Origen. Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 101 A-D) is again the intermediate source of this comparison of the plague with the appropriate commandment of the Decalogue:

. . . vanitatem loqui, strepere est. Secundum ergo praeceptum est de dilectione veritatis, cui contraria est dilectio iniquitatis. Loquitur veritas, perstrepat vanitas. Huic contraria est secunda plaga, ranarum abundantia, quarum loquacitas vanitatem significat . . . Qui autem veritati contradicunt, et vanitate decepti decipiunt, ranae sunt, taedium inferentes auribus, non cibum mentibus. (PL 113, 205 D – 206 A)

The proximity of this passage to that of Origen again suggests the *Glossa Ordinaria* as a source of the VM. The *tumben spottare* of D. 38, 15 find a closer parallel here than in the other passage quoted.

A coincidence between the traditions of Origen and Augustine is also found, though in a less striking form, in the exegesis of the plague of gnats (Exod. 8, vv. 15-19). In the VM the gnat signifies worldly, distracting thoughts (D. 38, 22-27). While Origen's allegorical interpretation is not relevant (the gnats signify the art of dialectic, GCS 29, p. 178),²⁵ it is this, and not his tropology, which reaches the *Glossa Ordinaria*. However, the description of the gnat in this passage has details reminiscent of the VM:

Corpus tamen cum insederit, acerbissimo terebrat stimulo, ut quem volantem videre quis non valet, sentiat stimulantem. (PL 113, 206 D)

According to Origen's tropological interpretation, the bites and stings of the gnats signify evil thoughts (*malignas cogitationes*, GCS 29, p. 180). Though this tradition is handed down by Caesarius of Arles (CChr 103, p. 404), Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 292 D – 293 A) and Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 302 A) to Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 36 D), it is the Augustinian exposition which comes to prevail. As the gnats give man no peace, so they punish in appropriate fashion those too distracted to keep the Sabbath (CChr 41, p. 85). By way of Quodvultdeus,²⁶ Caesarius (CChr 103, pp. 409-410) and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 102 A–C) this notion is incorporated in the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

Inquieti ergo a Spiritu sancto resiliunt, provocatores rixarum, amatores calumniarum, nec admittunt quietem sabbati spiritualis. Esto ergo mansuetus, non sit tumultus in corde tuo, volitantibus per corruptionem phantasmatis et pungentibus te. . . muscae scilicet minutissimae, inquietissimae, inordinate volantes, in oculos ruentes, et negantes hominibus requiem; dum abiguntur, redeunt; sic phantasmata inquietorum. (PL 113, 207 AB)²⁷

The parallel between this passage and the exegesis of the VM is all the more remarkable if we understand D. 38, 22-24 to be an allusion to attendance at church on the Sabbath.

The notion of distraction appears again in the next passage of the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 207 C) which may provide the source of the VM. However, Peter Damian (PL 145, 689 D ff.) also gives the Augustinian exegesis, while for Bruno of Segni the gnats similarly signify excessive preoccupation with worldly affairs (PL 164, 247 B ff.). In the commentary of Honorius of Autun they are rather the restless people who pursue earthly desires (PL 172, 267 C). All these allegories resemble the German poem, while Rupert of Deutz emphasises that the gnats in the eyes of the Egyptians prevent them from seeing the importance of keeping the Sabbath (PL 167, 600 A–601 C).

The Augustinian tradition may for our purposes be discounted for the next plague (D. 38, 27-39, 5; Exod. 8, vv. 20-32); attempting to find a link between the plague of flies and the fourth commandment, Augustine concludes that flies do not

recognize their parents (CChr 41, pp. 85-6).²⁸ Origen's allegorical exegesis interprets the flies as *cynicorum secta* (GCS 29, p. 178); this tradition again comes down to the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

Cynomyia haereticorum (al., cynicorum) secta, qui ad reliquas deceptionis suae improbitates, voluptatem et libidinem summum praedicant bonum. Quoniam igitur per haec singula prius deceptus est mundus, merito adveniens sermo et lex Dei hujusmodi correptionibus arguit, ut ex qualitate poenarum qualitates proprii cognoscant erroris. (PL 113, 208 B)

If we regard the notion of concupiscence as implicit in the *willen* of the VM (D. 38, 29), a parallel is found in the first part of this quotation. The emphasis on the need for repentance found in the MHG exegesis (D. 39, 1-5) is likewise matched by the second half of the passage in the Gloss. Further evidence is provided by Isidore of Seville, who on this occasion (PL 83, 293 BC) does not follow Origen, but Gregory the Great's disciple Paterius. According to Paterius, the restless flies show the immoderate carnal desires of those afflicted (PL 79, 727 D – 728 B). This interpretation is also followed by Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 302 BC) and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 38 AB) and finds a place in the *Glossa Ordinaria* beside Origen's allegorical discussion:

Musca autem insolens et inquietum animal est, in qua insolentes curae carnalium desideriorum figurantur. Aegyptus vero muscis percutitur, quia corda eorum qui saeculum diligunt, desideriorum inquietudinibus feriuntur. LXX: *cynomyiam*, id est, muscam caninam, posuerunt: per quam canini mores significantur, in quibus humanae mentis voluptas, et libido carnis arguitur. (PL 113, 208 A)

Here the theological notion of concupiscence is again apparent.²⁹ The words resemble Origen's tropological interpretation, according to which the stings of the flies signify the wounds given to the soul by worldly pleasures (GCS 29, p. 180). While Peter Damian (PL 145, 691 A) and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 601 C ff.) follow Augustine, Bruno of Segni elaborates the sexual connotation of the Gregory-Paterius tradition: sexual offenders cover the earth like flies, while various breeds of the insect are taken to signify fornicators, adulterers, etc. (PL 164, 248 A ff.).

Like Honorius of Autun, however, who emphasises the dog-fly (*musca canina*)³⁰ which is the heretic barking at Catholics (PL 172, 267 D), the exegesis given by Bruno is exceptional, and it is clearly the fundamental notion of Gregory-Paterius which is most widespread. It is adopted by Garnerius of St Victor (PL 193, 84 B–D) and Pseudo-Melito's *Clavis*,³¹ while Garnerius of Rochefort, specifically referring to the plague, interprets the fly as *inquietudo cordis* (PL 112, 1003 D). The tradition which interprets the flies as 'carnal concupiscence' is therefore very common, though we may, in association with the findings on the other plagues, perhaps regard the two passages found in the *Glossa Ordinaria* as a likely source of the VM interpretation.

As we have seen, the locusts (Exod. 10, vv. 1-19) take fifth place in the VM

enumeration of the plagues, where, with their continual motion, they signify hypocrites (D. 39, vv. 8-14). If the poet is indeed following the *Glossa Ordinaria*, his change in the order here may be explained by an excerpt from Augustine (CChr 33, p. 81) which follows the interpretations of the flies. The passage begins:

Cum ablata esset locusta, dictum est de Pharaone. . . (PL 113, 209 B)

Augustine is merely comparing Pharaoh's behaviour of Exod. 8, v. 32 and Exod. 10, v. 20, but his opening words might lead a careless reader of the Gloss to suppose that the plague of locusts is the next one in the sequence. The following lines, indeed, have much in common with the VM interpretation:

A voluntate hominis est origo vitiorum. Moventur autem causis corda hominum, alia sic, alia vero sic, etiam non diversis causis, saepe diverso modo, secundum proprias qualitates, quae ex voluntatibus veniunt. (PL 113, 209 B)

Similarly, the first line of the next excerpt in the Gloss has in its reference to *mendaces seu falsi ad salutem* (PL 113, 209 B) a parallel to the *gelihsenare* of the VM (D. 39, 9).

The idea of inconstancy is already found in Origen's allegorical interpretation of this plague (GCS 29, p. 179). His exegesis is handed down according to the familiar pattern – Caesarius (CChr 103, p. 405), Isidore (PL 83, 294 B), Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 303 A) and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 42 B) – as far as the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

Puto per hoc genus plaege dissidentis semper, a se et discordantis humani generis inconstantiam confutari. (PL 113, 214 D)

The tradition is elaborated in the process – Isidore emphasises in his allegory the levity of the desires of an inconstant soul, while this is followed by Rabanus who also adds an exposition of Gregory-Paterius (PL 79, 728 BC): the locusts are the tongues of flatterers (PL 108, 42 C – 43 A). As in the case of the gnats, however, the Augustinian exegesis comes to prevail, and in so doing provides us with a second parallel to the MHG. Augustine associates the eighth biblical plague with the eighth commandment – hence to bear false witness is to ravage like the locust which punishes this sin (CChr 41, p. 88).³² Reproduced by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 104 A), the interpretation reappears in the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

Falsus enim testis nocet mordendo et consumit mentiendo. (PL 113, 214 C)

Peter Damian's exegesis had been in the same tradition (PL 145, 692 BC).³³ While for Bruno of Segni the locusts typify the multitude of vices and evil spirits which devour and corrupt everything (PL 164, 251 A ff.), Honorius of Autun resembles the VM in finding in these creatures the double-tongued, those who corrupt with evil speech (PL 172, 268 A). Rupert of Deutz refers to the devilish pride of those who bear false witness (PL 167, 606 BC). All these authors have much in common with the vernacular poem.³⁴

In the VM the sixth plague, the boils (Exod. 9, vv. 8-11; D. 39, 14-23), signifies pride (*uberm&it*) and malice or wrath (*nit*). Augustine, reversing the fifth and sixth

commandments, likens boils and sores to murderous thoughts (CChr 41, p. 87), and is followed by Caesarius of Arles (CChr 103, p. 410), Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 103 B), Peter Damian (PL 145, 691 CD) and the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

Ardent enim homicidae ira, insania. Si posses videre animas homicidarum, plus plangeres eas quam putrescentia corpora ulceratorum. (PL 113, 210 B)³⁵

Here the first line could supply a source for 't(r)ibet uns ze allen meinen' (D. 39, 20) and for the use of *nit* (*ira*), while in the second may perhaps be found a parallel to the VM description of the boils: 'si swaren von beine' (D. 39, 16).

However, a more obvious source for the VM exegesis is found in Origen (GCS 29, p. 179), who divides the boils (*ulcera*), which signify sins (*malitia*), into *vessicae*, denoting pride (*superbia*), and *fervurae*, signifying wrath (*irae et furoris insania*).³⁶ Origen's tropology is similar (GCS 29, p. 180), and his interpretation descends almost unchanged by way of Caesarius (CChr 103, p. 404), Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 293 D – 294 A), Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 302 D) and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 40 A) to the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

In ulceribus dolosa purulentaque malitia arguitur; in vesicis tumens et inflata superbia: in fervore, ira et furoris insania. (PL 113, 210 B)

This is a complete parallel to the *ubermüt* and *nit* of the MHG.

Other exegetes deviate somewhat from the simple equation of the boils with pride and wrath. Thus Bruno of Segni sees in them the future torments which will afflict sinners of all ranks alike (PL 164, 249 C ff.), and Honorius of Autun connects the boils with the malevolent (*invidi*), rather than the proud, and with the wrathful (PL 172, 267 D).

We now reach the VM passages corresponding to the plague of hail in the Vulgate. We have already seen that other cases of variation in the traditional numbering of the plagues can be adduced. No earlier writer, however, provides us with an example of the elaboration of the plague of hail into two distinct plagues, of hail and thunder on the one hand (the eighth VM plague), and of lightning on the other (seventh in the VM). We may reasonably assume that at this stage in his work the poet realised his erroneous omission of the murrain and transposition of the locusts.³⁷ Wishing to adhere to the traditional total of ten plagues, he made the division of the seventh biblical plague. Doubtless the lacuna in the MS was to be filled with the plague of darkness (ninth) and the death of the firstborn.³⁸

The division of the seventh biblical plague as made by the VM rests ultimately on the biblical account itself. That thunder accompanied the hail is emphasised sufficiently³⁹ to justify the *toner uñ hagel* of D. 40, 6-7. The *blikke* of the seventh VM plague may likewise be derived from the *discurrentia fulgura* of Exod. 9, v. 23 and the *ignis* of Exod. 9, v. 24, and these references help substantially to explain the presentation of the lightning as a plague in its own right.⁴⁰

Of equal importance is Origen's strong emphasis on the fact that the plague

consists of at least two elements, and that the same emphasis is found in the *Glossa Ordinaria* interpretation where his homily is quoted at length. Within a short space we find four such phrases as:

. . .elevat manum in coelum et fiunt voces et grando scilicet, etc. (PL 113, 211 D from GCS 29, p. 174)

. . .cum grandinem et ignem producit et voces. (PL 113, 212 B from GCS 29, p. 175)

. . .non cum silentio verberat, sed dat voces. . . Dat grandinem. . . Dat et ignem. (PL 113, 212 C from GCS 29, p. 179)

In septimo vero, cum grandine vastatur et ignibus. . . (PL 113, 212 D from GCS 29, p. 176)

These passages, based on the biblical account and occurring in the probable source of the VM exegesis, provide a further reason why a plague of lightning or fire should be treated separately from the hail and thunder.⁴¹

Another biblical passage must also be taken into account. Besides the detailed description of the plagues in the book of Exodus, they are referred to in epitome in Ps. 77, vv. 42-51 and Ps. 104, vv. 27-36. The second of these passages adds nothing to Exodus. The first, however, omitting the gnats, boils and darkness of Exodus, apparently introduces three new plagues: mildew, frost and fire.⁴² But examination of the structure of the three relevant verses quickly shows that this is hardly the case, for the mildew, frost and fire are all closely associated with the traditional plagues of locusts and hail in the technique of poetic variation characteristic of the Psalms. In verse 46, the first clause 'dedit aerugini fructus eorum' is paralleled by the second, 'et labores eorum locustae'; similarly for the other two verses. 'Possessionem eorum igni' of verse 48 is merely a stylistic variant of 'grandini iumenta eorum', dictated by considerations of poetic structure rather than by any secondary historical tradition. Having once accepted this, a modern critic might well dismiss as purposeless a search for further significance in the new plagues.⁴³

The patristic and medieval exegetes, however, do not approach the problem in this way. Thus Augustine asserts that the psalm must not be lightly passed over in view of the more detailed account in Exodus, and considers that the words used must have been inserted for their figurative meaning. He then proceeds to an allegorical interpretation (CChr 39, pp. 1086-8). Cassiodorus similarly expounds the tropological significance of each of the new plagues, explaining the discrepancy as 'pro congrua intellegentia'; he then cites an example from another psalm to show how a historical name has been changed to suit the allegorical meaning (CChr 98, pp. 723-4).

The *Glossa Ordinaria* also suggests that the psalmist has varied the historical facts because of their exegetical significance (PL 113, 971 CD), and draws on both Augustine and Cassiodorus for its interpretation of these verses. It is perhaps

important for the VM treatment that the Gloss on Ps. 77 devotes separate paragraphs to the plagues of hail and fire (PL 113, 971 D – 972 A). Furthermore, the allusion to cupidity as one interpretation of fire (PL 113, 972 C) finds a possible parallel in the second line of the German exegesis:

D.39, 25 sumiliche sint si riche.

According to D. 39, 25 - 40, 6, these people are those who fail to draw the obvious conclusion that worldly misfortunes are a punishment for sin. Their hearts are hardened and they refuse to repent. If we continue to regard the *Glossa Ordinaria* as a probable source for the VM plagues, several passages upon which the exegesis may be based can be found. Thus the lines quoted above could be a reminiscence of an additional comment of Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 292 C) on the plague of blood, cited by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 35 A) and incorporated in the Gloss:

Quia qui in rerum causis carnaliter sentiunt, hujusmodi correptionibus arguuntur, ut ex qualitate poenarum agnoscant suum errorem. (PL 113, 205 B)

The notions of folly and hardness of heart are more in evidence in an interpretation of the plague of locusts attributed to Strabo. It follows the remarks of Origen and Rabanus Maurus on the locusts cited earlier, and it may with good reason be regarded as a source of the VM passage, since it occurs at the point in the Gloss which the poet would have reached when he found himself obliged to search for another allegory in order to correct his former mistake:

Per locustam, quae regem non habet, significatur temeritas illorum qui, licet diversis poenis multati, semper in duritia sua manent, tanquam nullum habeant rectorem. (PL 113, 214 D)

Divine punishment, one aspect of the VM interpretation (D. 39, 24), is emphasised by the *Glossa Ordinaria* citation of Luke 12, v. 49, derived from Origen (GCS 29, p. 179) with several intermediate copies.⁴⁴ There is also the comment of Origen on the boils (GCS 29, p. 179), adapted by the Gloss to apply to the hail:

Hucusque per errorem suorum figuras mundo supplicia temperantur: post haec veniunt verbera de supernis. (PL 113, 211 B)

The exegetical tradition of the plague of fire of Ps. 77, v. 48 shows some general correspondence to the VM, inasmuch as *ignis* is usually taken to signify punishment sent from above. Augustine interprets it as *immanitatem iracundiae* (CChr 39, p. 1088) and Cassiodorus as *cupiditatem ignobilem* (CChr 98, p. 724), while among later exegetes, Manegold of Lautenbach writes of *immanissimae iracundiae furore* (PL 93, 904 B), and Bruno the Carthusian's interpretation is similar (PL 152, 1049 D). Bruno of Würzburg, who says the fire is intended to illumine the hearts of believers, resembles the VM more in his comment on the hail – *castigatio divina* (PL 142, 297 BC). Among the commentaries dealing with the fire of Exodus, Origen's tropology, not used in the Gloss, regards it as the fire of penitence (GCS 29, p. 180); for Peter Damian it is the fire of cupidity (PL 145, 691 D – 692 A), and

for Bruno of Segni, the slaying of evil spirits in the hearts of sinners by the preaching of Scripture (PL 164, 250 A ff.).

Apart from the possible significance of these commentaries on verses connected with the fire and lightning of Exodus, it is likely that the MHG poet is also thinking of a more general association of fire with divine chastisement. Thus the *ignis gehennae* familiar from Matt. 5, v. 22; 18, v. 9 and Mark 9, vv. 44, 46 is referred to in Gregory the Great's commentary on the fire of Job 15, v. 34 (PL 75, 1016 CD) and 20, v. 26 (PL 75, 1098 C – 1099 B). Versions of both passages reach the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 799 C and 813 D). These examples are by no means unique.⁴⁵

The plague of thunder and hail in the VM remains to be discussed. For the German poet, it signifies tyrants and oppressors of the poor (D. 40, vv. 7-12). According to the notions of Origen (GCS 29, p. 179) which are handed down in characteristic fashion⁴⁶ to the *Glossa Ordinaria*, hail punishes the roots of sensual vice, while the thunder is God's teaching to make the sinner recognize his fault (PL 113, 212 C). But the Augustinian tradition associates this plague with the commandment against stealing (CChr 41, pp. 87-8) and supplies the most convincing source. The words of Augustine, adapted by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 103 C) and incorporated in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, express the fundamental idea of the VM: what is wrongly taken on earth is loss in heaven. The parallel is especially close in its emphasis on the damnation of thieves:

Nemo enim habet injustum lucrum sine justo damno. . . lucrum visibile, damnum invisibile. . . Qui enim malo desiderio forinsecus furantur, de iudicio intrinsecus grandinantur, et ager cordis eorum devastatur. (PL 113, 211 AB)

Rupert of Deutz likewise regards the hail as God's wrath revealed from heaven upon thieves (PL 167, 604 D ff.), and another resemblance to the VM is found in the exegesis of Honorius of Autun, for whom hail signifies robbers' booty, and thunder – not interpreted by Augustine – the threats of the powerful (PL 172, 268 A).

It would again seem probable that the *Glossa Ordinaria* provided the German poet with the basis of his material.⁴⁷ Other interpretations related by the same tradition are found in the commentaries of Peter Damian and Bruno of Segni. The latter sees the hail as the torments prepared for the Devil and his angels (PL 164, 250 A ff.). Damian explains that as hail is cold, so are thieves to their brother's charity. He regards thunder as the unbearable fear which thieves know (PL 145, 691 D – 692 B). The various allegories are all reflected in the compendia of Garnerius of St Victor (PL 193, 62 D; 66 B), Alan of Lille (PL 210, 805 BC; 975 C), Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 943 B; 1068 A) and Pseudo-Melito.⁴⁸

We may reasonably end this survey of the plagues of Egypt presented in the VM by suggesting that the *Glossa Ordinaria* is a probable source of the German poet, a conclusion which might be equally valid for the previous chapter. This commentary includes the two distinctive traditions of interpreting the plagues

derived from Origen and Augustine respectively and explains virtually all the details found in the vernacular poem, including material with which the poet could rectify his erroneous omission of the plague of murrain. However, in view of the manner in which these exegetical traditions were handed on down the centuries with little or no alteration, the possibility must remain that the poet also made use of earlier commentaries. We cannot draw any firmer conclusion as to his precise sources until all the exegetical passages of the work have been examined against the traditional background.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Exod. 7, v. 14 – 12, v. 32.
- 2 Cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 121.
- 3 Thus Augustine often reverses the fifth and sixth commandments, e.g. CChr 41, pp. 86-7; cf. Peter Damian, PL 145, 691 BC. Augustine treats Exod. 20, vv. 3-6 as a single commandment (CChr 41, pp. 82-3) and Exod. 20, v. 17 as two (CChr 41, p. 89); but Rupert of Deutz reverses this practice (PL 167, 598 C, 599 A; 606 D).
- 4 Philo, *De Vita Mosis* I, 17-26, ed. Cohn, IV (1902), pp. 142-155; Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* II, xiv, ed. Blatt, pp. 208-212.
- 5 *De Vita Mosis* I, 17, ed. Cohn, p. 142; I, 20, p. 146.
- 6 Transl. Lehrman (1939), p. 146.
- 7 Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (PL 198, 1149 C ff.) follows the biblical order, as do Rudolf von Ems's *Weltchronik* (lines 9928 ff., ed. Ehrismann), Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* (lines 3787 ff., ed. David), and the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* (lines 2943 ff., ed. Morris).
- 8 *De Vita Mosis*, loc. cit.
- 9 *Ant. Iud.* II, xiv, 1, ed. Blatt, p. 208.
- 10 Extracts were quoted by Diemer, Anm. pp. 18-19.
- 11 Cf. Quodvultdeus, *Lib. promiss. et praedict. Dei* III, 36, ed. Braun, pp. 558-560.
- 12 Cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 203 B.
- 13 On the first plague, cf. CChr 39, p. 1087.
- 14 In qua plaga cum comparationem quamdam quaero, nihil mihi interim occurrit – fortassis occurrat melius diligentius inquirentibus – nisi quia omnes res quas habent homines heredibus seruant, et in heredibus nihil est primogenitis carius. (CChr 41, p. 89)
- 15 *Lib. Promiss. et Praedict. Dei*, I, 49-52, ed. Braun, pp. 262-270.
- 16 *De Decem Aegypti Plagis, atque Decalogo*: PL 145, 685 ff.
- 17 The reference to Origen at the opening line 'Possunt decem plagae' is erroneous.
- 18 See above, n. 3.
- 19 Cf. Garnerius of St Victor who interprets blood as *carialis intellectus* (PL 193, 212 BC), though the plague of blood is not specified.
- 20 Cf. PL 111, 228 AB.
- 21 Diss. pp. 19-20.
- 22 Cf. CChr 39, p. 1087.
- 23 Ed. Braun, p. 264.
- 24 *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, III, pp. 82-4, Cf. also Cassiodorus, CChr 98, p. 723.
- 25 Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 293 A) substitutes *subtilitas haeretica* for *ars dialectica*. He is followed by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 36 D). See also Ps.–Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, II, p. 517.
- 26 Ed. Braun, pp. 264-266.
- 27 Cf. also the elaboration of the plague of flies in *Millstätter Exodus* 1491-1494 (ed. Papp):

si nemohten in entrinnen,
 neheine râwe gewinnen.
 si bizzen unde stâchen,
 gotes anden si râchen.

Such details apply more readily to the gnats than the flies. Rather than omit the former, the poet combines the two (cf. Kossmann, *Die altdeutsche Exodus*, p. 41; Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, p. 36). Thus statements that the flies came from the dust (1475-9) and settled on the beasts of the Egyptians (1490) are clearly derived from the third biblical plague, cf. Exod. 8, vv. 16-18.

²⁸ Cf. CChr 39, p. 1087.

²⁹ Cf. also Cassiodorus, CChr 98, p. 723.

³⁰ The *musca canina* of many Latin exegetes is doubtless the origin of the *hundesfliegen* of the third plague described in the *Millstätter Exodus*, lines 1470, 1478, cf. Kossmann, p. 26, and Augustine, CChr 41, p. 86 (also CChr 39, p. 1087), Isidore (PL 83, 293 C), the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 207 D, etc.

³¹ Ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, p. 517.

³² Cf. CChr 39, p. 1087.

³³ Cf. also Cassiodorus, CChr 98, p. 723.

³⁴ Cf. also Garmerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 988 D: *adulatores*; and Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, pp. 515-6.

³⁵ Cf. Quodvultdeus (ed. Braun, p. 268) and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 603 B-D) who do not reverse the two commandments and appropriately associate the boils with lust.

³⁶ *Ulcera* and *vesicae* are terms used in Exod. 9, vv. 9-11.

³⁷ The omission could conceivably have occurred at a later stage in the MS tradition through the homeoteleutic confusion of 'in der finften harm schare' (D. 39, 5) with '(D)iv ahtode harmscare' (D. 40, 6), especially as the extant MS confirms that on at least one occasion the first folio of the twelfth gathering was sufficiently illegible to need replacement. Only the fifth and eighth plagues are introduced in this way. However, a scribe who was relatively unfamiliar with the poem would have found it easier to insert the murrain later than to rewrite the traditional seventh plague, which argues against an account of the murrain in the correct position in an earlier MS.

³⁸ The inclusion of the murrain in the ninth position, or the inclusion of both murrain and darkness as the ninth and tenth plagues with a special place outside the series of ten for the severest punishment of the Passover are alternative possibilities, but appear unlikely.

³⁹ Exod. 9, vv. 23, 28, 29, 33, 34.

⁴⁰ Jantsch, *Studien zum Symbolischen*, p. 84, proposes *tonitrus* (sic) as the source of *blükke*, but this seems hardly likely when thunder forms part of the following VM plague (D. 40, 7). The employment of the neuter form *tonitruum*, -a in the Vulgate also calls Jantsch's accuracy into question.

⁴¹ The sixth plague of the *Millstätter Exodus* also lays much emphasis on the different phenomena, thunder, lightning, and hail (lines 1872-1888, ed. Kossmann).

⁴² Ps. 77, vv. 46-48: Et dedit aerugini fructus eorum: et labores eorum locustae. Et occidit in grandine vineas eorum: et moros eorum in pruina. Et tradidit grandini iumenta eorum: et possessionem eorum igni.

⁴³ The significance of parallelism in Hebrew poetry was not appreciated until the eighteenth century. For a recent account of this development, see Roston, *Prophet and Poet* (1965), especially pp. 21-24 and 126-142.

⁴⁴ Cf. Caesarius of Arles, CChr 103, p. 405; Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 294 AB; Pseudo-Bede, PL 91, 303 A; Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 41 BC.

⁴⁵ Cf. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, pp. 82-4, 177-81.

⁴⁶ See Caesarius of Arles, CChr 103, pp. 404-5; Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 294 AB (cf. Jantsch, p. 84); Pseudo-Bede, PL 91, 302 D - 303 A; Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 41 BC.

⁴⁷ Cf. also the Gloss on Ps. 77, v. 48: *Grando*. Est iniquitas res alienas auferens; unde furta, rapinae, praedae. (PL 113, 971 D, from Augustine, CChr 39, p. 1087).

⁴⁸ Cf. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, pp. 82-6.

3. THE PASSOVER

The principal narrative and exegetical passages dealing with the Passover meal follow immediately on the lacuna ending the account of the plagues of Egypt (D. 41, 1 - 42, 27). Some of the first few lines are borrowed from the *Ezzolied*.¹ Whether they occurred at this point in the original version of the poem before the renewal of fol. 89 is not clear, since they may have been added by the later scribe, who knew them from the same MS, in order to form a transition. Evidence for this is apparent in the fact that all details in D. 41, 7-19 subsequently receive allegorical treatment, whereas the smearing of the doorway with blood in the *Ezzolied* parallel (D. 41, 4-6) does not, and this omission has no precedent in the commentaries.² The *Ezzolied* passage would suggest itself as an obvious bridge, for it emphasises the typological aspect of the Passover lamb in the same way as the VM.³

The poet omits from both narrative and exegesis other details of the biblical account in Exod. 12 such as the use of unleavened bread, and confines himself to nine of the most important: the lamb itself, its preservation for five days, its roasting in the fire, the burning of unconsumed portions and the fact that nothing must remain next day, the haste with which it is eaten and the dress of the eaters, who must have feet shod, loins girt and staffs in their hands. We shall restrict our search for parallels in medieval exegetical tradition to these details, but it should be remembered that most of the authors who interpret the subject include other points not mentioned by our poet. J. Daniélou has considered the smearing of the doorway and the unleavened bread, pointing out their baptismal and eucharistic significance among early Christian writers, especially in the Eastern Church, but his work⁴ neither mentions the matters interpreted by the MHG poet⁵ nor traces the subject through Western tradition to the twelfth century, which is our chief concern.

However, Daniélou describes the origins of the fundamental interpretation of the lamb slain at the Passover as a figure of Christ's passion, with the subsequent development of the eucharistic typology explicit in the German poet's allusions to the eating of the lamb as in much of the patristic and medieval exegesis we shall consider. A third tradition, also present in both the German poem and the Latin parallels, finds in the lamb an allegory of the spiritual life of the Christian.⁶ These three traditions, tropology, eucharistic typology and straightforward allegory, and with them all the details to be considered, depend on the basic notion of the lamb as a type of Christ. This is the first point to be made in the VM (D. 41, 19-22).

Originating with St John⁷ and reiterated by Paul,⁸ the interpretation is so widespread in the exegetical tradition that it need hardly detain us. It was encouraged by the historical coincidence of the events of Easter with the Jewish Pasch and numerous allusions to it are found in the Easter liturgy, not least among them being the sequence for Easter Sunday *Victimae paschali*, the Epistle for the same day – the passage from 1 Cor. already noted – and the words spoken before the blessing of the Paschal candle on Holy Saturday. The type is fundamental to the exegesis of every author we consider, for only on this framework can the allegorization of the circumstantial details of the Passover meal be built up.⁹

Following Exod. 12, vv. 3, 6, the poet explains that the lamb was kept for five days before slaughter. This he sees as a type of the period from Palm Sunday to the day of the Crucifixion – the five last days of Christ's life:

D. 41, 22 si namen in an dem balmtage.
 dar nach lebte er finf tage.¹⁰
 an dem sehsten wa(r)t er gemarterot.
 durch unsich leit er den tot.

While Origen sees the lamb as a figure of Christ (PG 12, 283-4 C; PG 14, 331 C – 342 A; GCS 30, p. 218) the remainder of his interpretation does not in any way correspond to this passage of the VM. The same is true of Isidore of Seville who touches on the eucharistic implications of the exegesis and interprets the unleavened bread but not the details of the lamb (PL 83, 294 D – 295 B), while Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44, 355 B – 358 D), Gaudentius of Brescia (CSEL 68, p. 35), Cyril of Alexandria (PG 69, 421 A – 426 A) and Gregory the Great (PL 76, 1177 D – 1181 B)¹¹ likewise provide no direct parallel to the quotation. With Bede, however, we find a close resemblance to our poem in a Palm Sunday homily:

Agnus quippe paschalis cuius immolatione populus Israhel est ab Aegyptia seruitute liberatus ante quinque dies paschae, id est decima luna, adsumi et quarta decima luna ad uesperum iussus est immolari significans eum qui nos suo sanguine redempturus ante quinque dies paschae, hoc est hodierna die (i.e. Palm Sunday), magno praecedentium sequentiumque populorum gaudio ac laudatione deductus uenit in templum Dei et erat cotidie docens in eo. . . (CChr 122, pp. 200-1)

Rabanus Maurus gives a similar interpretation. Its chief addition to that of Bede is a reference to the institution of the Blessed Sacrament on the Thursday evening:

Decima die mensis agnus assumi iubetur et seruari usque ad quartam decimam diem mensis ejusdam ad uesperam, et sic immolari: ita et Redemptor noster decima die, hoc est, ante quinque dies Paschae Jerosolymam ueniens, in templo atque in conventu insidiantium Judaeorum uerbum Dei docens, exspectavit quartam decimam diem, in quo Pascha mysticum cum discipulis suis celebrans, per Judam proditorem in manus Judaeorum traditus est, atque sequenti die in cruce est pro redemptione nostra immolatus. (PL 108, 48 D)

This extension of the Passover typology to embrace not merely the person of Christ,

as was the case with Bede, but also the eucharistic sacrifice, becomes especially relevant in view of the next two lines of the VM exegesis:

D. 42, 3 also man hivte beget.
 so der briester ob dem alter stet.¹²

Radulphus Ardens (PL 155, 1842 D) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 218 B)¹³ give explanations close to that of Bede. Bruno of Segni, however, while associating the lamb with Christ, takes the numbers ten and fourteen from Exod. 12, vv. 3, 6 and interprets the meaning as Christ's coming which is foreshadowed by the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament and fulfilled in the four gospels of the New (PL 164, 253 C – 254 A).¹⁴ Finally, Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 613 B – 614 B) and Honorius of Autun (PL 172, 921 B) give an exegesis similar to that of Rabanus Maurus, like him emphasising the eucharistic associations of the Passover.

Hence the three last-named exegetes all supply interpretations close enough to that of the VM to be possible sources, while several other works, including the *Glossa Ordinaria*, lack only the sacramental emphasis of the MHG in their expositions of the five days.

The German poet next deals with Exod. 12, v. 9: the lamb must be roasted in the fire, not boiled or eaten raw. This signifies our understanding of Christ as true God and true Man (D. 42, 4-9). Before adducing Christian exegetical parallels to this passage, we should note that Philo of Alexandria stands at the head of the Christian tradition of seeking an allegorical meaning in the Passover narrative of Exod. 12, even though the earliest Christian exegetes such as Origen who fall under his influence necessarily provide us with parallels that do not always match the work of the twelfth century vernacular poet. Exod. 12 is one of the few chapters partially covered by the fragmentary Armenian *Questions and Answers on Exodus*.¹⁵ Here, in addition to the practical reasons of speed and simplicity, the hidden purpose in roasting rather than boiling the lamb is that God 'does not permit (us) to lead a life filled with luxury, for boiling is an indication of variety and seasoning'.¹⁶

For Gregory of Nyssa, roasting is the burning faith with which the lamb should be eaten (PG 44, 357-8 BC),¹⁷ while Gaudentius of Brescia provides an interpretation already resembling the VM. To eat the lamb roasted to a firm consistency signifies the assimilation of Christ's teaching likewise made firm by the spirit; if eaten raw, the lamb would by contrast be devoid of interpretation; if boiled, it would be 'boiled down' (*decocta*) and dissolved by the teaching of the worldly (CSEL 68, pp. 26-27; 29-30). Cyril of Alexandria gives a similar exegesis, with greater emphasis on the eucharistic element (PG 69, 427-8 D – 429-30 A). Gregory the Great's interpretation along the same lines provides us with our first close parallel. To eat the lamb raw would be to consider Christ purely as man; to eat it boiled with water is to attempt to fathom the mysteries of the Incarnation (*incarnationis ejus mysteria*, cf. *die tōgen*. . . D. 42, 5 ff.) with the aid of human

knowledge; by roasting, however, all these things are understood to be dispensed by the power of the Holy Spirit (PL 76, 1179 BCD).

This passage is followed verbatim by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 50 D – 51 B) and appears again in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 218 BC). The Pseudo-Bede's interpretation is similar (PL 91, 306 C) and another striking resemblance to the German work is provided by the eleventh century homily of Radulphus Ardens which develops the theme of Gregory the Great:

Quomodo erat comedendus agnus paschalis? Non crudus, non coctus aqua, sed tantum assatus igni: Caro cruda, cadaver solum sine calore est, cocta in aqua dissolvitur, assata vero constringitur, ut ossa carni, et caro ossibus haereat. Crudum ergo Agnum comedit qui Christum purum hominem credit. Coctum et dissolutum aqua comedit, qui eum in duas personas dissolvit. Tostum vero et cohaerentem comedit qui in una Christi persona divinitatem et humanitatem cohaerentes credit. (PL 155, 1843 CD)

Bruno of Segni, Rupert of Deutz and Honorius of Autun write in the same tradition, though the similarity to the VM is less marked than in Radulphus. Bruno explains that lamb is more avidly eaten and more easily digested when roasted; if consumed boiled or raw, it may easily harm the stomach. Hence whoever eats it raw fails to distinguish Christ from other flesh, while he who eats it roast believes in Christ and eats eagerly. There is another possibility. Because Christ suffered the flesh is not eaten raw. Nor is it boiled, since the Crucifixion was not concealed from men's eyes as meat in boiling water (PL 164, 255 BC).

For Rupert of Deutz, to eat the lamb roasted is to truly attribute the consecration of the Sacrament to the operation of the Holy Spirit which adds the divine to the visible nature (PL 167, 617 B – 618 B). While this passage is clearly within the tradition we are considering and lays special emphasis on the eucharistic associations of the lamb also found in the VM, its implications for Rupert's doctrine of the eucharist have given rise to speculation and its precise meaning is problematical. Honorius of Autun also emphasises the eucharistic significance of the paschal lamb: it is eaten roasted when a faithful congregation receives the Sacrament (PL 172, 921 B).¹⁸

Hence Radulphus Ardens provides us with an interpretation of the roasting of the lamb especially close to that of our poet, but this is a tradition which appears to date at least from Gregory the Great who is followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria* among other later commentaries.

The next four details to be considered all derive from Exod. 12, v. 11. The VM exegesis of the first, the fact that the eater must have his feet shod, again shows a prominent eucharistic emphasis (D. 42, 10-15). General parallels are easily found. For Gregory of Nyssa, our feet are shod to resist the thorns of sin on life's journey (PG 44, 357-8 A),¹⁹ while Gaudentius of Brescia sees such obstacles as the Devil, gentiles and heretics (CSEL 68, p. 44). Shod feet, explains Cyril of Alexandria, signify that our will is prepared to hurry to please God (PG 69, 431-2 D – 433-4 A),

and Pseudo-Bede finds in each pair of feet a twofold charity, the examples of prophets and apostles in body and soul (PL 91, 307 A). A similar notion is found in the sequence for Easter week of Notker Balbulus: 'Pedes tutentur adversus viperas'.²⁰

The most ingenious interpretation is perhaps that of Gregory the Great (PL 76, 1180 CD), followed by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 52 AB), the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 218 C) – which also cites Gregory of Nyssa (PL 113, 218 D) – and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 620 B). Our feet are our works and are protected by shoes, the skins of dead animals. Hence they signify the fathers, now dead, who preceded us to the kingdom, and to have our feet shod is to contemplate the lives of the blessed dead and so protect *nostri operis pedes* from sin.²¹ A few lines previously the similarity of the tradition to that of the VM is confirmed when the same emphasis on good works appears in a eucharistic context:

In nocte quippe agnum comedimus, quia in sacramento modo dominicum corpus accipimus. . . Sed sola Redemptoris nostri percepta sacramenta ad veram solemnitatem mentis non sufficiunt, nisi eis quoque et bona opera jungantur. (PL 76, 1178 CD)

The Sacrament is also stressed by Radulphus Ardens:

Calceamenta in pedibus habebitis (Exod. 12, v. 11), id est non adhaerebunt affectus vestri terrenis, sed coelestia desiderabunt. Qui enim, fratres, per avaritiam et cupiditatem adhaeret terrenis, non est dignus accedere ad carnes Agni. (PL 155, 1844 B)

The fundamental notion that the feet must be shod to resist sin is clearly so widespread that no single work can be seen as the sole source of the lines in the VM. The whole Gregorian tradition, including the *Glossa Ordinaria*, must be taken into account.

All exegetes agree with our poet in his interpretation of the next detail; the loins of those who eat the lamb must be girt:

D. 42, 15 (S)o gurte wir die lanche.
 daz sint die reinen gedanche.²²

The obvious sexual associations of the loins condition the exegesis of Philo as much as his Christian successors:

The girdles represent drawing together and the coming together of the sensual pleasures and other passions, which, being, as it were, released and let go, overtake all souls. Wherefore not ineptly does He add that one must have a girdle about the middle, for this place is considered as the manger of the many-headed beast of desire within us.²³

Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44, 357-8 B) follows Philo and is probably influenced also by the independent metaphorical usage of the N.T. 1 Pet. 1, v. 13 is especially important in this respect, for it opens a passage which explains the baptismal significance of many of the events of the exodus and must be regarded as a direct

influence on the VM.²⁴ Gregory of Nyssa is followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 219 A).²⁵

Chastity and the restraint of lust is the interpretation of Gaudentius (CSEL 68, pp. 28-9; 44), Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 306 D)²⁶ and Gregory the Great. The latter is followed by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 51 D – 52 A), the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 218 C), Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 619 D – 620 A)²⁷ and Garnerius of St Victor (PL 193, 231 AB):

Qui ergo pascha comedit, habere renes accinctos debet, ut qui solemnitatem resurrectionis atque incorruptionis agit, corruptioni jam per vitia nulla subiaceat, voluptates edomet, carnem a luxuria restringat. (PL 76, 1180 C)

Notker's sequence mentioned above similarly includes the phrase 'renes constringant ad pudicitiam', while Radulphus Ardens again emphasises the eucharistic acceptance of the lamb:

Renes vestros accingetis (Exod. 12, v. 11), id est luxuriam refrenabitis, non solum illicitam, sed etiam licitam. Quoniam, fratres charissimi, cum tanta puritate ad carnes Agni accedere debemus, ut non solum ab omnibus illicitis, sed etiam a quibusdam licitis abstinere debemus. (PL 155, 1844 B)

Chastity is likewise mentioned by Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 256 B) and Richard of St Victor (PL 175, 655 B), and the allegorical compilation of Garnerius of Rochefort confirms the tradition we have traced by giving *delectatio carnis, opera libidinis*, etc. as the meaning of loins, though without any precise reference to the Exodus passage (PL 112, 1039 C).²⁸ The interpretation of the VM is, therefore, implicit in the work of every exegete we have considered.²⁹ Its familiarity was further assured by liturgical usage. The prayers spoken by the priest vesting himself for mass include the following:

Praecinge me, Domine, cingulo puritatis, et exstingue in lumbis meis humorem libidinis: ut maneat in me virtus continentiae et castitatis.³⁰

An allegorical interpretation of the relevant vestment as chastity occurs among the twelfth century MHG Weingartner sermons.³¹

It is remarkable that in its interpretation of the staff to be carried at the Passover the VM, with its reference to obedience (D. 42, 16 - 18), at first sight appears to stand outside the exegetical tradition. Cyril of Alexandria (PG 69, 433 - 4 AB) follows Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44, 357 - 8 B)³² in seeing the staff as a figure of hope. Gaudentius considers that 'the staff is there to resist those to whom it was necessary to say, 'Quid vultis? in virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate. . .?' (1 Cor. 4, v. 21), and because of those who come in sheep's clothing but are inwardly ravaging wolves (Matt. 7, v. 15; CSEL 68, pp. 47-8). For Gregory the Great it is the staff of pastoral office (PL 76, 1181 A),³³ while Pseudo-Bede, taking 'tenentes baculos in manibus' (Exod. 12, v. 11) to mean that each individual has two staffs, interprets them accordingly as the arms with which we fight, or the two Testaments (PL 91, 307 A). Bruno of Segni similarly sees the

individual with any number of staffs to beat off vices, 'Quot virtutes, tot et baculos habes' (PL 164, 256 C); this notion of warding off wild beasts was found in Philo³⁴ and Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44, 357-8 B) and is also evident in Notker's sequence:

baculosque spiritaes contra canes iugiter manu baiulent.³⁵

Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 52 B); the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 218 C) and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 620 B) continue to follow Gregory the Great, while the homily of Radulphus Ardens also contains no mention of obedience (PL 155, 1844 BC). Richard of St Victor speaks of the staff of justice (PL 175, 655 B).

There is thus no immediate equation of the staff with obedience in the commentaries. A possible solution to the problem lies in the fact that the VM couplet follows close upon the interpretation of the girded loins; hence the poet may still be thinking of 1 Pet. 1, vv. 13-14, 22 where loins and obedience occur in close proximity.

Here, however, the staff is not mentioned, and it seems more probable that with *gehorsam* the poem refers to the voluntary subjection to divine power and chastisement with which both *virga* and *baculus* are commonly associated. It is apparent in 1 Cor. 4, v. 21 quoted above together with some of the commentaries mentioned in both the present context and that of the transformation of Moses's rod.³⁶ The *Glossa Ordinaria* on Jer. 1, v. 11 (PL 114, 10 A) refers to Jerome's commentary (PL 24, 685 AB) which besides 1 Cor. 4, v. 21 quotes the highly significant fourth verse of Ps. 22: 'Virga tua, et baculus tuus: ipsa me consolata sunt'. Here the commentaries attach much importance to the need for subjection to discipline — previously found in Philo³⁷ and implicit also in Gregory the Great's exegesis of Exod. 12, v. 11 — and among them Cassiodorus, quoted by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 876 A), mentions the eating of the Passover (CChr 97, p. 212; cf. also Augustine, CChr 38, pp. 134-5 and Manegold of Lautenbach, PL 93, 600 A). The same emphasis is present in the twelfth century compendia of Garnerius of St Victor (PL 193, 346 AB; cf. 344 C), Alan of Lille (PL 210, 717 B; cf. 1005 D) and the Ps.-Melito.³⁸

Hence there is ample evidence that the VM may refer in general terms to a widespread association of a rod or staff with obedient submission to divine correction.

The poem next interprets another phrase from Exod. 12, v. 11, 'Et comedetis festinanter':

D. 42, 18	so ezze wir mit willen. daz bezeichent daz swelhen. (S)o sul wir vil harte gahen. ³⁹
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As with the girding of the loins, this interpretation is concise enough to allow a parallel to be drawn with every exegete examined. Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44, 357-8 C) emphasises that the lamb should be eaten speedily with burning faith. Cyril of Alexandria (PG 69, 433-4 AB) and Gregory the Great (PL 76, 1181 AB)⁴⁰

see the passage as meaning that we should hurry on our journey in the Christian life lest we lose our places in the heavenly kingdom, while the latter's earlier 'cum aviditate sumimus' (PL 76, 1180 A) is a most suitable source for *swelthen*. The *Glossa Ordinaria* refers to the whole of Gregory's treatment (PL 113, 218 C). The Pseudo-Bede comments that we should hasten to believe before the day of judgment (PL 91, 307 A). When the Lord appears, interprets Bruno of Segni, we should already be sated, i.e. have a firm faith (PL 164, 256 CD). All these exegetes thus see in the need to hasten an allegory of the spiritual life of the Christian, while Gaudentius of Brescia and Radulphus Ardens stress the eucharistic aspect of this allegory. The former speaks of our glad acceptance of the Sacrament (CSEL 68, p. 29) and Radulphus writes as follows:

Et comedetis festinanter, de vitiis ad virtutes, de mundo ad aeternam patriam properantes, ad similitudinem Israelitarum, qui cum festinatione exeundi ab Ægypto, et eundi in terram promissionis agnum comederunt. Non itaque, fratres mei, non pigre, non negligenter, non tepide, sed cum timore et devotione ad tantum accedamus sacramentum. (PL 155, 1844 C)

The eucharistic emphasis of these two authors shows a remarkable resemblance to the VM treatment, though the *Glossa Ordinaria* continues to provide adequate source-material.

The next two circumstantial details of the Passover can be dealt with together. They derive from the two parts of Exod. 12, v. 10: 'Nec remanebit quidquam ex eo usque mane: si quid residuum fuerit, igne comburetis'. The burning of the remains signifies, for the German poet, that the spiritual matters we fail to grasp with our intellect should be committed to the Holy Spirit (D. 42, 20-24). The Spirit sustains our fragile faith throughout the night of this life, after which with the dawn of the life to come we attain to certainty and are beyond doubt:

D. 42, 24	div behaltet ez die naht. vns uns ershinen daz licht. dar nach enzwivil wir niht. daz bezeichent ze ware. daz gebaine vñ daz inêder. ⁴¹
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We shall find that every exegete considered gives a similar interpretation of both details, though Gregory of Nyssa omits the eschatological element, merely saying that doctrines too difficult to comprehend, e.g. the nature of God, what existed before creation, are put aside and committed to the fire (PG 44, 357-8 CD). Gaudentius, however, explains that such matters will be revealed in the next world (CSEL 68, pp. 27-8), and Gregory the Great, still followed by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 51 CD), the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 218 C) and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 619 CD), likewise gives an interpretation parallel in all respects to that of the VM:

Non remanebit ex eo quidquam usque mane, quia ejus dicta magna sunt sollicitudine discutienda, quatenus priusquam dies resurrectionis appareat, in

hac praesentis vitae nocte omnia illius mandata intelligendo et operando penetrentur. Sed quia valde difficile est ut omne sacrum eloquium possit intelligi, et omne ejus mysterium penetrari, recte subjungitur: *Si quid autem remanserit, igne comburetis*. Quod ex agno remanet igne comburimus quando hoc quod de mysterio incarnationis ejus intelligere et penetrare non possumus potestati sancti Spiritus humiliter reservamus, ut non superbe quis audeat vel contemnere vel denuntiare quod non intelligit, sed hoc igni tradit cum sancto Spiritui reservat. (PL 76, 1180 AB)

The exegesis of both Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 306 CD) and Radulphus Ardens (PL 155, 1844 A) is very similar. Just as the VM elaborates the biblical account with the statement that the bones and intestines are to be burnt, so for Bruno of Segni the parts meant by *residuum* (Exod. 12, v. 10) must be the bones and skin which cannot be eaten – understood – and are committed to the fire of faith till Christ's appearance in the morning (PL 164, 255 D – 256 B). We may also point to the interpretation of a vernacular sermon which, like Gregory of Nyssa, deals only with the second half of the verse:

uns ist geboten zu geloube und niht vil dar umme zu vragē. enkunne wir is niht volgrunden, so sule wir iz dem heiligen geiste bevelhen. daz sint die superflua, die aleiben von dem lambe die unser herre got gebot in dem vûre zu burnende.⁴²

That the allegory had become part of vernacular tradition is not surprising in view of the close correspondence between the other exegetes and the VM.

While the fundamental equation of the Paschal lamb with Christ is the common property of the commentaries down to the twelfth century and later, we have also found many parallels to the exegesis by the VM of the circumstantial details of the Passover meal. Though the Exodus homilies of Gaudentius of Brescia and Homily XLIX of Radulphus Ardens cannot be overlooked as possible influences, the tradition begun by Gregory the Great and followed verbatim by Rabanus Maurus, the *Glossa Ordinaria* and Rupert of Deutz is seen to be of special importance. The *Glossa Ordinaria* remains a common factor among all the exegetical material so far examined for parallels to the MHG poem.

It is also notable that in this chapter both the tradition of the Latin commentaries and the exegesis of the VM itself have strikingly confirmed two of the themes emphasised by Daniélou: the strong eucharistic associations of the Paschal meal and its tropological interpretation as an allegory of the spiritual life of the Christian.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. above, p. 15, n. 7.
- 2 Cf. Gregory the Great, PL 76, 1178 BC, followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 218 B.
- 3 Cf. *Ezzolied* 326-358 (ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 298).
- 4 *Bible et Liturgie*, pp. 220-39. See also *La Maison-Dieu* 45 (1956), pp. 99-119, and Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, p. 379.
- 5 Cf., however, Daniélou in *La Maison-Dieu* 18 (1949), pp. 28-32.
- 6 Cf. Daniélou, *Bible et Liturgie*, p. 229.
- 7 John 1, v. 29 – the liturgical *Agnus Dei*. Cf. John 19, v. 36 and Exod. 12, v. 46.
- 8 1 Cor. 5, vv. 7-8. The Suffering Servant prophecy (Is. 52, v. 13 - 53, v. 12) has also to be considered with regard to the origin of the *Agnus Dei* symbol.
- 9 Some references to authors not mentioned below: Lactantius, CSEL 19, pp. 383-4; Zeno, PL 11, 511 AB; Jerome, CChr 75, pp. 699-700; Augustine, CChr 33, p. 86; CChr 39, pp. 811-2. Cf. also the MHG *Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. Mellbourn, p. 72, lines 16 ff.
- 10 The Monday to Friday inclusive.
- 11 Followed by Paterius, PL 79, 729 B – 731 C.
- 12 Cf. Stroppe, *Liturgie und geistliche Dichtung* (1927), p. 66.
- 13 Apparently from Strabo's lost commentary. See Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952), pp. 57-8.
- 14 Cf. the Pseudo-Bede, PL 91, 305 B, and Strabo in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 218 A.
- 15 Transl. Marcus, Loeb Classics, Philo, Supplement II, 1953.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4.
- 17 Followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 219 A.
- 18 For Rupert, cf. Doyen, *Die Eucharistielehre Ruperts von Deutz*, pp. 36 ff.
- 19 Cf. Eph. 6, v. 15, though this may reflect Is. 52, v. 7.
- 20 Ed. von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt, Editionsband* (1948), p. 34. The first two lines of the passage (D. 42, 10-11) perhaps result from the infrequency of Communion in the Middle Ages; cf. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, II (1952), pp. 448-9.
- 21 Cf. also Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 655 B: *mortalitatis memoriam*.
- 22 Cf. *Millstätter Exodus* 2511-2 (ed. Papp). The passage of the *Exodus* is the only explicit allegory in the work, cf. Pniower, ZDA 33 (1889), pp. 76-7; Münscher, Diss. pp. 135-6; Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, p. 110; Papp, pp. 22 ff.; and above, p. 7.
- 23 Marcus, pp. 27-8.
- 24 Cf. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, pp. 140-1. Other N.T. references are Luke 12, v. 35 and Eph. 6, v. 14 (used by Origen as quoted in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 204 C).
- 25 Cf. Kossmann's note on *Millstätter Exodus* 2511, pp. 147-8; Jantsch, p. 69.
- 26 Cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 136.
- 27 Cf. Münscher, *ibid.*
- 28 Cf. Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, II, p. 258.
- 29 For other traditions based on different biblical contexts, cf. Cyril of Alexandria, PG 69, 431-2 D; Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, II, p. 42; III, p. 156.
- 30 Cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 136.
- 31 Ed. Schönbach, ZDA 28 (1884), p. 14.
- 32 Cited by the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 219 A.
- 33 Cf. Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 873 A; Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, II, p. 386.
- 34 Marcus, p. 27.
- 35 Ed. von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- 36 See above, p. 11 and n. 1.
- 37 Marcus, p. 28.
- 38 Ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, II, p. 388: *Virga, rigor disciplinae*. Cf. Eucherius, CSEL 31, p. 8. (S)ο: thus Bachofer, Diss. p. 169.
- 39 Cf. also Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 52 BC) and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 620 C).
- 41 According to Exod. 12, v. 9 – the previous verse – the intestines of the lamb are to be eaten. But clearly there is no significant deviation here from the biblical facts, since the poet is searching for a convenient rhyme and has this verse in mind. In any case, Exod. 12, v. 10 b includes all remaining portions of the lamb.
- 42 Ed. Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten*, I (1886), p. 45, lines 8 ff. Schönbach (*ibid.*, p. 402) suggests as source material the works of Gregory the Great and Honorius of Autun cited in this chapter, together with Werner of St Blaise, PL 157, 928 D. However, the exegetical tradition is too widespread and the rest of this Latin material too dissimilar to prove that the MHG sermon was unquestionably modelled on any one work.

4. THE JOURNEY INTO THE WILDERNESS

The next passage in the VM for which an allegorical interpretation is given concerns the initial departure of the Hebrews into the desert (D. 43, 10 - 44, 26). The lines significant for the exegesis explain that after escaping the plagues and Pharaoh, they make a three days' journey into the desert and there sacrifice young animals¹ on a stone altar and offer burnt incense.

On appearing to Moses at the burning bush, God commands him to tell Pharaoh that the Hebrews are to be released to make a three days' journey into the desert to sacrifice (Exod. 3, v. 18).² However, there is no explicit reference later in the Vulgate to any fulfilment of this sacrifice, and we are thus faced with a 'blind' motif in the source which is nevertheless worked out in the MHG poem. We are left in no doubt that this and two subsequent verses of the Vulgate in which Moses puts the proposal to Pharaoh (Exod. 5, v. 3; 8, v. 27) are indeed the source of the VM three days' journey, for there are no other allusions in any way similar in the biblical account, though Münscher pointed unconvincingly to Exod. 15, v. 22 later in the narrative.³ Confirmation of the true source is provided by the parallels to be drawn between the interpretation of the journey in the VM and one of the exegetical traditions in the Latin commentaries on these verses. But we are obliged to speculate where in the Vulgate, if at all, the sacrifice thus commanded actually takes place.

In Exod. 17, v. 15, Moses is said to build an altar to the Lord. However, there is no mention of sacrifice, and the act is clearly restricted in significance to thanksgiving for the defeat of the Amalekites (Exod. 17, vv. 8-13); it is not connected in any way with previous events.

The only sacrifice in the exodus narrative which may be seen as a fulfilment of the command appears to be that which takes place at Mount Sinai on receipt of the Decalogue (Exod. 24, vv. 4-8). This would seem to be the view of Josephus when we remember that Sinai is identical with Horeb, where the original command was given at the burning bush:

. . . iussitque ut educens Hebraeos ex Aegypto sacrificium gratiarum actionis veniens *ad illa loca* celebraret.⁴

God is therefore, according to Josephus, telling Moses to bring the Israelites to the same place in the wilderness and there make sacrifice — and the place is reached when they arrive at Mount Sinai to receive the Law. Unfortunately, Josephus does not mention the sacrifice at the appropriate place in the *Antiquities*,⁵ but his

interpretation is clarified by a reference to God's command and its future fulfilment after the account of the Red Sea crossing:

postea vero armis Aegyptiorum per fluctus et violentiam ventorum allatis exercitibus Hebraeorum Moyses et hoc arbitratus dei provisione factum ut neque armis egerent colligens haec et his Hebraeos muniens eos ducebat ad montem Sina, *illic immolaturus deo, et pro salute multitudinis sicut ei praedictum fuerat, munera redditurus.*⁶

The possibility that the VM associates the sacrifice proposed in Exod. 3, v. 18 with that of Exod. 24, vv. 4-8 is thus strengthened by the fact that the Sinai sacrifice is the only possible fulfilment of the biblical command and that Josephus makes a similar identification. There is, however, nothing in the Vulgate itself to support the theory. Indeed, whatever the geographical position of Sinai, the journey there from Egypt would take far longer than three days,⁷ and the Hebrews in fact take three months (Exod. 19, v. 1).

Examination of the circumstances of the three days' journey for which permission is demanded of Pharaoh reveals another fact. It is regarded in the Vulgate merely as a preliminary demand to weaken Pharaoh's control of the Hebrews. After the initial concession has been granted, it is implied, they will return to Egypt.⁸ Then further demands would be made. That this is the case is shown by the textual position of the Hebrew, for the claim to the brief concession occurs only in the J account, in contrast to the P tradition where the demand for complete release from bondage is made in the first instance.⁹

Josephus has thus confused the issue; the three days' journey to the wilderness to offer sacrifice is never intended to be more than a hypothetical demand in the biblical narrative, and it clearly becomes irrelevant once the Israelites are enabled to depart for good. Similarly, when medieval exegetes gloss the verses in Exodus, their allegorical interpretations are based on a hypothetical suggestion which was never realised as an event.

While Josephus has wrongly sought and found an actual sacrifice to fulfil God's command to Moses, the VM adds not merely a sacrifice but even an exegetical passage relating to it, as if to make the fiction more convincing. The description bears no resemblance to the biblical offering at Sinai: in Exod. 24, vv. 4-8 bullocks are sacrificed, not calves and sheep, and there is no mention of incense in this Vulgate passage, as in the VM. There is also no reference to the use of stones to build the altar; indeed, in Exod. 20, v. 24 God explicitly forbids the use of hewn stones in altar-construction and says turf will suffice. However, in all probability the poet is describing in general terms any O.T. sacrifice; similar accounts occur throughout the books of Leviticus and Numbers.¹⁰ Reference to the use of incense, especially in association with the altar of incense in the tabernacle, is also common.¹¹ The replacement of *chelber unde scâf* (D. 43, 16-17) by the generalising *friscinge* (D. 44, 23) in the exegetical passage suggests that no specific animals are intended, while the interpretation of the sacrifice – we should offer up our hearts¹² –

would likewise seem to indicate that the poet intends a broad depiction of any sacrifice with no precise biblical allusion.¹³

Hence our poet resembles Josephus in assuming the hypothetical sacrifice, besides the three days' journey, to have actually taken place, and he associates with his rendering of Exod. 3, v. 18 the details of a sacrifice based in general terms on many an early O.T. description. His failure to distinguish hypothesis from fact may not be a personal error, since it can be ascribed to the exegetical tradition he follows. However, an earlier passage in the poem suggests the contrary, for 'da suln si mir oppheren' (D. 36, 20), directly corresponding to Exod. 3, v. 18, is placed in the mouth of God as an unqualified fact; in the source God merely tells Moses to deceive Pharaoh by saying this. Thus the characteristic compression of the VM has created the double motif even at this early stage: the people are to be allowed (temporary) leave to sacrifice and at the same time to be released completely. The addition of the sacrifice may therefore be due, in part at least, to the MHG poet's own failure to appreciate what is implied by the Vulgate, though it is a natural step once the three days' journey is accepted as a reality.¹⁴

We may now consider Latin parallels to this seeming error and to the other details interpreted by the VM. The vernacular poet first sees the escape of the Hebrews from the plagues of Egypt and Pharaoh as a type of the Christian's renunciation of the world and escape from the Devil (D. 43, 19-25). This notion is very widespread amongst medieval Christian writers and is part of the wider conception of the exodus from Egypt through the Red Sea as a figure of the liberation by baptism from enslavement to the Devil and to heathen ignorance through original sin, and the earthly pilgrimage to the Promised Land of heaven. Later in the work (D. 48, 16 - 50, 5) the German poet himself elaborates these ideas. The second passage follows the account of the Red Sea crossing and the baptismal emphasis, with Pharaoh as a type of the Devil, is accordingly stronger. There is so much literature on this sacramental significance of the exodus that a separate discussion of D. 48, 16 - 50, 5 would be superfluous; it is sufficient to note that the commentaries named below invariably refer to baptism in the Red Sea context, e.g. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 183 A; 225 CD; 226 C, following Rabanus Maurus, Origen and Isidore of Seville respectively.¹⁵

Another element found only in the fuller treatment concerns the grumblers (D. 48, 25 - 49, 2; 49, 29 - 50, 5). A similar reference a few lines previously (D. 47, 28 ff.) shows that an allusion to Exod. 16, v. 2 is intended,¹⁶ and while the interpretation — those who rebel against God after baptism — is obvious once the fundamental tropology is understood, adequate source-material can again be adduced from the *Glossa Ordinaria* on this verse (PL 113, 235 A), following Origen.

It is important to bear in mind that a typological function is attributed to the events of the O.T. exodus even by later O.T. prophets who foretell a second deliverance, while N.T. writers including Matthew and Paul (e.g. 1 Cor. 10, vv. 1-6)

lay much emphasis, implicit and explicit, on the fulfilment of the old types in Christ.¹⁷ Hence the author of the lines in the VM could have become acquainted with their fundamental significance from his knowledge of the Vulgate alone, apart from numerous exegetical works and liturgical references.¹⁸

As for the treatment in the commentaries of the deliverance from Pharaoh and the land of Egypt contained in the first VM passage, as early as the second century Irenaeus writes of the exodus from Egypt as a figure of the exodus of the Church from among the gentiles, led by God from this world to her own inheritance:

Universa enim quae ex Aegypto profectio fiebat populi a Deo, typus et imago fuit profectiois Ecclesiae, quae erat futura ex gentibus: propter hoc et in fine educens eam hinc in suam haereditatem, quam non Moyses quidem famulus Dei, sed Jesus Filius Dei in haereditatem dabit. (PG 7, 1067 C – 8 A)

Origen explains that as the Hebrews must leave Egypt in order to serve God (Exod. 5, v. 1), so we must leave the darkness of the world to serve the Lord, not in another place but in spirit, by advancing in faith (GCS 29, p. 165). Pharaoh is described as the enemy pursuing the Christian in his spiritual progress (ibid., p. 188); elsewhere, discussing Exod. 1, v. 8, Origen explicitly refers to him as a type of the Devil (ibid., p. 151; cf. also p. 177). The Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea are 'evil spirits', 'princes of this world' (ibid., p. 190).

Thus the exegesis of the German poet is attested in full as early as the third century, whence it descends unchanged to the twelfth. Zeno summarises the interpretation thus:

Quantum spiritualiter intelligi datur, Aegyptus mundus est iste. Pharaon cum populo suo diabolus et spiritus omnis iniquitatis. Israel populus Christianus, qui proficisci iubetur, ut ad futura contendat. (PL 11, 510 A)¹⁹

Ambrose likewise equates Pharaoh with the Devil:

Sed hoc Pharaon obprobrium putans, hoc est inopiam ignobilitatem contumelias, maluit diaboli esse quam dei portio et ideo, qui deo subiectus esse nolebat, intercessionem hominis se ipse subiecit. (CSEL 62, p. 159)

The mystic progress of the soul to God is fundamental to the second, allegorical part of Gregory of Nyssa's *Vita Moysis*.²⁰ Didymus of Alexandria (PG 39, 697-8 A) and Gaudentius of Brescia (CSEL 68, pp. 22, 32, 82) see Egypt as the Christian's dwelling-place before his conversion and Pharaoh as the Devil, while Jerome emphasises the universality of the interpretation of Egypt as this world and points out its scriptural basis in Jude 5:

Aegyptum autem numquam pro Hierusalem legimus, sed semper hunc mundum. Et quia longum est de scripturis innumerabilia exempla congerere, unum testimonium proferamus ubi manifestissime mundus hic Aegyptus appellatur. In epistula catholica Iudas apostolus, frater Iacobi, scribit dicens: 'commonere autem uos uolo scientes semel omnia, quoniam Iesus populum de terra Aegypti saluans, secundo eos qui non crediderunt perdidit'.²¹

It is noticeable that the typological significance of this verse from the Epistle of Jude is considerably strengthened by the authority of the Vulgate translation which says that 'Jesus' led the people from Egypt; some Greek manuscripts merely have ὁ Κύριος.

If Jerome regarded this allegorical tradition as commonplace, the same is equally true of later Latin exegesis. It is sufficient to emphasise Augustine (CChr 40, p. 1636), Gregory the Great (CChr 144, pp. 256, 539; cf. PL 76, 360 B), Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 11 A; 12B; 27 C) and Richard of St Victor (PL 175, 654 D; 658 CD) among countless others who associate Pharaoh with the Devil and the exodus from Egypt with the renunciation of the world.²² While the *Glossa Ordinaria* refers back to Origen (PL 113, 184 AB; 198 C – 199 D), no single source could reliably be postulated for the German poem. The same notions appear in the *Ezzolied*,²³ while a twelfth-century MHG sermon refers to the related Harrowing of Hell:

Egyptumlant da daz gotes volk inne waz gevangen daz bezeichent die helle da al menschlich kunne inne gevangen was von Adames ziten biz daz unser herre got gemartert wart, da man sie quelete mit maniger hande pine und ungemache. künich Pharao von Egyptumlant der bezeichent den tüvel von der helle der die selen quelete. . .²⁴

The following lines of the VM (D. 43, 25 - 44, 1) can only refer to the 'flesh pots of Egypt' (cf. Exod. 16, v. 3, Num. 11, v. 5). In the Vulgate these references occur when the manna is described, and the VM itself repeats the allusion in the appropriate context (D. 48, 1-5).²⁵ We must therefore ask why these lines are found in association with the three days' journey and whether sources for the exegesis of D. 43, 28-44, 1 can be found.

The explanation of the first difficulty seems to lie in the fact that the flesh pots and onions are simply another component of the general allegory of Egypt as enslavement to the Devil which the VM has just described. Daniélou suggests²⁶ that allusions to them occur in the description of baptism as a new exodus in 1 Peter. Turning to the exegetes, we find that Tertullian in *De Ieiunio* (CChr 2, p. 1261) considers both O.T. references, though only in terms of the literal emphasis on gluttony. Origen gives no detailed allegorical exposition of either verse. His comments on Exod. 16, v. 3 (GCS 29, pp. 208 ff.) are followed by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 77 B ff.), while the *Glossa Ordinaria* on this verse (PL 113, 235 D) likewise has no treatment relevant to our purpose.²⁷ However, Origen's fifth homily on Genesis equates Lot's wife with the hankering of the people in the wilderness who looking back at Egypt 'factus etiam ipse concupiscentiae memoria in eremo' (GCS 29, p. 63). These words allude to Ps. 105, v. 14 'Et concupierunt concupiscentiam in deserto' and there is thus a strong implication in Origen that the joys of Egypt are not thought of solely in literal, gastronomic terms. Hence a possible parallel to D. 43, 28 *wertliche wne* is apparent here.

It is interesting to note that the VM refers to the meat as *gesotenez* (D. 43, 26-7). This detail is not applied to the flesh pots of the Vulgate, and it seems that an allegorical contrast may be intended between the boiling of the meat in Egypt, i.e. the world, and the roasting of the Passover lamb. We have seen that most exegetes of the latter regard boiling as an allegory of the worldly understanding alone of the mysteries of the faith.²⁸ Gaudentius, who supplied one of the closest parallels to the VM exegesis of the Passover, actually speaks of *olla carniū* in the context of his 'boiled down' interpretation of the lamb (CSEL 68, p. 30).²⁹ The use of the epithet *zach* (D. 43, 27) may likewise be a reminiscence of the notion that the lamb may be eaten raw, the third allegorical detail in this same context.

Gregory the Great seems to provide the first full exegesis of the details of Num. 11, v. 5. With its references to love of the world, earthly joys and the burdens of the present life, the passage appears to be the direct source of the vernacular lines:

Dura enim prae amore saeculi quasi quaedam mollia ac delectabilia ferre parati sunt, dum in hac vita rerum culmina apprehendere conantur. . . Et quid per ollas carniū, nisi carnalia opera, vix tribulationum laboribus quasi ignibus excoquenda? Quid per pepones, nisi terrenae dulcedines? Quid per porros ac cepas exprimitur, quae plerumque qui comedunt, lacrymas emittunt, nisi difficultas vitae praesentis, quae a dilectoribus suis et non sine luctu agitur, et tamen cum lacrymis amatur? (PL 76, 160 C – 161 A)

The interpretation of the leeks and onions explains the VM *svren* (D. 43, 26), and in the context of the flesh pots Gregory uses the term *excoquenda*, comparable to his employment of *aqua coquere* when discussing the boiling of the Passover lamb (PL 76, 1179 C).³⁰

The *Glossa Ordinaria* on Num. 11, v. 5 refers to this passage of Gregory (PL 113, 400 C), as do Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 655 A ff.) and Garnerius of St Victor (PL 193, 424 D – 425 A).

The exegesis of the Pseudo-Bede is less detailed though in the same tradition:

E quibus docemur ut qui conversationem mundi hujus reliquimus, et ollas Ægyptiacas, id est carnalium desideriorum concupiscentias, contempsimus, non deberemus murmurare contra coelestem panem, nec vinolentias Ægyptiorum appetere. . . (PL 91, 363 C)

Bruno of Segni interprets the yearning Hebrews as those bound by the letter of the law (PL 164, 478 D – 479 D). Rupert of Deutz mentions concupiscence (PL 167, 866 D – 867 A), though the VM shows a closer resemblance to Gregory the Great and his followers. Garnerius of Rochefort supplies similar notions:

Porri sunt mundi hujus occupationes, ut in libro Numeri: 'In mentem nobis veniunt et porri, et pepones, et cucumeres' (Num. 11, v. 5), quod in se admittunt saeculares voluptates, et vanitates et curiositates mundialium occupationum. (PL 112, 1032 A)

Other medieval compendiums reflecting the traditional exegesis are Pseudo-Melito's *Clavis*³¹ and Peter of Riga's *Aurora*.³²

The VM interpretation in D. 43, 28-44, 1 would therefore seem to be based on the commentary on Num. 11, v. 5 by Gregory the Great found in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, while the same work suggested a contrast between the flesh pots of Egypt and the Passover lamb, the MHG poet combining Exod. 16, v. 3 and Num. 11, v. 5 and choosing what was most familiar to his audience.

The next portion of the exegesis of the VM deals with the significance of each of the three days of the journey. The first day is our conversion, consequent good works and teaching of the faith to others (D. 44, 1-7). The notion of escaping from the Egypt of this world is included in this and has already been considered, but the mention of good works is a new factor. On the second day, according to the German poet, we control our tongues to avoid vain chatter, thus preserving the truth, retaining God's favour and slandering nobody (D. 44, 8-15). Finally, the third day signifies our inward disposition, *vnser gedanche*. The stones and the altar we build are the purification of heart and mind to allow goodness to approach us. The sacrifice we offer up is the inner sacrifice of our heart, and as the incense is received by God, so is our prayer accepted if we are humble (D. 44, 16-26).

The three categories into which the traditional interpretations of the three days' journey broadly fall are already apparent with Origen. As with the plagues of Egypt, he gives both an allegorical and a tropological interpretation in the third homily on Exodus (GCS 29, pp. 165 ff.). In the first of these, the journey is understood to refer to Christ, who said 'Ego sum via' (John 14, v. 16) and rose on the third day. This allegorical exegesis clearly has nothing in common with the tropological interpretation of the VM. However, Origen's view of the tropological sense of Exod. 3, v. 18 provides a close parallel: we leave Egypt on a three days' journey if we keep body and soul pure and detach our reason, nature and moral sense from the world and apply them to divine commandments by purifying, firstly, our words, secondly, our deeds, and thirdly, our thoughts – the three sources of sin. Our poet likewise relates these three concepts to each of the three days, though in the order deeds, words, thoughts.

The link between the Latin and vernacular renderings is all the more significant when it is seen that a closer correspondence for some of the MHG elaboration of the second stage (D. 44, 11-12) is unlikely to be found in this context in the commentaries, since the poet's language seems to be a reminiscence of part of his exegesis of the plague of frogs (D. 38, 16-17), rather than the paraphrase of a Latin source. This parallel between the second plague and the second day's journey may be pure coincidence, but it may also represent an original, quasi-typological association of the poet, comparable to his later juxtaposition of the events at Sichem and the massacre of those who worship the golden calf.³³ Perhaps also the VM deliberately varies the arrangement of the three possibilities of sin so as to present the reverse of the liturgical, confessional order ('Confiteor. . . quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere');³⁴ the latter commences with the sinful disposition and culminates in the reference to sinful action, whereas the process of conversion

and repentance explained in the MHG allegory favours the opposite sequence, because the sinner first amends his outward actions and at a later stage in his progress strives for inner regeneration.

The third exegetical tradition shows how Origen, like the vernacular poet, sees the journey of three days as a fulfilled reality. In his fifth homily on Exodus he refers to the departure of the Israelites from Egypt as mentioned in Exod. 12, v. 37 and 13, v. 20, and from these verses he understands Etham to be the third stage of their journey. This, he says, appropriately means *signa eis*, for only there do the divine signs, the pillars of cloud and fire (Exod. 13, v. 21), begin to appear. And here, he continues, we should remember what was said earlier – this indeed is the journey of three days referred to in Exod. 5, v. 3, and Pharaoh wished to prevent the Hebrews from accomplishing it and enjoying the mysteries of the third day, namely the Resurrection which followed the Passion and Descent into Hell of the previous two days. This mystery achieved, we shall be led by God on the road to salvation (GCS 29, pp. 185-6).

Origen's exegesis of these verses merely repeats his allegorical interpretation described earlier, but his remarks, including the reference back to Exod. 5, v. 3, are followed by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 62 CD) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 221 BC) and may well have influenced the MHG account of the three days. The passage must be seen in close relationship to the exegetical tradition of the forty-two stations in the wilderness based on Num. 33, though Origen's commentary on this chapter in his twenty-seventh homily on Numbers (GCS 30, pp. 255-280) does not reiterate the emphasis on the three days. The same is true of Jerome's later work in this tradition,³⁵ which is followed by Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 340 B), Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 373 CD), Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 812 C) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 436 C),³⁶ and appears also in the Pseudo-Ambrosian *De XLII Mansionibus Filiorum Israel* (PL 17, 15 C – 16 B).

Neither of Origen's homilies, nor any of these later works, mentions a sacrifice at the third station in the desert, though this innovation of the vernacular poet is readily explained by the literal acceptance of Exod. 5, v. 3 in the earlier exegetical works. The same cannot be said, however, of another sacrifice described in the VM in D. 46, 27-47, 2 as part of the celebrations after the successful crossing of the Red Sea. This is entirely without foundation in the corresponding Vulgate narrative (cf. Exod. 15), and it seems that this second sacrifice was influenced by the three days' journey and sacrifice we have been considering. Support for such an assumption is found in both the relative proximity of the two passages and the statement in D. 44, 27-8 that the Israelites approached the Red Sea on the third day. This is not derived, like the subsequent narrative, from Pseudo-Philo,³⁷ nor is it explicitly stated in the Vulgate, but it can be inferred from Exod. 12, v. 37; 13, v. 20; 14, vv. 2, 9-10, Num. 33, vv. 5-8 and the exegetical works mentioned above which deal with the forty-two stations in the desert. Hence the MHG poet not only introduces a sacrifice after interpreting the three days' journey, but even reiterates the idea in

the context of the thanksgiving for deliverance from the Egyptians which he knows to have taken place after the same interval of time. It is clear from his later emphasis on sacrifice in the accounts of the tabernacle³⁸ and the crossing of the Jordan³⁹ that this theme is a favourite one with the poet, and that for tropological purposes he attaches much importance to it even when his historical evidence is restricted to indirect biblical references.

Augustine's treatment of the three days' journey is not allegorical (CChr 33, p. 75), while in his sermon on the subject Caesarius of Arles first gives us Origen's mystical interpretation, similarly referring to the Resurrection on the third day and to John 14, v. 6 (CChr 103, pp. 396 ff.) He also speaks of the threefold immersion at baptism, and of the Trinity – indeed, he remarks elsewhere that any three-day event, e.g. the sacrifice of Isaac, is often a figure of the Trinity (CChr 103, p. 345). Finally, however, we find a tropological interpretation similar to Origen's:

Via etiam trium dierum potest intellegi, bene cogitare, bene loqui, bene operari. . . Utique quando vias noctis ambulavimus, id est, quando malum cogitavimus, malum diximus, malum etiam operati sumus. Postea vero venientes ad Christum per ipsius gratiam relinquimus opera tenebrarum, et bene cogitando, bene loquendo, bene operando, viam lucis currere festinamus. Ista ergo sunt tres viae, per quas pervenitur ad caelum; sicut et illae tres sunt, per quas amatores mundi perveniunt ad infernum: hoc est, malum cogitare, malum dicere, malum facere. Ista est LATA VIA ET SPATIOSA (Matt. 7, v. 13), quae ducit ad perditionem. (CChr 103, pp. 398-9)

While the comparison with the broad road to Hell is not found in the German poet's work, this reference to the three roads of good thoughts, words and deeds in association with the three days' journey is similar to the tropological exegesis of Origen and that of the VM. The order 'cogitando, loquendo, operando' is noticeably different from both of these works, and plainly accords with the liturgical usage.

Isidore of Seville's rendering is similar to Origen's allegorical interpretation (PL 83, 291 BC). The commentary of the Pseudo-Bede on Exod. 5, v. 3 at first follows Isidore, but the author then departs from his model and provides another parallel to the VM, giving Origen's order of words, deeds, thoughts and closely following the latter's topology (GCS 29, p. 166):

Moraliter quoque iter tridui de Ægypto proficiscimur, si nos ab omni inquinamento carnis et animae et spiritus conservemus. Et juxta Apostolum, integer spiritus, et anima, et corpus in diem Domini reservetur. Tridui iter de Ægypto proficiscimur, si rationem naturalem moralemque sapientiam de rebus mundialibus auferentes, ad statua divina convertimus. Tridui iter proficiscimur de Ægypto, si purificantes in nobis dicta vel facta vel cogitata (per haec enim homines solent peccare) efficiamur mundi corde. (PL 91, 296 D – 297 A)

Rabanus Maurus reproduces Origen's discussion of the first three stages in the desert (PL 108, 62 CD), Augustine's *quaestio* (PL 108, 27 D – 28 A) and the

interpretation of Isidore (PL 108, 28 AB). The *Glossa Ordinaria* on Exod. 5, v. 3 gives us Origen's tropological exegesis, together with other passages from Origen, a version of Isidore, a new treatment of the stages of the journey in the wilderness ascribed to Strabo's commentary and a reference to Augustine (PL 113, 198 C – 199 D).⁴⁰

For Bruno of Segni, the three days are merely the Trinity (PL 164, 238 BC). One interpretation remains to be mentioned. This is a passage by Richard of St Victor. His exegesis is different from that of the German poet:

Unus dies, spes; unus dies, fides; unus dies, charitas. (PL 175, 664 CD)⁴¹

What interests us, however, is the context in which the three days' journey is discussed. For he is writing about sacrifices, and continues as follows:

Via trium dierum, exercitatio est virtutum spiritualium, quia qui viam dierum istorum consummat, gratum Deo sacrificium immolat; quia quisquis has tres virtutes habet, Deo placet quidquid operatur, aut exercet. Debemus autem offerre ovem per innocentiam, agnum per munditiam, et caetera, quae de sacrificiis sunt supra exposita. (PL 175, 664 D)

Richard had been showing how different beasts, when sacrificed in various O.T. contexts, signify the different virtues we should offer to God (PL 175, 663 B – 664 A).⁴² None of the exegetes we have so far considered similarly discusses O.T. sacrifice in conjunction with the three days' journey, and Richard accordingly shows a special resemblance to the VM, even though there is no detailed parallel in his exegesis of the three days.

After our conclusion above that the German poet has no particular sacrifice in mind when he writes of the altar, stones, burnt offering and incense, we must be content to find similar tropological interpretations among Latin exegetes which likewise have no direct connexion with an Exodus context. The generalising exegesis of Richard of St Victor mentioned here itself resembles that of our poet, though several other parallels can be cited. Thus Berengaudus contrasts the sacrifice of beasts with the inward, spiritual sacrifice of the believer:

Si est sacrificium iustitiae, est et patientiae, est et abstinentiae, est et humilitatis caeterarumque virtutum. Haec sunt sacrificia, quae odorem suavissimum praebent Domino, non carnes pecudum, quae in altari cremantur. (PL 17, 958 B)

Closer in time to the VM, Caesarius of Arles sees in the altars in Solomon's temple⁴³ those of our body and heart; our heart is an altar dedicated either to God or to the Devil (CChr 104, pp. 901-3). Cassiodorus similarly interprets burnt sacrifices as the offerings of a pure heart (CChr 97, p. 578); elsewhere, he points to the sacrifice of Christ as the strongest reason why we should offer up ourselves (CChr 97, p. 59).

Perhaps it is Gregory the Great of whom the MHG poet reminds us most:

Altare quippe Dei est cor nostrum. . . (PL 76, 328 B)⁴⁴

Here Gregory is discussing Lev. 6, v. 12, and the *Glossa Ordinaria* incorporates the passage (PL 113, 312 B).⁴⁵ Again:

Et quid est altare Dei, nisi mens bene viventium? (PL 76, 1069 C)⁴⁶

The VM likewise finds the heart and mind of the believer in altar and stones. Gregory elaborates the image of altar-construction in his commentary on 1 Kings 14, v. 35, 'Aedificavit autem Saul altare Domino':

. . .quia, dum peccatores conuertuntur, quasi ex lapidibus caeleste aedificium fabricatur. . . potest altaris nomine conpunctio cordis intellegi. Quando enim per uerbum doctoris conpunctio cordis erigitur, nimirum altare domino aedificatur. (CChr 144, p. 509)

He continues by interpreting the two altars of the tabernacle as contrition through fear and love respectively. A similar phrase is also found in 1 Kings 7, v. 17; here the resemblance to our poet's exegesis is even more marked, for Gregory extends the tropology to apply not only to the altar but also to the sacrifices offered upon it:

Bene autem dicitur: *Aedificavit ibi altare domino*: quia et ex incremento studii caelestis, sicut flamma crescit in corde boni desiderii, ita et uelut additis lapidibus, altare sursum construitur, ubi deo holocausta offerantur amoris. (CChr 144, p. 294)⁴⁷

The *Glossa Ordinaria* has a similar comment on the construction of the altar by Moses in thanksgiving for the defeat of the Amalekites (Exod. 17, vv. 15-16):

Omnes diaboli victores in cordibus suis debent aras fidei aedificare, in qua spirituales hostias offerant (PL 113, 244 A)

Rupert of Deutz writes of faith, hope and charity as the sacrifices we should offer for sin (PL 167, 773 A), while Garnerius of Rochefort gives *devotio cordis* as one of the definitions of 'altar' (PL 112, 856 C). As a final example of how widespread this imagery of sacrifice was, with its ultimate origin in N.T. theology,⁴⁸ a vernacular German sermon can be cited:

daz an der ê gebotin was daz die jûden brachten lebinding vih zu gotis templo, daz wart dar umme getan, daz sie da bi irkenten irn scheppher. do der do quam der sich selbin gab durch uns, do wart diz ab gesniten und wil daz wir uns selbin im ein lebinding oppher brengin,⁴⁹ daz ist, daz wir toten an uns bose gerunge und gelüst die da ziehen zu den sünden.⁵⁰

The biblical origin of the figures of altar and sacrifice is even more evident for the final exegetical detail to which we now turn. The VM interprets incense as prayer, and this has always been the significance attributed by the Church since before its introduction into liturgical use, probably in the second half of the fourth century.⁵¹ The image finds a possible origin in the words of Apoc. 8, vv. 3, 4; another source is Ps. 140, v. 2:

Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo: elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum.

Augustine, writing even before incense appears to have been used in the Western rite, makes this comment on the verse:

Oratio ergo pure directa de corde fideli, tamquam de ara sancta surgit incensum. (CChr 40, p. 2029)⁵²

Cassiodorus gives the same interpretation in his commentary on the Psalms (CChr 98, p. 1262), and it can likewise be found in the works of Gregory the Great (PL 76, 1113 B), Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 211 B), Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 1205 C) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 342 B; 1063 A), to name but a few examples.⁵³ Our brief survey of exegetical parallels may be concluded with a quotation from a vernacular sermon for the feast of St Michael and All Angels:

bi dem wirouche ist uns bezeichent daz reine gebeth.⁵⁴

Apart from this material in the commentaries it is significant that the traditional notion is firmly consolidated by the use of Ps. 140, vv. 2-4 as a prayer spoken by the priest blessing the incense at mass. This liturgical practice would obviously make a clerical poet thoroughly familiar with the interpretation.⁵⁵ The significance of the prayer for this context in the VM was pointed out by R. Stroppel, who also emphasised that in the Middle Ages it was used whenever the altar was censed and not only, as nowadays, at the offertory. Stroppel also suggested that the devotional use of incense, felt to be an act of prayer in itself rather than a mere symbol, may have led the poet to write *ist* rather than *bezeichnen* in D. 44, 23.⁵⁶ However, Stroppel did not mention the recurrence of the allegory in D. 60, 25-28, where *bezeichnen* is used.⁵⁷

We have thus found that the details of the escape from Egypt and Pharaoh together with altar, sacrifice and incense as interpreted by the VM reflects a centuries-old tradition of Christian exegesis, often with an ultimate basis in the language of the bible itself. Though many examples of the interpretation of altar and sacrifice are available, Gregory the Great provides some especially close parallels to the work of the German poet, while Richard of St Victor would also seem particularly significant in his detailed discussion of the meaning of different sacrifices in association with the three days' journey into the wilderness. It remains true, however, that all essential details descend to the *Glossa Ordinaria*, above all the exegetical tradition of the three days' journey begun by Origen and handed down by Caesarius of Arles and the Pseudo-Bede.

NOTES

¹ D. 44, 23: *friscinge*. Cf. D. 43, 16-17: *chelber unde scâf*.

² 'Ibimus viam trium dierum in solitudinem, ut immolemus Domino Deo nostro'. Cf. D. 36, 20.

³ Diss. p. 121.

⁴ *Ant. Iud.* II, xii, 1, ed. Blatt, p. 205 (my italics). Cf. III, ii, 5, *ibid.*, p. 226: . . . venit ad montem Sina, ubi ei circa rubum multas visiones factas fuisse praediximus. See also below, p. 150.

- 5 III, v. 5 ff., ed. Blatt, p. 230.
- 6 II, xvi, 6, ed. Blatt, p. 216 (my italics).
- 7 See McNeile, *The Book of Exodus*, p. 20 n.
- 8 Cf. Exod. 8, v. 1; 10, vv. 24-6.
- 9 E.g. Exod. 6, v. 11. McNeile, op. cit., p. 20. That God connives in the deceit in J shows it to be ethically less advanced than the P tradition; see Baentsch, *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* (Exodus, 1903), p. 26.
- 10 See for example the first four chapters of Leviticus.
- 11 E.g. Exod. 30, vv. 1-10; 37, v. 29; 40, v. 5; Lev. 2, vv. 1-16; 10, v. 1; 16, vv. 12-13, etc.
- 12 D. 44, 22 calls for emendation, cf. Diemer, Anm. p. 20, and Bachofer, Diss. p. 216 and n. 3.
- 13 Allegorical interpretation of calves and sheep is therefore not directly relevant to our present purpose. For examples of such exegesis, see Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, pp. 19, 26-28.
- 14 This in no way implies condemnation of the MHG treatment, for the question of the sacrifice becoming redundant arises from a purely modern critical approach. The problem is important in the context of the VM only because the medieval exegete's uncritical acceptance of the letter of the text leads to elaboration of the Vulgate narrative. A similar problem arises in the *Millstätter Exodus*, cf. Kossmann, QF 57, pp. 36-37.
- 15 Among the critical literature, cf. Dölger, 'Der Durchzug durch das Rote Meer als Sinnbild der christlichen Taufe', *Antike und Christentum* 2 (1930), pp. 63-9; Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, pp. 140-1, 152-76. It is significant that in the *Welchchronik* Rudolf von Ems, contrary to his usual practice, adds the traditional exegesis to his account of the passage of the Red Sea (ed. Ehrismann, 11007 ff.); similarly the *Millstätter Exodus* 3297-3302 (ed. Papp; see also the note in Kossmann's edition and Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, pp. 119 ff.).
- 16 See below, p. 55.
- 17 Cf. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, pp. 131 ff. The principal themes are summarized by Warners, *Mozes-mozalek*, pp. 18-22.
- 18 E.g. the fourth prophecy on Holy Saturday. Cf. Stroppe, *Liturgie und geistliche Dichtung*, p. 67.
- 19 Cf. also PL 11, 518 AB.
- 20 Cf. Daniélou's introduction to his edition.
- 21 Epist. XLVI, 7, ed. Labourt, II (1951), p. 107. Cf. Jerome's interpretation of Egypt in this context as *tenebrae uel tribulatio* (CChr 72, p. 151).
- 22 Cf. also Cyril of Alexandria, PG 77, 618 B; 946 A; Quodvultdeus, *Lib. Promiss. et Praedict. Dei*, ed. Braun, p. 274; Caesarius of Arles, CChr 103, p. 397; Cassiodorus, CChr 98, pp. 1217-8; Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 288 AB; 108 B - 109 A; Ildephonsus of Toledo, PL 96, 173 BC; Bede, CChr 122, pp. 230 ff.; John 'Homo Dei', PL 184, 577 D; Peter Damian, PL 145, 688 A; Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 234 A; 261 A; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 567 D; 569 D ff.; 585 C; 590 C; 597 BC; 637 B, etc.; Geoffrey of Vendôme, PL 157, 223 B; Bernard of Clairvaux, PL 183, 978 D; PL 184, 841 B; Honorius of Autun, PL 172, 1124 C.
- 23 Lines 345-6 (ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 298); cf. also lines 359-70.
- 24 Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten* I (1886), p. 44. Cf. also Wackernagel, *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete* (1876), p. 16; Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jahrhunderts* II (1846), p. 25.
- 25 Cf. Grieshaber, op. cit., II (1846), p. 123, and below p. 55.
- 26 *Sacramentum Futuri*, pp. 140-1. Cf. above, pp. 35-36.
- 27 Cf. also Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 268 B.
- 28 Cf. above, pp. 33-34.
- 29 Cf. above, p. 33.
- 30 Cf. above, pp. 33-34.
- 31 Ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, p. 425; cf. III, pp. 223-4.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Cf. below, pp. 91-92.
- 34 Cf. Jantsch, *Studien zum Symbolischen*, p. 88.
- 35 *Epist. LXXVIII ad Fabiolam*, ed. Labourt: St Jérôme, *Lettres*, IV (1954), pp. 52-93; cf. III (1953), p. 16. For the third stage of the journey, see III, p. 58.
- 36 The *Glossa Ordinaria* incorporates both Origen and Jerome.
- 37 Cf. Bachofer, *BGDSL T* 84 (1962), pp. 138-9.
- 38 Cf. below, pp. 97-100.
- 39 Cf. below, pp. 155 ff.
- 40 An interesting variant on the tradition is found in a sermon of the Black Forest Preacher for the Fourth Sunday in Advent, ed. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jahrhunderts*,

I (1844), p. 163:

Waz ist uns bezaichent bi dem wege. der da driger tage lanch ist? dc ist anders niht.
wan der weck der rehton un der waron becherde. Wan du solt daz wissen. dc der
weck der da ze dem himel gât. dc der niuwen hât drige tagewaide. diu erste tage-
waide diu haizet gin bitteriu riuwe. diu ander haizet ain genziu bihte. diu dritte
haizet ain rehtiu buze. umbe alle din sünde. sich gâstu die drige wege hinz an dinen
tôt. so soltu wizzen. dc du kumest ze dem himelriche. . .

- ⁴¹ For another related tradition, cf. Bowen, *Speculum* 16 (1941), pp. 469-70.
⁴² Animals sacrificed may also signify the vices thus abandoned, as later in the VM. Cf. below, pp. 97 ff.
⁴³ As in the tabernacle, one is for burnt sacrifice, the other for incense.
⁴⁴ Followed by Garnerius of St Victor, PL 193, 331 D.
⁴⁵ Cf. Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, p. 218.
⁴⁶ Cf. also CChr 144, pp. 591-2.
⁴⁷ Cf. PL 76, 1047 A.
⁴⁸ E.g. Rom. 12, v. 1; Heb. 9, v. 9; 10, v. 22; 13, vv. 15, 16; 1 Pet. 2, v. 5. On the typological aspect of O.T. sacrifice, cf. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 2nd edition, p. 91.
⁴⁹ Cf. Rom. 12, v. 1; Heb. 9, 10.
⁵⁰ Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten* I (1886), p. 272; cf. p. 86. Schönbach (notes, p. 433) points to a further Latin parallel, Honorius of Autun, PL 172, 850 D – 851 A.
⁵¹ Cf. Eisenhofer and Lechner, *The Liturgy of the Roman Rite*, 1961, pp. 100-102; Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, 1909, pp. 89, 204 ff.
⁵² Cf. also Ps. 65, v. 15 and Augustine, CChr 39, p. 853; Cassiodorus, CChr 97, p. 578; *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 939 B.
⁵³ Cf. also Gilbert of Hoyland, PL 184, 78 A; Alan of Lille, PL 210, 271 C; Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 1067 A; Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, pp. 413-4. Gregory the Great is followed by Garnerius of St Victor, PL 193, 423 B.
⁵⁴ Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten* I (1886), p. 179. Cf. also Pfeiffer (ed.), 'Drei Predigten aus dem XIII. Jahrhundert', *Germania* 7 (1862), p. 349.
⁵⁵ The verse is also one of the six supplications from the Psalms placed by Otloh of St Emmeran at the head of the Latin version A of his prayer in the second half of the eleventh century. See Wilhelm, *Denkm. dt. Prosa des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, Kommentar*, p. 3.
⁵⁶ Stroppe, *Liturgie und geistliche Dichtung*, pp. 66-7. See also the example quoted below, p. 95 n. 2.
⁵⁷ Cf. below, pp. 94-95.

5. THE MANNA

The manna is twice described in the VBM, in both the *Moses* and *Balaam* sections of the work.¹ In the narrative part of the first account (D. 47, 15-48, 7) the poet says that God gave the Hebrews bread from heaven in plenty. They received it in bad part, with murmuring and grumbling. At this God was angry. Those who received it graciously found it tasted sweet or savoury as they desired, but those who murmured on receiving it lost God's favour. They blamed Moses, saying they were better off in Egypt where they had meat and onions in plenty. For them, the manna tasted like horse-dung.

The murmuring of the Israelites against Moses and Aaron is a common feature of the biblical narrative of the journey in the wilderness, though in the present case we might see a precise source in Exod. 16, vv. 2-3 and Num. 11, vv. 1-6. In the second account the manna has already begun to fall, but there is a specific mention of the onions of Egypt (*cepe*, Num. 11, v. 5, cf. D. 48, 4), while the meat eaten in Egypt is mentioned in the Exodus passage (*ollas carniūm*, Exod. 16, v. 3, cf. D. 48, 3).² The notion that the manna tasted sweet or foul according to the spiritual state of the eater does not occur in the descriptions of Exodus and Numbers; the only remotely similar feature is the detail that the bread, when left till morning against the orders of Moses, bred worms and corrupted (Exod. 16, vv. 19-20). However, the VM reflects an ancient Jewish belief first recorded in the book of Wisdom:

Pro quibus angelorum esca nutriti populum tuum, et paratum panem
de caelo praestitisti illis sine labore, omne delectamentum in se habentem, et
omnis saporis suavitatem.

Substantia enim tua dulcedinem tuam, quam in filios habes, ostendebat:
et deserviens uniuscuiusque voluntati, ad quod quisque volebat, convertebatur.
(Sap. 16, vv. 20-21)

These verses merely state that the manna changed its taste according to the desire of the eater; they do not say, like the German poet, that it tasted revolting in the mouths of the grumblers. We shall take this fact into account later when tracing the tradition among both Christian exegetes and Jews.

In his interpretation of the passage D. 50, 6-20, the poet says that the bread from heaven prefigures the body of Christ. He who receives it humbly finds it suits him well; he has peace in this life and eternal bliss in the next. He who takes it with pride and murmuring, without love and without understanding the inner sweetness, will very probably be brought into jeopardy and damned in the next world. We

shall find this exegesis to be by far the commonest in the Christian commentaries. This is hardly surprising, for, apart from the obvious eucharistic associations of bread, Christ alluded directly to the manna as a type of himself in John 6, vv. 48-51:

Ego sum panis vitae. Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in deserto, et mortui sunt. Hic est panis de coelo descendens: ut si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non moriatur. Ego sum panis vivus, qui de coelo descendi. Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in aeternum: et panis, quem ego dabo, caro mea est pro mundi vita.

The same typological significance of the manna, to which allusions occur in the liturgy,³ is emphasised in 1 Cor. 10, vv. 1-4, though this passage is more important for the figure of the water from the rock.

In the VBal account of the manna (D. 78, 21-79, 18) four lines are identical with those of the VM, D. 47, 24-27:

D. 47, 24 ir igelich dar ane nam.
 alsez sin girde wolte haben.
 suze oder suere.
 genüge oder tivre.

D. 78, 25 ir, igelicher dar ane nam.
 alsez sin girde wolte haben.
 süze oder svere.
 genuge oder tivre.⁴

It is clear that the poet of the VBal has introduced his subject with lines taken from the VM and then added new descriptive and exegetical information not included in the earlier poem for the sake of variation, just as he interprets the candlestick which was not considered in the VM account of the tabernacle.⁵

Though there may once again be an allusion to the legend of the varying tastes of the manna in the VBal, there is no hint that it tasted foul for any of the Hebrews, and all the other descriptive details correspond to the accounts of Exodus and Numbers. The storing of the manna in the ark of the Covenant is described in Exod. 16, vv. 33-34. The exegetical details differ from those of the VM interpretation:

D. 79, 11 svaz sin wart ze leibe.
 daz wurden wurme chleine.
 daz bezeichnenet dich crist herre got.
 du uon diner müter name fleisk unde blüt.
 uon ir suzeme lutereme wizzeme lichnamen.
 ane alle werltlichen man.

The worms therefore prefigure Christ. And we may infer — though this is not stated explicitly — that the manna itself is conceived in the VBal as a type of the Virgin Mary.

Added weight was given to the Christian interpretation of the manna as Christ, however, by Philo's independent exegesis; as a Jew he already saw the manna as the Word of God (τὸν θεῖον λόγον).⁶ The account in the *Vita Mosis*⁷ follows the

biblical narrative closely and does not interpret the manna; nor does the fragmentary *Questions and Answers on Exodus* include Exod. 16 in its extant form. According to Basil the Great, however, Philo was familiar with the tradition of the different tastes of the manna, and explained that it tasted of bread, flesh, fowl, vegetable or fish according to the desire of the eater.⁸ While evidently in the Wisdom tradition, this account does not mention the foul taste of the manna as does the VM.

There is possibly a hint of the same story in the version of Josephus.⁹ Thackeray suggests in a footnote to his edition that earlier translators had interpreted one line of the Greek to allude to it.¹⁰ He himself, however, rejects the translation, and examination of the text of the Latin Josephus known to the Middle Ages supports his view that the author did not mention the rabbinical legend.¹¹

Clement of Alexandria was probably influenced by both Philo and St Paul¹² when he interprets the manna as the Logos given by the Father as food for men; it takes the form of both milk and solid food, though always the same substance (PG 8, 299-300 A – 309-10 A).

Origen, like Tertullian (CChr 2, p. 1446), sees the manna as a figure of Christ:

‘Nostrum enim pascha immolatus est Christus’ (1 Cor. 5, v. 7) qui verus nobis ‘panis de coelo descendit’. (GCS 29, p. 209)

Similarly he continues:

. . . manducare manna, id est si cupis suscipere verbum Dei (ibid., p. 212);
Nobis et panis verbum Dei est. (ibid., p. 214)¹³

In these passages from the seventh homily on Exodus, it is sometimes difficult to know whether Origen is referring to the ‘living word of God’, i.e. the person of Christ – which would accord most directly with the VM exegesis – or whether *verbum* is used in the sense of God’s manifestation in Scripture and in the teaching of the Church. More significant for our purpose, however, is the following passage:

Nec mireris quia verbum Dei et ‘caro’ dicitur et ‘panis’ et ‘lac’ dicitur et ‘olera’ dicitur et pro mensura credentium vel possibilitate sumentium diverse nominatur. . . In hoc ergo tempore, quo adhuc in principiis sumus, carnes verbi comedere non possumus, id est perfectae et consummatae doctrinae nondum capaces existimus. Sed post longa exercitia, post profectum plurimum, cum iam proximi sumus ad vesperam et in ipsum finem perfectionis urgemur, tunc demum solidioris cibi et perfecti verbi capaces fieri possumus. Nunc ergo festinemus coeleste manna suscipere; istud enim manna, prout vult quisque, talem saporem reddit in ore eius. . . Sic ergo manna verbi Dei reddit in ore tuo saporem quemcumque volueris. Hoc tamen si quis infideliter suscipiat et non comedat, sed abscondat, ‘vermes ex eo ebulliant’. Putasne eo usque deducendum est verbum Dei, ut etiam vermis fieri putetur? Non te hic turbet auditus, audi prophetam ex persona Domini dicentem: ‘ego autem sum vermis et non homo’ (Ps. 21, v. 7). Sicut enim ipse est, qui. . . nunc in manna fidelibus quidem dulcedo mellis, infidelibus autem vermis efficitur. (GCS 29, pp. 215-6)

Origen is here associating the tradition of the different tastes of the manna, possibly derived from Philo, with Rom. 14, v. 2, Heb. 5, v. 14 and 1 Cor. 3, vv. 1-2, in greater detail than Clement before him.¹⁴ Through Origen the tradition becomes fully accepted by Western exegetes; the passage is quoted in its entirety by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 237 ff.).¹⁵ It also provides us with a source for – and justification of – the interpretation of the worms in the manna as Christ in the VBal. Origen cites the line ‘Ego autem sum vermis et non homo’ from Ps. 21. The strong messianic emphasis of this psalm¹⁶ makes the worm a figure of Christ.¹⁷ In rendering this interpretation, however, Origen does not imply that the manna is in these circumstances a type of the Virgin Mary, but merely that Christ becomes as a worm in the manna for the unfaithful. Nor does he give an explanation of the foul taste of the manna mentioned in the VM.

Earlier in the same homily Origen says that the worms are engendered by the avarice of those who hoard earthly riches. This time, to show that the Word of God can produce worms, he cites John 15, v. 22, ‘Si non venissem, et locutus fuisset eis, peccatum non haberent’ (GCS 29, p. 213).

Origen’s awareness of the tradition of the different tastes of the manna is more apparent in his commentary on Matthew, where he discusses a legend that Christ appeared to onlookers in various forms according to their spiritual state. He continues by associating the story with that of the manna, itself, as we have seen, a figure of Christ, and cites the relevant verses from the book of Wisdom in so doing (GCS 38, pp. 218-9).

Basil the Great also writes of the manna as a type of the living Bread (PG 32, 121-2 C), and Gregory of Nyssa follows in the tradition of Philo, Clement and Origen by interpreting the manna as the divine Logos, and like Origen associates the tradition of the book of Wisdom with the verses from the Epistles to the Romans, Hebrews and Corinthians (PG 44, 367-8 CD).¹⁸ When we turn to the Western Church, however, we find Ambrose emphasising the eucharistic significance of the ‘bread from heaven’ and John 6, vv. 48-51 cited earlier as the most obvious evidence for the acceptance of Christ as the fulfilment of the O.T. figure (CSEL 62, pp. 411-2).¹⁹ Gaudentius of Brescia does likewise (CSEL 68, pp. 23, 59), pointing elsewhere to Ps. 21, v. 7 as an example of Christ’s humility (ibid., p. 173).

In a sermon of Maximus of Turin, where the worm is once again a type of Christ, the manna is positively associated with the Virgin Mary, thus resembling the exegesis of the VBal. After quoting Ps. 21, v. 7, the work continues:

. . . quoniam uermis nulla extrinsecus admixtione alieni corporis sed de sola ac pura terra procreatur; ideo illum comparatum domino, quoniam et ipse saluator de sola et pura Maria generatur. Legimus etiam in libris Moysi de manna uermiculos procreatos. Digna plane et iusta comparatio, siquidem de manna uermiculus gignitur, et dominus Christus de uirgine procreatur. Quin potius ipsam Mariam manna dixerim, quia est subtilis splendida suavis et uirgo. . . (CChr 23, p. 114)

Besides the words of Christ who, according to medieval conviction, calls himself a worm in the psalm, the belief that the creature was born of the earth without its parents mating makes it all the more appropriately a figure of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary. This sermon provides us with a parallel especially close to the lines of the VBal:

D. 79, 13 du uon diner mütter name fleisk unde blift.
 uon ir suzeme lutereme wizzeme lichnamen.
 ane alle werltlichen man.

While not dealing specifically with the manna, Augustine also compares Christ's birth to that of the worm:

. . .vermis de carne sine concubitu nascitur, sicut ille natus est de virgine.
 (PL 33, 547 A)²⁰

Elsewhere, he writes of Christ as the living bread, while interpreting the manna as 'dulcedo scripturarum' (CChr 41, p. 27).²¹ Cyril of Alexandria (PG 69, 457-8 A)²² and Quodvultdeus²³ both equate the manna with Christ, and Caesarius of Arles follows Origen ('verbum Dei': CChr 103, p. 422); on the subject of the worms, both Quodvultdeus and Caesarius accept Origen's tropology: they are the corruption of those who hoard earthly riches. Cassiodorus, discussing the reference to the manna in Ps. 77, v. 25, regards it as a figure of Christ (CChr 98, p. 718), and follows Augustine on the Virgin birth implied by the worm of Ps. 21, v. 7 (CChr 97, p. 193). Gregory the Great discusses the Wisdom tradition, though without saying that the manna tasted foul to unbelievers (PL 75, 741 B),²⁴ and interprets it as the Word of God (PL 76, 589 C).

Isidore of Seville speaks of the manna as a figure of Christ (PL 83, 298 A), and gives the three interpretations of the worms found in Origen: the corruption of riches, the Word of God in those who sin, and Christ himself (from Ps. 21, v. 7; PL 83, 298 D – 299 A). He does not mention the Virgin Mary in connexion with the latter interpretation. The Pseudo-Bede on at least one occasion (PL 91, 314 C) explains manna as 'verbum Dei', quoting John 6, v. 51, and elsewhere contrasts the heavenly food of the manna with the Egyptian food of carnal concupiscence after which the Hebrews hanker (Num. 11, vv. 1-9; PL 91, 363 CD).²⁵ Num. 11, v. 4 presents a problem:

Sed tamen historialiter sciendum est cur filii Israel carnem desideraverunt, habentes manna: quod ita solvitur, quia manna omnis cibi similitudinem habuit, praeter carnis. (PL 91, 363 D)

After recording the tradition of the differing tastes of the manna, the author for some reason makes an exception of meat, whereas Gregory of Nyssa and Philo (according to Basil) had explicitly mentioned meat as one of the foods it would resemble. Finally, he also gives the exegesis of the worms as the corruption of earthly riches (PL 91, 313 D – 314 A).

Rabanus Maurus reproduces Origen, Augustine and Isidore on the interpretation of the manna in his commentary (PL 108, 77 B – 81 D).²⁶ He follows Isidore on the worm as a type of Christ (PL 108, 81 CD), and in his scientific work *De Universo* restates his knowledge of the creature's mode of reproduction (PL 111, 235 B; 236 B). Berengaudus (PL 17, 781 C) and Peter Damian (PL 144, 381 AB; 556 B) both give the traditional exegesis of the manna, likewise the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 239 A–D)²⁷ together with the tropological interpretation of the worms as the corruption of riches and other details not relevant for our comparison (PL 113, 240 AB). Bruno of Segni takes the manna to be both Christ (PL 164, 479 AB) and Scripture, with the worms the superfluous learning of heretics (PL 164, 268 D – 269 C). For Rupert of Deutz the manna is variously Christ (PL 167, 661 A), Scripture (PL 167, 1016 D – 1017 A) and the Eucharist (PL 167, 1660 D; cf. 867 CD), while he interprets the worms as Christ born of a Virgin, following Ps. 21, v. 7 (PL 167, 667 BC).

Peter Comestor does not think much of the legend of the different tastes. He writes in the *Historia Scholastica*:

Quod vero dicitur, quia sapiebat in ore cujusque quod desiderabat non multum authenticum est. *Additio*: Consonat tamen ei quod in libro Sapientiae dicitur 'Panem de coelo dedisti nobis, habentem saporem suavitatis'. (Sap. 16, v. 20; PL 198, 1160 B, D)

It is clear from these sentences that the legend existed independent of the biblical material on the manna, and that the Wisdom passage might be cited in support of its veracity. That Comestor drew on Jewish sources is well known,²⁸ and he continues by quoting Josephus in the very next sentence.

We shall next mention three compendia of allegorical interpretations which give information that would be common knowledge at the time the VBM was written. Alan of Lille gives the meaning of 'manna' as 'sacra Scriptura' and 'corpus Christi' (PL 210, 849 D). For 'vermis', it is significant that 'Christus' is the first interpretation noted; several others follow, mainly pejorative (PL 210, 997 B–D). Garnerius of Rochefort adds *beatitudo coelestis* to Alan's two definitions of manna (PL 112, 995 AB), likewise giving Christ as the first meaning of *vermis* (PL 112, 1075 A). The latter is also true of Pseudo-Melito's *Clavis*.²⁹

That the tradition of the varying tastes of the manna was well known may be shown by its inclusion in at least two vernacular MHG sermons.³⁰ Here and in two further references to the manna³¹ the traditional exegesis of the bread as the body of Christ also appears.

We have thus found ample evidence in Christian exegetical tradition of the legend related to the book of Wisdom, though probably reflecting earlier Jewish oral tradition,³² and of the exegesis of both manna and worms as Christ, the latter deriving from the messianic Ps. 21 and confirmed by medieval scientific knowledge of the worm's reproductive habits. It is noticeable that only two authors, Maximus of Turin and Rupert of Deutz, elaborate this interpretation sufficiently to see the

manna in which the worms are produced as an explicit type of the Virgin Mary. This relative lack of material is certainly explained by the firmly established exegesis of Christ himself as the antitype of the manna, founded on the words of St John's gospel and manifest in the interpretation of the VM. While the fundamental notions of both VM and VBal are present in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the shorter work plainly implies the less common tradition, and this leads us to consider Rupert of Deutz as a possible source.³³

However, this study of the Christian exegesis has not explained the statement in the VM that the manna tasted like horse-dung in the mouths of the grumblers, apparently even when uncorrupted by worms, though, as we have seen, Origen saw the worms present in those who receive the word of God in bad faith. While one might be inclined to ascribe the detail to the German poet's own imagination, Jewish exegesis tends to confirm Peter Comestor by suggesting that other non-biblical legends about the manna were current, including Bede's remark that meat was not one of the tastes it resembled.

According to a Jewish legend found in the *Mekilta*,³⁴ dated approximately to the third century A.D.³⁵ but composed of older material,³⁶ the heathen sought the manna which they saw the Jews enjoying. When it melted in the heat of the day and ran away to form rivers, the heathen attempted to drink out of them, but for them it had a bitter taste. Only indirectly could the gentiles enjoy the manna; they would catch the animals that drank it melted, and even in this form it was so delicious that they cried, 'Happy is the people in such a case'.³⁷

This legend, written down some two hundred years after the book of Wisdom, reflects a tradition which with its assertion that for unbelievers the manna tasted unpleasant is closer to the VM account than the Christian exegesis we have considered. According to another legend found in the *Yoma*,³⁸ a talmudic treatise on religious observance, the Hebrews found in the manna the taste of every kind of food, with the exception of cucumbers, leeks, melons, onions and garlic, i.e. the foods of Egypt which they missed according to Num. 11, v. 5. Here we have a close parallel to the Pseudo-Bede's exclusion of meat from the tastes which that of the manna resembled.

Similarly the Jew Rashi, whose influence on the Victorine school at Paris in the twelfth century is well attested,³⁹ explains in his commentary on Num. 11, v. 5 that the manna changed into everything except cucumbers, because these were bad for nursing mothers.⁴⁰

The *Midrash Exodus Rabbah* of the eleventh or twelfth century reflects both the legend of the varying taste of the manna and the tradition that it tasted bitter to the heathen:

Thus to each person it was according to his strength. R. Jose b. Hanin(a)⁴¹ says: If you are doubtful of this, then think of the manna that descended with a taste varying according to the needs of each individual Israelite. The young men, eating it as bread, as it says: *Behold, I will cause to rain bread from*

heaven for you (Exod. 16, v. 4); the old, as wafers made with honey, as it says, *and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey* (ibid., v. 31); to the babes, it tasted like the milk from their mothers' breasts, for it says: *And the taste of it was as the taste of rich breast milk* (Num. 11, v. 8); to the sick, it was like fine flour mingled with honey, as it says: *My bread also which I gave thee, fine flour, and oil, and honey, wherewith I fed thee* (Ezek. 16, v. 19); while to the heathen, its taste was bitter and like coriander seed, for it says: *Now the manna was like coriander seed* (Num. 11, v. 7).⁴²

The Rabbi Jose ben Ḥanina cited in this work lived about 300 A.D. in the second Amoraic Palestinian generation of rabbis.⁴³ We may finally draw attention to the early thirteenth-century *Yalkuṭ Shimoni* ('Compilation of Simeon') which is derived from a wide range of haggadic and midrashic literature.⁴⁴

Some of the Gentiles, the Edomites and Midianites, came up, and, seeing the chosen people eating, they also gathered of the manna and tasted, but it was to them as wormwood.⁴⁵

These direct parallels to the German poet's account of the foul taste of the manna in the mouths of unbelievers would seem to provide confirmation on the Hebrew side of what was already suggested by Christian exegesis – that this detail is part of the broader tradition of the varying tastes of the manna reflected in Sap. 16, vv. 20-21. Its presence in the VM would also indicate, as would the statements of Pseudo-Bede⁴⁶ and Peter Comestor, that Jewish legends on the subject of the manna were known to Christian exegetes, and that our poet drew on material incorporating some such legendary information.

NOTES

¹ Cf. Exod. 16, vv. 14-36, Num. 11, vv. 6-9.

² On the earlier reference to the flesh pots of Egypt (D. 43, 25-44, 1) see above, p. 45.

³ E.g. the Offertory for Easter Wednesday (Ps. 77, vv. 23-25). The strongest emphasis occurs in the Corpus Christi liturgy, though this feast and the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, where Sap. 16, v. 20 is used, were instituted after the composition of the VBM.

It seems highly probable that the tradition of Sap. 16, vv. 20-21 has influenced Wolfram's account of the grail, cf. *Parzival* 238, 8 – 239, 7; 470, 1-20; 809, 25 – 810, 6 (ed. Lachmann). The eucharistic emphasis of the 'bread from heaven' is also prominent in the second of these passages.

⁴ Cf. Kelle, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, II (1896), p. 119 and note.

⁵ Cf. Scherer, *QF* 7 (1875), p. 51; Münscher, *Diss.* p. 125; and below, p. 173.

⁶ *Quis rer. div. heres* 15, ed. Cohn and Wendland, III, p. 19; *Quod det. potiori insid. soleat* 31, *ibid.*, I, p. 285.

⁷ I, 36-37, ed. Cohn and Wendland, IV, pp. 167-170.

⁸ *Épist. CXc*, 3, ed. Courtonne, II (1961), p. 143.

⁹ *Ant. Iud.* III, i, 6.

¹⁰ Loeb Classics edition, IV, p. 334 n.

¹¹ *Ed. Blatt*, p. 222, lines 11-12.

¹² Cf. 1 Cor. 3, v. 2 (quoted PG 8, 307-8 C); Rom. 14, v. 2; Heb. 5, v. 14.

¹³ Cf. GCS 29, p. 242; GCS 30, p. 13.

- ¹⁴ Cf. also 1 Pet. 2, v. 2, John 1, v. 14; 6, v. 51; and Schwietering, *Mystik und Höfische Dichtung im Hochmittelalter* (1960), pp. 8 ff., where he discusses Bernard of Clairvaux's exegesis of the Song of Songs in the light of 1 Cor. 3, vv. 1-2, crucial for the interpretation of the bread imagery in Gottfried's *Tristan*.
- ¹⁵ Another MHG example of the varying taste of the manna is found in a Passion Sunday sermon edited by Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten* II (1846), p. 123.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Augustine's comment on its significance, CChr 38, p. 123:
 Passio Christi tam euidenter quasi euangelium recitatur, et dictum est ante nescio quot annos quam Dominus de Maria uirgine nasceretur; praeco erat nuntians iudicem futurum.
 The psalm is recited at the stripping of the altars on Maundy Thursday.
- ¹⁷ Cf. Pickering, *Euphorion* 47 (1953), pp. 33-35.
- ¹⁸ Cf. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 199.
- ¹⁹ Cf. PL 16, 1219 BC, and Hilary of Poitiers, *Tract. Myster.* I, 40, ed. Brisson, pp. 136-8.
- ²⁰ Cf. CChr 38, p. 125. Cf. Eucherius, CSEL 31, p. 29.
- ²¹ Cf. CChr 41, pp. 368-9, 465, 519; CSEL 25, p. 357.
- ²² Cf. PG 73, 561-2 A-D; 511-2 CD.
- ²³ *Lib. promiss. et praedict. Dei* I, 56, ed. Braun, pp. 278-80.
- ²⁴ Cf. Paterius, PL 79, 920 D – 921 A.
- ²⁵ Cf. above, p. 46.
- ²⁶ Cf. PL 108, 869 D; PL 109, 748 D – 749 A.
- ²⁷ Cf. PL 113, 1181 AB, following Rabanus Maurus.
- ²⁸ Cf. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible* (2nd edition, 1952), p. 179.
- ²⁹ Ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles.* III, p. 85. Other references, including a bestiary, will be found here.
- ³⁰ Ed. Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten* I (1886), pp. 23-4; 173-4. The second of these is not particularly close to Gregory's homily, PL 76, 1213 ff., cited by Schönbach as a source.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 294; III (1891), p. 195.
- ³² Cf. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.* I (1913), p. 519. Charles dates the book of Wisdom after 50 B.C.
- ³³ But the Mariological tradition was doubtless well known. It is found in Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* (4375-4382, ed. David), beside the eucharistic type (4349-4358) and the tradition from Wisdom (4366-4368).
- ³⁴ Transl. Winter and Wunsche (1909), p. 160.
- ³⁵ Cf. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 2nd edition (1892), p. 51.
- ³⁶ Winter and Wunsche, op. cit., pp. VII ff.
- ³⁷ Cf. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum* (1711), pp. 486-7; Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* III (1911), p. 45; VI (1928), p. 18, n. 103, where other Hebrew sources are given.
- ³⁸ *The Babylonian Talmud: Yoma*, transl. L. Jung (1938), fol. 75 a, p. 362.
- ³⁹ Cf. Smalley, op. cit., pp. 149 ff.
- ⁴⁰ Ed. Breithaupt (1713), p. 1101.
- ⁴¹ Own correction.
- ⁴² *Midrash Exodus Rabbah*, transl. Lehrman (1939), pp. 87-8.
- ⁴³ See Montefiore and Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* (1938), p. 697. Cf. the passage quoted pp. 6-7 and dated p. 713.
- ⁴⁴ On the sources and dating of this work, see Zunz, op. cit., pp. 309-15.
- ⁴⁵ Baring-Gould, *Legends of O.T. Characters* (1871), II, p. 111. Cf. Eisenmenger, op. cit., p. 487.
- ⁴⁶ This author's exclusion of meat could conceivably have been influenced by the pejorative associations of *caro* in Christian exegetical tradition, cf. Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 886 B – 887 B.

6. THE WATER FROM THE ROCK

The treatment of the water drawn by Moses from the rock in the desert (D. 50, 20-30, cf. 48, 7-16) directly follows the account of the manna, as in the Vulgate.¹ The exegesis is a tropology: the thirst of the Hebrews signifies our hearts when they are so hardened that we cannot by weeping be purified of our sins. Prayer is a burden² and tears run dry. Hence we should go to our confessors who will draw pure tears (of repentance) from the rock and so purify us.

This interpretation finds no immediate support in the medieval commentaries on the biblical verses, for all exegetes are influenced by the earliest patristic tradition which sees the rock as a type of Christ. The typological significance is indicated even in the O.T.,³ while almost all the writers who discuss the subject quote St Paul in 1 Cor. 10, v. 4. Another early tradition, based on John 7, v. 37 ff., associates the water from the rock with the water streaming from the side of Christ pierced on the Cross, and finds a baptismal rather than a eucharistic meaning in the type.⁴ However, it is evident that the essential typology of the rock as Christ which dominates the commentaries⁵ bears no direct relation to the MHG treatment, while liturgical allusions to the water from the rock also adhere to the usual interpretation.⁶

The key to the tropology of the vernacular poet seems to lie in two very common exegetical notions: the association of *petra* or *lapis* with hardness of heart, and tears as a figure of repentance. These ideas are combined in the commentaries on Job 28, v. 10: 'In petris rivos excidit'.⁷ Philip the Priest interprets these rocks as the hard hearts of the faithless made to flow with the abundance of divine grace (PL 26, 700 B). Gregory the Great writes in a similar manner:

Id est, in duris gentilium cordibus fluvios praedicationis aperuit. . .
(PL 76, 70 A)⁸

This exegesis is followed verbatim by Odo of Cluny (PL 133, 327 A) and by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 828 BC), while renderings derived from the same source appear in the works of Rupert of Deutz (PL 168, 1080 C) and Alan of Lille (PL 210, 900 B), besides Pseudo-Melito's *Clavis*.⁹ Above all, the version of Bruno of Segni shows that it is but a short step from the Gregorian interpretation to the theme of tears of repentance such as appears in the VM (D. 50, 22; 28):

In petris, inquit, id est in duris et lapideis cordibus, rivos scientiae vel lacrymarum excidit, et abundare fecit. (PL 164, 641 B)

Hardness of heart is also contrasted with the softening effect of penitence in

Gregory the Great's commentary on Job 41, v. 15 (PL 76, 723 CD), incorporated in the *Glossa Ordinaria*. The significance of tears, familiar from such verses as Ps. 6, v. 7 and 41, v. 4 (cf. Alan of Lille, PL 210, 826 D), extends to water as a whole, as in 1 Kings 7, v. 6 (cf. Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 860 D), and it is unnecessary to name in detail the more obvious biblical associations of water as a regenerative, baptismal force.

An interesting vernacular parallel occurs among the thirteenth-century sermons of the Black Forest Preacher:

Sich wer ist nu herre Moyses der da mit der rûte an den stain da sclich dc dc wazzer dar ûz gie? sich dc ist der milte got. der mit siner rûte dc ist mit siner straphe an din stain hêrtes herze och schleht. dc dar ûz dc wazzer der riuwe och wirt vliezzende. . .¹⁰

The author presents a tropological interpretation of the water from the rock which does not feature at all in Konrad von Sachsen, his source.¹¹ Addressing a less erudite audience than that for which the Latin source had been intended, he wishes to move the hearts of his hearers through the addition of a moral illustration. It is certain that the same pastoral and moral considerations moved the poet of the VM to reject the stereotyped traditional interpretation of the rock in the desert in favour of the tropology.

The VM strikes a tropological note even before the exegetical passage D. 50, 20-30 with the statement in the corresponding descriptive account that God's displeasure caused the Israelites to suffer thirst (D. 48, 9-11). The German may here be seen as a natural sequel to the murmuring just mentioned in the context of the manna (D. 47, 28 - 48, 7), while ingratitude also occurs in the biblical context of the people's thirst (Exod. 17, vv. 2-3). Since the poet wishes, as throughout the work, to stress the moral significance for his audience, it is to be expected that he should impute the Israelites' suffering to guilt and allude to their hardness of heart in a tropological interpretation.

NOTES

- 1 Exod. 17, vv. 2-7, cf. Num. 20; vv. 6-13. On the sin of Moses indicated in the second passage, see below, pp. 144-7.
- 2 On D. 50, 23-24, cf. Bachofer, Diss. p. 168 n. 1.
- 3 Cf. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 133.
- 4 For the origins of these traditions, see Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 169-73.
- 5 E.g. Tertullian, CChr 2, pp. 1370-1, cf. CChr 1, pp. 284, 529, 677, 684; Origen, GCS 29, pp. 253-4; Basil the Great, PG 32, 121-2 BC; Gregory of Nyssa, PG 44, 367 A, cf. Warners, op. cit., pp. 49-50; Gaudentius, CSEL 68, p. 23; Augustine, CChr 33, pp. 260, 350, cf. CChr 41, pp. 27, 36-7; Quodvultdeus, ed. Braun, p. 280; Caesarius of Arles, CChr 103, p. 426; Isidore, PL 83, 299 AB; Pseudo-Bede, PL 91, 315 D - 316 A; Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 84 AB (follows Isidore); Peter Damian, PL 145, 1039 B, cf. PL 144, 771 AB; *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 241 C - 242 A (follows Origen and Isidore); Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 270 D - 271 A; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 668 CD, 885 D, 1660 D; Honorius of Autun, PL 172, 884 CD; Peter of Riga's *Aurora*, in Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, p. 332. Cf. also the

vernacular sermons ed. Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten* I (1886), p. 294; III (1891), p. 195. These references form a small selection of a commonplace tradition.

- ⁶ Cf. the Epistle for Septuagesima, from which 1 Cor. 10, v. 4 would be familiar; and below, p. 69.
- ⁷ Cf. the similar wording of Deut. 8, v. 15: *qui eduxit rivus de petra durissima*. This is a definite reference to the water from the rock, but does not appear to provide an authority for the interpretation of the VM.
- ⁸ Cf. Garnerius of St Victor, PL 193, 350 D.
- ⁹ Ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, p. 326.
- ¹⁰ Ed. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, I (1844), pp. 17-18.
- ¹¹ Cf. Peltier (ed.), *Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, 13 (1868), p. 252.

7. THE BITTER WATERS OF MARAH

The account of the sweetening of the waters of Marah (Exod. 15, vv. 22-25) precedes those of the manna and the drawing of water from the rock in the biblical narrative, but the poet of the VM has transposed it to follow these events (D. 51, 3 – 52, 3).¹ According to the MHG exegesis, the bitter water is the Law of the Old Covenant and the wood immersed by Moses is a figure of the Cross. As nobody can drink of the water till the wood is put into it and it becomes sweet, so nobody is so innocent that he may be saved by the Law alone without Christ's death; then the Law was transformed into grace through the Cross, and under the New Covenant divine retribution turned to compassion and reconciliation. The use of *ê* and *gnade* strongly suggests the commonplace Latin contrast between the ages *sub lege* and *sub gratia*.

Here we have the Pauline theology of justification in epitome.² This is without doubt the ultimate source of the interpretation. However, another important element is at least implicit in the MHG, namely an association with baptism. Daniélou points out that this is a unanimous tradition apparently dating back to apostolic times, though not actually mentioned in the N.T.³ We shall find baptism much in evidence as the antitype of the waters of Marah when considering the history of their allegorical interpretation down to the twelfth century and the composition of the German work. This is especially true of the earliest Christian exegetes, but as in our poem the baptismal significance of the water is always implicit even when not directly stated.

An allegorical starting-point for the Christian interpretation of the VM is found even in the first century with Philo of Alexandria, who compared the wood cast into the bitter water to the tree of life planted in the garden of Eden, offering both nourishment and immortality to the soul.⁴ For Tertullian in *De Baptismo*, the wood prefigures Christ and the water is our bitter nature, restored to sweetness by baptismal grace (CChr 1, p. 284). Elsewhere, he sees the wood as a type of the Cross, but still emphasises the tropological interpretation of the water to the exclusion of the German poet's references to the Law of the O.T.:

Hoc enim lignum tunc in sacramento, cum Moyses aquam amaram indulcauit, unde populus, qui siti periebat in eremo, bibendo reuixit, sicuti nos, qui de saeculi calamitatibus extracti, in quo commoramamur siti perientes, id est uerbo diuino (non) proluti, ligni passionis Christi per aquam baptismatis potantes fidem, quae est in eo reuiximus (uita). (CChr 2, p. 1387)⁵

With Origen, however, the parallel to the exegesis of the VM becomes complete.

His first interpretation, based on Prov. 3, v. 18, regards the bitter water as the Law, but the wood is the tree of the wisdom of Christ which strengthens it (GCS 29, p. 205). Later, however, he continues:

In hac ergo amaritudine Merrae, id est in ista lettera legis, 'posuit Dominus iustitias et testimonia'⁶. . . Ut ergo possit bibi aqua haec de Merrae, 'ostendit Deus lignum', quod mittatur in eam, ut qui biberit non moriatur, non amaritudinem sentiat. Unde constat quod, si quis sine 'ligno vitae', id est sine mysterio crucis, sine fide Christi, sine intelligentia spiritali bibere voluerit de legis littera, per amaritudinem nimiam morietur. (GCS 29, pp. 205-6)

Here the image of the 'tree of life' introduced earlier is extended to include the Cross, and a possible source for our poet's exegesis is already evident.⁷ In the following passage, Origen sees in the journey from the waters of Marah to the twelve pure founts of Elim the transition from the Old Testament to the New (the twelve Apostles).

Gregory of Nyssa likewise interprets the wood cast into the water as the Cross, but his exegesis is entirely tropological: the baptised convert is at first bitter because of the deprivation of worldly pleasures, but deeper understanding of the mysteries of the Cross and Resurrection renders his life sweeter (PG 44, 365-6 AB). Didymus of Alexandria emphasises the baptismal significance of the water (PG 39, 697-8 AB), while for Jerome the notion of bitterness is strengthened by the association of Mara (Mirra) with *amara*:

Aquam illam amaram non fecit aliud dulcem, nisi lignum crucis, quod missum erat in ea. Mihi uidetur amaram mare lex esse Moysi. Hoc est quod dicitur Mirra, hoc est, amara. (CChr 78, p. 165)⁸

In a letter to Fabiola, Jerome gives a similar interpretation, with *aquas occidentis litterae* for *lex Moysi*.⁹

Augustine also sees the wood as a figure of the Cross (CChr 33, p. 95),¹⁰ and Caesarius of Arles follows Origen (CChr 103, pp. 421-2). Isidore of Seville amplifies Jerome's letter to Fabiola (PL 83, 297 AB),¹¹ while the Pseudo-Bede conflates Origen's words with those of Isidore (PL 91, 312 D – 313 A). Thus the VM is fully in accord with a tradition which remains unchanged till the twelfth century, for in separate passages Rabanus Maurus follows both Isidore and Jerome's original exegesis of the forty-two stations in the desert on which Isidore based his own work (PL 108, 76 AB; 813 CD); Peter Damian's words are, as usual, original, but his ideas merely follow his predecessors (PL 144, 605 B; PL 145, 1022 BC); and the *Glossa Ordinaria* has nothing new to add to its reproduction of the relevant part of Origen's homily and Augustine's *Quaestio 57* (PL 113, 233 A – 234 D). Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 267 A–C) could be cited beside Rupert of Deutz:

Mara, cujus aquas bibere non poterant, eo quod essent amarae, legem significat veterem, cujus carnales caeremonias nos parvuli sanguine Christi redempti non possemus portare. . . Hoc lignum, quod Moysi, imo per gratiam et nobis ostendit Dominus, sanctae et vivificae crucis lignum est. Lignum enim

in aquas Mara mittere et sic eas in dulcedinem vertere, est Dominicae passionis sacramentum cum littera legis conferre. (PL 167, 655 AB)

However, while any of these exegetes might have provided the German poet with his material, a more immediate liturgical association could have reminded him of the significance of the O.T. event. This, as we remarked above, has strong baptismal associations, especially among earlier writers. Now the link between the sweetening of the waters of Marah and the transition from the Old to the New Testament, from law to grace, together with the Cross as the antitype of the wood, is strongly implied by the ceremony of blessing the font on Holy Saturday. The waters of Marah here prefigure the waters of baptism, while reference is also made to the water drawn from the rock. The same types are found in Coptic and Ethiopic liturgies.¹² The relevant passage from the benedictional prayer runs as follows:

Unde benedico te creatura aquae, per Deum vivum, per Deum verum, per Deum sanctum: per Deum, qui te in principio, verbo separavit ab arida; cujus spiritus super te ferebatur, qui te de paradisi fonte manare fecit, et in quatuor fluminibus totam terram rigare praecepit. Qui te in deserto amaram, suavitate indita, fecit esse potabilem, et sitienti populo de petra produxit.

The ceremony is already present in the Gregorian Sacramentary (PL 78, 89 C) and is probably much older.¹³ Even more significant for our purpose is the blessing of the waters on the eve of Epiphany, though this practice, while dating back to the fourth century, has only been customary in the Western Church since late medieval times.¹⁴ The lesson read is, noticeably, an abridgement of Num. 20, vv. 1-6, a reference to the thirst of the Hebrews in the desert. When the water is exorcised, a formula similar to that quoted for the Easter blessing is used. On this occasion, the blessing is actually accomplished by immersing a cross in the water,¹⁵ and the fact that the Cross is regarded as the antitype of the wood of Moses to which the priest refers is even more apparent than in the instance cited above:

Tu autem, Domine. . . qui famulo tuo Moysi in deserto eremi petram percutere, et ex ea aquam producere, et populum rigare jussisti.

(Dum supradicta cantantur, in Sacristia ornant Clerici Patrinum,¹⁶ deferentem Crucem velo aliquo pulcherrimo, quam comitantur Diaconus et Subdiaconus cum Clericis, et multis luminaribus, et semper incensando, perveniunt ad locum, ubi benedicitur aqua. Ibi Patrinus genu flectitur. Et Sacerdos prius Crucem incensans, de manu Patrini illam accipit. Et ter dicit sequentem versum, Crucem in aquam immergendo:)

Qui aquam amaram immisso ligno dulcorasti: benedicere, et sanctificare digneris hanc creaturam aquae. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.

The liturgical association of the waters of Marah with the baptismal font is an important complement to the literary exegetical tradition we have discussed, and may well have combined with it to influence the author of the VM, at least unconsciously, in his poetic development of the theme. At the same time we cannot overlook the fact that the *Glossa Ordinaria* is one of many exegetical works which provides an adequate source.

In conclusion we shall note a MHG variant of the usual tradition in a sermon for the Third Sunday after Easter among those of the Black Forest Preacher:

Welez ist nu dc bitter wazzer dc da in der wüste waz?. .dc sint die bitteren zêher die du hâst in der riuwe. umbe dine sünde. sich die soltu sūze machen och mit dem holze. dc ist mit dem holze dez heiligen cruces. . .¹⁷

We have already noted this sermon in the context of the water from the rock.¹⁸ Here the vernacular author follows the same practice of emphasising a tropological interpretation instead of the usual allegory,¹⁹ in an instance where his source had included both interpretations.

NOTES

- 1 The name Mara does not occur in the VM.
- 2 Cf. Rom. 9, 10.
- 3 *Sacramentum Futuri*, pp. 147-9.
- 4 *De Migr. Abr.* 8, 36-7, ed. Cohn and Wendland II (1897), p. 275.
- 5 See also Hilary of Poitiers, *Tract. Myster.* I, 33-36, ed. Brisson pp. 128-34, and notes.
- 6 Cf. Exod. 15, v. 25.
- 7 Cf. Origen's *Hom. in Num.* IX, 7: Prima litterae facies satis amara est, quae circumcisionis carnis praecipit. . . (GCS 30, p. 63). See also Lange, *ZDA* 95 (1966), pp. 111-112.
- 8 Cf. *Lib. interpret. hebr. nom.*, CChr 72, p. 76, line 8.
- 9 *Epist. LXXVIII*, ed. Labourt, IV (1954), p. 60.
- 10 Cf. CSEL 25, p. 358.
- 11 Cf. also Ildephonsus of Toledo, PL 96, 173 D.
- 12 See Scheidt, *Die Taufwasserweihegebete*. Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 29 (Münster, 1935), especially pp. 1-10, 45, 59, 61, 81.
- 13 Cf. Scheidt, op. cit., p. 6; Eisenhofer and Lechner, *The Liturgy of the Roman Rite*, pp. 207-11.
- 14 Eisenhofer and Lechner, op. cit., p. 226; John, Marquess of Bute and E.A.W. Budge, *The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of the Epiphany* (1901).
- 15 Cf. PL 98, 293 BC.
- 16 'So called, because he brings the cross to be dipped in the same way that a Godfather brings a catechumen to be baptized' – Bute and Budge, op. cit., p. 32 n.
- 17 Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten*, I (1844), p. 15.
- 18 Cf. above, p. 65.
- 19 Cf. Peltier (ed.), *Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, 13 (1868), p. 252.

8. THE BRAZEN SERPENT AND THE DEFEAT OF THE AMALEKITES

The brazen serpent towards which the Israelites looked for a cure from their snake-bites is interpreted as Christ.¹ This is in full accord with the whole medieval tradition of exegesis of Num. 21, vv. 4-9 of which the *Ezzolied* provides another Early MHG example.² That all the commentaries should be in agreement on this point is hardly surprising, for, as in the case of the manna, the typological significance of the O.T. event is already present in the gospel:

Et sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto; ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis: Ut omnis, qui credit in ipsum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam.³

Chronologically, the incident occurs shortly before the entry into the Promised Land according to the biblical account, and it is evident that the German poet follows the Vulgate. More interesting is the manner in which this story is immediately followed by that of the defeat of Amalek (D. 62, 14-26), which in the bible appears directly after the manna and water from the rock (Exod. 17, vv. 9-16). Münscher observed that the episode of the Amalekites is combined with the remaining incidents in Num. 21, so that the Linz fragment reading *drie* for *di* in D. 62, 17 is correct and the kings referred to are Arad, Sehon and Og.⁴ The fundamental reason for the postponement of the Amalek story is therefore stylistic: the defeat of one pagan army is much like another and repetitious matter is avoided by fusing such narratives. The poet might have chosen to follow the biblical sequence of events by introducing the defeat of the Amalekites before the account of the tabernacle, together with the brazen serpent and the rest of Num. 21, but preferred to emphasise that the battles occurred when the Israelites were about to enter the Promised Land rather than at a previous stage in the exodus.

Apart from this stylistic fusion of Num. 21 with the episode of the Amalekites, it is remarkable that the poet gives no exegetical interpretation of the story which occupies an important place in the Exodus commentaries. It would seem probable that typological considerations have influenced his decision to associate it with the narrative of the brazen serpent.

That the hands of Moses raised above his head during the battle with Amalek should also be seen as a type of the crucified Christ is as much a commonplace of exegesis as is the identical interpretation of the serpent.⁵ The MHG poet could have been familiar with the identification from Origen's homily (GCS 29, p. 255) reproduced in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 242 D – 243 A).⁶ T.W. Manson has

pointed out that of the early Church fathers, Justin, Irenaeus, and Cyprian — he might also have added Tertullian — all associate the two stories closely in order to emphasise the type, while the same association is made by Jewish exegetes for the purpose of refutation.⁷ Peter Damian also juxtaposes the themes (PL 144, 767 C — 769 A), and some knowledge of this usage on the part of the poet cannot be ruled out; while the similarity of the actions of Moses, on both occasions saving the people by means of a vivid gesture with the arms, together with a knowledge of the commonplace typology of the two incidents, would make the same connexion feasible even without the patristic evidence. The treatment is comparable to the earlier allusion to the serpent in the wilderness in the context of the transformation of Moses's rod.⁸ Hence the non-biblical juxtaposition of the two events is explained partly by stylistic considerations, and partly by the poet's awareness of the exegetical implications which they have in common.

NOTES

- 1 D. 62, 3-14. The allegories of the tabernacle which precede this passage will be considered in subsequent chapters.
- 2 Lines 317-322 (ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 298).
- 3 John 3, vv. 14-15. The image is so familiar that it is commonly associated with the transformation of Moses's rod into a serpent. See D. 35, 16 and above, pp. 11-13.
- 4 Diss. pp. 9, 124. Cf. below, pp. 142-3.
- 5 The references are in italics for exegetes who, interpreting the brazen serpent as the Cross or Christ crucified, cite the passage from St John as their evidence: Pseudo-Tertullian, *CChr* 2, p. 1403; Basil the Great, PG 32, 121-2 C — 123-4 A; Gregory of Nyssa, PG 44, 415-6 B; Jerome, Epist. LXXVIII ad Fabiolam, ed. Labourt, IV (1954), p. 85; Augustine, *CChr* 41, pp. 65-6; Cyril of Alexandria, PG 76, 167-8 CD; Quodvultdeus, ed. Braun, pp. 340-1; Caesarius of Arles, *CChr* 103, pp. 461-2; Isidore, PL 83, 355 AB; Bede, *CChr* 122, pp. 315-6; Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 713 AB; cf. PL 111, 229 CD, 233 BC; *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 415 A (refers to Isidore); Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 492 BC; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 889 D — 890 B; Peter Lombard, PL 191, 1404 D — 1405 A; Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 657 D — 658 A; Alan of Lille, PL 210, 942 C; Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 1051 C; Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles. III*, pp. 88-90 together with a quotation from Peter of Riga's *Aurora* also found in a MHG Passion Sunday sermon, ed. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten, II* (1846), p. 124; the MHG *Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. Mellbourn, pp. 100-1.
- 6 Cf. also Prudentius, Cath. XII, 169-72, CSEL 61, p. 75; Isidore, PL 83, 299 C; Peter Comestor, PL 198, 1161 CD. Note also the interpretation of Moses as the priest raising his hands at the altar, e.g. Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 271 C — 272 B; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 669-70; a MHG sermon ed. Grieshaber, op. cit., I (1844), pp. 121-2; also Jetteles, *Altdeutsche Predigten aus dem Benedictinerstift St Paul* (1878), pp. 69-70. The identification with the Cross is commoner in the earlier centuries, cf. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 207. Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 669 D: *opera iustitiae in coelum sustolleret*) elaborates the usual interpretation considerably.
- 7 *The Journal of Theological Studies* 46 (1945), pp. 130-2. Justin, PG 6, 693-4 B; 731-2 B — 733-4 C; cf. 417-8 A — 419-20 A; 699-700 B — 701-2 A on the brazen serpent. Irenaeus, PG 7, 979 B. Cyprian, CSEL 3, i, pp. 88-90. Tertullian, *CChr* 1, pp. 532-3; *CChr* 2, p. 1377. See Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 144-7.
- 8 Cf. above, pp. 11-12.

9. THE TABERNACLE

D. 55, 24 daz gezelt was schone unde breit.
ez bezeichnenote di heiligen christenheit.

In this interpretation of the tabernacle as a whole the word *christenheit* is to be considered in its broadest sense in MHG which includes the notions of Christianity and Christendom besides Christian belief and practice.¹ It would be wrong to restrict the meaning of the word to any one of its semantic aspects for this would also be to limit the range of spiritual interpretation employed by the vernacular poets in the subsequent exegesis of individual details of the tabernacle and its appurtenances.² Our examination of the various components will confirm that the tropological sense of interpretation dominates in the VM, and the allegorical in the VBal; the exegesis in the former work relating largely to the virtues and conduct of the believer, and in the latter to the Church and the faith in general. A study of earlier and contemporary exegetes will also show the need to subsume the notions of both Church and Christian conduct under the concept *christenheit*.

Thus as early as the third century Origen interprets the tabernacle both tropologically as the heart of the Christian, and allegorically as a figure of the Church (GCS 29, pp. 234-244).³ He notes the scriptural basis for the exegetical tradition associated with the tabernacle throughout the Middle Ages: the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews described the tabernacle and ark of the Covenant but declined to elaborate them (Heb. 9, v. 5). Some, says Origen, follow Paul in searching for a deeper meaning, while others are bound by the letter and do not agree with him. He also points to other N.T. evidence of a mystic meaning such as Luke 16, v. 9 and 2 Cor. 5, vv. 1-2, and refers to the Jewish exegetes Philo of Alexandria and Josephus who had interpreted the tabernacle as a figure of the world and all it contains (p. 240: ut quidam ante nos dixerunt, tabernaculum hoc totius mundi tenet figuram).⁴

In the twelfth century, Richard of St Victor in separate passages interprets the tabernacle of Moses as both the Church (PL 175, 661 C) and perfection of the soul (PL 196, 191 C). Adam Scotus divides his work into three sections in which the literal, allegorical and tropological interpretations of the building are considered in turn (PL 198, 609-796). Allegorically the tabernacle signifies the Church, tropologically the Christian. The tropology is found alone in Basil the Great (PG 29, 281-2 B)⁵ and in Garnerius of Rochefort's compendium of allegories (PL 112, 990 A),⁶ while Gregory of Nyssa interprets the structure as Christ (PG 44, 381-2 BC), Augustine, as the body of Christ or the Church (PL 35, 1991 D

– 1992 A),⁷ and Peter Comestor in the *Historia Scholastica* refers to the cosmological interpretation of Josephus for the tabernacle and priests' vestments (PL 198, 1179 A; 1186 CD).⁸

For the main body of Western exegetical tradition, however, the tabernacle signifies the Church alone. Many authors may be quoted, among them Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 313 B),⁹ Bede (PL 91, 423 A ff.), whose *De Tabernaculo et Vasis Ejus* formed a vital link in the medieval tradition, Peter Damian (PL 144, 555 A) and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 698 C ff.).¹⁰ On the details of the tabernacle, vestments and various other appurtenances the *Glossa Ordinaria* is not original (PL 113, 270 B – 286 A) but draws mainly on Bede and Gregory the Great; later (PL 113, 292 C – 294 C) the work of other exegetes including Origen, Isidore, Augustine and Strabo is incorporated.

As with the VM *christenheit*, the term *Ecclesia* used by the Latin exegetes denotes the Church in the broadest possible sense of the word, so that the component parts of the tabernacle may receive tropological or anagogical, and not purely allegorical, treatment. Thus Bede writes of the various hangings in the tabernacle as including all the people, churches and virtues which comprise the Catholic Church:

Tabernaculum Domini fit ex cortinis diversa colorum specie variatis; quia sancta universalis Ecclesia ex multis electorum personis, ex multis per orbem Ecclesiis, ex variis virtutum floribus aedificatur. (PL 91, 425 B)

The *Ecclesia* of almost all exegetes of patristic and medieval times down to the twelfth century and later may therefore be considered as a blanket term synonymous with the *christenheit* of the VM. The vernacular poet is fully within the tradition of his predecessors with regard to the fundamental significance of the tabernacle.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Benecke, Müller, Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* I (1854), p. 884; J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* II (1860), col. 621.
- 2 Summarized by Jantsch, *Studien zum Symbolischen*, pp. 92-4.
- 3 Cf. GCS 30, pp. 162-3.
- 4 Cf. the Armenian fragment of Philo's *Questions and Answers on Exodus*, transl. Marcus (1953), pp. 97-176; *De Vita Mosis* III, 3-15, ed. Cohn and Wendland IV (1902), pp. 217-233; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* III, vi, 1 – viii, 3; viii, 9; ed. Blatt, pp. 231-246; especially p. 234, lines 9-15 and III, vii, 7, pp. 241-2. See also Honorius of Autun, PL 172, 584 C.
- 5 Basil quotes Ps. 90, v. 10 and 2 Cor. 5, v. 4.
- 6 There is no specific reference to the tabernacle of Moses under *tabernaculum*, *ibid.*, 1062 A–D.
- 7 Cf. PL 35, 1979 C, and CChr 40, p. 2137.
- 8 Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, PG 36, 69-70 D – 71-2 A and Rudolf von Ems's *Weltchronik* 12,495 ff. (ed. Ehrismann).
- 9 Cf. Diemer, *Anm.* p. 22.
- 10 Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, PG 68, 587-8 D ff.; 343-4 A; Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 139 B – 218 A, following almost all of Bede's work on the tabernacle and its contents (PL 91, 398 C – 498 C); PL 111, 408 AB; 605 C; Geoffrey of Vendôme, PL 157, 223 D ff.;

Honorius of Autun, PL 172, 584 CD (refers to the Epistle to the Hebrews); *ibid.*, 850 B; Peter Lombard, PL 191, 312 BC; PL 192, 457 BC; Alan of Lille, PL 210, 963-4 D ff.; Peter of Poitiers, *Alleg. super tab. Moysi*, ed. Moore and Corbett, p. 69; p. 110 (following Bede). Only the first part of this work is original (pp. 1-84), the rest following Bede, perhaps in a version of the *Glossa Ordinaria*. On the sources, see pp. xvi ff.

See also Ohly, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 4, pp. 350-2.

10. THE JEWELS IN THE TABERNACLE¹

The poet's description includes a reference to the jacinth, sapphire and topaz as adorning the tabernacle (D. 56, 7-13); this is later elaborated in the corresponding exegetical passage (D. 59, 30 – 60, 21).

The term *hyacinthus* occurs frequently in the biblical context of the tabernacle,² but in every case the word refers to a silken cloth dyed violet blue.³ There can be no doubt, however, that the poet is describing the precious stone jacinth, denoted in the Vulgate by the same term (cf. D. 56, 10 *unde andere edele gesteine*). With this meaning *hyacinthus* is found only twice in the Vulgate: once in Cant. 5, v. 14, together with the sapphire, and again in Apoc. 21, v. 20 as one of the twelve stones of the heavenly Jerusalem.⁴

The sapphire is likewise not described as part of the tabernacle in Exodus, though it occurs in a related context as one of the twelve stones in the high-priest's breastplate.⁵ The uncertain nature and function of this object may have caused confusion in the poet's mind and led him to associate the jewels with the tabernacle itself;⁶ certainly Münscher assumed the priest's vestments to be the source.⁷ Besides the reference in the Song of Songs mentioned above, the sapphire is also found among the stones of the heavenly Jerusalem (Apoc. 21, v. 19), as is the topaz (Apoc. 21, v. 20) which again occurs only in Aaron's breastplate in the Exodus context.⁸

The commentaries on the jewels in the breastplate yield little relevant information,⁹ and it is to the literature inspired by the stones of the Apocalypse that we must turn to discover the tradition our poet is following.¹⁰ That this is our true source is confirmed by the similar description and exegesis of the same three stones in the MHG *Himmlisches Jerusalem*, also incorporated in the Vorau MS. A comparison of the relevant passages will make this clear.

Himmlisches Jerusalem, 387 ff.¹¹

So ist der XI. stain sus	gehaizen Jacingtus.
der wandelet sine varwe	so diche nach dem himele.
ist er truobe oder gra,	danach varwet er sich sa.
damite zaichenet er die,	die sich ferwandelent hie
in aller slahte vraisen	vil diche nach ten waisen.
den armea ist er milte,	den guoten gehente, ¹²
den ubelen gedultic,	den richen ainvaltec.
swie so diu werld tuot,	darnach cherent si ir muot.

VM D. 59, 30 ff.

der iachant ist ein schone stein.
 wi shoner an deme gezelte scein.
 an deme tunkelen tage.
 so ist der stein askeruare.
 so der himel ist heiter.
 so ist der stein livter.
 er bezeichnenet di livte.
 di noh sint in deme strite.

In the case of the sapphire the similarity remains though the exegesis of the VM is more elaborate:

Himmlisches Jerusalem, 162 ff.

So ist der ander stain sus geheizten Saphyrus.
 nach teme himele ist er vare: swenne unsich unser muot treit dare,
 des enist zwivel nechain, so bezaichene wir den selben stain.

VM D. 60, 6 ff.

Safphirus der edele.
 der bezeichnenet di maide.
 er ist himellichen fare.
 ir gemûte zuhet si dare.
 ze deme wunneclichen lande.
 da gent si nach deme lambe.
 gotes mûter ist ein mait.
 div hat di anderen dare geladet.
 ein nuwez sanch si singen.
 cristen si minnent.
 des sanges nine uirstat.
 swer uirsuchet hat di hierat.

With the topaz, the description of the two colours of the stone is similar in both poems, though the interpretations differ:

Himmlisches Jerusalem, 339 ff.

Der VIII. stain ist sus gehaizen Topazius.
 varwe habet er doch zwo, daz puoch saget uns so.
 diu eine ist haiter unte mare nach dem himele gevare,
 diu ander luter so daz golt, di chuneger sint ime holt
 unte minnent in mere den ander zwene.
 so scone nist niht ze sehene, den liuten ze jehene
 al des in der werelt ist. . .

VM D. 60, 15 ff.

Ein stein haizet tobazius.
 daz ist contemplacius.
 der ist uil tivre.
 er ist geuar nach deme fievre.
 unde sin scim ist uone golde.¹³
 er bezeichnenet di gotes holden.
 daz scult ir wol gelovben.
 di da gesehent mit den inn(er)en ovgen.

Shortly after this passage in the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* occur two lines in the interpretation of the topaz which repeat the parallel quoted earlier in the context of the sapphire:

367 nach dem himele ist er gevare, swen in sin muot treit dare. . .

It is significant that all three passages in the VM follow close upon the exegesis of the *coccus* (D. 59, 1-9) which shows a marked resemblance to the account of the sixth stone in the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* (279 ff., cf. especially D. 59, 8-9 and *Himmlisches Jerusalem* 289-90).¹⁴ F. Ohly, noting a further parallel between these lines of the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* and *Rolandslied* 3944 ff., raised the question of the relative chronology of the works, an important aspect of our argument.¹⁵

Ehrentraut observed the close textual correspondences in the accounts of sapphire¹⁶ and *coccus*¹⁷ and in the case of the latter parallel assumed that the VM antedated the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* rather than the reverse, if either of the poems had indeed influenced the other.¹⁸ This conclusion was accepted by Menhardt¹⁹ but may have been suggested by Ehrentraut's erroneous references to the VM passages as part of the *Vorau Genesis* which is probably the oldest work of the VBM.²⁰ Ehrentraut did not extend the comparison of the two poems beyond noting the most striking verbal parallels, and made no attempt to explain the presence in the VM of what the juxtaposition of quotations clearly demonstrates: three jewels based on the apocalyptic tradition, besides a further passage related to the sixth stone of the *Himmlisches Jerusalem*.

A survey of the source-problem of this work will also illuminate the question of the VM passages. Diemer printed in the notes to his edition the text of a lapidary ascribed to Marbod of Rennes, the *Mystica seu moralis applicatio* (PL 171, 1771-4; 1776 BC).²¹ Kelle found a closer parallel in a chapter of the anonymous third book of *De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus*, printed in the *Patrologia Latina* as an appendix to the work of Hugh of St Victor (PL 177, 115 D – 119 A) and formerly attributed to Hugh of Folieto;²² thus the detail that kings love the topaz (*Himmlisches Jerusalem* 346-48) occurs in this work (PL 177, 117 D) but not in Marbod.²³

However, Ehrentraut was able to demonstrate that the search for a source could not be restricted to lapidaries, for much of their information also appears in the commentaries on the Apocalypse.²⁴ Kelle had himself admitted that the love of

kings for the topaz was known to Bede (PL 93, 200 D).²⁵ Though the same is true of most of the details common to Pseudo-Hugh and the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* but not found in Marbod, Ehrentraut nevertheless concluded that the MHG exposition of the twelve stones as a whole stands closer to Pseudo-Hugh than to Bede, and is probably derived from an earlier MS of the anonymous work. This does not exclude the possibility that Bede's commentary was known to the vernacular poet.²⁶

We can now survey the background to the three jewels in the tabernacle in the light of these earlier conclusions. The VM treatment of the jacinth is shorter than that of the *Himmlisches Jerusalem*, but agrees with it in both description and exegesis. Both the *Mystica seu moralis applicatio* (PL 171, 1774 BC) and Pseudo-Hugh (PL 177, 118 BC) would provide adequate source-material for the VM, but the same can be said of Bede (PL 93, 201 D – 202 B) who is followed verbatim by Rabanus Maurus (PL 111, 469 D – 470 B). Less adequate or only partial parallels are found in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 114, 749 AB), Bruno of Segni (PL 165, 727 D – 728 A) and Richard of St Victor (PL 196, 871 D), while Haimo of Auxerre (PL 117, 1207 CD) and Berengaudus (PL 17, 956 D – 957 B) bear no resemblance to the MHG works in either description or exegesis of this stone.

On the sapphire, the VM resembles the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* in its reference to the sky-blue colour of the jewel and the interpretation, those who desire heavenly things, and these lines supply a close textual parallel; however, the VM defines those indicated in the allegory more precisely as virgins, and the praise of virginity has no similar counterpart in the other poem. The *Mystica seu moralis applicatio* (PL 171, 1772 D) and Pseudo-Hugh (PL 177, 116 A) correspond perfectly to the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* version, while Bede (PL 93, 197 D – 198 A), followed by Rabanus Maurus (PL 111, 466 AB), also mentions the jewel's colouring and those who strive heavenwards without speaking of virgins. The appearance of the same or related notions, all without reference to virginity, in Haimo of Auxerre (PL 117, 1205 C), Berengaudus (PL 17, 954 AB), the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 114, 748 AB), Bruno of Segni (PL 165, 725 D) and Richard of St Victor (PL 196, 871 B), strongly suggests that, whatever the immediate source of the *Himmlisches Jerusalem*, it is this work rather than the VM which represents the authentic exegetical tradition as regards the sapphire.²⁷ The usual interpretation is derived from the blue colouring of the sapphire, and it is interesting to observe that exegetes of every period interpret the *hyacinthus* or blue cloth of the tabernacle in exactly the same way: the blue cloth which we should have expected the VM to discuss had the poet not accepted *hyacinthus* as the jacinth-stone.²⁸

The greatest divergence between the VM and the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* occurs with the exegesis of the topaz. The description presents no difficulty, for though some of the Latin works we are considering say that every colour can be seen in this stone, all except Haimo of Auxerre agree that its chief hue is golden or blue;²⁹ D. 60, 17-18 *nach deme fievre* varies the second colour, perhaps for the sake of the

rhyme. However, as Ehrentraut noticed,³⁰ the interpretation of the VM, the contemplative life, is quite different from the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* which speaks of a penitent sinner intent on heaven (lines 355-370). The detail is important for Ehrentraut's argument, for since the *Mystica seu moralis applicatio* (PL 171, 1774 AB) and Pseudo-Hugh (PL 177, 117 C – 118 A) are the only works which supply adequate parallels, the major source of the jewels in the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* seems to lie in the lapidaries rather than the commentaries.³¹ But for the VM the reverse is true; though Haimo of Auxerre (PL 117, 1207 C) and Bruno of Segni (PL 165, 727 BC) bear no resemblance to either MHG work in speaking of the virtues of holy men,³² while Berengaudus (PL 17, 955 D – 956 B) mentions their trials and temptations, the latter author also names the contemplative life and this is the chief feature of the exegesis of Bede (PL 93, 200 C – 201 B), followed as before by Rabanus Maurus (PL 111, 468 C – 469 C), and of the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 114, 748 C – 749 A) and Richard of St Victor (PL 196, 871 D). The term *vita contemplativa* also appears in Pseudo-Hugh (PL 177, 117 D).

Though no firm conclusions on the source of the VM can be drawn from the relative treatment of the jacinth and sapphire in the two vernacular poems, the topaz suggests that our poet prefers the tradition of the Apocalypse commentaries whereas the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* follows a lapidary, in so far as one can distinguish these two categories. This hypothesis is strengthened when we consider the remaining detail in the VM not explained by any of the Latin works: the elaboration of the sapphire exegesis to refer not merely to those who desire heavenly things, but more specifically the virgins invited by the Virgin Mary to heaven where they sing a song not understood by those lacking their purity. The inspiration of the VM perhaps derives from Phil. 3, v. 20, quoted by all but three of the Latin exegetes whose treatment of the sapphire we have considered: 'Nostra autem conversatio in caelis est'. Though apparently his own innovation in the immediate context, the poet's material continues to come from the Apocalypse, for the *nuwez sanch* of D. 60, 12-13 can only be the *canticum novum* of Apoc. 14, v. 3 which is sung by the virgins described in the following verse. A homily of Peter Damian on the birth of the Virgin Mary (PL 144, 758 C ff.; cf. PL 145, 903 C – 904 C) shows her close and natural association with this passage, also apparent in works of Bernard of Clairvaux (PL 183, 61 B ff.) and Bonaventure.³³

As for the association of the sapphire with chastity, Marbod's verse *Liber de Gemmis*, not considered like his prose work as a possible source for the *Himmlisches Jerusalem*, provides at least a partial reminiscence of the VM account of this jewel:

Sed qui gestat eum, castissimus esse iubetur. (PL 171, 1744 A)³⁴

Richard of St Victor connects the sapphires of Cant. 5, v. 14 with married chastity (PL 196, 514 CD),³⁵ while another link between this jewel and purity appears in the *Liber de Corona Virginis* formerly attributed to Ildephonsus of Toledo but now

regarded as a twelfth-century work (PL 96, 296 BC).

We have suggested that the VM confuses the two meanings of *hyacinthus* and the jewels of Aaron's breastplate with those of the Apocalypse, and indeed more erudite minds than our poet fall into the trap of assuming that jewels are used in the construction of the tabernacle itself. Thus Isidore of Seville quotes the Hebrews as contributing to the materials 'juxta quod scriptum est: Aurum, argentum, aes, lapides pretiosi' (PL 83, 316 A).³⁶ Later he proceeds to elaborate these precious stones in his own way (*ibid.*, 317 B). But our present version of the Vulgate suggests that this verse (Exod. 25, v. 3; 35, v. 5) is misquoted, for precious stones are simply not mentioned. Isidore seems to be thinking rather of the description of Solomon's temple, where far more is made of jewels in the construction,³⁷ though they are not named in detail, and of possible reminiscences in the Apocalypse.³⁸ Aaron's breastplate remains a likely source of confusion,³⁹ and this holds true for Richard of St Victor when he mentions them in the same false context (PL 175, 662 B). Geoffrey of Vendôme makes the same error (PL 157, 225 AB), while perhaps the most striking instance of a similar discrepancy is the sermon of a vernacular German writer who says there are five, instead of twelve, stones in Aaron's breastplate, and equates them with the five wounds of Christ.⁴⁰ Schönbach pointed out that no Latin parallels exist for this, and rather unconvincingly suggested a confusion with the four colours of the high-priest's mantle, described in the same chapter of Exodus.⁴¹

Whether or not the initial introduction of the jewels into the tabernacle was, as these parallels suggest, an error perhaps founded on a biblical text differing from the Vulgate, there remains the problem of the chronological relationship of the VM and the *Himmliches Jerusalem*. The textual parallels make it hardly conceivable that the author of the later poem did not know the earlier work.

It is possible, as Ehrentraut and Menhardt assumed – and this is a view supported perhaps by the usual dating of the *Himmliches Jerusalem* to c. 1140⁴² and the VM somewhat earlier – that the VM was written first.

In this case it seems that the poet intentionally or erroneously introduced the apocalyptic material into the tabernacle context. In doing so he changed the meaning of *hyacinthus* and added the information on this and two other jewels arbitrarily selected from a treatise on the twelve stones related to the commentaries, probably in the Bede – Rabanus Maurus – *Glossa Ordinaria* tradition. Not content with this departure from the usual exegetical tradition of the tabernacle, the poet then added an original mariological passage on the sapphire, for which the basic association with virginity was probably derived from other Latin works. This treatment of the stones occurred shortly after an account of the red hanging *coccus* in which the author had already replaced the stereotyped traditional interpretation with a reference to martyrdom, known from liturgical usage.⁴³

We must then assume that the second poet knew the VM and recognized the allusions to apocalyptic tradition in the exegesis of the jewels. He was moved to

compose his own work which dealt with all the stones in their proper context. Using a lapidary related to the Pseudo-Hugh which gave an interpretation of the topaz different from the source of the VM, and rejecting the VM elaboration of the sapphire in favour of his own Latin source, his treatment of the latter jewel nevertheless reflects his knowledge of the earlier poem. Furthermore, he noticed a resemblance between the VM elaboration of the *coccus* and the traditional allegory of the cornelian, and accordingly borrowed material from his predecessor for his treatment of the sixth stone, a passage which also shows a close parallel to the *Rolandslied*.

It is obvious that such a history of the two poems is less likely than the much simpler alternative: the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* was written first, its poet adhering closely to a Latin lapidary related to Pseudo-Hugh for his information about the jewels. When the author of the VM wrote, the reference to the *hyacinthus* and the jewels of Aaron's breastplate in the biblical account of the tabernacle suggested a deliberate variation on the heavenly Jerusalem theme familiar from the poem circulating in the same area and later added to the same MS. From an Apocalypse commentary the poet took a different interpretation of the topaz and elaborated the sapphire independently, at the same time allowing the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* account of the sardius to influence his exegesis of the *coccus*.⁴⁴

Apart from the greater likelihood that the poem which adheres most strictly to a Latin source is earlier than one which uses the same ideas in a totally different exegetical tradition, the hypothesis that the VM was written after the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* is further supported by the attested independent circulation of the apocalyptic poem⁴⁵ and the strong influence of other works in the same MS upon the VBM.⁴⁶ Menhardt's view of the textual relationships of the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* did not take into account the content of the work,⁴⁷ and it seems reasonable to suppose that the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* antedated not only the VM but also the *Kaiserchronik*⁴⁸ and, perhaps, the *Rolandslied*.⁴⁹

It is not difficult to understand why the VM borrowed the apocalyptic material. The conventional anagogical interpretation of Jerusalem emphasises the destiny of those who undertake the Exodus pilgrimage, just as the VBM opens and the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* stands near the end of the Vrau MS. Such an eschatological element forms an important complement to the preponderance of tropology in most of the VM exegesis. The poet would be further influenced by the similarity of the interpretation of the sapphire in the Apocalypse to that of the *hyacinthus* in the tabernacle.

NOTES

- 1 For a revised version of this chapter in German, see *ZDA* 98 (1969), pp. 29-39.
- 2 Exod. 25, v. 4; 26, vv. 1, 31, 36; 27, v. 16; 28, vv. 5, 6, 8, 15, 33; 35, vv. 6, 23, 25, 35; 36, vv. 8, 35, 37; 38, vv. 18, 23; 39, vv. 1, 2, 8, 22, 28.
- 3 Cf. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, p. 488.
- 4 The term *ligurius* is used for the jacinth or opal in the high-priest's breastplate, Exod. 28, v. 19; 39, v. 12.
- 5 Exod. 25, v. 7; 35, v. 9; 28, vv. 17-21; 39, vv. 10-14.
- 6 See Knox's notes to pp. 123-4 of his translation of the Vulgate (1949 edition); Vulgate *rationale* (*judicii*), LXX Λόγιον. The Hebrew is of uncertain meaning.
- 7 Diss. p. 123.
- 8 Cf. Exod. 25, v. 7; 28, v. 30, and 35, v. 9, where the jewels are mentioned in general terms.
- 9 Cf. Bede, PL 91, 470 D – 471 C, followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 279 C. This set of jewels was relatively unimportant: see Pannier, *Les Lapidaires Français du Moyen Age*, pp. 209-17.
- 10 Many commentaries on Cant. 5, v. 14 give in less detail some of the material considered below in the context of the apocalyptic exegesis, e.g. *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 1156 B.
- 11 Ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* II, pp. 140-52.
- 12 These lines recur in the *Kaiserchronik*, 13679-80 (ed. E. Schröder); cf. Ehrentraut, *Zu dem mhd. Gedichte 'vom himmlischen Jerusalem'*, p. 100. Menhardt, *BGDSL* 78 (1956), pp. 447-8, regarded the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* as the later work.
- 13 Cf. the topaz in the *Prüler Steinbuch*, ed. Wilhelm, *Denkmäler deutscher Prosa des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, p. 38.
- 14 The amethyst (*Himmlisches Jerusalem* 407 ff.) has a similar interpretation. See below, pp. 105, 107.
- 15 *ZDA* 86 (1955-56), pp. 79-80. Cf. Menhardt, *BGDSL* 78 (1956), pp. 447-8. The parallel was originally noted by E. Schröder in his edition of the *Kaiserchronik*, p. 92 n.
- 16 Op. cit., p. 96.
- 17 Op. cit., pp. 98-99.
- 18 Op. cit., p. 103.
- 19 *BGDSL* 78, p. 447 n. 1.
- 20 Ehrentraut, op. cit., pp. 96, 98-99, 103; followed by Ohly, *ZDA* 86, p. 80, whence the error was copied in turn by Menhardt, *BGDSL* 78, p. 447 n. 1, the latter adding to the confusion by misquoting Ohly's page reference to Ehrentraut (p. 99, not 48 ff.).
- 21 Anm. pp. 89-92. On Marbod's key position within the tradition of the lapidaries, see the chart in Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries* (1924), pp. 10-12, and the discussion (pp. XIII ff.) of the large number of MSS of his work.
- 22 Cf. Silvestre, *Le Moyen Age* 55 (1949), pp. 247-51.
- 23 Kelle, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* II (1896), p. 123.
- 24 Op. cit., pp. 10-55.
- 25 Kelle, loc. cit.; cf. Ehrentraut, op. cit., p. 46. The detail is also found in Rabanus Maurus, PL 111, 468 D, following Bede, cf. *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 114, 748 D; Haimo of Auxerre, PL 117, 1207 C; Bruno of Segni, PL 165, 727 B.
- 26 Cf. Ehrentraut, op. cit., pp. 46-7.
- 27 Cf. also Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, p. 338.
- 28 Origen, GCS 29, p. 240; Cyril of Alexandria, PG 68, 635-6 A; Gregory the Great, PL 77, 29 B; PL 76, 537 AB (followed verbatim by Isidore, PL 83, 316 C – 317 A); Bede, PL 91, 426 A; Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 318 A; cf. 306 D, where Bruno cites Josephus, the Jewish originator of the tradition who interpreted the blue cloth as the element air; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 719 D; Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 662 A, cf. PL 177, 912 C; Peter of Celle, PL 202, 1050 A; Peter of Poitiers, *Allég. super tab. Moysi*, ed. Moore and Corbett (1938), pp. 19, 111; Adam Scotus, PL 198, 695 A; 766 C; Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 965 B; Sicardus, PL 213, 15 C.
- 29 Cf. Haimo of Auxerre, PL 117, 1207 C; *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 114, 749 A; Bruno of Segni, PL 165, 727 BC; Pseudo-Hugh, PL 177, 118 A.
- 30 Op. cit., p. 44.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 45. Though for other details of the heavenly city an apocalyptic lapidary alone would obviously have been inadequate; cf. below pp. 166 ff.
- 32 Cf. also Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, p. 339.
- 33 *Vitis Mystica* XXVI, Opera omnia. . . vol. 8 (1898), p. 203.
- 34 Cf. the vernacular *First French Version*, *ibid.*, 1744 C, also printed in Studer and Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries*, p. 35. These poems also include parallels for jacinth and topaz.

Anglo-Norman Lapidaries further contains the *Alphabetical Lapidary* and the *Apocalyptic Lapidary* (pp. 256, 267), which allude to chastity in relation to the sapphire. These may be the work of Philippe of Thaon and antedate 1130 (pp. 260-1). When the editors state that the account of the apocalyptic stones is based on Rabanus Maurus (though the sapphire is not, p. 378 n. III), they fail to notice that Rabanus merely follows Bede verbatim (PL 93, 197-8), as we have seen earlier in this chapter.

The anonymous twelfth-century poem *Cives coelestis patriae*, printed in Migne under Marbod's name (PL 171, 1771-1772; cf. Manitius III, 726), follows him closely.

- ³⁵ Cf. also his treatment of the jacinth here (PL 196, 513 C – 514 B) and the interpretation *casta humanitas* of Peter of Capua, quoted in Pitra, *Spic. Soles.* II, p. 338 (though the reading *casta Christi humanitas* is found in Garnerius of Rochefort's compendium, PL 112, 1044 D).
- ³⁶ Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter*, 2nd edition (1954), p. 96, notes a similar context where Jerome treats the hyacinth as a jewel.
- ³⁷ E.g. 3 Kings 10, v. 2; 5, v. 17; 7, vv. 9-11; 2 Par. 32, v. 27; 9, vv. 1, 9, 10. Cf. Bede, CChr 122, pp. 373-4.
- ³⁸ Cf. Apoc. 17, v. 4; 18, vv. 12, 16; 21, vv. 11, 19.
- ³⁹ Exod. 25, v. 7; 35, v. 9; 28, vv. 17-21; 39, vv. 10-14.
- ⁴⁰ Ed. Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten* I (1886), pp. 39-40.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 401.
- ⁴² Cf. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* II, 1 (1922), p. 138; Steinger in Stammler's *Verfasserlexikon* II (1936), col. 581.
- ⁴³ Cf. below, p. 107.
- ⁴⁴ For the *nuwez sanch* of the VM sapphire, cf. also *Vorau Genesis* D. 24, 23: 'ein newez sanc er mahchote'. The line refers to Jacob after his vision of the ladder, but has no immediate parallel in Gen. 28, vv. 16-22. The term *canticum novum* is common in the Psalms, cf. 32, v. 3; 39, v. 4; 95, v. 1; 97, v. 1; 143, v. 9; 149, v. 1; also Is. 42, v. 10 and Apoc. 5, v. 9.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. Menhardt, *BGDSL T* 78, p. 447.
- ⁴⁶ Cf. Wells, pp. 377-80.
- ⁴⁷ *BGDSL T* 78, pp. 447-8.
- ⁴⁸ As Schröder assumed in his edition of the *Kaiserchronik*, pp. 92, 184, 329.
- ⁴⁹ However, the lines common to *Rolandslied* and *Himmlisches Jerusalem* are not derived from a Latin source of the latter poem; cf. Ehrentraut, op. cit., pp. 47-9.

11. THE DIMENSIONS OF THE TABERNACLE

The VM gives the height of the tabernacle as thirty cubits with its length as forty and a third measurement as twenty (D. 57, 16-21). How the poet arrives at these figures is by no means immediately apparent,¹ for authorities both ancient and modern agree in finding measurements of about 30, 10 and 10 cubits for length, breadth and height respectively explicit or implicit in the biblical narrative.²

A solution which suggests itself at once is that the poet has confused other figures given in the Exodus description, especially as the biblical account nowhere gives a straightforward, comprehensive summary of the dimensions of the building as a whole. Thus the figure thirty applies not to the height of the tabernacle, but to the length of the goats' hair coverings (Exod. 26, v. 8; 36, v. 15), while the curtains are twenty-eight cubits long (Exod. 26, v. 2; 36, v. 9). McNeile points out that when the curtains are joined as described in Exod. 26, vv. 3-6, they appear to form one large curtain, 28 by 40 cubits; likewise the goats' hair coverings (Exod. 26, vv. 7-13) form a piece 30 by 44 cubits.³ Similar calculations by the VM poet or his source could conceivably explain his statements that the length and height are forty and thirty cubits respectively. Again, the poet's measurement of the length may be mistakenly derived from the forty silver sockets on the twenty wooden columns on each side of the north and south sides (Exod. 26, vv. 19, 21; 36, vv. 24, 26). These columns are in fact of one and a half cubits each (Exod. 26, v. 16) and thus give the normal reckoning of thirty cubits' length.

The figure twenty in the VM presents a special difficulty. From the references to length and height in D. 57, 16-21, and to length, breadth and height in D. 61, 22-27, one would suppose the third measurement in the first passage to allude to the breadth of the tabernacle:

D. 57, 20 zveinzec maze hine fūre.
 darin gi der ewarten tūre.

These lines may, however, describe as twenty cubits the length of either the inner or the outer sanctuary alone. In the latter case this is the distance from the tabernacle entrance to the veil (*ewarten tūre*), behind which is housed the ark of the Covenant described in the following passage. The veil itself has indeed just been mentioned together with its exegetical significance (D. 56, 27 ff.).⁴

If this is the measurement intended in the VM it receives confirmation from modern critics who agree that the outer sanctuary is twenty cubits long, the remaining ten cubits of the tabernacle forming the Holy of Holies which is a perfect

cube. However, such a calculation assumes the length of the whole structure to be thirty cubits, with which the VM disagrees. It is also based upon the similarity of the structure of Solomon's temple, where the measurements are about double those of the tabernacle (cf. 3 Kings 6, vv. 2, 17) and where the oracle is again a perfect cube (3 Kings 6, v. 20), a shape to which allusion is perhaps made in Apoc. 21, v. 16 with the description of the New Jerusalem.⁵ The Exodus account does not say exactly where the veil is to be hung (Exod. 26, v. 33), and it seems unlikely that the VM should draw the same conclusions as modern critics, especially when no similar statements – and hence no exegesis – appear to be present in the Latin commentaries we shall examine.

Other possible sources for the figure twenty in the Vulgate description are the sets of twenty columns already mentioned (Exod. 26, vv. 18, 20; 36, vv. 23, 25), while there are twenty posts on the two longer sides of the court (Exod. 27, vv. 10-11; 38, v. 10). The hangings across the gateway of the court on the east side have a width of twenty cubits (Exod. 27, v. 16; 38, v. 18).

Hence the lack of explicit reference in Exodus to the overall dimensions of the tabernacle, together with the extremely complicated description of the numerous details of its construction, may easily have led to confusion in the poet's mind regarding the figures he quotes. However, all the above possibilities must be rejected in favour of a more precise source of his measurements, together, as far as may be judged from the scant exegetical details provided in the poem, with the corresponding interpretations of height and breadth. The source would appear to lie in the biblical dimensions of other structures familiar to medieval exegetes, namely the ark of Noah (Gen. 6, v. 15),⁶ the ideal temple of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 41, v. 2) and, above all, the temple of Solomon (3 Kings 6, vv. 2, 17). For the exegetical interpretation, we may add to these the ark of the Covenant and other objects pertaining to the tabernacle. The following table will make the numerical resemblances clear:

	Measurements in cubits (mâze)		
	Length	Breadth (? length of inner or outer sanctuary)	Height
Tabernacle according to VM	(40)	(20)	(30)
Tabernacle according to all versions of bible besides Philo, Josephus and Christian exegetes	30	10	10
Temple of Solomon according to 3 Kings 6, v. 2	60	(20)	(30)
Length of outer sanctuary of temple (3 Kings 6, v. 17)	(40)		

	Measurements in cubits (mâze)		
	Length	Breadth (? length of inner or outer sanctuary)	Height
Length, breadth and height of inner sanctuary of temple (3 Kings 6, vv. 16, 20)		(20)	
Temple of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 41, v. 2)	(40)	(20)	
Ark of Noah (Gen. 6, v. 15)	300	50	(30)

The most striking parallels are provided by the figures for the temple of Solomon, if we read 3 Kings 6, verses 2, 16, 17 and 20 in conjunction. If the German poet is using these references – and the very lack of precise measurements in the Exodus account may well have led him to do so – his figure thirty for the height presents no problem, while forty may be the length of the outer sanctuary alone. Since twenty cubits can refer either to the width of the whole structure or to the three dimensions of the inner sanctuary, it is not altogether surprising that the VM, after perhaps departing in D. 57, 16-21 from an original plan to adhere strictly to height, length and breadth, simplifies in the exegetical passage (D. 61, 22-27) by fusing length and breadth into one. However, the sources of the interpretation will throw further light on this detail.

The two exegetical details of the dimensions (D. 61, 22-27) find ample Latin support. The height, thirty cubits, represents the Trinity, while the breadth and length together are a figure of eternal love (*minne*). Bede's interpretation of the temple of Solomon as described in 3 Kings 6, v. 2, where the same measurements for height and breadth apply in the biblical context, gives similar notions, though in somewhat greater detail: the breadth is the twofold love for God and one's neighbour, and this (2) and our faith in the Trinity (3) are each multiplied by the Decalogue (10) to give twenty and thirty cubits for breadth and height respectively (PL 91, 749 A-C; CChr 122, pp. 374-5). Bede is followed by Claudius of Turin (PL 50, 1113 A-C).⁷ This passage does not alone solve the problem of the exegetical association of length and breadth in the VM, and nor does Bede's commentary on the tabernacle, for while he interprets the thirty of the true length of the tabernacle as faith, hope and charity multiplied by the commandments of the Law (PL 91, 439 BC), when the same figure is used of the goats' hair coverings the Trinity and the Decalogue are found as with the height of the temple (PL 91, 431 A). However, Bede also associates charity with breadth in the same passage and in his treatment of the altar of burnt sacrifice (PL 91, 450 B),⁸ the ark of the Covenant (PL 91, 401 C) and the high-priest's breastplate (PL 91, 470 D).

That Bede's influence is very strong and that he must be considered the ultimate source of our poet for these details is clear from an examination of the later

tradition. Alcuin states that the breadth of Noah's ark represents charity (PL 100, 528 BC). Though Rabanus Maurus's abridgement of Bede's commentary on the temple omits the reference to the Trinity (PL 109, 142 B), Bede is followed in full by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 586 CD; cf. 666 C). Rupert of Deutz links the 'breadth of charity' to the north side of the altar (Lev. 1, v. 11; PL 167, 749 BC),⁹ while his exegesis of the height and breadth of the temple gives the Trinity and two-fold charity respectively (PL 167, 1148 D – 1149 A). Hugh of St Victor finds the Trinity in the three hundred cubits of the length of Noah's ark (PL 176, 631 C); breadth and charity are equated by Hugh of Fouilloy for Solomon's temple (PL 176, 1118 C) and by Peter of Celle for the ark of the Covenant (PL 202, 1055 D) and the altar of burnt offering (PL 202, 1076 D); and Peter of Poitiers follows Bede on the goats' hair coverings,¹⁰ Aaron's breastplate¹¹ and the altar of burnt sacrifice.¹² In his compendium of allegories Garnerius of Rochefort quotes the hundred cubits' width of the court in which the tabernacle stands (Exod. 27, v. 9) to show that breadth signifies the perfection of charity (PL 112, 983 A), while he associates length with the Trinity because of the measurements of Noah's ark (PL 112, 989 A). Similar notions influence Bonaventure who finds charity in the breadth of the Cross together with patience in its length and the hope of heavenly things in its height.¹³

The allegorical interpretation of the church building must be mentioned as an important aspect of this tradition. Among the sermons for the dedication of a church quoted by Ranke,¹⁴ those of Honorius of Autun refer unambiguously to the temple of Solomon (PL 172, 1105 A; 1106 D; 1108 A), while this and the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse are prominent in the liturgy of the same festival. The tropological dedication sermon of Richard of St Victor interprets the length, breadth and height of a church as faith, charity and hope respectively (PL 177, 904 A; 905 A).¹⁵ It is not surprising that Gottfried adapts the traditional association of charity with breadth to his own concept of *minne*:

diu wite deist der minnen craft,
wan ir craft is unendehaft.¹⁶

A possible solution to the problem of the association of length with breadth in D. 61, 25 and the usual interpretation of *latitudo* lies in the familiarity of Eph. 3, 18-19: *ut possitis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis, quae sit latitudo, et longitudo, et sublimitas, et profundum: scire etiam supereminentem scientiae charitatem Christi. . .*

Here the dimensions are juxtaposed in the context of charity, as in the discussion of these verses in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 114, 594 BCD). However, the commentaries on Solomon's temple as described later in 3 Kings 6 – the passage whence the measurement of forty in the VM seems to derive¹⁷ – afford a more practical explanation. The exegesis of the length in this context is highly detailed and makes use of several allegories (*Glossa Ordinaria* PL 113, 588 D – 589 A from Bede, PL 91, 759 A–D). But, as we have seen, in 3 Kings 6, v. 20 the length and width of

the oracle are said to be equal, inasmuch as it forms a perfect cube, and this detail is accordingly emphasised in the commentaries (*Glossa Ordinaria* PL 113, 589 BC from Bede, PL 91, 758 D, 762 A). It would be a simple matter to avoid a longer treatment of the figure forty by transferring the detail of this related context – the inner sanctuary of the temple – to the length derived from the outer sanctuary of the same building. Such a transference need not have been a deliberate adaptation: the mere suggestion of 3 Kings 6, v. 20 would suffice.

In view of the sparsity of the German poet's information on the dimensions of the tabernacle it is remarkable that we may point with some confidence to the tradition in which he appears to work. The sources and parallels we have found for his figures and his interpretation of the breadth and height confirm each other, and it is significant that the *Glossa Ordinaria* again provides a satisfactory explanation of the VM text.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 123.
- 2 See Exod. 26, vv. 15-16 (for the height) and McNeile, *The Book of Exodus* (1908), p. lxxvi (following A. R. S. Kennedy); Cross, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 10 (1947), pp. 62-3; Noth, *Exodus. A Commentary* (1962), p. 212. McNeile, p. lxxix, gives a comprehensive list of all the measurements of the tabernacle. Ancient authorities include Philo, *De Vita Mosis* III, 4-7, ed. Cohn and Wendland IV (1902), pp. 218-23; Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* III, vi, 3, ed. Blatt, p. 233.
- 3 *Op. cit.*, pp. lxxiii, lxxvii. Cf. Noth, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
- 4 Cf. below, pp. 101-104.
- 5 Cf. Chadwick, *The Book of Exodus* (1890), p. 393; McNeile, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxv-lxxvi; Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Noth, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-4.
- 6 Consideration of the ark of the Covenant (cf. D. 57, 22 ff.) could have reminded the poet of Noah's ark. On the close allegorical association of the various structures in the Victorine school, cf. de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale. Les Quatre Sens de l'Écriture* III (1961), pp. 403-18. See also Quodvultdeus, *De Gloria Regnoque Sanctorum* 17 (ed. Braun, p. 670): Aedificandi si est affectio, habes fabricam mundi, mensuras arcae, ambitum tabernaculi, fastigium templi Salomonis ipsiusque per mundum membra ecclesiae quam illa omnia figurabant. Cf. below, p. 102.
- 7 Cf. also Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 197 AB; Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, pp. 283, 287.
- 8 Cf. PL 91, 801 B on the corresponding altar in Solomon's temple.
- 9 Cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 670 D) on the altar of burnt sacrifice in Solomon's temple, following Rabanus.
- 10 *Alleg. super tab. Moysi*, ed. Moore and Corbett, pp. 113-5.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 140-1.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 125-6.
- 13 *Vitis Mystica* XLVI, ed. Opera omnia 8 (1898), p. 225.
- 14 *Die Allegorie der Minnegrotte in Gottfrieds Tristan*, pp. 30-31. Cf. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, pp. 115-6.
- 15 Cf. Ranke, loc. cit.
- 16 *Tristan* 16, 937-8 (ed. Ranke). A vernacular MHG example of the theological tradition is the fourteenth century sermon *Von der sele Closter*, ed. Wackernagel, *Alteutsche Predigten und Gebete* (1876), p. 109. Cf. also Jantsch, *Studien zum Symbolischen*, pp. 357-8, and below, p. 117.
- 17 Cf. Bede, PL 91, 759 A; CChr 122, p. 375.

12. THE INNER ALTAR AND THE PRIESTS

Before we discuss the VM interpretation of the inner altar two important emendations of the Voraú text must be noted. For *gebe* (D. 60, 25-26) the Linz fragment reads *gebet*.¹ This emendation would be justified even without the evidence of L, for the phraseology of the passage bears a close resemblance to D. 44, 21-25. Here the rhyme *öch: wiroch* and the verb *ŷf bringen* occur in the context of the sacrifice in the desert where we have found the association of incense with prayer to be well authenticated by exegetical tradition.² Further confirmation will be found in the use of incense in sacrificial contexts. In addition, L restores the homeoteleutic omission of two lines in D. 60, 29:

di (bezeichent vnder stvnde.
daz alte vrkvnde.
vñ) bezeichnenent di nivwen ê. . .³

The VM first explains that, being shut away, the inner altar signifies heart and mind.⁴ There is nothing in the account which contravenes the biblical description;⁵ the Vulgate explicitly states that the altar was concealed and only the high-priest and his family were allowed to enter,⁶ and according to the Epistle to the Hebrews only the high-priest himself might stand before it once a year on the day of atonement after making sacrifice outside.⁷ This is alluded to in D. 56, 24-27. The poet also correctly notes that incense was used at the altar;⁸ this signifies prayer and weeping.

He continues, however, by stating that two priests tend the fire at the inner altar. These represent the Old and New Testaments (D. 60, 28 – 61, 3). The corresponding narrative passage (D. 56, 17-23) tells the story of the fire sent from heaven, taken from Lev. 9, v. 24. This, however, occurs on the public, outer altar of sacrifice – all the people are watching – and not on the inner altar as the poet implies. Likewise the fire itself burns permanently on the outer altar,⁹ while in all the biblical references to the fire of sacrifice this and not the inner altar is intended.¹⁰

Münscher supposed¹¹ that the MHG lines are based on Lev. 10, v. 2 ff.. Since the VM contains no mention of the slaying of Nadab and Abihu, this seems a much less probable source than Lev. 9, v. 24. However, it is possible to understand the sin of Aaron's sons as having taken place before the inner altar where incense was offered, and this passage alone, or an attempt by the MHG poet to combine the two biblical events in characteristic fashion¹² could explain the apparent mistake.

The poet's factual error is nevertheless not confined to his confusion of the two

altars. He says that the two priests are of the tribes of Levi and Simeon. While the Levites are continually mentioned in the book of Numbers as set apart for the upkeep of the tabernacle and all the priests are chosen from Aaron's sons, Levites like their father and Moses,¹³ there is no biblical reference to Simeon in this rôle.

The most dramatic biblical episode when Simeon and Levi are associated occurs in the book of Genesis, where their treachery against the city of Sichem after his seduction of Dinah is described (Gen. 34, v. 25). When Jacob gives them his dying blessing he speaks to them together and, alluding to this incident, calls them 'vasa iniquitatis bellantia' (Gen. 49, v. 5). The unfavourable context naturally enough results in a pejorative exegesis in all the Latin commentaries on the passage – usually Simeon and Levi are regarded as types of the Scribes and Pharisees and the slayers of Christ¹⁴ – and there is certainly no parallel to the German poet's interpretation.

In some cases, however, pairs of O.T. figures associated together do represent the two Testaments; the interpretation had a well-known origin in St Paul's exegesis of the two sons of Abraham.¹⁵ It is applied to the two spies of Josh. 2 – 6 (e.g. Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 111 A)¹⁶, to Moses and Aaron (e.g. Zeno, PL 11, 510 A) and to Moses and Joshua¹⁷, though never, apparently, to Simeon and Levi. Nevertheless, the tradition provides a clue to the VM treatment, for Leah and Rachel, the two wives of Jacob (Gen. 29, v. 16 ff.), are commonly interpreted in this way (e.g. Isidore, PL 83, 105 A; 264 A–C; followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 155 D – 156 A),¹⁸ and it is later in the same chapter of Genesis that Simeon and Levi are associated for the first time as the sons of Leah (Gen. 29, vv. 33-34). This association is repeated in many biblical passages where the tribes of Israel are enumerated.¹⁹

While we have established that the connexion of Simeon with Levi and the interpretation of a pair of biblical characters as the two Testaments are common enough to be readily adopted by the VM, our most significant evidence points to the book of Genesis. We could therefore assert with greater confidence that the poet's indirect sources are indeed the allegories described if it can be shown that he is thoroughly familiar with the Genesis material. Now such is indeed the case, for in D. 54, 20 – 55, 5, shortly before the description of the altar of incense, the VM has falsely associated Simeon with Levi on a previous occasion, the massacre of the idolaters who worshipped the golden calf. Once again only the Levites are named in the biblical account (Exod. 32, vv. 25-29). What is significant is that here direct reference is made to the part of Simeon and Levi in the massacre at Sichem described in Genesis.²⁰ Furthermore, the textual resemblances of D. 54, 25-26 with D. 30, 14-15²¹ and of D. 54, 28-29 with D. 30, 21-22 make it clear that the VM refers to the *Vorau Genesis* account of this story, which perhaps caught the imagination of the later poet – and his audiences – by reason of its sensational subject-matter.

The poet's treatment can now be summarized. Influenced perhaps by the biblical associations of Simeon and Levi he has introduced Simeon into the Exodus

massacre in order to establish an almost typological parallel of his own between this and the events at Sichem described in the *Vorau Genesis*: in D. 54, 27 – 55, 5 he successfully shows the Simeonites and Levites to be heroically exculpating their eponymous ancestors and atoning for the inherited guilt. The theme of a pair of characters in a martial context reappears later in the poem when Caleb and Joshua attempt to pacify the rebels (D. 64, 26 – 66, 8).²² His emphasis on pairs, perhaps in conjunction with commentaries on Gen. 29 and the interpretation of Rachel and her sister, the mother of Simeon and Levi, reminds the poet of the common allegorical notion of the Old and New Testament; this is at all events significant in the following lines on the Law (D. 55, 11-19) which is expounded in its twofold, N.T. form.²³ When, after an interval of only a few more lines, the Levites again appear in the context of the altar, the ground is well prepared for the poet to repeat the addition of Simeon (D. 56, 22) in order to make use of the exegesis familiar from the Genesis material (D. 60, 29 with L), and also perhaps from an interpretation of the two altars themselves as in the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Heb. 9, v. 2 (PL 114, 658 A).

Having erroneously associated the fire of the altar of sacrifice with the inner altar, the poet considers the former structure and the cattle sacrificed there, and the dimensions of the tabernacle (D. 61, 3-27). Finally he reminds us that *dev alter was beslozzen* (D. 61, 28), a detail which may again reflect confusion of the two altars, since the preceding passages refer to the outer, public altar which was not concealed. It is perhaps more probable, however, that the poet is merely giving added emphasis to a point he feels was too little stressed earlier on. He elaborates his earlier interpretation of the inner altar as heart and mind and explains that we should conceal our love for God – if we venerate God merely for the sake of worldly praise (*rām*), we shall be appropriately requited (D. 61, 27 – 62, 2).

It is noticeable that this additional emphasis on the concealment of the altar, part of the wider theme of initiation into the faith which plays a considerable part in the VM allegory,²⁴ replaces the interpretation of the ark of the Covenant which should conclude the exegesis of the tabernacle according to the descriptive sequence given earlier (cf. D. 57, 22 – 58, 6). This omission leads the VBal poet to return to the subject.²⁵

The exegesis of D. 61, 27 ff. indeed implies a contrast between the two altars which Origen develops in a manner harmonious with the VM.²⁶ He contrasts the secret prayer from the inner altar of the heart with the loud, public prayer of the hypocrites outside:

Altaria vero duo, id est interius et exterius, quoniam altare orationis indicium est, illud puto significare, quod dicit Apostolus: 'orabo spiritu, orabo et mente' (1 Cor. 14, v. 15). Cum enim 'in corde oravero', ad altare interius ingredior, et hoc puto esse etiam quod Dominus in evangeliiis dicit: 'tu autem cum oras, intra in cubiculum tuum, et claude ostium tuum, et ora patrem tuum in abscondito' (Matt. 6, v. 6). Qui ergo ita orat, ut dixi, ingreditur ad altare incensi, quod est interius. Cum autem quis clara voce et verbis cum sono

prolatis, quasi ut aedificet audientes, orationem fundit ad Deum, hic 'spiritu orat' et offerre videtur hostiam in altari, quod foris est ad holocaustomata populi constitutum. (GCS 30, pp. 73-4)

References to this homily are made by the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Num. 18 (PL 113, 406 CD).

Other exegetes give various interpretations of the inner altar, sometimes without any contrast between it and the altar of sacrifice. Thus Gregory of Nyssa finds in it the adoration and prayer of the celestial beings in the tabernacle (PG 44, 383-4 CD) and for Cyril of Alexandria (PG 68, 617-8 B) and Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 358 CD)²⁷ it signifies Christ and Christ's humanity respectively, while Caesarius of Arles sees it as a figure of the heart (CChr 104, pp. 902 ff.)²⁸ like the VM poet in his first interpretation (D. 60, 23-24).

Gregory the Great interprets the two altars of both tabernacle and temple as contrition through fear and love (PL 76, 1070 AB)²⁹ and Bede, after describing the altar of sacrifice as the hearts of the elect who offer good works (PL 91, 450 B), contrasts with it the inner altar of those who have in greater spiritual perfection extinguished all fleshly desires and offer only prayer to God (PL 91, 487 A-D). It is perhaps this passage, followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 283 BC ff.) besides Peter of Poitiers,³⁰ which points to the most convincing source of the VM, for it provides adequate parallels to the exegesis, including the detail of weeping (D. 60, 26-27; cf. *profusione lacrymarum*, PL 91, 487 B), and also suggests the contrast between the two altars. Much the same notions appear in Bede's work on the temple of Solomon (PL 91, 799 D - 801 A)³¹ which is also used by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 598 CD). We have seen that the dimensions of the tabernacle in the VM may be related to the similar plan of Solomon's temple, and Bede draws a further parallel to the altar made by Moses in the desert (PL 91, 801 A). In view of the similarities of the interpretations of the two buildings it would be unwise to suggest one as an exclusive source, though the passage on the temple provides a more suitable parallel for the altar of burnt sacrifice³² and also makes very clear the contrast suggested in D. 61, 13-14: those at the inner altar have reached a more advanced stage of spiritual development than those before the altar of inferior metal outside who remain at the level of a sincere though formal appreciation of their own shortcomings. Such a contrast between spontaneous charity and a legalistic faith is present in Gregory the Great's interpretation already mentioned. Related to this tradition is Honorius of Autun's distinction between the Holy of Holies where the priests and Levites signify the *vita contemplativa* of those who love God, and the outer part of the tabernacle where the laity engaged in the *vita activa* endeavour to love their neighbours (PL 172, 584 D).³³

A different kind of contrast is found in a supposititious work of Richard of St Victor; here the inner altar signifies the faith in the believer's heart, while the altar of sacrifice is the visible altar of the Church where the eucharist is celebrated (PL 177, 427 C - 429 B). An authentic work of Richard's sees the inner altar as

contrition of the heart, the outer as affliction of the body (PL 196, 192 D).³⁴ For Adam Scotus, the inner altar is the pure minds fired with divine love (PL 198, 763 AB), the outer altar the minds of those who commit sins which must be sacrificed on the altar of the heart with the fire of penance (PL 198, 767 D – 768 B). Though Adam wrote after the VM, his tropological distinction is exactly that implied by the vernacular work. Garnerius of Rochefort in his collection of allegories gives the interpretation of an altar as *devotio cordis*, though this is not based on the altars of the tabernacle (PL 112, 856 C).³⁵

The MHG poet's equation of the inner altar with the heart and mind of the believer is thus well attested in Latin exegesis, while precise sources are apparent in Origen's homily and the works of Bede on the tabernacle and temple, all of which descend to the *Glossa Ordinaria*.

We can now return to the poet's confusion of the two altars and draw a comparison with a vernacular MHG sermon:

Der ander altere ist der rechte geloube, dar uf *solt* du opheren alle din gute werk. Altare de terra facietis mihi (Exod. 20, v. 24). Der alter den du, mensche, *solt* machen von der erde unserm herre got, daz ist din herze, daz sol inbendich wesen hol durch den willen daz dar inne mügen *sin* die wort unsers herre gotes und sin liebe. . .³⁶

The author of this passage has been discussing altars in other biblical contexts. He now returns to the significance of the altar of earth of Exod. 20, v. 24 which he quoted a few lines previously:

Altare de terra mihi facietis. unser herre got spricht in exodo: ir sult mir machen einen altare von der erden, der sol wesen geviret und hol inbendich.³⁷

Likewise the opening text of the sermon was given in the form 'Altare de terra facietis michi concavum et quadratum'.³⁸

The altar of earth referred to in these three quotations has no connexion in the Vulgate with the altars of the tabernacle. However, in each case the author has taken a distinguishing feature of the altar of burnt sacrifice, well known to exegetes, namely its concave interior (Exod. 27, v. 8; 38, v. 7), and applied this with no scriptural justification whatever to the altar of earth mentioned earlier in Exodus. The additional detail is apparently so familiar that the writer even elaborates an ostensibly accurate biblical quotation in order to include it! The first passage cited shows clearly that the writer has an exegetical purpose in his fusion of the two altars. Exactly the same emphasis on exegetical interpretation at the expense of the strictly literal detail of the biblical original causes the factual error in the VM. That the hollowness of the altar represents the ready will of the believer to hear the word of God is a common detail of the interpretation of the altar of sacrifice by the Latin exegetes considered in this context (e.g. *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 276 D following Bede, PL 91, 454 C ff.).

We have not yet discussed the incense used at the inner altar. It was noted

earlier in connexion with the incense used at the sacrifice after the three days' journey to the wilderness that among all patristic and later exegetes incense invariably signifies prayer,³⁹ and that this allegory finds biblical authority in such verses as Ps. 140, v. 2 and Apoc. 5, v. 8. The same exegesis is found for the incense at the inner altar of the tabernacle. Thus Caesarius of Arles interprets it as holy thoughts (CChr 104, p. 902) and Isidore of Seville as prayer (PL 83, 318 B). The latter notion is present in the two important works of Bede considered above, but if any doubt should remain it is significant that Bede follows his discussion of the altar in the tabernacle with a chapter devoted to the interpretation of incense as prayer, citing both Apoc. 5, v. 8 and Ps. 140, v. 2 (PL 91, 491 A ff.). He is once again quoted by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 284 A).⁴⁰ Richard of St Victor (PL 177, 993 CD)⁴¹ and Adam Scotus (PL 198, 740 BC; 763 B) give the same interpretation, the former adding *bona opinio*, while Peter of Celle writes of 'opinionem boni operis ad exemplum bene vivendi' (PL 202, 1050 B).

Hence the VM once again writes in a well-authenticated tradition, while the evidence for the *Glossa Ordinaria* as the most probable major source continues to accrue. The poet's elaboration of incense by means of 'ettewenne weine wir ovh' (D. 60, 26) is paralleled by another MHG sermon:

Sich da ist och der guldin alter. der da haizot altare incensi. der da haizet ain alter dez rōchez. dc ist dc allez din gebet. allez din almūsen. allez din vaston uñ wachon. . .⁴²

In this exegesis of the altar of incense in the tabernacle the author seems to have been carried away by his zeal to make an impressive and edifying conclusion to the long and elaborate sermon. It is noticeable that the traditional association of incense and prayer is the first detail rendered, while the other virtues merely follow for the purpose of edification. The VM reference to weeping is similar.

NOTES

¹ Lambel, *Germania* 7 (1862), p. 232; Wilhelm and Newald, *Poetische Fragmente* (1928), p. 2.

² The reference to *gebet* with the rhyme *ouch* : *wirouch* is also found in the thirteenth century *Passional* on St Cecilia, ed. Kōpke (1852), p. 639:

57 si begrub in und den bruder ouch.
ires gebetes wirouch
vor gote brante wol dar obe.

Cf. above, pp. 51-52.

³ Lambel, p. 232; Wilhelm and Newald, p. 2; Münscher, Diss. p. 9.

⁴ D. 60, 21-24, cf. 56, 11-14 and 23-27.

⁵ Exod. 30, vv. 1-10; 37, vv. 25-28.

⁶ Lev. 16, vv. 11-17, Num. 18, v. 7.

⁷ Heb. 9, v. 7. Cf. below, pp. 101-104.

⁸ D. 60, 25-28, cf. 56, 14-17. See Exod. 30, vv. 1-10, 20, 27, 34-38; 31, vv. 8, 11; 35, vv. 8, 15, 28; 37, vv. 25-29; 39, v. 37; 40, v. 5; 25, v. 6; Lev. 4, v. 7; 16, v. 12. All these are references to the inner altar.

- 9 Lev. 6, vv. 12-13, cf. Exod. 29, v. 38. The former passage explains D. 56, 20 *di des fevres hñten* and is quoted by Gregory the Great and the Pseudo-Melito in their exegesis of the outer altar, cf. below, pp. 98-99.
- 10 See Exod. 27, v. 3; 29, vv. 29-36; 38, v. 3; Lev. 1, vv. 7, 12, 17; 2, v. 14; 9.
- 11 Diss. p. 123.
- 12 For examples of this compression, see below, p. 142.
- 13 Num. 1, vv. 47-54; 3, vv. 5-51; 4, 8, vv. 5-26; 16, vv. 8-10; 17; 18, vv. 1-7, 22-24; Deut. 10, vv. 8-9; 21, v. 5.
- 14 E.g. Ambrose, CSEL 32, ii, pp. 129-32; Rufinus, CChr 20, pp. 207-9; Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 106 A; 135 B; Rabanus Maurus, PL 107, 658 CD; Adrevald of Fleury, PL 20, 719 A; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 551 CD. The *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 178 B (on Gen. 49, v. 5) follows Jerome's *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Libro Geneseos* (CChr 72, pp. 52-3) which gives no allegory of Simeon and Levi in this context – an omission which may have caused the vernacular poet to seek an interpretation elsewhere. For a more favourable appraisal, see PL 113, 161 CD.
- 15 Gal. 4, v. 22 ff.. The exegesis becomes commonplace: see, for example, Marius Victorinus, PL 8, 1185 B – 1186 A; Jerome, Epist. CXXIII, 12, ed. Labourt, VII (1961), p. 87, lines 18-19; Augustine, PL 35, 2132 D ff.; Rabanus Maurus, PL 107, 544 AB, followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 122 AB, cf. PL 114, 580 D – 581 B; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 388 CD. See also Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, pp. 103-4.
- 16 Cf. PL 83, 371 AB. Isidore is followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 507 C.
- 17 Cf. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, pp. 213-6.
- 18 Cf. also Eugippius's Augustinian selection, CSEL 9, i, pp. 299 ff.
- 19 Cf. Gen. 46, vv. 10-11; Exod. 1, v. 2; Deut. 27, v. 12; 1 Par. 2, v. 1; 12, vv. 25-6; 27, vv. 16-17; Apoc. 7, v. 7.
- 20 Cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 123.
- 21 Cf. also *Wiener Genesis* 5468-9 (ed. Dollmayr).
- 22 For *zvelefe* (D. 64, 26), L correctly reads *zvene*. Cf. Lambel, op. cit., p. 234; Münscher, Diss. pp. 9, 124.
- 23 Cf. below, pp. 139-41.
- 24 Cf. below, p. 191.
- 25 Cf. below, pp. 173 ff.
- 26 Cf. D. 57, 15 which explicitly emphasises that the outer altar was open at all times.
- 27 Bruno contrasts it here with the outer altar signifying the Church, cf. PL 164, 328 B.
- 28 The outer altar represents the purity of our bodies where good works are offered.
- 29 Cf. CChr 144, p. 509 and above, pp. 50-51.
- 30 *Alleg. super tab. Moysi*, ed. Moore and Corbett, p. 159.
- 31 Cf. also CChr 122, p. 376.
- 32 Cf. below, p. 97.
- 33 Cf. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, pp. 107, 111.
- 34 Cf. Richard's tropology of the church building, where the altar again signifies the heart (PL 177, 904 BC).
- 35 See also the *Glossa Ordinaria* on 2 Kings 24, v. 18 (PL 113, 580 C; from Rabanus Maurus); and Pseudo-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, pp. 217-9.
- 36 Ed. Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten* I (1886), p. 24, lines 11 ff.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 23, lines 34-6.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 22, line 7.
- 39 Cf. above, pp. 51-52.
- 40 Also by Peter of Poitiers, ed. Moore and Corbett, p. 162. Cf. PL 113, 283 CD.
- 41 Cf. PL 175, 662 B; 663 A. Richard distinguishes between *thus* and *thymiana*.
- 42 Ed. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten*, II (1846), p. 126.

13. THE OUTER ALTAR AND SACRIFICES

The poet correctly identifies the external altar as that on which burnt sacrifice is offered and which is open to the public.¹ His allegorical interpretation of the altar describes it as *der sunden gewizzenheit* (D. 61, 6),² while the cattle driven to it signify recognition of individual sins. The ultimate source for this fundamental notion has already become clear in the chapter dealing with the altar of incense.³ It would appear to be Bede's interpretation of the altar of sacrifice in Solomon's temple, which is contrasted with the inner altar (PL 91, 800 BCD) – a contrast introduced into the VM.⁴ This work of Bede perhaps explains the German poem in a more satisfactory manner than his exegesis of the corresponding altar in the tabernacle as the hearts of the elect (PL 91, 450 B; cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 276 B).⁵

The VM names three of the animals sacrificed and interprets them tropologically. The ox is the pride (*ubermüt*) we should put from us to gain the heavenly reward (D. 61, 6-9; cf. 57, 11-15). The unbridled he-goat signifies lasciviousness, the worst crime. Whoever has sacrificed it is to be congratulated, and he may with honour proceed to the inner altar (D. 61, 9-14; cf. 57, 11-15). This notion of a spiritual progression from one altar to the other has already been discussed.⁶ In the stoutly pounding ram is figured the wrathful man who takes full vengeance for wrongs done him. This too we should lay from us (D. 61, 14-22; cf. 57, 11-15).

Münscher suggested Exod. 29 as the source of these details,⁷ but the beasts sacrificed at the initial consecration of the priests are a bull-calf (*vitulus*) and two rams rather than the animals named in the VM, which are in any case offered upon more than one occasion (cf. *dicche*, D. 57, 12). The commentaries have little to say on Exod. 29 and in no way resemble the VM exegesis.⁸

The sacrifice of the three animals is mentioned in Lev. 9, vv. 3-4 where they occur in close proximity:

Et ad filios Israel loqueris: Tollite hircum pro peccato, et vitulum, atque agnum anniculos, et sine macula in holocaustum;
Bovem et arietem pro pacificis: et immolate eos coram Domino. . .⁹

The poet may also be thinking of the verses repeated throughout Num. 7 where the ox, ram and he-goat are associated together with the lamb in sacrifice:

Bovem de armento, et arietem, et agnum anniculum in holocaustum:
Hircumque pro peccato.¹⁰

However, mention is made of these animals in numerous sacrificial contexts through-

out the books of Leviticus and Numbers, and it would be unwise to cite any particular instance as a precise source, especially as the commentaries on these books again provide no confirmatory evidence on the exegetical side.¹¹ It is probably the very frequency of such references in books related to the exodus from Egypt which has led the poet to elaborate his account of the tabernacle with this material which has no parallel in the immediate biblical context.

The allegorical interpretations of the VM are, however, reasonably well attested in patristic and medieval writers, even though the beasts sacrificed are often not seen as vices put away by the believer, as in the tradition followed by the poet and implicit in the lines of Bede suggested as a basic source, but rather as virtues offered in sacrifice to God. This notion itself occurs in the VM in the context of the three days' journey.¹²

The lechery and wrath signified by the goat and ram respectively are already found in Origen's homily on the tabernacle, together with the bull denoting pride (GCS 29, p. 241). The same notions are incorporated in Pseudo-Melito's *Clavis*.¹³ The altar upon which the beasts are sacrificed is that within the soul. The same tropological interpretation of the altar of sacrifice as the heart, implied in the VM, occurs in Gregory the Great (PL 76, 328 B),¹⁴ who elsewhere associates the kid with carnal desire (CChr 144, p. 43; cf. PL 76, 555 A) and the sacrifice of both oxen and rams with pride (*elatio*; CChr 144, pp. 508-9).¹⁵ A source likely to make the MHG interpretation of the goat the common property of medieval exegetes is Isidore of Seville's entry in the *Etymologies*: *Hircus, lascivium animal. . .*,¹⁶ while his description of the ram could account for the exegesis of the wrathful man.¹⁷ Unfortunately, Isidore's note on the ox fails to supply a suitable parallel.¹⁸

The goats of Ps. 65, v. 15 are interpreted as *petulantia* in the Glossa Ordinaria, a word often meaning 'lust', while the ox signifies obstinacy (*cervicositas*; PL 113, 939 B).¹⁹ Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 774 D), like Bede, sees the outer altar as the hearts of the elect, while our search for parallels becomes especially fruitful with Richard of St Victor. Besides an interpretation of sacrificial beasts as virtues,²⁰ he shows how they each represent a particular sin for which penance is done. Thus the bull signifies pride, the calf lust,²¹ the he-goat major sins such as incest, adultery, murder and sacrilege, and the she-goat lesser sins like fornication and theft. The kid represents venial sins, idle talk, passing anger, and mockery (PL 177, 992 B-D).

Even here, some beasts also signify virtues: the bull-calf is the beginning of a good work, the cow its accomplishment, and the sacrifice of the ox its bringing to perfection. It is also true that Richard gives no details close enough to the precise exegesis of the three animals mentioned in the VM to justify the acceptance of this passage as a definite source. Nevertheless, Richard's work must by reason of its length and scope be seen as an important example of the twelfth century tradition followed by the vernacular poet, itself drawing on the exegesis of previous centuries.

The Pseudo-Melito²² and Peter of Celle (PL 202, 1076 D) regard the outer altar as the hearts of the elect where good works should be offered, the former quoting

Lev. 6, v. 12. Garnerius of Rochefort mentions Lev. 8, v. 28 in connexion with the exegesis of the ram and supplies a parallel to the VM for this beast (PL 112, 863 D)²³ as for the ox and goat of Ps. 65, v. 15:

Offeram tibi boves cum hircis, id est, ad honorem tuum mactabo in me superbiam mentis cum petulantia carnis. (PL 112, 954 D – 955 A)²⁴

Though the ram is also named in this verse, there is, as in the case of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, no interpretation in Garnerius which provides exegetical parallels for all three animals based on a single biblical citation. Like the ram, both ox and goat also have many positive rather than pejorative interpretations in other biblical contexts. It is significant that elsewhere, following Ezek. 34, v. 17, Garnerius writes *Pecus, peccator et justus* (PL 112, 1024 A).²⁵

The tradition followed by the VM, according to which the animals sacrificed in numerous O.T. contexts signify the sins which the believer puts from himself, is thus well attested in edited Latin sources beside the other tradition which treats the beasts as virtues offered to God. The particular interpretations for each animal named by the MHG poet find earlier parallels in various exegetical works, while Richard of St Victor supplies an especially detailed example of the method followed by the vernacular writer and the *Glossa Ordinaria* contains the foundations of his material.

In his choice of the beasts offered, the poet is probably drawing on his general knowledge of O.T. sacrifice as in the earlier account of the sacrifice in the desert after the three days' journey. Together with his emphasis on the penitential aspect of sacrifice – the cattle driven to the altar are the faults recognised by the sinner – he implies throughout that the altar of sacrifice signifies the heart of the believer.²⁶

That the allegorical tradition of both altars should make use of this basic identification serves further to explain their confusion in the VM, for, as was shown in the previous chapter, the poet appears prepared to sacrifice a strictly accurate rendering of the position and usage of each altar to his exegetical interests.²⁷ These extend beyond the account of the tabernacle in the book of Exodus to include the temple of Solomon and the broader context of O.T. sacrifice.

NOTES

1 D. 61, 3-4, cf. 57, 10-15; Exod. 27, vv. 1-8 and 38, vv. 1-7.

2 The Linz fragment correctly reads *der* where V has *den*, cf. Diemer, Anm. p. 23, and Lambel, *Germania* 7 (1862), pp. 232-233.

3 Cf. above, p. 93.

4 Cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 598 C, and above, pp. 92 ff.

5 See, however, the contrast between the altars of the tabernacle, PL 91, 487 AB (*Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 283 BC). Solomon's sacrificial altar also signifies the elect in the Church, PL 91, 801 B.

6 Cf. above, pp. 93-4.

7 Diss. p. 123.

8 E.g. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 282 C, from Strabo. Cf. Lev. 8 and *Glossa Ordinaria*,

- PL 113, 318 BC.
- ⁹ Cf. also Lev. 9, vv. 15-18.
- ¹⁰ Cf. also Num. 15, v. 12 and Ps. 65, v. 15.
- ¹¹ For the ox, cf. Lev. 1; 3; 9, vv. 4, 18-19; 22, vv. 17-19; 27, vv. 26, 32; Num. 8, vv. 8-12; 15, v. 3; 15, vv. 8-11; 18, v. 17; 22, v. 40; 31, v. 30; Deut. 12, v. 6; 15, v. 19; 18, v. 3. The he-goat: Lev. 1, v. 10; 3, v. 12; 4, v. 23; 16; 22, v. 19; 27, v. 32; Num. 15, v. 24; 18, v. 17; 28, vv. 15, 22, 29; 29. The ram: Lev. 5, vv. 15-18; 6, v. 6; 8, vv. 2, 18-29; 16, vv. 3-5; 19, v. 21; 23, v. 18; Num. 5, v. 8; 6, vv. 14-19; 15, vv. 6, 12; 28, vv. 11-28; 29. These references are by no means exhaustive.
- ¹² Cf. D. 44, 19-23 and above, pp. 50 ff.
- ¹³ Ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, p. 225.
- ¹⁴ Cf. Garnerius of St Victor, PL 193, 331 D.
- ¹⁵ Cf. PL 76, 757 BC; Garnerius of St Victor, PL 193, 101 AB.
- ¹⁶ Ed. Lindsay, II (1911), XII, i, 14.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XII, i, 11.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XII, i, 30.
- ¹⁹ Rams are also mentioned in this verse, but receive a positive interpretation: *duces gregis*. Cf. Cassiodorus's interpretation, CChr 97, pp. 578-9.
- ²⁰ Cf. above, p. 50.
- ²¹ Cf. Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, p. 19.
- ²² Ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, p. 218.
- ²³ Cf. Pitra, *ibid.*, p. 25.
- ²⁴ Cf. PL 112, 877 A, where the terms used, *elationes* and *petulantia*, are those of Gregory the Great and the *Glossa Ordinaria*. The goat (PL 112, 954 D) is also *motus luxuriae* from Lev. 9, v. 3.
- ²⁵ Cf. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, p. 32 (*hircus*) and pp. 34-6 (*hoedus*). See also Eucherius, CSEL 31, pp. 27-8.
- ²⁶ Cf. above, pp. 42-3, 50 ff.
- ²⁷ Cf. above, pp. 90 ff.

14. THE VEIL OF THE TABERNACLE

The passage describing the veil of the tabernacle presents problems of meaning besides exegetical interpretation (D. 56, 23 – 57, 9). Münscher equated the description with the gate of the courtyard (Exod. 38, v. 18),¹ but there can be little doubt that when the poet names the *umbe hanch* (D. 56, 28) he is referring to the *velum* dividing the outer from the inner sanctuary² rather than to the hangings of the tabernacle and courtyard generally.³ This is because of the great typological significance attributed in the Epistle to the Hebrews to the day of atonement when the high-priest entered the inner sanctuary.⁴

The poet begins by explaining that the high-priest had to sacrifice at the altar of burnt offering before being allowed to proceed to the inner altar. This is derived from Lev. 16, vv. 1-17 or from Heb. 9, v. 7, though only the latter verse mentions that the high-priest alone might pass beyond the veil on the one occasion each year; hence the poet's *in ein zit iares* (D. 56, 29). As for the next four words 'man in da uant,' the frequent biblical image of 'entering within the veil' makes us expect a MHG expression corresponding to this notion⁵ rather than the meaning 'found it there'. However, it seems probable that *in* refers not to *umbe hanch* but to the inner altar described in D. 56, 12 ff. Such a reading accords well with the annual sacrifice of Heb. 9, v. 7.

That the poet indeed has the Epistle to the Hebrews in mind is clear from a study of earlier exegesis of the veil in the tabernacle. Thus Origen cites Heb. 9, v. 24 and 10, v. 20 to demonstrate that the veil is Christ incarnate through which the high-priest entered once for all (Heb. 9, v. 12) into the sanctuary of heaven for our redemption (GCS 29, p. 235). Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 315 B–D), Bede (PL 91, 445 B–D), followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 275 B), and Richard of St Victor (PL 175, 662 CD) adopt the same line of thought, besides Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44, 381-2 D – 383-4 A)⁶ and Cyril of Alexandria (PG 68, 661-2 CD).⁷

Other Latin exegetes together with Origen's commentary on Matthew (GCS 38, pp. 285-6) and Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 315 B–D) remind us of another important association of the veil which is implicit in the MHG exegesis (D. 57, 2-5) and inseparable from the thought of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This is the notion that with the rending of the veil of the temple at Christ's death⁸ all men might have access to what was concealed under the old dispensation. The use of *umbehanc* in the *Ezzolied* (267)⁹ to denote the same veil confirms the meaning of the term in the VM. Gregory the Great writes of the veil of the temple as the obstacle of our corruption separating us from the vision of God (PL 76, 1070 D). Anselm of Laon

(PL 162, 1489 C) gives a similar interpretation of the N.T. event, while Bruno of Segni associates with the veil of the tabernacle the separation of the two Testaments and of earth from heaven:

Hoc autem velum dividit tabernaculum, et Novum, et Vetus separat Testamentum: hoc autem quid coelum a terra, quid iusti a peccatoribus differant, ostendit. (PL 164, 326 D)¹⁰

Rupert of Deutz both recalls the interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews (PL 167, 714 B–D) and refers to the rending of the veil:

Velum, quod ante columnas dependet, velamen est, quod nobis quidem in passione Christi scissum, Judaeorum autem cordibus superpositum est. (PL 167, 716 B)¹¹

The *Glossa Ordinaria* is equally clear about the rending of the veil:

Ut arca testamenti et omnia sacramenta legis quae tegebantur appareant, et ad gentes transeant. (PL 114, 176 A; 239 D; 348 D)¹²

The sanctuary veil and its rending are seen to be complementary, and both conceptions are at least implicit in the VM account which harmonises fully with exegetical tradition. That the temple rather than the tabernacle veil is rent has, of course, no influence on the traditional interpretation which associates the two buildings closely as regards their allegorical significance. This is all the more true in view of the similarity in the biblical descriptions of the sanctuaries of tabernacle and temple which makes the later building appear beside its portable counterpart as the permanent and established fulfilment in the Promised Land of the divine command which the Hebrews could only imperfectly perform in the nomadic conditions of the desert. We have already seen that the VM does not hesitate to adapt material related to Solomon's temple to the description and exegesis of the tabernacle,¹³ while Bede in the opening chapter of his *De Templo Salomonis Liber*, a counterpart to the *De Tabernaculo et Vasis Ejus*, makes the intimate historical and allegorical relationship between the two buildings very clear indeed.¹⁴ The poet may have been reminded of the exegetical importance of the temple by the account in the *Lob Salomons*, dated to the first third of the twelfth century¹⁵ and included in the Vorau MS. A couplet in this context of the earlier poem

135 daz wart also gordinot, als iz der wisi Salomon gibot¹⁶

may have influenced the VM, D. 47, 27-8.

There remains a third element in the VM account of the veil when the poet elaborates its allegorical significance:

D. 57, 1 daz bezeichnen den antlaz tach.
do uns got sin fleisk unde sin blut gab. .

Antlaz tach here denotes Maundy Thursday, the day before Good Friday when the eucharist was instituted. Why this feast is named is clear from the following lines, where the poet probably refers to the liturgical practice on Maundy Thursday when

penitent sinners were led into the church for reconciliation before Easter.¹⁷ There can be no doubt that with his allusion to the removal of the veil (D. 57, 3-4) he refers not only to the historical rending of the veil of the temple, as mentioned above, but also to the contemporary practice of concealing the altar of the church with a veil throughout Lent. With the arrival of Easter the veil was removed. The VM suggests that the lowering of the veil coincided with the penitential ceremony on Maundy Thursday, though references cited by Sauer indicate that there was some variation in the precise day of its removal.¹⁸

The term *bistumen* (D. 57, 6) may signify the sanctuary of the church where the penitents might after their reconciliation once more receive the sacraments. Previously they had been excluded, like the Hebrew high-priest, during the time of their penance. Though Benecke and Müller give no MHG examples of the word with this meaning,¹⁹ it is well attested in OHG where it translates *sanctuarium* in Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* (PL 77, 40 BC).²⁰ The same word *sanctuarium* is used in the Vulgate to describe the tabernacle (e.g. Exod. 25, v. 8; 28, v. 29), while in Exod. 26, v. 33 *sanctuarium* refers to the outer sanctuary and *sanctuarii sanctuaria* to the inner sanctuary or Holy of Holies, a plural usage which could have influenced the VM *bistumen*. Alternatively, the VM may simply mean that on this occasion the sinners were symbolically led in through the church-door to the feet of the bishop and there received back into the fold. For the history of the ceremony, described in detail by Schmitz,²¹ it is interesting to observe that in the MHG life of St Ulrich of the late twelfth century²² the line

608 Eines nahtes vor dem antlâztagē

translates from the Latin source of about 1030 the words:²³

quadam nocte, quae antecedebat diem sanctum, quem diem indulgentiae vel coenam Domini christiana religio vocare consuevit.²⁴

The practice was therefore well known in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though Eisenhofer and Lechner suggest it had by then diminished in importance.²⁵

The line 'so lat man nider den umbe hanc' (D. 57, 3-4) may allude not only to the historical rending of the veil or to its annual removal in medieval liturgical practice as suggested above, but also to another Maundy Thursday practice, the solemn stripping of the altars (*denudatio altarium*).²⁶

Something of the poet's procedure in D. 56, 23 – 57, 9 is now clear. He has first followed the traditional interpretation of the veil based on the atonement doctrine of Heb. 9 – 10. At the same time, however, he successfully elaborates this notion by emphasising the symbolic revelation of what was previously concealed and by introducing a reference to the liturgical reconciliation and the lowering of the Lenten veil which took place annually at Easter, the season of atonement when the high-priest, literally and typically, entered the Holy of Holies. It is significant that the allusions traceable to biblical commentaries are again adequately emphasised in the *Glossa Ordinaria*.

NOTES

- 1 Diss. p. 123.
- 2 Cf. Exod. 26, vv. 31-5; 27, v. 21; 30, v. 6; 35, v. 12; 36, v. 35; 38, v. 26; 39, v. 34; 40, vv. 3, 19, 20, 24.
- 3 Cf. the *tentorium* of Exod. 26, vv. 36-7; 27, v. 16; 35, vv. 15, 17; 36, v. 37; 38, v. 18; 39, vv. 38, 40; 40, vv. 5, 26, 31.
- 4 Heb. 6, vv. 19-20; 9; 10. Cf. Exod. 30, v. 10, Lev. 16, vv. 1-17; 16, vv. 29-34; 21, v. 23, Num. 18, v. 7.
- 5 Cf. Lev. 16, vv. 2, 15; 21, v. 23, Num. 18, v. 7 and, especially, Heb. 6, v. 19; 10, v. 20.
- 6 Cf. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 176.
- 7 Cf. also Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten* II (1846), pp. 118-20.
- 8 Cf. Matt. 27, v. 51, Mark 15, v. 38, Luke 23, v. 45.
- 9 Ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 296.
- 10 Cf. PL 164, 325 C.
- 11 Cf. 2 Cor. 3, v. 15.
- 12 On the significance of the veil in the medieval allegory of the church-building, see Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, pp. 171-4.
- 13 Cf. above, pp. 85-89; 93; 97.
- 14 'Quod aedificatio tabernaculi et templi unam eandem Christi Ecclesiam designet', PL 91, 737 C – 739 C. Cf. also the work on the tabernacle, PL 91, 423 A–D; Honorius of Autun, PL 172, 584 A–C; and Sauer, op. cit., pp. 102, 108-9. Among modern critics, Wellhausen and his school doubted the historicity of the tabernacle, regarding its description as based on that of the temple of Solomon: see Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, transl. Black and Menzies (1885), pp. 38-45.
- 15 Cf. Ehrismann, II, 1, p. 99.
- 16 Ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 324.
- 17 See Eisenhofer and Lechner, *The Liturgy of the Roman Rite* (1961), pp. 192-6; 374-6; also Wackernagel, *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete* (1876), introduction. p. xxx.
- 18 Cf. Sauer, op. cit., pp. 172-3 and notes; *Nachtrag*, pp. 401-2.
- 19 *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* I (1854), p. 168.
- 20 Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1115.
- 21 *Die Bußbücher und die Bußdisciplin der Kirche* (1883), pp. 71-4.
- 22 Ed. Schmeller (1844).
- 23 Cf. de Boor, *Die höfische Literatur* (1960), pp. 380-1.
- 24 Cf. also line 1101 and Benecke, Müller, Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* III (1861), p. 5; Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* I (1872), col. 80.
- 25 Op. cit., pp. 376-7.
- 26 Cf. Eisenhofer and Lechner, op. cit., p. 195.

15. THE HANGINGS OF THE TABERNACLE

The exegetical passages of the VM describing the hangings of the tabernacle begin with the red roof (D. 58, 10-20). The significance of this is twofold; the first interpretation is allegorical and explains that the roof is the twelve apostles who sheltered Christendom, oppressed by rain, snow and hardship till their blood was shed. Then comes a tropology: it also signifies those who fear our Lord and are quickly made red with shame.

It is convenient to set beside this passage the lines occurring shortly afterwards where the red hanging known as *coccus* is described (D. 59, 1-9; cf. 56, 4-6).¹ This is said to signify noble martyrs who loved God and Christendom while they lived. They suffered torments and now protect the tabernacle against tempests. Diemer translated the *wint were* of D. 59, 9 as 'winnowing-basket',² presumably on the basis of the N.T. contrast of wheat and chaff,³ but there is no reason why the simpler solution should be rejected. We shall find ample evidence in the commentaries that the outer coverings of the tabernacle were interpreted as those who defend the Church against the assaults of the world without,⁴ while the meaning 'wind-break' is confirmed by the similarity of the term *brustwere* in the *Himmliches Jerusalem* in a textual parallel to this passage in the VM.⁵

Ehrentraut suggested that Is. 54, v. 11 was the source of the phraseology of these lines,⁶ and this is confirmed by Jerome's commentary on the verse which refers to the apocalyptic tradition of the twelve jewels (CChr 73 A, pp. 608-9).⁷

Of these two passages in the VM, the source of the *coccus* may be immediately identified, since the word is employed on numerous occasions in the biblical description of the tabernacle. It is mentioned in conjunction with three other types of cloth:⁸ the *byssus* and *purpura* interpreted by the poet and considered later in this chapter, and also the sky-blue cloth *hyacinthus*, treated by the VM as a jewel.⁹ Not only the main building of the tabernacle contains these materials in the Vulgate,¹⁰ but also the veil, the screen at the entrance, the hangings in the court outside and the priests' vestments.¹¹ It is not surprising that the poet should mention them all, for their widespread function in the construction, together with the frequent repetition of the four words, gives them a special importance in the traditional exegesis of the tabernacle and its component parts.

However, D. 58, 10-20 should not be confused with references to the *coccus*, in spite of the similarity of some of the interpretation. The descriptive passage (D. 55, 27-29) corresponding to the exegesis shows that the VM refers to the rams' fleeces dyed red (*pelles arietum rubricatae*) which cover the roof.¹² The

allegory finds parallels in many earlier exegetes, who make it clear that the basis of the interpretation is the equation of the redness of the skins with that of blood.¹³ Another notion for which parallels are to hand is the roof's protection of Christendom from the storms without. Thus Gregory of Nyssa sees the redness of the skins as the bloodshed of Christ's death (PG 44, 383-4 D – 385-6 A),¹⁴ and for Cyril of Alexandria the redness is the flesh of Christ who protects the Church (PG 68, 635-6 B). Gregory the Great explains that the hangings are holy men of the Church, the skins protecting her against showers, wind and dust in the wilderness of this world (PL 76, 346 BC). The exegesis of Isidore of Seville is similar (PL 83, 315 A), but perhaps the closest parallel to the vernacular poet is Bede who explicitly speaks of the Apostles, martyrdom and the notion of affording protection:

Rubricantur autem pelles arietum ad operiendum tectum tabernaculi, cum apostoli, sive apostolici viri, usque ad passionem martyrii verbo doctrinae instare non desinunt: quo tutius subjectos ab ingruentibus tentationum periculis protegant, dum ipsi persecutionem propter justitiam ad mortem usque perpeti non refugiunt. Operiuntque tabernaculum Domini pelles arietum rubricatae, atque ab injuria tempestatum defendunt, cum sancti praedicatores exemplo passionis et patientiae suae corda infirmorum, ne in pressuris tribulationum deficiant, muniant. (PL 91, 435 BC)

Bede is followed verbatim by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 272 D).

Similar ideas are expressed by Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 307 D) and Adam Scotus (PL 198, 767 A), apart from others who follow Bede directly,¹⁵ while Alan of Lille in his *Distinctiones* interprets *aries* as *Apostolus vel praelatus* (PL 210, 710 B)¹⁶ and Garnerius of Rochefort gives both of these definitions (PL 112, 863 D), citing Exod. 26, v. 14 when he explains skins as *corpora martyrum* (PL 112, 1026 A).¹⁷

The commentaries, however, provide no immediate parallel to D. 58, 15-20. It would seem that the poet feels the allegory to be lacking in real significance for his audience and accordingly adheres to his usual exegetical emphasis¹⁸ by adding a tropology. The association of redness with blushing through shame or humility is an obvious one, and might have been suggested by the biblical account of Adam and Eve in the Garden who, though naked, 'non erubescabant' (Gen. 2, v. 25; cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 90 BC, from Augustine). At this point in the German text, however, the ability to feel shame is conceived rather as a positive attribute, as when Gregory the Great employs the figure of a soldier moved to deeds of valour by shame at his own cowardice on a former occasion (PL 76, 60 BC). Elsewhere, in a passage quoted in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 807 D), Gregory explains the relationship between the outward signs of shame and inner guilt (PL 75, 1055 CD) when discussing Job 19, v. 3 'et non erubescitis opprimentes me'. One can hardly fail to compare Wolfram's explanation that Parzival, after his denunciation by Cundrie, was saved by his sense of *scham* from complete falsehood.¹⁹

Origen interprets the red *coccus* as *confessionis gloria* (GCS 29, p. 240), though from later exegetical tradition it is clear that the element in D. 59, 3-9 chiefly

derived from the Latin sources is the notion of twofold love. Almost all the commentaries follow Gregory the Great who finds in the twice-dyed (*bis tinctus coccus*) the twofold charity for God and one's neighbour – a favourite theme which he repeats on numerous occasions.²⁰ A notable exception is Bruno of Segni, who while accepting the Gregorian tradition when describing the hangings (PL 164, 318 A), resembles the VM in fusing with it the association of the cloth with martyrdom when he considers the veil and screen of the sanctuary (PL 164, 326 A; 327 C).

However, the ultimate source of the VM may again be seen as Bede's work ('*merito flagrantissimae sanctorum dilectioni comparatur*', PL 91, 426 B; cf. 399 CD), followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 270 C). That the poet should add a reference to martyrdom in this passage is not altogether surprising, for he has written of the blood of martyrs only a few lines previously when dealing with the scarlet colour of the fleeces on the roof, a notion to which we have noted the numerous Latin parallels. Since he reduces the explicit *pelles arietum rubricatae* of the Latin to the simple *dach rot* and the two passages occur in close proximity, it is natural for him to associate them closely and to stress their similarity. This proximity is certainly due in part to the concise, comprehensive style of the VM which selects only the most significant details from the Latin source.

However, two other important factors decisively influence the poet in his emphasis on martyrdom not present in Bede and the *Glossa Ordinaria*. One is the textual resemblance of the VM passage to the exegesis of the sixth stone in the Vorau *Himmlisches Jerusalem*.²¹ Since the reference to martyrdom in the interpretation of the cornelian (*sardius*) is an authentic part of the Latin heavenly Jerusalem tradition,²² while this does not hold for the usual allegory of the *coccus* in the tabernacle, we have a further indication, supported by the apocalyptic exegesis of the other source, Is. 54, v. 11, that the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* antedates the VM.²³

Even without this influence the German poet would be thoroughly familiar with the equation of redness with the blood of martyrs through the liturgical use of this colour. The chief liturgical colours were regulated by the twelfth century and red is worn on the feasts of martyrs to signify the shedding of their blood.²⁴ Innocent III (c. 1160-1216) provides an example of this interpretation (PL 217, 801 AB) together with the common medieval association of the *byssus*, *purpura*, *hyacinthus* and *coccus* of the O.T. priestly vestments with those of the Church (PL 217, 799 D), though the two are not historically related. This association explains the MHG poet's readiness to allow liturgical considerations to influence his work.

The next passage to be considered is the interpretation of what can only be hangings of double thread (*zviléhinch, zviléhen flúche*; D. 58, 21-27, cf. 55, 29-56, 1). As far as can be judged from the Vulgate, the poet is referring to the *decem cortinas de bysso retorta. . . variatas opere plumario* of Exod. 26, v. 1 and 36, v. 8. These he interprets as the patriarchs and prophets who lived in one age of the

history of salvation and, seeing another, i.e. the *tempus sub gratia*, revealed hidden mysteries. In patristic and medieval exegesis, however, the operative word in this verse is 'decem', rather than the twofold nature of the thread. Hence earlier exegetes interpret accordingly: the curtains are the Decalogue,²⁵ men who fulfil it,²⁶ or the nations converted by the Apostles.²⁷ Though Cyril of Alexandria emphasises the twofold nature of the thread, it signifies for him Christ's dual nature (PG 68, 635-6 A).

Since the German poet omits the figure ten from his account of these hangings – just as he does not state that there are eleven goats' hair coverings²⁸ – he is obliged to vary the exegesis. His choice, the patriarchs and prophets, is a common exegetical notion which may well have been suggested by other details in a number of commentaries. A possible source in the context of the tabernacle is the twofold bases of the columns (Exod. 26, v. 19, etc.) which do not otherwise receive exegetical treatment;²⁹ here, Gregory the Great (PL 76, 458 A), Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 313 C; 317 C), Bede (PL 91, 439 D) and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 712 AB) all mention the prophets, while the *Glossa Ordinaria*, following Gregory and Bede, names prophets and preachers as a pair in a manner not unlike that of the vernacular poet in associating patriarchs and prophets with the double thread:

Unde bases binae conjunctae singulis tabulis supponuntur: quia dum prophetae in verbis suis de Christi incarnatione concordant, sequentes praedicatores aedificant, ut quo a semetipsis non discrepant, illos robustius figant. (PL 113, 273 C)

The VM next describes the goats' hair coverings on the tabernacle.³⁰ These are readily identifiable with the *saga cilicina*, *pili caprarum* and *saga de pilis caprarum* of the Exodus narrative.³¹ The natural association of goats' hair with the habit of penitent sinners results in a similar exegesis from patristic times onwards. Augustine interprets the coverings as sinners (CChr 48, p. 485) and Gregory the Great (PL 76, 537 AB),³² followed by Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 316 D – 317 A),³³ speaks of *dura poenitentiae afflictio*. Both Isidore (PL 83, 314 C – 315 A) and Bede (PL 91, 430 C) also interpret the eleven coverings as transgressors of the Decalogue (ten plus one). While Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 307 D) and Peter of Celle (PL 202, 1050 B) explain the coverings as the clothing of penitent sinners and Geoffrey of Vendôme sees in them the mortification of vices (PL 157, 224 B), Richard of St Victor provides an equally good example of the tradition followed by almost all exegetes:³⁴

Undecim saga, illos significant, qui pro transgressione legis, asperam agunt poenitentiam. Undenarius namque, qui denarium transgreditur, significat Decalogi transgressionem; et quia saga sunt aspera, poenitentiae asperitatem. . . Undecim saga, justī de transgressione legis poenitentiae satisfactionem exhibentes. (PL 175, 662 BCD)³⁵

Once more, however, it is possible to suggest the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 271 C) based on Bede (PL 91, 430 C – 431 A; cf. 399 D) as the immediate source of the VM.

We have finally to consider the poet's exegesis of the white hanging or *byssus*³⁶ and the purple cloth.³⁷ It was pointed out earlier that together with the red *coccus* and blue *hyacinthus* these hangings play an important part in the traditional exegesis of the tabernacle, since they are used not merely in the construction of the building itself but also in the veil, screen, hangings in the court and priests' vestments. However, in the case of these two coloured materials it might appear that the German poet has followed his own inclination rather than the traditional interpretations. Thus his interpretation of the *byssus* as confessors finds no precise parallels in the earlier literature which confines itself exclusively to the notion that the white cloth signifies virginity or chastity,³⁸ though Pseudo-Honorius of Autun speaks of *confessores vel virgines* (PL 172, 519 B).

The problem is solved when we turn to the liturgical associations of the colour white. Just as the VM adds the theme of martyrdom to the *coccus* interpretation because of the use of red vestments, so the exegesis of the *byssus* accords with the use of white for the feast of a confessor.³⁹ At the same time the poet does not reject the traditional equation of the *byssus* with virginity, which remains at least by implication; for white is also worn on the feasts of virgins, while Innocent III emphasises that the liturgical use signifies the chastity (*integritatem*) and innocence of the confessor or virgin (PL 217, 800 A).

The poet explains the purple hanging as the humility preached by Christ which will receive the highest reward in heaven; again there is little evidence from earlier exegetical works of a possible source. A direct parallel is found in a supposititious commentary of Basil the Great on Isaiah, but the purple referred to is not that of the tabernacle (PG 30, 331-2 B). This is variously interpreted as charity, Christ's kingship, spiritual domination of vices, love of justice, and chastity, by Origen (GCS 29, p. 240), Cyril of Alexandria (PG 68, 635-6 A), Adam Scotus (PL 198, 766 C), Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 326 A) and Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 1034 D – 1035 A)⁴⁰ respectively. The last-named allegory accords with D. 59, 24, while the virtue of humility which receives the chief emphasis in the VM is at least implicit in the commonest single interpretation of the purple hanging of the tabernacle found among earlier exegetes. According to this, the purple signifies those ready to suffer pain and martyrdom for Christ. It is found in Gregory the Great (PL 76, 537 A), Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 316 C), Bede (PL 91, 426 B) and hence the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 270 C), Pseudo-Honorius of Autun (PL 172, 519 B), Richard of St Victor (PL 175, 662 A; 663 A), Peter of Celle (PL 202, 1050 AB), Peter of Poitiers⁴¹ and Adam Scotus in the allegorical section of his work (PL 198, 695 A).⁴²

From the poet's tropological elaboration of the interpretation (D. 59, 23-30) it is clear that he continues to think of the martyrs and confessors⁴³ signified by the *coccus* he has just explained, and by the *byssus* of the preceding lines; by a slight extension of the traditional meaning of the purple, it comes to denote the virtue by which the audience can achieve the same illustrious reward. This accords well

with the liturgical use of the colour on the solemn occasions of Advent and Lent,⁴⁴ and allows us to draw a conclusion on the VM treatment of the fourfold *byssus*, *purpura*, *coccus* and *hyacinthus* so frequently juxtaposed in the Vulgate description: the *hyacinthus* has been adapted as a jewel and incorporated with the heavenly Jerusalem theme; the *coccus* also reflects this anagogical tradition; while this cloth together with *byssus* and *purpura* receive an exegesis which fundamentally accords with the tradition of Bede and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, though modified by familiar liturgical associations and the poet's desire to present a tropology of immediate application to his audience.

For the VM interpretation of the tabernacle hangings as a whole there is a distinct possibility that the *Glossa Ordinaria*, in this case directly based on Bede's *De Tabernaculo et Vasis Ejus*, once more provides a source.

NOTES

- 1 Diemer (Anm. p. 22) remarks that *coccus* (from Gk. κόκκος) denoted the 'berry' of the kermes oak, used to dye scarlet. This is now known to be an insect, cochineal.
- 2 Anm. p. 22.
- 3 Cf. Matt. 3, v. 12, Luke 3, v. 17; Jer. 15. v. 7.
- 4 Cf. Gregory the Great and Bede, p. 106 above.
- 5 Line 290 (ed. Maurer). Cf. Benecke, Müller, Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* III (1861), p. 512, and above p. 78.
- 6 *Zu dem mhd. Gedichte 'vom himmlischen Jerusalem'*, p. 103.
- 7 Jerome's commentary is largely followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Isaiah, PL 113, 1231-1316.
- 8 Cf. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, p. 302 and n. 1.
- 9 Cf. above, pp. 76-84.
- 10 Cf. Exod. 25, v. 4; 26, v. 1; 35, vv. 6, 23, 35; 36, v. 8.
- 11 Cf. Exod. 26, vv. 31, 36; 27, v. 16; 28, vv. 5-6, 15, 33; 39, vv. 2, 8.
- 12 Exod. 25, v. 5; 26, v. 14; 35, vv. 7, 23; 36, v. 19; 39, v. 33.
- 13 Cf. also *Wiener Genesis* 1457 ff. (ed. Dollmayr).
- 14 Cf. Gregory the Great who interprets shoes, the skins of dead animals, as the blessed dead, above, p. 35.
- 15 E.g. Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 166 D; Peter of Poitiers, *Alleg. super tab. Moysi*, ed. Moore and Corbett, p. 116; cf. p. 41.
- 16 From Ps. 28, v. 1. Cf. Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, p. 24.
- 17 Cf. Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. II, p. 236: *mortificatio sanctorum*.
- 18 Cf. below, pp. 182 ff.
- 19 Ed. Lachmann, 319, 6-11; cf. 696, 3-20.
- 20 PL 76, 537 A. Cf. *ibid.*, 974 B, 975 B, 1144 BC, 1288 CD; PL 75, 761 B; PL 77, 29 CD, 471 CD; Paterius, PL 79, 741 D – 742 A, 744 B. See also Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 316 CD; Ps.-Honorius of Autun, PL 172, 519 B; Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 662 A, 663 A; Peter of Celle, PL 202, 1050 B; Peter of Poitiers, ed. Moore and Corbett, pp. 27, 111; Adam Scotus, PL 198, 766 C; Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 898 A (citing Exod. 25, v. 4); Sicardus, PL 213, 15 C.
- 21 See above, p. 78.
- 22 Cf. Bede, PL 93, 199 D (followed verbatim by Rabanus Maurus, PL 111, 467 D – 8 A); Haimo of Auxerre, PL 117, 1207 AB; Berengaudus, PL 17, 955 AB; *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 114, 748 BC; Bruno of Segni, PL 165, 726 B–D; Richard of St Victor, PL 196, 871 C; the *Mystica seu moralis applicatio*, PL 171, 1773 D; Pseudo-Hugh, PL 177, 117 B. The similar exegesis of the amethyst (*Himmliches Jerusalem* 407 ff.) derives from the same works, though a specific reference to martyrs as such is rarer: cf. Bede, PL 93, 202 BC and Rabanus Maurus, PL 111, 470 BC; *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 114, 749 BC; Pseudo-Hugh, PL 177, 118 CD.

- ²³ Cf. above, pp. 81-82.
- ²⁴ Cf. Eisenhofer and Lechner, *The Liturgy of the Roman Rite* (1961), pp. 145-6.
- ²⁵ E.g. Isidore, PL 83, 314 B; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 709 A.
- ²⁶ E.g. Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 662 B and D; Adam Scotus, PL 198, 766 B.
- ²⁷ E.g. Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 317 D.
- ²⁸ Cf. Exod. 26, v. 7 and below.
- ²⁹ Cf. below, p. 172.
- ³⁰ D. 58, 27 - 59, 1, cf. 56, 2-3. On the use of *geiz* in Early MHG, cf. Bachofer, Diss. p. 40.
- ³¹ Exod. 26, v. 7; 35, vv. 6, 23, 26; 36, v. 14.
- ³² Cf. PL 79, 752 B - 3 A; 741 BC.
- ³³ Cf. Diemer, Anm. p. 22.
- ³⁴ A partial exception is Rupert of Deutz who interprets the coverings as rich men in the Church, PL 167, 710 B. However, he adds the notions of sinners exceeding the bounds of the Decalogue and of penance.
- ³⁵ Cf. the English vernacular version of this allegory in *Twelfth Century Homilies in MS Bodley 343*, ed. Belfour, I (1909, 1962), p. 36: Ða endlyfæn wæron hærene for ðære dædbote, and for þære andetnyse mid bireowsunge, þe ðe mōn dōn sceál, þe Godes laȝe tobræcð; 7 he sceal mid stiðnyse his synne ȝebetn.
- ³⁶ D. 59, 9-16, cf. 56, 3-4.
- ³⁷ D. 59, 16-30, cf. 56, 6-7.
- ³⁸ See Origen, GCS 29, p. 240; Gregory the Great, PL 76, 537 A; Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 316 D, cf. Diemer, Anm. p. 23; Bede, PL 91, 425 D - 426 A, followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 270 C; Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 307 B; 326 AB; Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 662 A; 663 A; Peter of Celle, PL 202, 1050 B; Peter of Poitiers, ed. Moore and Corbett, p. 33; also p. 111, following Bede; Adam Scotus, PL 198, 695 AB; 766 C; Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 875 CD (from Prov. 31, v. 22; Garnerius gives the allegory *carnis afflictio* from Exod. 25, v. 4); Sicardus, PL 213, 15 C; Eucherius, CSEL 31, p. 52.
- ³⁹ Cf. Eisenhofer and Lechner, *The Liturgy of the Roman Rite* (1961), p. 145.
- ⁴⁰ Exod. 25, v. 4 is quoted.
- ⁴¹ Ed. Moore and Corbett, pp. 23 and 111.
- ⁴² Cf. also Sicardus, PL 213, 15 C and Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, p. 108, n. 4; Eucherius, CSEL 31, p. 52.
- ⁴³ Cf. *bihtaren* (D. 59, 25-6) and *bihtare* (D. 50, 26) with the alternative meaning 'confessor' (i.e. *Beichtvater*).
- ⁴⁴ For Innocent III it is an alternative to black, cf. PL 217, 802 B and Eisenhofer and Lechner, p. 146.

16. THE CANDLESTICK

The poet of the VBal gives a detailed description of the seven-branched candlestick (*candelabrum*) in the tabernacle accompanied by a long exegetical passage (D. 81, 14 – 84, 20). Most of the description derives from the biblical account (Exod. 25, vv. 31-39; 37, vv. 17-24), but this is not the case with the first detail considered, the threefold pedestal, which is interpreted as the Trinity, each Person being equal and inseparable (D. 82, 11-21).¹

Although this feature cannot be based on the Vulgate, the threefold base is well-known in Jewish tradition, and early Jewish representations often show such a pedestal.² A threefold tripod is also found beneath the possibly Christian illustration of the candlestick at Syracuse, though this object with its numerous branches resembles a palm-tree more than the venerated Jewish symbol.³ Almost contemporary with the VBal, the Jew Maimonides (1135-1204), purporting to describe the candlestick according to the Exodus account, writes:

The design of the Candlestick is clearly described in the Law. . . It had 3 legs.⁴

In Christian tradition, Isidore of Seville also refers to such a candlestick in the *Etymologies*.⁵ Peter Damian says without scriptural justification that the two candlesticks of Apoc. 11, v. 4 – the allusion here is to Zech. 4 – have three feet, which are interpreted as the three virtues of works, preaching and the performing of miracles ascribed to the Apostles (PL 144, 652 A). Richard of St Victor in his commentary on the Apocalypse also describes candlesticks as having three feet, and interprets these as the Trinity (PL 196, 705 C), while a similar remark in the context of his description of the candlestick in the tabernacle forms a complete parallel to the vernacular poet:

Candelabrum super tres pedes stabilitur, et sancta Ecclesia super fidem sanctae Trinitatis fundatur. (PL 177, 1156 B)

No other such direct parallels could be found, and we may be justified in regarding Richard of St Victor as a possible source for this detail of the VBal, as with some other exegetical passages on the candlestick. However, the obvious allegory of the Trinity would require no direct Latin source once the tradition of the three feet was known.

The stem is the next detail to be mentioned in the exegetical sequence but does

not appear to receive any interpretation:

D. 82, 21 uf stet si in einen schaft.⁶
 hat ez div gelovbe sins wirt ez wole berehaft.

The meaning of the second line is uncertain, but there seems no reason to reject Diemer's reading *sinnes*,⁷ accepted by Münscher⁸ and Bachofer.⁹ In this case *ez* seems to refer to the candlestick as a whole (cf. D. 82, 4: 'da nach chovffe ez hete') and the remark can be taken as a parenthetical aside: 'if it is considered with the eyes of faith it reveals itself as meaningful'. The shaft is perhaps connected with the *einigev unitas* (D. 82, 19), though this is by no means clear. Christ or the Church are the usual interpretations in the commentaries.¹⁰

Turning now to the seven branches of the candlestick, we find these interpreted by the German poet as the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (D. 82, 24-26; cf. 81, 18 – 82, 3). Immediate resemblances to this are found only in the exegesis of Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 312 BC) and Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 315 B), while Alan of Lille (PL 210, 728 B) on the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse¹¹ also provides a parallel. However, the real extent of the tradition followed by the poet only emerges when we consider at the same time his exegesis of the seven lamps (D. 84, 12-20). Whether or not we accept Diemer's emendation of the text,¹² the lamps signify doctrine or teachers and prepare the way for all who wish to enter the heavenly mansion where God is host. At first Richard of St Victor appears to be our only close parallel for this detail:

Septem lucernae, quae super candelabrum ponebantur, ut lucerent ex adverso, universi praelati sunt, qui sanctae Ecclesiae praepositi ex adverso lucent, dum verbo et exemplo peccatoribus justitiae lumen praebent, dum medentur contritis corde, dum praedicant captivis indulgentiam. (PL 177, 1158 D; cf. 1159 D)

Now there seems little doubt that in D. 84, 13 the poet adds an allusion to the lamps of the wise virgins of Matt. 25, v. 1 ff.. This is sufficient to explain the apparent discrepancy in the exegesis, for *lucernae* is in this context normally interpreted as our works and teaching, as in Bruno of Segni's discussion of this biblical passage (PL 165, 277 BC) and the similar usage in Luke 12, v. 25 (PL 165, 397 B). The latter verse is incorporated in the commentary of Cassiodorus (CChr 98, pp. 1103-4) – and hence the *Glossa Ordinaria* – on Ps. 118, v. 105, a use of *lucerna* with which the poet must have been equally familiar. We may also note Ps. 131, v. 17, where *lucerna* signifies the preaching of John the Baptist (Cassiodorus, CChr 98, p. 1204).¹³

Having established this background to the material added by the poet in D. 84, 12-20, we can now explain the apparent paucity of parallels to his interpretations of the seven branches and the lamps. The MHG simply transposes the two allegories. Thus many earlier exegetes of the branches supply interpretations which correspond to the treatment of the lamps in the VBal. For Gregory the Great (PL 76, 832 C)¹⁴

the branches signify preachers of the gospel and for Bede likewise the preachers and praisers of the Lord, the three on each side of the stem being those before and after Christ's incarnation respectively (PL 91, 415 B – 416 C).¹⁵ These traditional interpretations are found in Richard of St Victor (PL 175, 657 BC) and Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 880 A). Together they outnumber those which agree with the poet's exegesis of the branches. When the case is reversed the parallels are even more abundant. While Bruno of Segni associates the branches and lamps together in his interpretation (PL 164, 315 B), the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit is the usual exegesis of the lamps. Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44, 383-4 C) and Bede (PL 91, 419 BC), who is followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 269 D), besides Peter Damian (PL 144, 341 D – 342 A), Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 706 AB), another passage of Richard of St Victor (PL 175, 657 CD) and Adam Scotus (PL 198, 761 D; cf. 698 D) may all be mentioned, together with Jerome's commentary on the candlestick of Zech. 4 (PL 25, 1442 A)¹⁶ and a vernacular sermon of the Black Forest Preacher:

Wan da ist dc guldin kerzstal. in dem da brinnent die süben guldin lucerne.
dc ist der zarte gotez sun. in dem da brinnent die süben gäbe dez hailigen
gaistez.¹⁷

It is therefore clear that the German poet makes no essential departure from the traditional interpretations of the branches and lamps as found in numerous theological works, but by transposing the two closely associated allegories he is enabled to elaborate his treatment in the light of other biblical and exegetical connotations of *lucerna*.¹⁸ The transposition may not have been deliberate, for the shape of the lampstand is of such obvious importance that the poet could well be impelled to mention the gifts of the Holy Spirit as soon as he reached the seven branches in D. 82, 24. As evidence of a natural failure to distinguish precisely between lamps and branches we can point to two of the earliest Christian exponents of the candlestick, Clement of Alexandria (PG 9, 59-60 A – 61-2 A) and the Pseudo-Tertullian (CChr 2, p. 1445, lines 128-131), where the candlestick as a whole is interpreted as the seven spirits of God and sevenfold unity of the Holy Spirit respectively. However, a deliberate change in the tradition may have been influenced by the interpretation of the lights on the lampstands in Solomon's temple (3 Kings 7, v. 49; 1 Par. 28, v. 15), which for Bede signify holy men preaching to the world (PL 91, 805 A).

Bede's treatment is followed verbatim by Rabanus Maurus (PL 109, 448 CD) and forms the basis of the discussion in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 598 D – 599 A). It includes a reference to Ps. 118, v. 105 which was noted above as a concomitant of the theme of the wise virgins which is favoured by the MHG poet.

After the branches of the candlestick the VBal explains the three cups on each branch (D. 82, 26-83, 15; cf. 82, 4-6). These three cups should be carefully distinguished from the four cups on the main stem of the candlestick which

exegetes often discuss separately.¹⁹ The poet again alludes to the Trinity and speaks of the triad faith, hope and charity (D. 83, 1-4). This is, however, little more than a general association of thought with the preceding discussion of the Trinity signified by the threefold base of the candlestick. What is far more important, as the Latin exegetes will confirm, is the drinking-image sustained throughout the greater part of the passage.²⁰ The cup-shaped decoration on the candlestick (*scyphus*)²¹ is taken at its face value to mean a drinking-cup, and the traditional exegesis elaborates the image accordingly. Thus Gregory the Great writes:

Scyphi autem vino repleti solent. Quid ergo mentes auditorum nisi scyphi sunt, quae a sanctis praedicatoribus vino scientiae replentur? (PL 76, 832 C)

Gregory has just interpreted the seven branches as preachers of the word. Bede's exegesis is similar (PL 91, 415 A; 416 D – 417 A), and he is followed as usual by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 269 AB).

When we turn to Rupert of Deutz, the contrast of preachers and hearers cannot be made, since a different interpretation of the branches has been given.²² Accordingly, Rupert merely says that the candlestick appropriately fills us with the wine of learning that we may forget the world. This is a close parallel to the vernacular poet who has put himself in the same position as regards the central image, having just interpreted the branches as the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit rather than as preachers like Gregory and Bede:

Quare 'et tres scyphi, quasi in nucis modum per calamos singulos, sphaerulaeque simul et lilium?' Videlicet quia et hoc ad claritatem candelabri hujus pertinet, quod nos scientiae vino inebriat, ut quae amamus mundi delectamenta obliviscamur. (PL 167, 706 CD)

Richard of St Victor writes of the elect who drink of grace, hearers of the word filled as with wine in greater or lesser measure (PL 177, 1157 D; 1159 D).²³ Like Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 880 A) he reiterates Gregory's contrast of preachers and hearers. However, the fundamental image of the *scyphi* as drinking-cups is present in all the Latin works and there is no reason to reject Bede and the *Glossa Ordinaria* if we are to suggest the latter as a probable source for the exegesis of the VBal besides the VM.

The poet deals next with the lilies adorning the candlestick (D. 83, 17-28; cf. 82, 6-8). Most Latin exegetes follow Gregory the Great in attributing the notion of heavenly reward to these flowers, since in the biblical description they come after the branches, cups and bosses:

Ut autem hoc quod exempli causa protulimus exsequamur, bene post calamos, scyphos et sphaerulas, in candelabro lilia describuntur, quia post eam quam diximus praedicationis gratiam atque volubilitatem, illa virens patria sequitur, quae animabus sanctis, id est floribus vernat aeternis. Sphaerulae ergo ad laborem pertinent, lilia ad retributionem. (PL 76, 832 D – 833 A)

Bede (PL 91, 415 AB), followed by Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 706 D) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 269 A), together with Richard of St Victor (PL 175, 657 BC)²⁴ and Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 986 C) write in the same tradition.²⁵

If present at all in the MHG poet's work, the traditional interpretation of the lilies of the candlestick as the heavenly reward of the faithful is at most only implicit. However, his treatment is not difficult to explain. It is apparent also in the work of Isidore of Seville, who, wrongly assuming that the tabernacle itself is decorated with lilies,²⁶ interprets these as 'virginitatis candor',²⁷ while Richard of St Victor gives a separate exegesis for the green and white portions of the flower respectively besides his interpretation of the plant as a whole (PL 177, 1158 A). In the same way the vernacular poet begins with the concept of the lily but then selects two of its characteristic qualities, namely whiteness and fragrance, and gives his tropological interpretations of these rather than of the flower itself. The development lily – whiteness – innocence is very obvious:

D. 83, 17

Da nah wahset lilium.
daz sint wize blumen.
daz sint unsculde.

That whiteness signifies innocence is very common among medieval exegetes, as is clear from Cant. 5, v. 10, for example, and the relevant commentaries of Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 1266 C) and Richard of St Victor (PL 196, 508 D) with the allegorical compilation of Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 882 D). Clearly many other examples could be given, among them Rupert of Deutz's discussion of Apoc. 14, v. 14 (PL 169, 1100 CD) and Innocent III's comment on the liturgical use of white to signify the purity and innocence of a confessor or virgin.²⁸

The VBal continues by associating the fragrance of the lilies with good reputation (D. 83, 20-22). Apart from the context of the candlestick the flower invariably signifies pure and perfect souls, as Garnerius of St Victor (PL 193, 422 B; following Gregory the Great), the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 1142 AB: 1157 D) and Richard of St Victor (PL 196, 474 C) all testify in works on the Song of Songs, together with Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 986 CD).²⁹ The traditional exegesis of the Song of Songs is also a major source of the notion that sweet scent is to be interpreted as holy men and their reputation.³⁰ The poet may also have Ecclus. 39, v. 19 in mind where the fragrance of lilies is mentioned,³¹ though Paul's words in 2 Cor. 2, vv. 14-15 would perhaps be more familiar.³² Clearly our poet might have received his information on the whiteness and fragrance of lilies from any number of sources, and the Christological emphasis on the fragrance of the flower at the conclusion of the *Marienlob*³³ forms a striking parallel.

The bosses (*sphaerulae*, A.V.: knops)³⁴ decorating the branches of the candlestick remain to be considered. The poet continues his tropology: we should become pure and perfect as our Lord, resisting temptation and not being led astray by worldly honour and success (D. 84, 1-12; cf. 82, 3-4). Here there would appear

to be two traditions of interpretation: one, that of Gregory the Great (PL 76, 832 C) and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 706 D), also followed by Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 1050 C), finds in the bosses the volubility of preaching. This evidently has no parallel in our poem. However, the key to the bosses implied in the MHG exegesis is their roundness as they roll onward on an even course towards God, and this idea is certainly present in Bede and hence the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

. . . recte in candelabro post scyphos sphaerulae fiunt: sphaera enim in omni parte volvitur, quia nimirum mentes electorum nec adversitatibus saeculi ullis retineri, nec prosperitatibus possunt corrumpi, quin in omnibus quae occurrunt, ad Deum per sancta desideria proficiant. (PL 91, 415 A)³⁵

Richard of St Victor also supplies a close parallel:

Sphaerula omni parte volvitur, et perfecta justorum actio, nec adversitate tardatur, nec prosperitate elevatur; quae inter adversa fortis, inter prospera humilis, nec timoris habet angulum, nec elationis. (PL 177, 1158 A)³⁶

One is also reminded of Gottfried's interpretation of the roundness of the lovers' cave in *Tristan*:

diu sinewelle binnen
daz ist einvalte an minnen:
einvalte zimet der minne wol,
die âne winkel wesen sol;
der winkel der an minnen ist,
daz ist âkust unde list.³⁷

This is a secularised version of the same traditional interpretation of roundness as perfection.

Though the poet of the VBal varies the traditional exegesis of the Latin commentaries and introduces his own allusions into his treatment of the candlestick, it seems that the essential background is still to be found in Bede and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, as with the VM. At the same time we cannot overlook the possibility that other exegetes supply the source-material in certain instances, notably Richard of St Victor whose writings reveal several striking parallels to the VBal.

NOTES

¹ Cf. D. 81, 16-17.

² Cf. Reland, *De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani* (1716), pp. 56-7; Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, I (1837), pp. 412-3.

³ See Orsi, *Römische Quartalschrift* 10 (1896), p. 31, no. 50, and Leclercq's discussion in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, III, col. 219.

⁴ Bet ha-Behirah, *The Book of Temple Service*, transl. Lewittes (1957), pp. 13-14.

⁵ Ed. Lindsay, II (1911), XX, xi, 12.

⁶ Cf. D. 81, 17-18.

- 7 Anm. p. 30.
 8 Diss. p. 11.
 9 Diss. p. 239 n. 1.
 10 E.g. Christ: Bede, PL 91, 414 CD; Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 315 B; Richard of St Victor, PL 177, 1157 AB, 1159 D. The Church: Gregory the Great, PL 76, 832 C; Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 657 B. Cf. Sauer's reference to Hugh of St Victor under whose name Richard's work is printed, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, p. 185 and n. 2.
 The same interpretations are commonly applied to the candlestick as a whole. Thus Christ is named by Cyril of Alexandria, PG 68, 605-6 C; Gregory the Great, PL 76, 831 CD; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 706 A; Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 657 B; Adam Scotus, PL 198, 698 A; Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 882 C. The Church: Bede, PL 91, 414 B, cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 269 A; Richard of St Victor, PL 177, 1156 B, 1159 D.
 11 Apoc. 1, vv. 12, 13, 20; 2, v. 1.
 12 Anm. p. 30: *lere* is changed to *lerare* (D. 84, 15).
 13 Cf. also Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 990 AB.
 14 Cf. also Garnerius of St Victor, PL 193, 421 C – 422 B.
 15 Cf. also PL 91, 414 D which follows Gregory the Great. Bede is followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 269 A). His exegesis subdivides the top, middle and lower branches into prelates or preachers, the continent and the married respectively. The passage is incorporated by Peter of Poitiers in the *Alleg. super Tab. Moysi* (ed. Moore and Corbett, pp. 105-6), and accompanies the illustration of the candlestick often found in MSS of the same author's *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi*; cf. Bloch, *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 23 (1961), pp. 76-77.
 16 Cf. also Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 1528 BC) who identifies this candlestick with that of Exodus.
 17 Ed. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten*, II (1846), p. 126.
 18 For interpretations based on various biblical passages, cf. Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, III, pp. 215-7.
 19 E.g. Bede, PL 91, 417 CD and Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 657 C, where they signify the four gospels.
 20 D. 82, 26-27; 83, 5-7 and cf. *labet* (D. 83, 2).
 21 Cf. Exod. 25, vv. 31, 33, 34 and 37, vv. 17, 19, 20.
 22 The days in which the world was created and filled with life, PL 167, 706 C.
 23 Cf. PL 175, 657 B.
 24 Cf. PL 177, 1158 A; 1159 D.
 25 Cf. also the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the lilies decorating the temple of Solomon, PL 113, 594 AB (3 Kings 7, v. 19), from Bede, PL 91, 784 B.
 26 Perhaps thinking of Solomon's temple, cf. 3 Kings 7, vv. 19, 22, 26, 49.
 27 PL 83, 317 D. Isidore does not mention the decoration of the candlestick, cf. PL 83, 312 B – 313 A.
 28 See above, p. 109.
 29 Cf. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, II, pp. 406-8.
 30 Cf. Wolbero of St Pantaleon, PL 195, 1094 D; Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 866 BC; 1010 D – 1011 A; Alan of Lille, PL 210, 711 AB; 881 B.
 31 Cf. Rabanus Maurus on this verse, PL 109, 1041 B.
 32 Cf. how the bodies of saints remain uncorrupted in their graves and exude a sweet fragrance after death, a commonplace of medieval hagiographical literature of which one MHG example is Rudolf von Ems's *Barlaam und Josaphat*, 400, 6-14 (ed. Pfeiffer, 1843).
 33 Lines 103 ff. (ed. Bachofer, *Die kleinen Denkmäler der Vorauer Handschrift*, 1963, pp. 182-3).
 34 Exod. 25, vv. 31, 33-36; 37, vv. 17, 19-22.
 35 Cf. PL 91, 417 B and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 269 AB.
 36 Cf. PL 177, 1158 C, 1159 D; PL 175, 657 B. Richard also includes the interpretation found in Gregory the Great and Rupert of Deutz.
 37 Lines 16, 931-6 (ed. Ranke). Cf. Jantsch, *Studien zum Symbolischen*, p. 358, and above, p. 88.

PART II

**Other Problems of Exegesis
and Content**

17. THE BIRTH AND ADOPTION OF MOSES

Münscher noted that the opening lines of the VM show considerable differences from the Vulgate account of Moses's concealment and discovery by Pharaoh's daughter as told in Exod. 2, vv. 1-10. These changes¹ occur chiefly in D. 32, 17 – 33, 7 where the child on being discovered is first given to an Egyptian nurse, but refuses to feed at her breast. The suggestion is then made by *div meisterinne* (D. 33, 1)² for a Hebrew nurse to be fetched, and the child is subsequently returned to his mother by *sin mīme* (D. 33, 7).

The poet could have derived this version of the story from the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 188 C) which incorporates a reference to the account of Josephus given by Rabanus Maurus in his Exodus commentary:

Illic ergo mittentes infantem et circa fluvium ponentes, ejus salutem Deo reliquerunt. Thermothe igitur erat filia regis. Haec dum luderet circa littus fluminis, portari a fluvio illud vas conspiciens, praecepit ut ad se ille alveus portaretur. . . Jussitque mulierem adduci Thermothe regis filia, quae daret infanti mamillam. Quo non accedente ad illius ubera, sed evitante, et hoc in multis mulieribus faciente, Maria assistens his quae fiebant, non quasi videretur ex operibus ei inter alios astare, ait: Frustra, o regina, has mulieres ad nutrimentum infantis vocas, quae nullam ad eum cognationem habent. Si vero quamdam Hebraicarum mulierum adduci praeceperis, puto tanquam contribulis suae poterit ubera accipere. Cumque putaretur bene dixisse, jussit hanc ire, ut aliquam quae lactare eum posset adduceret. Illa vero accepta hujusmodi potestate, reversa est agens matrem nulli cognitam, infansque grate quodammodo ejus accessit ad ubera, et supplicante regina, commissum est ei cum omni diligentia pueri nutrimentum. . . (PL 108, 15 BC)

That Josephus is indeed the author is confirmed by a comparison with the Latin version of the *Jewish Antiquities* (II, ix, 4-5)³. The German poet prefers the biblical detail that the princess came down to bathe in the river (Exod. 2, v. 5) to the *dum luderet* of Josephus, and apparently confuses the references to Moses's sister who proposes to find a Hebrew nurse and fetches the child's mother in Josephus exactly as in the biblical narrative (Exod. 2, vv. 7-8); in the VM, this suggestion is ascribed to an Egyptian lady, if Bachofer's interpretation of *meisterinne* ('Hofmeisterin, erste Vertraute der Königin') is to be accepted.⁴

Otherwise, however, the substance of the Latin story corresponds closely to the

VM, and further explains the non-biblical reference to the basket floating along on the river (D. 32, 14-15).

A knowledge of Josephus would also explain the VM in D. 32, 2 ff.⁵ where the king commands the male children of the Hebrews to be drowned at the suggestion of an adviser, not mentioned in the Vulgate (cf. Exod. 1, v. 22). Shortly before his account of Moses's birth and adoption, Josephus relates that an Egyptian prophet foretold the imminent birth of an Israelite child who would subdue the Egyptians and raise up his own race. The king accordingly followed his advice:

cuius consilio iussit, ut omne masculinum quod ex Israhelitis nasceretur iactantes in flumine consumerent. . .⁶

Josephus's version of the adoption of Moses is also found in Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (PL 198, 1143 CD) and thence in the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Ems⁷ and Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*.⁸ The Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* includes the name of Pharaoh's daughter.⁹

NOTES

¹ Münscher, Diss. p. 120.

² Cf. Bachofer, Diss. p. 90.

³ Ed. Blatt, pp. 198-9.

⁴ Though it is equally probable that the word refers to the sister of Moses in her supervisory capacity (cf. Exod. 2, v. 4), while Miriam (Maria) is also intended in D. 33, 7.

⁵ Cf. Münscher, loc. cit. A difficulty needlessly raised by Münscher (Diss. p. 120) is the use of *dev chuneginne* (D. 32, 16-17) referring to Pharaoh's daughter (cf. Exod. 2, v. 5), for the MHG word, like the Latin *regina* with which Miriam addresses the woman in Josephus, frequently means 'princess'.

⁶ *Ant. Iud.* II, ix, 2, ed. Blatt, pp. 196-7. D. 32, 2-3 may, however, refer to the Devil at whose prompting the crime is committed. Cf. also D. 52, 18.

⁷ Ed. Ehrismann, 8940-86.

⁸ Ed. David, 3489-3514.

⁹ Ed. Morris, 2603 ff.

18. THE LEGEND OF MOSES'S CHILDHOOD

The curious story of the child Moses seizing Pharaoh's crown and the ordeal in which the king subsequently tests whether he has attained the age of reason is prominent in the sustained narrative sections with which the VM opens (D. 33, 6 – 34, 11). Diemer pointed out¹ that the first part of the legend occurs in Josephus,² though this does not serve to explain the firebrand test in the VM, while a complete version appears in Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (PL 198, 1143 D – 1144 C),³ as well as in oriental sources.

The following translation of a Hebrew version is provided by the *Midrash Exodus Rabbah*, dated to the eleventh or twelfth century:⁴

Because he was so handsome, everyone was eager to see him, and whoever saw him could not tear himself away from him. Pharaoh also used to kiss and hug him, and he (Moses) used to take the crown of Pharaoh and place it upon his own head, as he was destined to do when he became great. . . . The magicians of Egypt sat there and said: 'We are afraid of him who is taking off thy crown and placing it upon his own head, lest he be the one of whom we prophesy that he will take away the kingdom from thee'. Some of them counselled to slay him and others to burn him, but Jethro was present among them and he said to them: 'This boy has no sense. However, test him by placing before him a gold vessel and a live coal; if he stretch forth his hand for the gold, then he has sense and you can slay him, but if he make for the live coal, then he has no sense and there can be no sentence of death upon him'. So they brought these things before him, and he was about to reach forth for the gold when Gabriel came and thrust his hand aside so that it seized the coal, and he thrust his hand with the live coal into his mouth, so that his tongue was burnt, with the result that he became slow of speech and of tongue.⁵

A version of the story is found in the fourteenth-century French crusading romance *Baudouin de Sebourc*. In this context G.L. Hamilton gave a detailed history of the various manifestations of the legend which descended to the Renaissance.⁶ Hamilton included a reference to the VM and affinitive versions, and suggested that the source is indicated by the *archely* named in the episode of Solomon and the dragon, also in the Vorau MS.⁷ The ultimate origin of the story is believed to be the Alexandrian *Ἡερὶ Ἰουδαίων* of the first half of the second century B.C., attributed to one Artapanos.⁸ Whatever the immediate source of the VM account, a significant addition to Hamilton's history lies in the fact that the narrative of Josephus is the common property of such medieval commentaries as the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113; 189 D – 190 A) and those of Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 235 C) and

Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 869 BC).

Vernacular versions of the legend based on the *Historia Scholastica* are again found in Rudolf von Ems's *Weltchronik*,⁹ the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus*,¹⁰ and Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*,¹¹ together with other works.¹² Other accounts parallel the VM emphasis on the handsome appearance of the infant Moses (D. 33, 8-12; 34, 13) and the use of the ordeal to motivate Moses's lack of eloquence, referred to in Exod. 10, v. 4 (D. 34, 12-13 and 36, 9-12).¹³

NOTES

1 Anm. pp. 15-17.

2 *Ant. Iud.* II, IX, 7, ed. Blatt, pp. 200-201.

3 Cf. Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* (ed. Pistorius, II, V, p. 86), for which Comestor was a major source.

4 See Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 2nd ed. (1892), pp. 268-269.

5 *Midrash Rabbah, Exodus*, transl. Lehrman (1939), pp. 33-34.

6 *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 36 (1912), pp. 129-159. Hamilton's essay follows a previous article by Lommatzsch, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 34 (1910) pp. 352-357. Cf. also Warners, *Mozes-mosaïek* pp. 63-64.

7 Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 139-143. For a recent consideration of the nature of the source of this episode, see Ganz, *Mediaeval German Studies Presented to F. Norman* (1965), pp. 51-53.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

9 Ed. Ehrismann, 9008-70.

10 Ed. Morris, 2633-58.

11 Ed. David, 3525-42.

12 Hamilton, p. 146.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 130. Cf. Scherer, QF 7 (1875), p. 47.

19. MOSES THE SHEPHERD

While we have considered already the explicit exegesis of the staff of Moses and his leprous hand (D. 35, 12-29), much other exegetical material is implicit in the related passages of the poem.¹ The abridgement of the Vulgate characteristic of the whole VM is everywhere apparent in this part of the work. No less significant is the changed order of events. Having described Moses's arrival and settlement in Midian (not named) and his discovery of the burning bush in a passage corresponding to Exod. 2, v. 15 and 2, v. 21 – 3, v. 5, the VM passes over God's initial conversation with Moses and turns at once to the signs God gives him in Exod. 4, vv. 2-9. Only afterwards is Moses told of his mission (D. 36, 3-8), and the verses of Exod. 4 following the miracles are then paraphrased (D. 36, 8-13).² Finally the author returns to Exod. 3, taking the second part of the chapter with the reference to the sacrifice in the desert³ before the earlier revelation of God's name.⁴

It is clear that this instance of a changed sequence of events in the poem is dictated by the author's eagerness to present his two exegetical passages, which are given priority among the verses dealing with Midian and the return to Egypt. It is therefore not surprising that we should find exegetical details implicit also in the narrative passages. Indeed, the very abridgement of the Vulgate coupled with the presence of allegorical material leads one to suspect the occasional occurrence of a more profound significance in both the succinct phraseology of the narrative and the incidents selected.

When he receives his commission to lead the Israelites out of Egypt to the Promised Land, Moses is portrayed as a type of Christ leading the faithful from the exile of this world to heaven. The poet attaches much weight to the employment of Moses as a shepherd (D. 34, 27-28), referring to him a few lines later as *hirte* (D. 35, 8). In view of the fundamental notion of Moses as a type of Christ, there is an obvious typological link in this passage with the N.T. *bonus pastor* (cf. John 10, vv. 1-30). In the immediate context of Exod. 3, v. 1, however, the Latin commentaries do not emphasise the point.⁵ The association may have seemed obvious, and the reference to the hero's pastoral activity is only a fleeting one: the attention of the commentators is drawn to the account of the burning bush in the following verses. Furthermore, allegorical exegesis is always strongly conditioned by the spiritual connotations of precise verbal usages, and in Exod. 3, v. 1 *pascibat oves* does not include the term *pastor* which undoubtedly would have elicited a lengthier gloss than in fact appears among most Latin writers. An exception is, however, provided by the Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 293 BC): *Christus sanctos pascens*.

The word *pastor* is indeed used shortly beforehand to denote the hostile shepherds of Exod. 2, v. 17. The comment of Rabanus Maurus upon this episode where Moses defends the seven daughters of Jethro and himself waters their sheep takes the pastoral typology for granted: the narrative signifies how Christ gives spiritual food to the faithful of the seven Churches, after rejecting false teaching (PL 108, 18 B). The typological allusion is not diminished by the subsequent gloss on the marriage of the shepherd Moses with one of the daughters as the union of Christ and the Church (PL 108, 18 C), which also appears in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 190 D). It is therefore evident that, although the vernacular poet drastically abridges the biblical narrative, he seizes the opportunity afforded by the underlying implication to throw into relief the fundamental typology of Moses and the exodus as a whole. He follows a similar procedure at a later stage in the VM with the reference to Joshua as *der gûte hîrte* (D. 68, 4). Another significant aspect of the typology, again reiterated later in respect of Joshua,⁶ underlies the statement that God presents Moses with the rod which symbolises his authority throughout the exodus (D. 35, 7-8). This contrasts with the biblical account where Moses is already holding his staff (Exod. 4, v. 2). That the rod is seen as a symbol of power is apparent from the Gregorian exegesis cited by the *Glossa Ordinaria*: *virga, divinitatis potestas* (PL 113, 193 C).⁷ In performing this action, God is conceived in terms of the new Covenant as well as the old: he is described here as *unser herre* and shortly afterwards speaks of himself as *der haltente crist* (D. 37, 1-2). The emphasis on the unity of the plan of salvation is an important feature of the typological interpretation,⁸ and by allowing the Christian God to hand the rod to Moses, the poet demonstrates to his audience that Moses is invested as a type of Christ with divine authority to lead the Israelites out of bondage.⁹ The authority is later transferred to Joshua. The fundamental typology on which the whole interpretation of the exodus rests is thus decisively established at this early stage of the poem.

The same typological emphasis is found in the lines:

D. 36, 2	du solt in daz lant uarn.
	da du wurde geborn.

In the Vulgate, God's words to Moses never refer to Egypt in these terms at all. At liberty to summarize God's long speech as he pleases, the poet, always mindful of the typological significance of the exodus journey, has used words applicable to the return of the soul to heaven in the context of Moses's journey. Hence the poet's exegetical preoccupation breaks through in these lines, even though the journey referred to is merely that of Moses from Midian to Egypt rather than the significant departure from Egypt to the Promised Land. Once again the eschatological theme will recur in the context of Joshua.¹⁰ The allegorical implications of the deliverance from bondage (D. 36, 3-8)¹¹ are encountered in the equivalent passages of the *Millstätter Exodus*,¹² and indeed the lines

D. 36, 6 ich wil si dannen leiten.
 uon scalclihen arbeiten.

have a direct parallel in *Exodus* 621-2. The language of both poems is strongly reminiscent of the words used in the early thirteenth century Easter Play from Muri when the imprisoned souls are to be delivered in the Harrowing of Hell scene.¹³

A parallel to the preceding lines

D. 36, 5 minev uil liben kint.
 div da ellende sint.

occurs in Frau Ava's *Leben Jesu*:

2077 'mit in suln p̄t̄wen m̄niu chint,
 diu noch in ellende sint,
 sie niezent al geliche
 mit iu diu himelriche.'¹⁴

The words may be no more than a formulaic reminiscence of Frau Ava, but since the context in which they are found refers explicitly to the exile of mortals from the joys of heaven, they undoubtedly serve to illustrate the implicit presence of the same notion in the VM couplet.

That Moses should be interpreted as a type of Christ helps to explain the references to his two sons (D. 34, 25-27) and their circumcision by Sephora (D. 37, 8-19). The second passage comes as an abrupt interruption in the Vulgate account (Exod. 4, vv. 24-26) and might well have seemed suitable for omission to the poet, since it does not influence the main history. However, exegetical considerations have probably caused the retention of the incident, for which the *Glossa Ordinaria* gives an interpretation in harmony with that of the earlier reference to Moses's sons (Exod. 2, vv. 21-22). The names of the sons are already explained in the Vulgate as 'stranger' (*advena*) and 'God my helper' (*Deus mei adiutor*);¹⁵ the Gloss further interprets Moses as Christ and his wife as the Church, and harmonises the sons with the statement 'advenae enim sunt sancti super terram, sed Dei adiutorio nunquam carent' (PL 113, 190 D).¹⁶

This notion is developed in the *Glossa Ordinaria* when the circumcision is reached (PL 113, 197 BC).¹⁷ The act is seen to represent the covenant made by the Church between her children and the teaching of the Holy Spirit; or the sharp rock taken by Sephora may refer to Christ.

These events are therefore exegetically important and this may cause their presence in the German poem; the notion of a covenant is certainly implied in the second passage, reminiscent as it is of the covenant made by God with Abraham at the institution of circumcision.¹⁸ Since, however, the interpretation is purely allegorical and has neither a direct bearing on the fundamental typology of the exodus nor a tropological lesson to impart, the poet has passed over the explicit exegesis.

Typological implications are also present in the poem's words on Moses's return to Egypt, before his first interview with Pharaoh:

D. 37, 22	do wart ein michel frowde. vnder der gotes menege. mit flize si sich scarten. ze der uerte si sich garten. mit heuten unde mit gezelten. also ellende livte solten.
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These lines are all the more striking inasmuch as there is no adequate parallel anywhere in the Vulgate account, which never explicitly mentions joy or enthusiasm on the part of the Israelites until the song of praise after crossing the Red Sea in Exod. 15. Previously we are merely told that they believed the signs shown by Moses and worshipped God (Exod. 4, vv. 30-31: 'et credidit populus. . . et proni adoraverunt'). The VM, however, strongly implies the joy of Christians in earthly exile (*ellende livte*) preparing for the next world, thus confirming our interpretation of D. 36, 2 ff. The use of *heuten* and *gezelten* looks forward to the later interpretation of the tabernacle¹⁹ and its skin coverings²⁰ as Christendom with its various virtues and holy men.²¹

Despite the presence of allegory, explicit and implicit, in D. 34, 21 – 37, 26, the chief interest in these lines is purely narrative. Ehrismann noted that the poet did not give the common interpretation of the burning bush (D. 34, 28 – 35, 2) as the Virgin Mary, and suggested that this omission caused the addition of the *Marienlob* to the VBM.²² However common,²³ this allegory does not appear in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 191 AB) which has two interpretations derived from Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 289 BC). These again are purely allegorical in tone, and it is probably the lack of tropological exegesis which has led the poet to omit an interpretation of the incident. We have seen that his choice of exegetical material for the rod transformed to a serpent and Moses's leprous hand was guided by the scope they allowed for tropological emphasis.²⁴

The plain, historical nature of the VM at this point is further indicated by the fact that the lines describing the burning bush probably derive from the close textual parallel in the *Millstätter Exodus*,²⁵ where allegorical material plays only a minor rôle.²⁶

NOTES

¹ D. 34, 21 – 35, 12 and 35, 29 – 37, 26.

² It is noticeable that in the VM Moses tries to induce God to give Aaron responsibility for the task, while in the Vulgate it is God who first mentions Aaron's name (Exod. 4, v. 14).

³ Exod. 3, v. 18, cf. D. 36, 20.

⁴ Exod. 3, v. 14, cf. D. 36, 28.

⁵ E.g. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 191 A. Cf. the sermon ed. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten* I (1844), pp. 7-8, where Moses is said to signify the pastor of the flock (*der lèrer*). The association with the good shepherd of the N.T. is at least implicit, since John 10 provides the text for the sermon.

- ⁶ See below, p. 153.
- ⁷ Cf. above, p. 11 and n. 1.
- ⁸ Cf. below, pp. 139-40.
- ⁹ On the rod as the common element in the miracles of the exodus, see above, pp. 11 ff.
- ¹⁰ See below, p. 153.
- ¹¹ There is no justification for the inclusion of D. 36, 4 which should be ignored.
- ¹² Lines 515-8, 621-30 (ed. Papp).
- ¹³ Ed. Ranke, p. 44, 11. 37 ff.; p. 48, 11. 87 ff. Cf. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, p. 74.
- ¹⁴ Ed. Piper, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 19 (1887), p. 288. The anagogical dimension in these quotations was perhaps inspired by Matt. 25, v. 34, or by the antiphon used at the dedication of a church: 'Ingredimini Sancti Dei, praeeparata est enim a Domino habitatio sedis vestrae: sed et populus fidelis cum gaudio insequitur iter vestrum', etc.
- ¹⁵ Cf. Jerome, *Liber Interpr. Hebr. Nom.*, CChr 72, p. 75.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 18 CD; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 577 AB.
- ¹⁷ Cf. Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 26 D – 27 A; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 588 AB.
- ¹⁸ Gen. 17, vv. 9-14. Cf. *Vorau Genesis*, D. 21, 21-23; *Wiener Genesis*, lines 1728-39 (ed. Dollmayr).
- ¹⁹ Cf. D. 55, 20; 55, 24-26.
- ²⁰ Cf. D. 55, 27-28; also the ark of the Covenant in the VBal, D. 81, 10-11.
- ²¹ It is noticeable that the rhyme *scarten* : *garten* is repeated when the Israelites are preparing to resist the Egyptians, D. 45, 16-17 – again a passage with no biblical parallel, being derived from the Pseudo-Philo.
- ²² *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* II, 1, p. 98.
- ²³ For a vernacular MHG example, see Jeitteles, *Altdeutsche Predigten* (1878), p. 43, where the burning bush signifies the Holy Spirit of whom the Virgin Mary conceived.
- ²⁴ Cf. above, pp. 13-15.
- ²⁵ Lines 465-8 (ed. Papp). See Papp, pp. 21-2.
- ²⁶ Though the allegorical connexion with the Virgin Mary is added to the passage when it reappears in the second stanza of the *Melker Marienlied*, ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 361; cf. the *Arnsteiner Marienleich* 44-63, *ibid.*, p. 441.

20. PHARAOH'S OBDURACY AND THE TREATMENT OF THE PLAGUES

It would be wrong to attempt to explain in terms of the exegetical background every minor change or omission made by the VM paraphrase of the Vulgate. Earlier critics have adequately emphasised that the German poet continually omits insignificant material or makes drastic abridgements by selecting only the highlights from his source. It would be impossible for him to do otherwise if his intention was to narrate in a relatively short epic poem the events of the exodus from Moses's birth to the fall of Jericho and to combine with them much apocryphal and exegetical matter from a number of secondary sources.

However, when obvious omissions of narrative material important in the Vulgate do take place, one is led to ask whether this is not a deliberate course adopted by the poet because he succeeds in emphasising the allegorical significance of the events by other means than direct narrative. This is the more probable in view of our study in the last chapter, where we found that he is prepared to introduce a strong undertone of implicit exegesis into poetry fundamentally narrative in theme.

Such omissions are the performance by Pharaoh's magicians (Exod. 7, vv. 11-12; cf. 2 Tim. 3, vv. 8-9) and, above all, the picture of his obduracy and fickleness which emerges from his response to the plagues. There are at least fourteen references to the latter in the Vulgate between the return of Moses to Egypt and the announcement of the final plague.¹

One reason for the VM abridgement is stylistic: the poet rejects what is not immediately relevant in order to give pride of place to the exegetical sequence of the plagues (D. 38, 3 ff.). He has already described and interpreted the transformation of the staff in the desert context, and though the magicians are mentioned on four further occasions,² their skills fail to surpass those of Moses and Aaron. It is possible that the king's behaviour, suggested to some extent by D. 37, 29 – 38, 3, might have been elaborated in the missing passage on fol. 89. The biblical emphasis on Pharaoh's character and reactions is nevertheless so great that the omission seems surprising, especially when we remember that to an allegorically minded poet the figurative association of Pharaoh with the Devil is fundamental to the exodus narrative. This association is not made explicit, however, until a later stage in the poem.³

While it was observed earlier that Philo of Alexandria and Josephus also stress the obduracy of Pharaoh and his people,⁴ examination of the *Millstätter Exodus* treatment provides the most striking contrast to the VM version. Of the fourteen

biblical references named, eleven are elaborated in the earlier work.⁵ In five of these eleven cases, the corresponding Vulgate passage states explicitly that God was responsible for hardening Pharaoh's heart.⁶ But on each of these five occasions the *Millstätter Exodus* is at such pains to stress that the king's guilt came from within himself that all mention of God in this context is omitted. Instead, Pharaoh is made directly responsible (1964: 'ze siner ubele er dô uiench'), or when God speaks about him an ambiguous passive is used (849: 'sîn herze wirt erhertet').⁷ Furthermore, two of the three biblical references for which no parallel is found in this poem are also cases where the Vulgate states that God was responsible.⁸ And we should not expect the vernacular poem to utilise the remaining reference, since it occurs in the context of the plague of gnats omitted from the *Millstätter Exodus*.⁹

That one is not quibbling to distinguish the cases where God is said to harden Pharaoh's heart from those where he is not is clear from a long passage in Origen's fourth homily on Exodus which deals with this very subject (GCS 29, pp. 171-3). A version of it is incorporated in the *Glossa Ordinaria* and shows the matter to be of concern to the medieval exegetes (PL 113, 210 B – 211 A).¹⁰ In complete contrast to the VM, therefore, the *Millstätter Exodus* explicitly attaches importance to Pharaoh's personal obduracy during the plagues – in one case, indeed, the poem even adds an allusion to his hardness of heart when none is found in the Vulgate.¹¹

We are now in a position to appreciate the VM treatment. Pharaoh's stubbornness and lack of resolution, the main themes sacrificed to the abridgement, are not dismissed from the story entirely but receive an implicit treatment through the exegetical passages. Thus the VM plague of lightning signifies those too obdurate to understand the significance of their misfortunes, like Pharaoh himself.¹² Similarly, those associated with thunder and hail like Pharaoh exploit the poor, and in their final damnation are a reminder of the typological connexion of Pharaoh with the Devil made explicit later in the poem.¹³

While this provides us with a further explanation of the poet's expansion of the seventh biblical plague, the suggestion that similar notions underlie the presentation of the other plagues is strengthened when we turn to the commentaries probably used by the VM. In the context of the plague of blood, the poem mentions the obduracy of those who teach false doctrine (D. 38, 11),¹⁴ and in the sentence immediately preceding the allegorical interpretation utilised by the poet, Origen refers to the blood shed by Pharaoh in slaying the Hebrew children.¹⁵ Similarly, the *Glossa Ordinaria* exegesis of the frogs (PL 113, 206 A)¹⁶ associates them with those who refuse to see the truth. This is a passage abridged from Augustine's comparison of the plagues with the Decalogue, and here we are inevitably reminded of Pharaoh's attitude in the context of every commandment he breaks. The VM exegesis of the blood and frogs may also be regarded as a substitute for another theme omitted from the narrative of the poem, the vanity and deceit of the magicians.

The exegesis of the gnats found in the VM is perhaps too purely tropological to enable us to find a suggestion of the omitted history. However, the source-passage tells us that the gnat is born of the mud of Egypt¹⁷ – in other words, this world, the kingdom of Pharaoh and the Devil. A more explicit reminiscence is encountered in the VM interpretation of the locusts¹⁸ where the words used seem to reflect Pharaoh's alternation between submission and obduracy after many plagues in the biblical account.¹⁹ Finally, *ubermüt* (D. 39, 17) and *nit* (D. 39, 19) as found in the VM exegesis of the boils – the plague associated with murder²⁰ – are both attributes of the biblical Pharaoh.

Hence the VM exegesis of the plagues may to some extent be viewed as a substitute for the biblical emphasis on Pharaoh's obduracy and the fatuity of his magicians, omitted from our poem in contrast to the *Millstätter Exodus*. The compression of the visits to the court into a single audience (D. 37, 26 – 38, 3), followed directly by the plague sequence, leads one to associate the exegetical treatment of the plagues with Pharaoh himself. There are signs that the typological association of Pharaoh and the Devil, Egypt and the world, and perhaps the anagogical implications of this, were in the poet's mind as he produced his interpretation of each plague. His achievement lies in his ability to suggest these notions in a few short passages condensed from the *Glossa Ordinaria*, at the same time retaining the tropological significance as his primary and explicit exegetical theme.

NOTES

- 1 Exod. 4, v. 21; 7, vv. 3, 14, 22; 8, vv. 15, 19, 32; 9, vv. 7, 12; 9, v. 35 - 10, v. 1; 10, vv. 11, 20, 27; 11, v. 10.
- 2 Exod. 7, v. 22; 8, vv. 7, 18-19; 9, v. 11.
- 3 D. 43, 24-25; cf. D. 49, 22-27.
- 4 Cf. above, p. 18.
- 5 Exod. 4, v. 21, lines 849-50 (ed. Papp); 7, v. 14, 1251-8; 7, v. 22, 1293-7; 8, v. 15, 1449-51; 8, v. 32, 1610; 9, v. 7, 1691-4; 9, v. 12, 1774-85, cf. 1819-21; 9, v. 35 - 10, v. 1, 1964-78; 10, v. 11, 2123-42; 10, v. 20, 2243-60; 10, v. 27, 2337-54. See Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, pp. 66 ff.
- 6 Exod. 4, v. 21: ego (i.e. God) indurabo cor ejus; 9, v. 12: Induravitque Dominus cor Pharaonis; 9, v. 35 - 10, v. 1: ego (i.e. God) enim induravi cor ejus; 10, v. 20: Et induravit Dominus cor Pharaonis; 10, v. 27: Induravit autem Dominus cor Pharaonis.
- 7 Cf. also Exod. 14, vv. 4, 8 and lines 2983-3016.
- 8 Exod. 7, v. 3 and 11, v. 10. Cf. also Exod. 14, v. 17 which is not used by the *Millstätter Exodus*.
- 9 Exod. 8, v. 19.
- 10 The question of predestination posed by the biblical passages is discussed by Origen more fully in the *De Principiis* (GCS 22, pp. 204-8). See also the Pseudo-Pelagian *Liber de Induratione Cordis Pharaonis*, ed. de Plinval (1947); also PL Supplementum I (1958), 1506-39.
- 11 Lines 1327-33, when the king rejects the demands of Moses and Aaron after the plague of blood. This event is never described in the biblical account, which merely refers allusively to the ending of the plague in Exod. 7, v. 25.
- 12 Cf. above, p. 27.
- 13 Cf. above, p. 28.
- 14 Cf. above, pp. 18-19.

- ¹⁵ GCS 29, pp. 177-8; *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 205 A. No exegetical distinction is drawn between the Pharaoh who murders the children and his successor, cf. Exod. 2, v. 23.
- ¹⁶ Cf. above, pp. 21-22.
- ¹⁷ Cf. above, p. 22.
- ¹⁸ Cf. above, pp. 23-24.
- ¹⁹ Cf. also Strabo's equation of the locusts with hardness of heart: above, p. 27.
- ²⁰ Cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 210 B; above, pp. 24-25.

21. THE TWELVE PASSAGES THROUGH THE RED SEA

The division of the Red Sea into twelve at the time of the crossing ('da werdent zwelf strazen', D. 46, 9-10) has no parallel in Exod. 14, nor is it derived, like the division of the tribes into three groups (D. 44, 27 – 45, 22), from the Pseudo-Philo.¹ We are dealing with what was in origin a Jewish legend, examples of which occur in many Hebrew sources.² Origen is familiar with the story:

Audivi a maioribus traditum quod in ista digressionem maris singulis quibusque tribubus filiorum Israel singulae aquarum divisiones factae sint et propria unicuique tribui in mari aperta sit via idque ostendi ex eo, quod in Psalmis scriptum est 'qui divisit mare rubrum in divisiones'. (GCS 29, p. 190)

This passage from Origen's fifth homily on Exodus is quoted by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 66 C) and incorporated in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 225 C). The influence on the tradition of Ps. 135, v. 13, cited by Origen, is apparent from Cassiodorus's commentary on the verse (CChr 98, p. 1227) of which a version appears in Peter Lombard's exegesis (PL 191, 1198 B) besides the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

Ad litteram *in divisiones* duodecim pro numero tribuum, ut singulae tribus suas vias eundi haberent; typice, sic per vias varias ad Deum de mundo transitur. (PL 113, 1056 B)

The *Glossa Ordinaria* thus provides an adequate source for the VM, while a similar passage appears in Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 642 B–D).³ It is interesting to observe that the legend is found together with the story of the tribe of Judah leading the way in Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (PL 198, 1158 A), an account clearly followed by Rudolf von Ems in his *Weltchronik* where the regal significance of Judah is developed.⁴ The emphasis on the order of the tribes also occurs in the Old English *Exodus*⁵ and again derives ultimately from Jewish tradition.⁶ In conclusion we shall quote a thirteenth-century MHG example of both legends probably related to Comestor:

Also nam herre Moysez die rûte als in got hat gehaizen uñ sclûck in dc mêr. uñ zehant do tet sich dc mêr ûf. uñ wurden zwelf lantstrâza dar durch. dc der zwelf geslechte iegelichez sin strâze hêt. Uñ da von stât da gescriben. *Qui divisit mare rubrum in divisiones* (Ps. 135, v. 13). Uñ do dc beschach. do hiez si herre Moysez durch dc mêr gân. uñ gie vor in. dc si im nachvolgeten. dennoch getorste kain geslechte an dc mêr gegân swie ez vor in offen stunde. wan dc geslechte von Juda dc trat vrilichen hin an. uñ gie durch dc mêr. . .⁷

A similar passage from the twelfth century appears in a sermon edited by Wackernagel.⁸

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Bachofer, *BGDSL* 84 (1962), pp. 138-9.
- 2 See Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (1893), p. 167; Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, III (1911), p. 22; VI (1928), p. 6 n. 36.
- 3 Cf. Kelle, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* II, p. 114.
- 4 Lines 10,880 – 10,931 (ed. Ehrismann).
- 5 Lines 310 ff. (ed. Irving); cf. Irving's note, pp. 86-7.
- 6 Cf. Ginzberg, op. cit., III, p. 21; VI, p. 6 n. 36.
- 7 Ed. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, II (1846), p. 26.
- 8 *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete* (1876), p. 24.

22. THE GOLDEN CALF

Münscher¹ observed that the VM adds a tropological detail to the description of how God relents when Moses pleads for the idolaters (D. 53, 14-16, cf. Exod. 32, v. 14). The poet's comment is expressed in such general terms that it may derive merely from his concern with moral emphasis throughout the work, though a more concrete source of inspiration could be part of the *Glossa Ordinaria* commentary on Exod. 32, v. 10 (PL 113, 287 B) which refers to an exegetical passage of Gregory the Great in the *Homilia in Job* showing how Moses combines pity with firmness in his plea to God and subsequent treatment of the idolaters in Exod. 32 (PL 76, 143 B – 145 A). In the context of the VM passage we can note especially the conclusion to Gregory's discussion in which the didactic element is strong throughout:

Et idcirco omnipotens Deus fidelem famulum suum citius exaudivit agentem pro populo, quia vidit quid super populum acturus esset ipse pro Deo. In regimine ergo populi utrumque Moyses miscuit, ut nec disciplina deesset misericordiae, nec misericordia disciplinae. (PL 76, 145 A)

The influence of the exegetical work is possible whether one translates D. 53, 15-16 with Bachofer as 'die irgend eine führende Stellung innehaben'² or, as seems equally probable, 'those who possess any degree of self-mastery'.

Bachofer suggests that in addition to D. 66, 28 – 67, 9 and D. 44, 27 – 45, 22, where use of the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* is beyond dispute, the apocryphal work may possibly have influenced the VM description of the effect of Moses's shining face upon the Hebrews.³ Bachofer points out that in both the VM (D. 53, 22-23) and the Pseudo-Philo⁴ the emphasis is on their failure to recognise Moses, whereas the Vulgate has 'timuerunt prope accedere' (Exod. 34, v. 30). The VM and Pseudo-Philo further associate this narrative with the golden calf episode, while in the Vulgate it occurs only after the renewal of the Law on Sinai.⁵ That Pseudo-Philo has indeed influenced the passage is confirmed by another significant parallel in the same context. In the Vulgate translation of Exod. 34, vv. 29-30, the face of Moses is described as *cornuta* (horned), due to the ambiguity of the Hebrew verb *kāran*, a denominative from *keren* (a horn), used to signify the production of both horns and 'beams of light'. As a result of the mistranslation Moses was literally believed to wear horns on this occasion. The notion was commonplace throughout the Middle Ages and perhaps finds its best-known expression in Michelangelo's statue of Moses.⁶ The true nature of the transfiguration was familiar from 2 Cor.

3, v. 7 ('. . . ita ut non possent intendere filii Israel in faciem Moysi propter gloriam vultus eius'), but exegetes often mention two horns signifying the two Testaments, as in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 291 B), following Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 309 B).⁷

The Septuagint translates the Hebrew correctly,⁸ and it has been established that the original translation of the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* from Hebrew into Greek made use of the LXX which in turn influences the extant Latin version of the apocryphal work.⁹ Hence Pseudo-Philo refers only to the radiance of Moses's face, with no mention of horns:

Et descendit Moyses, et cum perfusus esset lumine invisibili, ut descenderat in locum ubi lumen solis et lune est, vicit lumine faciei sue splendorem solis et lune, et hoc nesciebat ipse.¹⁰

The same emphasis is found in the VM:

D. 53, 20 under den ovgen er also ein uevr bran.
 ime was sin antlutze liht.

Again there is no reference to horns, and though such an *argumentum ex silentio* would alone be of little value, when taken in conjunction with the evidence previously adduced by Bachofer it confirms that the VM is following Pseudo-Philo rather than the Vulgate alone, especially in view of the authority attributed to the literal meaning of *cornuta* in the exegetical works.¹¹

Shortly afterwards there occurs another passage clearly derived from Pseudo-Philo, though not noted by Bachofer. When Moses has pulverised the golden calf, the VM continues:

D. 54, 11 si trunchen ez algemeine.
 in wazzer oder in wine.
 do uirsuhter di sine.
 sver sculdic an deme kalbe was.
 deme scein ez an der tinnen sam ein glas.

The expression *in wazzer oder in wine* is merely a formulaic extension of the biblical reference to water alone (Exod. 32, v. 20), quoted in Pseudo-Philo.¹² But the interpretation of the Israelites' consumption of the gold-dust and water as a test which illuminates the foreheads of the guilty has no parallel in the Vulgate. Here the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* is clearly revealed as the source:

Et factum est si quis habuit in voluntate sensus sui ut perficeretur vitulus, abscidebatur lingua eius. Siquis vero coactus in timore consenserat, splendebat visus (*variant*: vultus) eius.¹³

Consonant with his usual practice, the German poet abridges the source-material by fusing the two degrees of guilt into one, omitting the effect of the test on those most responsible for the calf. The Pseudo-Philo has no more to say of the incident, but the VM skilfully harmonises the apocryphal detail by suggesting that in the subsequent vengeance (Exod. 32, vv. 25-35) only those are slain whom the ordeal

shows to be guilty:

D. 54, 18 sva er daz zeichen gesach.
 gotes anden er rach.

Use of the Latin work is to some extent confirmed by the proximity of this passage of the VM to D. 53, 20 ff. discussed above. Pseudo-Philo would certainly seem a more probable source than Rupert of Deutz, whose *aureis prominentibus labiis* (PL 167, 728 B), noted by Kelle,¹⁴ reflects a different Hebrew version of the same legend.¹⁵

NOTES

- 1 Diss. p. 122.
- 2 Diss. p. 130. 'Those who have the power to punish' is also a likely meaning. Cf. Benecke, Müller, Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, II (1863), pp. 125-8.
- 3 *BGDSL* 84 (1962), pp. 139-40.
- 4 Ed. Kisch, p. 146.
- 5 Cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 123; Bchofer, op. cit., p. 140, n. 24.
- 6 Cf. Watkiss Lloyd, *The Moses of Michael Angelo: a Study of Art History and Legend* (1863), pp. 28-9; Morgan, *The Life of Michelangelo* (1960), pp. 109-110.
- 7 Cf. also Pseudo-Bede, PL 91, 332 C and Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 239 C.
- 8 The verb $\delta\omicron\lambda\lambda\zeta\omega$ (glorify) is used.
- 9 See Kisch, Introduction pp. 16-19.
- 10 Ed. Kisch, p. 146.
- 11 Rudolf von Ems's *Weltchronik* (12396-12419, ed. Ehrismann) and Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* (5153-9, ed. David) follow Peter Comestor (PL 198, 1192 CD) and mention horns in connexion with Moses's appearance; see also *Anegenge* 26, 28-29 (ed. Hahn, 1840). The Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* (3613-6, ed. Morris), however, does not refer to them. For the exegesis, cf. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*. III, p. 23.
- 12 XII, 7, ed. Kisch, p. 148.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, II (1896), p. 114.
- 15 See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, VI (1928), pp. 54-5, n. 281. According to Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (PL 198, 1190 C), their guilt was reflected in the beards of those responsible; cf. also Rudolf von Ems's *Weltchronik* (12178-12192, ed. Ehrismann).

23. THE GIVING OF THE LAW

The conversation of Moses with God when he again ascends the mountain (D. 55, 5-19) is, as Münscher noticed,¹ entirely different from the Vulgate (Exod. 33, 34), while the renewal of the broken tablets is replaced by Christ's summary of the Law (cf. Matt. 22, vv. 37-40, Mark 12, vv. 30-31, Luke 10, v. 27). These lines (D. 55, 14-16) also appear in Ava's *Vom Jüngsten Gericht*,² while three of them closely resemble *Vorau Genesis* D. 11, 23-25.³ Their unexpected presence in the VM context perhaps indicates that our poet has borrowed them from Ava rather than the reverse; nor does their evident theological function, the substitution of a warm, positive piety for the harsher prohibitive ethos of the O.T. commandments,⁴ seem to suggest an entirely original innovation by the poet of the VM, for the change is strongly influenced by the exegetical traditions relating to the tablets on which the Law is inscribed. The two tablets originally given by God (Exod. 24, v. 12; 31, v. 18; 32, vv. 15-16) usually signify the two commandments emphasised by Christ and incorporated in the VM; they may also be taken as an allegory of the two Testaments. Richard of St Victor juxtaposes both interpretations (PL 175, 665 A), and also explains the former: one tablet contained the first three commandments relating to love of God, the other the remainder which concern love of one's neighbour (PL 175, 660 CD). Perhaps Augustine's reference to this notion with his direct quotation of Matt. 22, v. 40 (CChr 33, p. 135), cited by the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Exod. 31, v. 18, supplied the poet with his immediate inspiration:

Cum multa locutus sit Deus, duae tantum tabulae dantur Mosi lapideae, quae dicuntur tabulae testimonii; quia caetera omnia, quae praecepit Deus, ex illis decem praeceptis, quae in duabus scripta sunt tabulis, pendere intelliguntur, si diligenter quaerantur, et bene intelligantur; sicut ipsa decem ex duobus, dilectione, scilicet, Dei et proximi: in quibus scilicet *tota lex pendet et prophetae*. (PL 113, 286 CD)

Parallel examples of the interpretation are found in the commentaries of Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 318 B-D; 320 BC) and Isidore of Seville, the latter referring also to the two Testaments (PL 83, 303 C; cf. 181 B).⁵

The influence of this tradition on the VM is obvious, but the full significance of the poet's treatment of his material is only apparent when we consider that the allegory of the two Testaments becomes more prominent in the context of the renewal of the original tablets which have been broken (Exod. 32, v. 19; 34, vv. 1, 29). Augustine interprets the broken tablets as the rejection of the old Testament, based on fear, which is replaced by the Christian dispensation founded on love

(CChr 33, p. 148). It is Isidore's version of this idea (PL 83, 307 D) that reaches the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Exod. 34, v. 29 (PL 113, 291 B):

Ascendit itaque Moyses denuo in montem. Iterumque dat ei Deus legem in aliis tabulis ad instar priorum praecisis. Sed quid significaverunt eadem tabulae, quas primum a Domino Moyses accepit, et sine mora confregit?

Tabulae illae imaginem demonstrabant priscae legis, non post longum intervallum pro populi peccato cessantis. Aliae vero, ad instar priorum iteratim incisae, Novi Testamenti habuere figuram. Istae non franguntur, ut ostenderentur Novi Testamenti eloquia permansura. (PL 83, 307 CD)

The comment of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the same verse was noted earlier for its reference to Moses's horns.⁶ The Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 330 D – 331 A), Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 238 C) and Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 374 BC) are others who contrast the two covenants in similar terms, while Rupert of Deutz writes of the rejection of the Jews in favour of the gentiles (PL 167, 742 BC).

Because of the exegetical significance of the renewal of the tablets it is apparent that by placing Christ's summary of the Law in this context the VM further enhances the typological implications of the passage. An explicit reference to the renewal is unnecessary, for the N.T. quotation instead of a second set of tablets would to a clerically-trained audience familiar with the allegories we have discussed at once suggest the transference from old to new covenant, from God of fear to God of love. By putting the commands in direct speech the poet fulfils the stylistic function of avoiding a repetition of the writing of the tablets. At the same time he alludes to the traditional allegorical and typological significance of their renewal more effectively than would have been the case had the narrative flow been interrupted by an exegetical passage commencing with *daz bezeichnenet*. The episode of the golden calf and the giving of the Law thus forms a compact and uninterrupted narrative from D. 52, 3 to D. 55, 19.

Another passage included in Rabanus Maurus's Exodus commentary is worth quoting as final evidence of the strength with which the typological associations of the O.T. Law were endowed:

Et legis ergo et Evangelii praecepta Dominus in monte dedit, ut sublimitatem per hoc utriusque Testamenti commendaret. Verum quia Scriptura legis uni tunc populo Israel committenda, gratia vero Evangelii ad omnes per orbem nationes apostolis praedicantibus erat perventura, recte ad discendam accipiendamque legem, solus Moyses ascendit in montem: doctrinam vero Evangelii, apostoli simul omnes in monte cum Domino positi, auscultantibus etiam turbis audierunt. (PL 108, 137 A)

The opening words of this quotation remind us not only of the VM, but also that the two N.T. commandments are themselves included in the Mosaic Law (cf. Deut. 6, v. 5; Lev. 19, v. 18) of which they are conceived as both summary and typological fulfilment. Such an emphasis on the unity and harmony of Old and New Testaments is a common aspect of the typological system of interpretation to

which the present context affords a prominence even greater than usual.

It is perhaps significant that the reference to the two covenants which remains implicit at this stage in the poem is made explicit shortly afterwards in the context of the priests in the tabernacle who are said to be two in number in contradiction of the biblical account (D. 56, 20-23; 60, 28 – 61, 3).⁷ The exegetical implications are also sufficient to render unnecessary a further interpretation of the tablets when these are mentioned as part of the contents of the ark (D. 58, 2), while the recurrence of the same theme in the VBal again shows a strong Christian emphasis when the salvation of the Jews who keep the commandments is described (D. 80, 27 – 81, 3).⁸

NOTES

- 1 Diss. p. 123. See also Ohly, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 4, p. 355.
- 2 Ed. Piper, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 19 (1887), p. 310, lines 205-8.
- 3 Cf. Diemer, Anm. p. 22.
- 4 Cf. Buttell, *Religious Ideology and Christian Humanism in German Cluniac Verse* (1948), pp. 231-2.
- 5 For a MHG example, see Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten* II (1846), p. 87. See also Peter Comestor, PL 198, 1164 A, and Augustine's fuller treatment, CSEL 25, p. 423.
- 6 Cf. above, p. 137.
- 7 Cf. above, pp. 90-91.
- 8 Cf. below, pp. 172-5.

24. NUMERICAL DIVERGENCES FROM THE VULGATE

The story of the explorers and their false report together with the subsequent rebellion quelled by the true account of Caleb and Joshua (D. 62, 26 – 66, 8) follows for the most part Num. 13 and 14, while the narrative of the two spies sheltered by Rahab in Jericho (Josh. 2) is characteristically combined with these details (D. 63, 4-27)¹ in a manner reminiscent of the poet's treatment of the wars of Num. 21 and the defeat of the Amalekites.² It is remarkable that the number of explorers is given as forty-two (D. 62, 27) when there are clearly only twelve – one from each tribe – in the Vulgate (Num. 13, v. 3 ff.; cf. Deut. 1, v. 23).³ The reading of V is plainly confirmed by the Linz fragment.⁴

The poet might have been inclined to change the original number because of his fusion of the two biblical narratives and the consequent inclusion of two more spies from Josh. 2. However, he avoids any reference to the number of Rahab's lodgers, and there is in any case no obvious reason why forty-two should have been selected. The exegetical significance of the figure is due to the forty-two generations from Abraham to Christ (Matt. 1, v. 17) and the forty-two stations of the Israelites in the wilderness,⁵ and a reminiscence of the latter tradition may have inspired the statement.⁶ It seems improbable that the change from twelve to forty-two can be pure error as in the case of Irenaeus who replaced the two spies of Josh. 2 by three and proceeded to interpret them as the Trinity (PG 7, 1043 A). A more subtle explanation might see in the figure the combination of two (the spies in Jericho) and forty, a highly significant quantity in biblical number symbolism commonly associated with the fulness of time.⁷ So many days, indeed, do the explorers spend on their survey (Num. 13, v. 26; 14, v. 34).⁸

Such considerations must, however, remain purely speculative, for at this point in the VM there is no hint of any detailed exegetical implications⁹ apart from the general allegory of the journey to the Promised Land with the rejection of the sinful generation (D. 65, 7 – 66, 8).¹⁰ The story from the defeat of the Amalekites until Moses's death is largely narrative in tone. The possibility of a textual corruption comparable to that of the list of names in D. 45, 21-22 cannot be excluded,¹¹ and the hypothesis receives considerable support from an examination of other numerical references in the Vorau text of the VM.

The problem of the dimensions of the tabernacle provides a striking parallel, though here some explanation of the poet's procedure was apparent.¹² But there are two further instances of numerical errors in the VM where the Linz fragment in each case has the correct reading: *drie* for *di* (D. 62, 17),¹³ and *zvene* for

zvelefe (D. 64, 26).¹⁴ In the second case, Vorau *zvelefe* follows the word *geslahten* and is perhaps influenced by the correct reference to *zve(l)ef geslahten* a few lines previously (D. 64, 19). Nevertheless, when such discrepancies are taken together the impression is created that many of the figures in the poem were deliberately distorted at some stage in the scribal tradition prior to the Vorau MS, but that most of this contamination escaped the Linz fragment.¹⁵ Whatever the overall motive behind the changes, if one existed,¹⁶ they undoubtedly constitute a significant feature of the poem in its present form.¹⁷

NOTES

- ¹ The fusion of the two spying episodes could have been influenced by knowledge of Hebrew legends which name Caleb as one of the spies in Jericho; see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, IV (1913), p. 5; VI (1928), p. 171, n. 10. Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, XX, 6, ed. Kisch, p. 168, names the two sons of Caleb.
- ² Cf. above, pp. 71-72.
- ³ Cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 124.
- ⁴ Cf. Lambel, *Germania* 7 (1862), p. 233, line 16; Wilhelm and Newald, *Poetische Fragmente* (1928), p. 3.
- ⁵ Cf. Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, III, p. 288; Bongo, *Numerorum Mystica* (1618), pp. 512-6; Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, p. 83; Eucherius, CSEL 31, p. 61.
- ⁶ Cf. above, p. 48.
- ⁷ Cf. Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 197 C – 198 A; Ps.-Melito's *Clavis*, ed. Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, III, p. 288; Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism* (1938), p. 127.
- ⁸ Cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the latter verse, PL 113, 403 D, from Origen, GCS 30, pp. 50-51.
- ⁹ For the relevant exegesis, cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 403 A (following Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 668 B ff.), PL 113, 507 C; also Richard of St Victor, PL 175, 658 AB.
- ¹⁰ The typology of the rejection (cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 403 CD, from Origen, GCS 30, pp. 49-50) would be obvious to a clerical audience and is not indicated in the VM; thus Joshua is still *iosue* (D. 66, 4) as opposed to later *iesus*. The passage is interesting rather as an example of the poet's technique of compression: Moses's long appeal to God (Num. 14, vv. 13-19) is given in two lines of reported speech (D. 65, 9-11), while his rhetorical reference to God's presence in the pillar of cloud and fire (Num. 14, v. 14) is rendered in narrative form *der gi zû der wolchen suele stan* (D. 65, 8-9).
- ¹¹ Cf. Bachofer, *BGDSL* 84 (1962), pp. 138-9.
- ¹² Cf. above, pp. 85-89.
- ¹³ Cf. above, p. 71.
- ¹⁴ Cf. Lambel, *Germania* 7 (1862), p. 234, line 13; Münscher, Diss. p. 9.
- ¹⁵ On scribal contamination of numerical patterns and acrostics significant for the structure of medieval works, cf. Tschirch, *Schlüsselzahlen*, Festgabe L. Magon (1958), pp. 47-48.
- ¹⁶ The reason may be nothing more than a scribe's naive preference for certain commonly used numbers, a factor successively emphasised by Hopper, op. cit., p. 127, and Batts, *Traditio* 20 (1964), pp. 462, 470.
- ¹⁷ A notable exception is provided by the correct figures of D. 43, 4-10, which appears to combine the information of Exod. 12, v. 37, and Num. 1 vv. 3, 20-46, cf. Exod. 30, v. 14; 38, v. 25. See also the subdivision of the 600,000 in the Old English *Exodus*, lines 224-232 (ed. Irving, with note, p. 82).

25. THE DESPAIR OF THE ISRAELITES AND THE DISQUALIFICATION OF MOSES

The account of how the Israelites despair on hearing the false report of the spies sent into the land of Canaan and of how God consequently disqualifies them from entering the Promised Land, with the exception of Caleb and Joshua who make a true report and maintain their trust in God (D. 64, 18 – 66, 8; cf. Num. 14), includes a reference to the people's *zwivel* of particular interest in the light of D. H. Green's study of this concept in the *Millstätter Exodus*.¹ The sole occurrence of *zwivel* in the VBM is reserved for the words of encouragement of the two faithful spies (cf. Num. 14, vv. 6-9):

D. 65, 4 welt ir got minnen.
 mit einfaltigen dingen.
 so ne durfet ir nehein zwifel han.
 ev wird daz lant undertan.

In the course of his argument Green refers to the Heraclius episode of the *Kaiserchronik* which is demonstrably informed with crusading associations and which draws on the same biblical narrative to make a typological antithesis between the Hebrews, who by their lack of faith were disqualified from Canaan, and the crusaders of the present who are offered the means of salvation in their stead and must not fall into the same despair.² With the use of the verb *zwivelen* the episode from the *Kaiserchronik* bears an interesting resemblance to the VM, and the possibility that the negative example of the Hebrews is held up as an admonition to crusaders cannot be dismissed from our poem also. Another possible allusion to the crusades in the VM has already been mentioned.³ At least the parallel is abundant confirmation that the fundamental typological implication of the attainment of the Promised Land unceasingly imbues even the narrative passages of the VM such as that from which the quotation is taken. It is regrettable that while Green refers to the murmuring of the Hebrews and its exegesis in the VM (D. 49, 28 ff.) as a warning against *ubermuot*,⁴ he does not mention this instance in the VM of its counterpart, *zwivel*.

With D. 66, 9-15 the disqualification of the sinful generation of Israelites is followed by the similar exclusion of Moses himself from the Promised Land. This occurs as the result of a sin he commits when the water is drawn from the rock as told in the book of Numbers (Num. 20, vv. 1-13).⁵ It is generally accepted by modern critics that in order not to denigrate Moses these verses have suppressed to the point of obscurity the origin of his guilt, and its true

nature thus becomes a matter of speculation based on the nebulous evidence of this passage and other references to his punishment.⁶

According to the medieval commentaries Moses's sin consists in his failure to believe in the divine power to produce water from the rock, even though God has already worked so many other miracles for the people's benefit. His unbelief is expressed in the angry, sceptical question to the rebels, 'Num de petra hac vobis aquam poterimus eiicere?' (Num. 20, v. 10),⁷ and is confirmed by the words of God in Num. 20, v. 12: 'quia non credidistis mihi'. Such an interpretation is found in Origen (GCS 30, p. 34) and in the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Num. 20, v. 12 (PL 113, 414 C), derived from Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 353 C), and on Num. 27, v. 14 (PL 113, 430 A–C), from Augustine (CChr 33, p. 269; cf. p. 261). Further examples of this tradition are provided by the commentaries of Augustine (CChr 40, pp. 1563–4) and Cassiodorus (CChr 98, p. 968) on Ps. 105, v. 32, while a remark of Gregory the Great to the same effect (PL 75, 872 D – 873 A) appears in the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Exod. 32, v. 10 (PL 113, 287 B).⁸ Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 710 A), Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 491 CD), Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 885 B–D) and Peter Comestor (PL 198, 1233 BC) are also worthy of mention in this context, while Rudolf von Ems describes the sin as *zwivils gedanh*.⁹

Ehrismann gave Num. 20, v. 12 ff. as the source of the VM passage.¹⁰ It is clear that the line 'an des wazzeres wider sprache' (D. 66, 11–12) must refer to the Vulgate term *aqua contradictionis* but this appears elsewhere besides Num. 20, v. 13. Equally likely as biblical sources for the poet are Num. 27, v. 14 or Deut. 32, v. 51, since here the context in the Vulgate speaks of Moses climbing the mountain before his death (Num. 27, vv. 12–13; Deut. 32, vv. 48–50; 34, vv. 1–4), an event which follows directly in the next passage of the VM (D. 66, 16 ff.).¹¹ It seems probable that the associations of these verses have led the poet to employ D. 66, 9–15 as a skilful narrative bridge between the rejection of the sinful generation (D. 65, 7 – 66, 8) and the apocryphal elaboration of Moses's death on the mountain (D. 66, 16 ff.). The portion of the poem under consideration forms a complete MS section, and it is significant that the divisions marked by the MS capitals (D. 66, 9 and 16) reflect the structural process underlying the narrative – the sequence of three 'chapters' whose thematic harmony disguises the fact that their chief sources are two biblical passages and apocryphal matter entirely distinct from each other.

D. 66, 12 'min êre er uirdagete' is explained sufficiently by the medieval exegesis of the episode as discussed above, while D. 66, 14–15 'des daz livt unde daz uihe solte leben' probably reflects Num. 20, v. 11, 'ita ut populus biberet et iumenta'. The intervening lines, however, suggest an interpretation of Moses's sin which may relate to his anger and unbelief mentioned in the commentaries but appears rather to place a somewhat different emphasis on the nature of his guilt: instead of giving God the honour, he boasts of his own virtue and claims credit for the deed for himself. He, rather than God, had bestowed the water on the people:

D. 66, 13 fon siner tugent er sagete.
er sprah daz er daz wazzer hete gegeben.

The VM treatment is perhaps too short for any firm conclusion on this matter, but it is remarkable that among several Hebrew legends on the subject of Moses's guilt Ginzberg cites an instance where his question in Num. 20, v. 10 is regarded as a form of words 'which might have been misunderstood by the people to mean that it was Moses, and not God, who made the water flow from the rock'.¹² If we are to emphasise the second *er* of 'er sprah daz er daz wazzer hete gegeben', as the previous line seems to indicate, the VM harmonises with this view rather than with that of the Latin commentaries. Here also the question asked in Num. 20, v. 10 is crucial for the interpretation of Moses's guilt, and it therefore seems likely that the German poet, independently or following an unknown source, uses the same biblical verse as his evidence but adopts an attitude to the problem rather different from the usual exegetical source-material. The question is one of emphasis rather than of two distinct conceptions of guilt, for Moses's failure to trust in God's power and assertion of his own virtue are equal and complementary symptoms of the lack of humility implied in his question to the angry mob.¹³

The medieval exegetes regard the drawing of the water from the rock in Num. 20, vv. 6-13 as an incident different from that described in Exod. 17, vv. 2-7; indeed, the fact that God has previously succeeded in performing the same miracle contributes towards Moses's guilt in distrusting the divine power.¹⁴ However, the allegorical interpretation of the two events is identical,¹⁵ and the VM has characteristically combined the narratives. The poet uses the Exodus story for exegetical purposes (D. 48, 7-16 and 50, 20-30), but for Moses's sin and punishment refers to Numbers and the *aqua contradictionis*, not otherwise described. Whether he assumed his audience capable of distinguishing the two episodes is not clear.

NOTES

- 1 See Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, pp. 99-100, 271, 427 ff. and, especially, 339-63.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 345-7. For the verb *zwivelen*, see Green's quotation of *Kaiserchronik* 11241, p. 346.
- 3 Cf. above, p. 13.
- 4 Green, pp. 341-2, 348. Cf. above, p. 43. Rudolf von Ems, though without drawing any explicit typological parallel, makes the significance of the Hebrews' guilt abundantly clear in the *Weltchronik* where *zwivel* and its compounds appear nine times in the course of twenty-one lines (13625-45, ed. Ehrismann).
- 5 Cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 124. For the allegory of the episode, see above, pp. 64-66.
- 6 See Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers* (1903), pp. 260-2; Binns, *The Book of Numbers* (1927), p. 131.
- 7 According to a modern view the question may originally have been directed to God. See Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
- 8 The other *Glossa Ordinaria* reference for this verse was mentioned earlier for its relevance to D. 53, 14-16. See above, p. 136.
- 9 *Weltchronik* 14,143 (ed. Ehrismann).
- 10 *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* II, 1, p. 94.

- 11 Other references to *aqua contradictionis* are Num. 20, v. 24, where Aaron is also incriminated, and Deut. 33, v. 8, where the tribe of Levi are accorded a rôle in the incident apparently confused with their vengeance after the golden calf episode (Exod. 32, vv. 26-28). We are not concerned with Deut. 1, v. 37; 3, v. 26 and 4, v. 21 where the disqualification of Moses is ascribed to the sins of the people as a whole.
- 12 *The Legends of the Jews*, VI (1928), p. 108, note 613; cf. p. 91, note 490.
- 13 A totally different reason for Moses's disqualification from the Promised Land is encountered in the Pseudo-Philo, XIX, 6-7 (ed. Kisch, p. 163): God does not wish Moses to see the graven images which will deceive the people there. Cf. Ginzberg, op. cit., p. 147, note 879.
- 14 Cf. Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 353 C.
- 15 Cf. Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 491 D.

26. THE REVELATION OF MOSES

The section of the VM immediately preceding the Latin passage from the Pseudo-Philo indicates that when Moses ascends the mountain before his death God imparts to him certain astronomical knowledge (*an deme ma(n)nen unde an der sunnen*, D. 66, 20) known by Adam before the Fall (D. 66, 16-22). Bachofer suggests that this passage, to which there is no parallel in the Vulgate,¹ also derives from the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, and points to lines faintly reminiscent of the VM occurring shortly before the conversation incorporated in the vernacular poem.²

Despite the proximity to the passage indubitably borrowed from the Latin work, the parallel which we are considering is very tenuous, based as it is largely on the allusion to knowledge possessed by Adam but lost at the Fall. The rest of Pseudo-Philo XIX, 10-13³ is unhelpful apart from a reference to the sun and moon in a totally different context.⁴

When the legendary background to the VM lines is examined it becomes clear that there is a large body of material relating to the wisdom of Adam and Moses which seems to indicate a great diversity of possible sources for D. 66, 16-22, rather than the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* alone. In the first place one cannot avoid quoting the parallel in Wolfram's *Parzival*, 518, 1 ff.:

Unser vater Adâm,
die kunst er von gote nam,
er gap allen dingen namen,
beidiu wilden unde zamen:
er erkante ouch iesliches art,
dar zuo der sterne umbevart,
der siben plânêten,
waz die crefte hêten:
er erkante ouch aller wûrze maht,
und waz ieslicher was geslaht.⁵

This passage is discussed in the latest detailed study of Wolfram's astronomy.⁶ However, Deinert does not attempt to find sources for individual passages, emphasising rather the breadth and complexity of the background to such astronomical lore in its entirety and the inadequacy of earlier attempts to find plausible source-material in single works such as the *Lucidarius*.⁷ This MHG work indeed mentions Adam's great wisdom and his knowledge of herbs, though not of astronomy.⁸ Martin suggested that the latter detail was transferred to Adam from his son Seth, whose children, according to Josephus, 'disciplinam vero rerum caelestium et ornatum earum primitus invenerunt'.⁹

The tradition of Adam's wisdom, of which an indication appears in Gen. 2, v. 20, is part of the wider notion, found in Philo of Alexandria,¹⁰ that he represents the ideal man, having been created personally by God.¹¹ According to one aspect of the legend he invented the art of writing. This was known to Augustine (CChr 33, p. 101) and incorporated thence in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 245 C). Another Hebrew story names the sun and moon among the seven precious gifts enjoyed by Adam before the Fall.¹² The *Zohar*, the fundamental source of Jewish Cabbalism which first appeared in Spain in the thirteenth century but is evidently a compilatory work derived from many sources and periods,¹³ tells how

. . . when Adam was in the Garden of Eden, God sent down to him a book by the hand of Raziel, the angel in charge of the holy mysteries. In this book were supernal inscriptions containing the sacred wisdom, and seventy-two branches of wisdom expounded so as to show the formation of six hundred and seventy inscriptions of higher mysteries. . . While he was there he studied it diligently, and utilised constantly the gift of his Master until he discovered sublime mysteries which were not known even to the celestial ministers.¹⁴

Equally well attested is the apocryphal notion that God imparted esoteric knowledge to Moses either at the time of his death, or earlier. An example from the context of Moses's death is provided by the *Apocalypse of Baruch* 59, vv. 4-11, which, though it does not specifically mention astronomical lore, speaks of

the measures of the fire, also the depths of the abyss, and the weight of the winds, and the number of the drops of rain. . . And the root of wisdom, and the riches of understanding, and the fount of knowledge. . . and the splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders, and the orders of the chiefs of the angels, and the treasuries of light. . .¹⁵

There is some evidence that a Latin *Apocalypse of Baruch* existed, based on the extant Syriac version, itself derived from Greek and in turn from Hebrew.¹⁶

In Hebrew legend Moses also receives divine revelations early in his career at the time of God's appearance in the burning bush. Here it is explicit that astronomical knowledge is imparted.¹⁷ He was also shown the past and future history of Israel when receiving the tablets with the Law on Sinai, according to the *Book of Jubilees*¹⁸ of which a Latin version survives in fragmentary form.¹⁹ Other sources refer to his great learning acquired at this time.²⁰ It is interesting to note Ginzberg's comment on the vision immediately before Moses's death. Observing Pseudo-Philo's association of Deut. 34, vv. 1-4 with a revelation of the future history of Israel, he remarks:

The haggadic literature contains many references to the cosmic as well as historic revelations made to Moses. But the occasion on which they took place is not stated. The election of Moses at the burning bush, the revelation on Sinai, and the vision on top of Pisgah are the three outstanding moments in the life of the great prophet, and accordingly the legend connects the revelations of the cosmic and historic mysteries, granted to Moses, with one of these three events.²¹

The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* may indeed be the source of the VM passage, since both works associate the knowledge acquired by Moses with that lost by Adam. Even though this detail is barely explicit in the Latin it might easily be invented independently, given the fact of the extreme wisdom of both figures. But the parallel in *Parzival* and our brief survey of the legendary and apocryphal background suggest that the German poet had other sources of information besides the Vulgate, Pseudo-Philo and the bible commentaries. This is all the more probable in view of the other material in the poem such as the legend of the child Moses at Pharaoh's court which cannot be fully explained by these sources. When dealing with the apocryphal material in the Vorau MS²² we are faced with a difficulty comparable, on however small a scale, to the problem of the sources of Wolfram's esoteric and oriental knowledge, and it would be wrong, having found one secondary source, to assume that the poet had at his disposal only such works as provide indisputable parallels to certain parts of the text.

These considerations may be relevant to a problematical passage in the Old English *Exodus*:

22		Ɖā wæs forma sīð
	þæt hine weroda God	wordum nægde:
	þær Hē him gesægde	sōðwundra fela,
25	hū þas woruld worhte	witig Drihten,
	eorðan ymbhwyrft	and uprodor,
	gesette sigerice,	and His sylfes naman,
	ðone ylde bearn	ær ne cūðon,
	frōd fædera cyn,	þēah hie fela wiston. ²³

Here the *forma sīð* referred to is God's first appearance to Moses in the burning bush. This is confirmed both by lines 27b-29 which describe God's revelation of his divine name, an early occurrence in Exodus (cf. Exod. 3, vv. 13-14; 6, vv. 2-3), and by the context of the passage as a whole which precedes the death of the Egyptian firstborn and the departure of the Hebrews. This being the case, an explanation is needed for the non-biblical statement that Moses was taught the story of creation at this first meeting with God.

Irving assumed that the solution to the difficulty lies in the association of Horeb (cf. Exod. 3, v. 1) with Sinai (cf. Deut. 4, vv. 10-15; 5, v. 2).²⁴ If the revelation on Sinai is intended, the poet's reference to the creation is shown to be nothing more than a reflection of the traditional belief, held until comparatively recent times by Jews and Christians alike, in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the material for which God imparted to Moses on the mountain.²⁵ Irving cites as parallels Ælfric's work on the Old and New Testament²⁶ and the opening of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Book I, lines 6-10).²⁷

However, in spite of the identification of the two places where the revelations occur, there seems to be no precedent for associating the two appearances of God, each of which, as Ginzberg observes, plays a crucial part in Moses's career. Further-

more, *sōðwundra fela* in line 24 may suggest some other material not found in the Pentateuch. It would therefore seem that the legendary and apocryphal matter which appears to underlie the German works may also have been known to the Old English poet. Of especial significance for the Old English poem is perhaps the account of Moses's ascension through the seven heavens, in each of which angels read in the Torah the section concerning the respective day of creation.²⁸

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Deut. 32, vv. 48-52; 34, vv. 1-4.
 - 2 *BGDSL* 84 (1962), pp. 140-1; Diss., p. 234, note 2.
 - 3 Ed. Kisch, pp. 164-5.
 - 4 'iubebo annis. . . ut festinet lumen solis in occasum, et non permanebit lumen lune. . .'
(Kisch, p. 165).
 - 5 Ed. Lachmann. Cf. 773, 25-30.
 - 6 Deinert, Ritter und Kosmos im Parzival (1960), p. 82.
 - 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 159 ff.
 - 8 Ed. Heidlauf (1915), p. 12, lines 26 ff.
 - 9 *Ant. Jud.*, I, ii, 3, ed. Blatt, p. 132. Cf. Martin, *Kommentar* (1903), p. 387.
 - 10 Cf. *De Opificio Mundi* 47-49, ed. Cohn I (1896), pp. 47-50.
 - 11 Cf. the references to Hebrew works in Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* V (1925), pp. 83-4, note 31.
 - 12 For references, see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-4, note 105.
 - 13 Cf. Abelson, Introduction pp. IX ff. of *The Zohar*, transl. Sperling and Simon, I (1931).
 - 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7. Cf. also pp. 139, 366.
 - 15 Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, II (1913), p. 514. Cf. the similar passage in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, where astronomy is included, *ibid.*, p. 455. Much matter relating specifically to the sun and moon appears in *I Enoch*, *ibid.*, pp. 213, 237-44.
 - 16 *Ibid.*, p. 470.
 - 17 See Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II (1913), p. 307; V (1925), pp. 416-8, note 117.
 - 18 Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
 - 20 See Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, III (1911), p. 141; VI (1928), p. 60, note 308.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, VI, p. 151, note 902. Cf. III, p. 443.
 - 22 Cf. also the dragon-episode in the *Lob Salomons*, mentioned above, p. 123 and n. 7.
- Another parallel is provided by the notion that the earth lost her virginity when Abel's blood was shed, which appears in the *Vorau Genesis* (D. 10, 25-29) and the *Kaiserchronik* (9568-73, ed. Schröder), besides *Parzival* 463, 23 - 464, 20 and other MHG works (cf. Köhler, *Germania* 7 (1862), pp. 476-480; Wilmanns, *ZDA* 15 (1872), pp. 169, 179). The wording of *Vorau Genesis* and *Kaiserchronik* is similar, while the *Kaiserchronik* passage follows close upon a possible borrowing from the *Ezzolied* (cf. *Kaiserchronik* 9452-9453 and *Ezzolied* 145-6) and the parallel to VM, D. 34, 28 - 35, 2.
- 23 Ed. Irving (1953).
 - 24 Cf. above, pp. 41-42.
 - 25 The Jewish belief that Moses composed the Torah, of which the Pentateuch formed part (cf. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 77-119, 141-4, and corresponding authorities in vol. VI), was never questioned by the Christian fathers, cf. Tertullian, CChr 1, p. 119; CChr 2, p. 1048.
 - 26 Ed. Crawford, *The Old English Heptateuch* (1922), p. 21.
 - 27 Irving, pp. 67-8.
 - 28 Cf. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 417-8, note 117. Enoch also ascended through seven heavens and was instructed in the mysteries of creation: see Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-451.

27. THE TYPOLOGY OF THE IESUS-NARRATIVE

We have already observed that a strong undercurrent of typology is present in the descriptive passages of the VM dealing with Moses in Midian.¹ A similar emphasis appears in the final narrative from the death of Moses to the end of the poem (D. 67, 15 – 69, 6). Joshua, previously *iosue* (D. 65, 1; 66, 4), is reintroduced as *iesus*.² The typological significance of this form of the name was indicated by Waag,³ and the association of Joshua with Jesus as the leader of the people into the Promised Land is a commonplace of medieval exegesis. The link between the two names is evident from the Greek text of the bible which uses the form Ἰησοῦς throughout the book of Joshua and elsewhere⁴ when the Vulgate has *Iosue*.

Daniélou gives a history of the typological interpretation from the earliest Christian exegetes to Augustine.⁵ While the Latin of the Vulgate occasionally uses *Jesus* for Joshua, sometimes in N.T. contexts which point to the type,⁶ the VM usage would more probably have been suggested by an exegetical context. Such a source might be the first homily of Origen on Joshua, the subject of which is the analogy of the two names, Joshua's succession to Moses as a type of the Gospel replacing the Law, and the interpretation of the whole book of Joshua as a pre-figuration of Christian mysteries.⁷ In the translation of Rufinus, the form *Iesus* is used for both Joshua and Jesus:

Quo igitur nobis haec cuncta prospiciunt? Nempe eo, quod liber hic non tam gesta nobis filii Nave indicet quam Iesu mei Domini nobis sacramenta depingat. . . 'Defunctus est' ergo 'Moyses famulus Dei': defuncta est enim lex et legalia praecepta iam cessant. . . Iesus igitur Dominus et Salvator meus suscepit principatum. . . (GCS 30, pp. 290-1)⁸

The whole of this homily is incorporated in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, where it forms an introduction preceding the detailed chapter-and-verse interpretation of the book of Joshua (PL 113, 505-6 D).

The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* could also have inspired the change to *iesus* in the VM. The transitional section (D. 67, 9-15) between the Latin passage and the reintroduction of Joshua includes the line 'ni war di engel uon himele' (D. 67, 14), perhaps suggested by the reference to *ymnus angelorum* at Moses's death in Pseudo-Philo, again in the lines immediately following the same Latin passage in the source.⁹ If therefore this paragraph of Pseudo-Philo was in the poet's mind when he wrote D. 67, 9-15, the same may be true of the next where the sequence of events in the two works continues to run parallel; as in the VM, the

Pseudo-Philo reintroduces Joshua:

Et in tempore illo disposuit Deus testamentum cum Ihesu filio Nave. . .¹⁰

Since the Latin Pseudo-Philo is a translation of a Greek version,¹¹ the form of Joshua's name, like the order of events, corresponds to the VM.

However, the Joshua-Jesus typology is so widespread that all such attempts to identify a precise source must remain speculative. We may nevertheless conclude that the form *iesus* could easily have been suggested to the poet by the *Glossa Ordinaria* and the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, works with which we already know him to have been acquainted.

As Waag observed, the Joshua typology implicit in the VM is not confined to the use of *iesus*, but receives special emphasis in the lines

D. 67, 20 er was ein also gut man.
so er gote zeineme genannen wole zam.¹²

and

D. 68, 29 Iesus¹³ der gotes genanne.

Equally significant is D. 68, 4: *Iesus*¹³ *der gûte hirte*.¹⁴ This usage is comparable to the earlier pastoral emphasis on Moses in Midian.¹⁵ The transfer of power from Moses to Joshua-Jesus is further indicated by the non-biblical statement that the good shepherd Joshua uses Moses's rod to effect a passage through the Jordan (D. 68, 4-7). The language resembles that used at the Red Sea crossing,¹⁶ but in Josh. 3 there is no mention of the rod dividing the waters; the passage becomes possible once the priests have waded out with the ark. No similarity in the Latin vocabulary of the two events (cf. Exod. 14, vv. 15-29) could account for the resemblances in the MHG text.

The eschatological undertones are again strong in the references to the Promised Land (D. 67, 25-26; 68, 8-10).¹⁷ The commonplace anagogical interpretation of Canaan is found in the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 508 B) which follows the opening of Origen's fourth homily on Joshua (GCS 30, pp. 307-309).¹⁸

NOTES

¹ See above, pp. 125-9.

² Cf. Roediger, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum* 1 (1875), pp. 76-7. *iesus* occurs in D. 67, 18; 67, 24; 68, 4; 68, 9; 68, 29.

³ *BGDSLH* 11 (1886), pp. 103-4. Cf. Jantsch, *Studien zum Symbolischen*, p. 106.

⁴ Cf. Daniélou, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 205, and above, pp. 44-45.

⁵ *Sacramentum Futuri*, pp. 203-216.

⁶ Cf. Ecclus. 46, v. 1; 1 Mac. 2, v. 55; 2 Mac. 12, v. 15; Acts 7, v. 45; Heb. 4, v. 8 (see Daniélou, op. cit., p. 231); Jude 5 (see above, p. 44, where Jerome is quoted).

⁷ See Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 239-41.

⁸ See also Hilary of Poitiers, *Tract. Myster.* II, 5-6, ed. Brisson, pp. 148-52, with Brisson's references to Tertullian, p. 150 n. 1 and 2.

- 9 XIX, 16; ed. Kisch, p. 166.
- 10 XX, 1; ed. Kisch, p. 166.
- 11 Cf. Kisch, pp. 18-19; James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* (1917), p. 28.
- 12 Waag, op. cit., p. 104.
- 13 Diemer's edition erroneously prints J when I appears as a MS capital.
- 14 Waag, op. cit., p. 104.
- 15 Cf. above, pp. 125-6.
- 16 Cf. D. 46, 6-13 with 68, 5-9.
- 17 Cf. above, pp. 126 ff.
- 18 Cf. also Daniélou, op. cit., pp. 236-7. We have not been concerned in this chapter with the stylistic aspect of the change from *iosue* to *iesus*; Waag was attempting to refute Roediger's suggestion (*Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum* 1, pp. 76-7) that a new 'Joshua' poem begins at D. 67, 15.

28. JOSHUA AND THE JORDAN

It was pointed out by Müllenhoff and Scherer¹ and by Münscher² that parts of the concluding VM narrative on the leadership of Joshua and the passage over the Jordan (D. 67, 15 – 69, 6) bear no immediate resemblance to the Vulgate. It can be shown, however, that in its essential details the poem alludes none the less to biblical events and to their medieval interpretation.

Though the poet says the people chose Joshua as the successor to Moses (D. 67, 15-22) whereas according to the biblical history God had appointed him long before Moses's death,³ this is probably little more than a convenient way of motivating a change of subject and is hardly indicative of a secondary source.⁴ The thematic insignificance of this change in no way detracts from the stylistic importance of the reintroduction of Joshua (*iesus*) after his previous appearance as *iosue* in the context of the rebellion.⁵

The VM relates that before crossing the Jordan ('Do si den iordan sahen' D. 67, 26) the people take stones, build an altar and sacrifice (D. 67, 26 – 68, 4). However, the parallel passage in the Vulgate (Josh. 4, vv. 1-9) explains that after crossing over ('Quibus transgressis' Josh. 4, v. 1), stones are set up as monuments on the site of the encampment before the passage and in the place where the priests with the ark halted in the river bed. There is no mention of sacrifice, which takes place only at a later stage in the conquest of the Promised Land when Jericho and Ai have been captured and sacked (Josh. 8, vv. 30-35).⁶ We shall find that this later description indeed provides the basis of the VM sacrifice, and it would seem probable that the German poet had access to some form of the Jewish legend according to which the ceremonies on the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal are performed immediately the Jordan has been crossed.⁷ This is perhaps indicated when Moses previously orders the sacrifice with the benediction and commination (Deut. 11, v. 29; 27, especially verse 2). Possibly the source was Josephus, who also resembles the VM in his association of the stones taken from the river with those used to build the sacrificial altar:

omnibus itaque transeuntibus egressi sunt sacerdotes liberum iam fluvium relinquentes, ut more suo discurreret, et fluvius quidem egressis Hebraeis denuo crevit et magnitudinem recepit suam.

illis vero quinquaginta stadiis praecedentibus exercitus usque ad decem stadios Hiericunctis accessit. Ihesus autem altare ex lapidibus quos singuli principes tribuum tulerant de profundo Iordanis iubente propheta, constituens pro futuro signo interrupti fluminis, super eum sacrificavit deo et festivitatem paschae in illo loco cunctus populus celebravit. . .⁸

To take the stones and sacrifice before crossing the river would be illogical, and this detail is probably the work of the MHG poet. But he doubtless follows Josephus or a related account which associates the sacrifice with the crossing and the memorial stones. The same story appears in Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (PL 198, 1262 D) and thence reaches Rudolf von Ems's *Weltchronik*⁹ and Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*.¹⁰

The VM now returns to the circumstances of the sacrifice of Gerizim and Ebal as told in the Vulgate. After entering the Promised Land, the tribes divide into two; the nobles go on the right, while the tribes *uon der diwe kinden* (D. 68, 25), i.e. those descended from Jacob's sons by his concubines, take the left of the mountain (D. 68, 17-29). According to Josh. 8, v. 33 the people are in two groups, but the full details are supplied only by Deut. 27. Here we learn that the tribes present at the commination are Gad, Asher, Dan and Naphtali, besides Reuben and Zebulun (Deut. 27, v. 13). The first four of these are indeed the descendants of the concubines Bilhah and Zilpah (Gen. 30, vv. 1-12). They have already been identified as such earlier in the VM when the poet writes *vieriv van den diuwen* (D. 45, 4)¹¹ of those who favour appeasement of the Egyptians at the Red Sea, whereas Pseudo-Philo, the source, merely gives the names of the tribes.¹² Here also, therefore, the VM replaces their names by details of their ancestry.

The poet's reference to *di edelen unde di herren* (D. 68, 18), his tacit association of Reuben and Zebulun with the other four tribes, and his assertion that the tribes went to the right and left of the mountain (D. 68, 19; 26) are largely explained by the account of the sacrifice and its interpretation found in the commentaries rather than by the Vulgate account alone. The *Glossa Ordinaria* on Deut. 27, v. 4 (PL 113, 482 D – 483 A) and on Josh. 8, v. 33 (PL 113, 512 C) follows part of Origen's ninth homily on Joshua:

'Mons Garizin' benedictiones habet, 'mons' autem 'Gebal' maledictiones, quae peccatoribus imminent. 'Statuerunt' etenim, sicut scriptum est in Deuteronomio sex tribus 'ad benedicendum in monte Garizin' et ipsas tribus, quae nobiliores sunt et eximiae, id est 'Simeon, Levi, Iuda, Isachar, Ioseph et Benjamin'; alias vero sex ignobiliores 'ad maledicendum', in quibus et 'Ruben', qui 'adscendit cubile patris et torum maculavit paterum' (Gen. 49, v. 4, cf. 35, v. 22), et 'Zabulon', qui est ultimus filius Liae. . .

. . . Cum ergo in singulis quibusque fidelium talis sit propositi varietas, hoc mihi designari videtur in hoc loco quod 'dimidii' illi, qui 'iuxta montem Garizin' incedunt illum, qui ad benedictiones electus est, istos figuraliter indicent, qui non metu poenae, sed benedictionum et repromissionum desiderio veniunt ad salutem; illi vero 'dimidii', qui 'iuxta montem Gebal' incedunt, in quo maledictiones prolatae sunt, istos alios indicent, qui malorum metu et suppliciorum timore complentes, quae in lege scripta sunt, perveniunt ad salutem. . . Solus ergo Iesus est, qui potest ex omni populo huiusmodi mentes animosque discernere et alios quidem 'statuere in montem Garizin ad benedictiones', alios vero 'statuere in montem Gebal ad maledictiones'. . . (GCS 30, pp. 351-2)

Here the tribes attending the benediction are *nobiliores et eximiae*, a close parallel to D. 68, 18. Origen assumes his readers already know why four of the tribes at the commination are inferior, and gives reasons for the inclusion of Reuben and Zebulun which would justify the poet subsuming them all under his one heading. Origen is followed by Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 376 A – C) and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 948 C – 949 B) besides the *Glossa Ordinaria*.

Though these works do not mention left and right, the distinction made by the vernacular poet is strongly implied by the exegetical contrast between Gerizim and Ebal, on the one hand a burning desire for salvation arising from love, on the other the fear of damnation and concern for the Law. Finally Joshua-Jesus is named as alone capable of distinguishing the two. It seems that the German poet is thinking of sheep and goats on the right and left hand respectively at the day of judgment, described in Matt. 25, vv. 31-46 – a passage of which Origen's language at this point is strongly reminiscent, and which is quoted by Rupert of Deutz in his discussion of the subject (PL 167, 960 D – 961 A).¹³ An apocalyptic, anagogical note is thus introduced into the closing stages of the VM.

The references to right and left may also have been suggested to the poet by the account of the disobedient cattle near the end of the *Vorau Genesis*, where a comparable exegetical passage is added (D. 29, 20 – 30, 6). There is no parallel in the biblical meeting of Jacob and Esau in Gen. 33. The commentaries on this chapter do not explain its inclusion, and Scherer's suggestion that the passage derives from a popular sermon is convincing.¹⁴ The lines occur just before the passage on the rape of Dinah also borrowed by the VM,¹⁵ while a reference is made in the same context to Canaan as *deme guten lande* (D. 30, 6).

No direct source for the short passage D. 68, 10-17 is apparent, though it seems closely associated with the following lines and their implicit exegesis of the two types of people who reach the Promised Land. The *Glossa Ordinaria* on Josh. 3, v. 16 (PL 113, 508 C) again derives from a homily of Origen which discusses two groups of exiles who are baptised in the Red Sea and finally reach the Jordan, where the difference between them is indicated by the movement of the river: the waters which run down to the sea signify those who have returned to worldly cares and passions, while the upper waters, which retain their sweetness, designate those who have remained in the state of innocence conferred by their baptism (GCS 30, p. 310). It is this exegetical polarity of which the passage in the VM may be a reminiscence.

NOTES

- 1 MSD (3rd edition, 1892), II, p. 248.
- 2 Diss. p. 124.
- 3 Cf. Münscher, *ibid.*
- 4 The VM in any case adds 'got hete in irwelt' (D. 67, 20).
- 5 Cf. above, pp. 2; 154 n. 18.
- 6 Cf. Ps.-Philo, XXI, 7; ed. Kisch, p. 170.
- 7 See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, IV (1913), pp. 6-7; VI (1928), p. 172, n. 15.
- 8 *Ant. Iud.* V, i, 3-4, ed. Blatt, p. 307.
- 9 Lines 16,048-64 (ed. Ehrismann).
- 10 Lines 6578-82 (ed. David, I, p. 294).
- 11 Cf. Bachofer, Diss. p. 29.
- 12 Cf. Bachofer, *BGDSL* 84 (1962), pp. 138-9. See also *Vorau Genesis*, D. 26, 6-7.
- 13 Likewise Ecclesia is usually portrayed at the right hand of Christ, Synagoga at the left. Cf. the illustrations in Seiferth, *Synagoge und Kirche im Mittelalter* (1964).
- 14 QF 7 (1875), p. 45; cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 119; Jantsch, *Studien zum Symbolischen*, p. 97. The narrative seems to appeal to the sense of humour which would appreciate the burlesque of Balaam and his ass (D. 73, 8 – 75, 3).
- 15 Cf. above, p. 91.

29. BALAAM'S AVARICE

A notable feature of the MHG Balaam story which has no parallel in the O.T. is the poet's emphasis on his cupidity. Münscher briefly noted the difference from Num. 22 but made no attempt at an explanation.¹ The contraction of the double embassy (D. 72, 15-25; cf. Num. 22, vv. 7-21 where the prophet is only persuaded by Balak's second deputation) can be attributed to the terse style of the whole VBM. But the change in attitude to Balaam cannot be so explained. While the German poet lays considerable emphasis on his avarice, the biblical account at first does no more than imply that he is to receive the usual fee for his services to Balak (*divinationis pretium*, Num. 22, v. 7), and after the prophet's initial refusal he is offered honours and 'quidquid volueris' (Num. 22, v. 17). In the VBal this is exaggerated to

D. 72, 17 er bot ime scazzes so uile.

and

D. 72, 24 er gehiz ime scazzes genūge.

Instead of consulting with God as in the Vulgate, the MHG Balaam is blinded by greed and cannot wait to set out:

D. 72, 26 Der scaz der waz deme wisagen lib.
er ne zevifelote niht.
div girde in irblante.
daz recht gotes er nerkante.
er tet uil unrehte.
uider got wolter uehten.
durch des scazzes minne.
daz waren unsinne.
uf sinen esel er do saz.
daz ime zogete deste baz.
er ne wolte niht piten.
zehoue wolter riten.
er wolte iruollen.²
des chuneges mūt willen.
durch sin silber unde durch sin golt.

The last line of this passage is perhaps a reminiscence of the 'argenti et auri' of Num. 22, v. 18. But while the Vorau Balaam is overcome with desire for such riches, the biblical verse shows him in precisely the opposite light: however much he is offered, he intends to put God's will first.

Covetousness is once more imputed to Balaam after the burlesque episode with the ass. He is referred to as *der gire man* in D. 75, 11, while D. 75, 14-24 again shows him hurrying to Balak for the sake of reward (*durch des scazzes libe*, D. 75, 15).

Examination of later references to the Balaam episode, including the medieval commentaries, reveals that this interpretation of the prophet's character, though not present in Num. 22-24, adheres to a tradition probably dating back to Jewish antiquity, and certainly the common property of Christian exegetes.

Of the other O.T. verses relevant to the story,³ Micah 6, v. 5 still appears to regard Balaam favourably,⁴ though Deut. 23, vv. 4, 5 and Neh. 13, v. 2 by their use of *conducere* perhaps cast aspersions upon his mercenary enterprise. Rabbinic exegesis finds only evil in his words in Num. 22, v. 18:

These words characterize the man, who had three bad qualities: a jealous eye, a haughty spirit, and a greedy soul. . . his avarice was expressed in his answer to the second embassy in which he not only surreptitiously mentioned Balak's gold and silver, but spoke his mind by explaining to them that their master could not adequately compensate him for his service, saying, 'If Balak were to hire hosts against Israel, his success would still be doubtful, whereas he should be certain of success if he hired me!'⁵

Following this Jewish tradition, Philo of Alexandria explicitly imputes avarice to Balaam. In the *Vita Mosis*⁶ Balaam is persuaded by riches to undertake the mission, while in another account⁷ Philo contrasts Balaam's impious intention with his involuntary blessing of Israel. The defamation of the prophet may already be a traditional interpretation, while Philo's evident desire to rationalise the story, apparent in the fictitious quality assigned to the divine visions and the omission of all reference to the ass speaking,⁸ doubtless causes Balaam to be further denigrated.

This view of his character was taken over by the early Church, as shown by 2 Pet. 2, v. 15 which speaks of 'Balaam ex Bosor, qui mercedem iniquitatis amavit' (cf. Jude 11). It appears again in Origen's thirteenth homily on Numbers:

Sed quia persistit in desiderio pecuniae, indulgens Deus arbitrii libertati rursus ire permittit. . .⁹

With Origen the tradition is assured of a place in Western medieval exegesis, for his interpretation is followed verbatim by Caesarius of Arles (CChr 103, p. 470), Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 728 BC) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 419 BC). Jerome makes the same point in his commentary on Micah 6, v. 5 (PL 25, 1208 B),¹⁰ while Augustine (CChr 33, pp. 265-6; cf. PL 40, 136 D), Cyril of Alexandria (PG 68, 439-440 B) and Quodvultdeus¹¹ are three later exponents of the theme. Paterius (PL 79, 771 Aff.) collects several texts of Gregory the Great where Balaam's avarice is stressed, and Gregory provides the chief source for Isidore of Seville's exegesis (PL 83, 357 A). Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 493 BC) and Rupert of Deutz also reflect the traditional interpretation to the full, their work being partly based

on earlier commentaries. The latter goes into considerable detail on the subject of Balaam's evil motives:

Denique quod inobediens Deo fuerit, quod munera desideraverit, quod Israel maledicere cupierit, ratio manifesta convincit. Vocatus a rege Moab. . . ille nuntiis habentibus divinationis pretium in manibus: 'Manete hic, inquit, nocte, et respondebo quidquid mihi dixerit Dominus'. Non dixit: Absit hoc a me! non maledicam populum huic, pecunia tecum sit in perditione; sed explorat improbus Dei secreta semel et iterum, si forte permetteret Dei patientia, quod ut faceret suadebat ardens cupiditas. Adeo munerum cupidus vel maledicendi fuit ut, dimissus sub conditione a Deo. . . 'surrexit protinus mane',¹² id est cum festinatione, contempta conditione, ad modum videlicet servorum nequam. . . (PL 167, 895 A-C).

Every thought and action of the prophet is here subjected to his cupidity. Such a passage may well have inspired the MHG poet, though we have seen that the interpretation is too widespread to point to any single source. Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that the VBal exploits a knowledge of a traditional exegesis of the avaricious aspect of Balaam's character instead of merely drawing on the biblical narrative.¹³

NOTES

¹ Diss. p. 125.

² The MS and D. 73, 4 have *er ne wolte*. For the emendation, cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 11.

³ Cf. also Josh. 24, vv. 9, 10.

⁴ Though see below, p. 164 n. 5.

⁵ Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, III (1911), pp. 360-1. Almost all Ginzberg's Rabbinic authorities treat Balaam as a scoundrel, eager to curse Israel from the very beginning. See *ibid.*, VI (1928), p. 125, n. 730.

⁶ I, 48, ed. Cohn and Wendland, IV, pp. 182ff.

⁷ *De Migr. Abr.* 20, ed. Cohn and Wendland, II, pp. 289 ff.

⁸ Philo also omits Balaam's name from the *Vita Mosis* version.

⁹ GCS 30, p. 118.

¹⁰ Hence also the *Glossa Ordinaria*. Cf. Jerome, CChr 72, p. 27, and *Epist. LXVIII*, ed. Labourt, IV, p. 90. This last reference shows the traditional association of Balaam with the forty-second and final station in the wilderness from Num. 33.

¹¹ *Lib. promiss. et praedict. Dei*, ed. Braun, pp. 342-4.

¹² *Protinus* does not appear in the authentic Vulgate text of Num. 22, v. 21.

¹³ Cf. Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, 1237 C; the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Ems, lines 14, 611 - 14, 616 (ed. Ehrismann); and the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus*, lines 3948-3952 (ed. Morris).

30. BALAAM'S EVIL COUNSEL

A similar study of the exegetical tradition will also illuminate the German poet's imputation of an evil counsel to Balaam:

D. 75, 25 *doh gab er deme chunige einen ubelen rat.
in exodo¹ der gescriben stat.
er besveih si mit den wiben.
daz wart ze banne manegen liben.
div rache finees gestilte den gotes zorn.
des wisagen charger rat unde gebe des chuneges
di waren gare uirlorn.*

There is no explicit reference in Num. 22-24 to Balaam's responsibility for the fornication of the Hebrews with the daughters of Moab and their consequent idolatry, described in Num. 25, and this led Scherer to suppose that the VBal errs in assigning this rôle to Balaam.² However, Münscher correctly noted that the prophet is referred to as the instigator in Num. 31, v. 16.³ This chapter describes the vengeance of Phinehas on the Midianites in which Balaam is one of those put to death (Num. 31, v. 8; cf. Josh. 13, v. 22), an event clearly alluded to in the last two lines quoted above.⁴ Num. 31, v. 16 is not explicitly associated with advice given to Balak, but when read in conjunction with the earlier story⁵ one may reasonably infer the nature of the prophet's guilt.⁶

The inference occurs in Rabbinic exegesis where Balaam is alleged to give parting advice to Balak on how he may ruin the Israelites even though the curse has failed.⁷ Philo of Alexandria also invents a conversation between Balak and Balaam to explain the sequence of events between Balaam's departure for home (Num. 24, v. 25) and the account of the seduction (Num. 25, v. 1 ff.). Balaam explains that, as for his blessing the Hebrews, he could do no other, since God put the words into his mouth, but he can now give Balak a piece of personal advice: if he allows the heathen womenfolk to seduce the Hebrews, they will sin against God and thus lose divine favour and protection. Through conjunction with the earlier interpretation of the prophet's avarice he is naturally seen to give this advice for reward, in his disappointment at losing the riches promised him if his curse succeeded.⁸ The same detail is suggested in the VBal by means of *doh* in D. 75, 25 where the advice immediately follows a portrayal of the prophet's greed, as well as by *charger rat unde gebe des chuneges* in D. 76, 2-3 where counsel and reward are again juxtaposed.

Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* introduces a similar conversation,⁹

and it may be more than coincidence that the passage quoted in the original Latin by the VM¹⁰ occurs on the following folio of the Admont MS of this work. However, Josephus, well known to the Middle Ages in the Latin version, also makes use of such a speech,¹¹ and through Apoc. 2, v. 14 the notion that Balaam indeed spoke some such words to Balak becomes rooted in Christian exegetical tradition.¹² Basing his argument on this verse, Origen accepts the story¹³ and is followed in turn by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 765 AB) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 427 B; cf. 433 C). Ambrose (PL 16, 1158 B – 59 A) places a speech in Balaam's mouth besides quoting Apoc. 2, v. 14 when discussing the O.T. narrative. Augustine (CChr 33, pp. 274-5) carefully explains that scripture does not say when Balaam gave the advice, while Quodvultdeus¹⁴ and Isidore (PL 83, 357 C) are also entirely familiar with the legend. In the case of Bruno of Segni (PL 164, 493 C) and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 907 A – 908 A) the traditional exegesis of the book of Numbers is confirmed by their works on the Apocalypse (PL 165, 617 BC; PL 169, 876 D – 877 D), and, as we should expect, other Apocalypse commentaries also adhere to the story.¹⁵ Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* may be cited as a final Latin example:

Cumque finibus Madian valediceret Balac, et suis, consilium dedit eis, ut virgines, quarum specie illudi posset, castitas, circa tentoria Israel cum exeniis venalibus mitterent, quae juvenes ad se declinantes, iterum sibi allicere laborarent, ut eos transgredi leges patrias facerent, et deos colerent alienos, ut sic Deo suo irato eis, vel ad modicum tempus humiliarentur Deo enim eis propitio, nec bella, nec pestis aliqua eos corripere. (PL 198, 1239 C)

An extremely interesting vernacular parallel occurs in the eleventh-century Old English translation of Numbers. The translator's usual procedure throughout this book is to select only the essential verses from each chapter, often with drastic abridgement of the Vulgate text. However, when he reaches Num. 24-25, the lack of explicit motivation between the two chapters which we have already discussed causes him to adopt the thoroughly unusual practice of inserting a few lines of his own at the opening of Num. 25 to explain the difficulty:

Hit stent on oðrum bocum, þæt Balaam swa ðeah tæhte þam cyningce hu he cuman mihte þæt he hi beswice. 7 he eac swa dyde; he beswac hi swa, þæt he sette wifmen æt his hæðengylde gehende ðam folce, þær hi on locodon.¹⁶

A MHG sermon for Palm Sunday in Grieshaber's collection also ascribes to Balaam a speech in which the advice is given.¹⁷ Two further vernacular examples are a sermon edited by Schönbach¹⁸ and Rudolf von Ems's *Weltchronik*,¹⁹ the latter probably using Peter Comestor's work.²⁰

The legend of Balaam's evil advice to Balak is so generally accepted in the Middle Ages that we cannot say how the MHG poet came by his knowledge of it. However, it is just this widespread acquaintance with the story which seems to suggest that the VBal account is based less on an inference independently

drawn from biblical allusions, as previous critics have implied by quoting the sources in the Vulgate,²¹ than on a familiarity with the traditional exegesis of Balaam's behaviour.

NOTES

- ¹ *in exodo* would appear to be an error without explanation. Cf. Diemer, Anm. p. 28; Scherer, QF 7 (1875), p. 49; de Boor, *Mittelalter: Texte und Zeugnisse* I (1965), p. 223 n.
- ² Scherer, *ibid.*, followed by de Boor, loc. cit.
- ³ Münscher, Diss. p. 125.
- ⁴ Cf. Num. 25, v. 7; Diemer, Anm. p. 28.
- ⁵ Cf. also Micah 6, v. 5 which could conceivably be read as an allusion to this counsel of Balaam rather than to his prophecy in Num. 23-24.
- ⁶ Cf. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John*, I (1920), p. 63: 'a not unnatural inference'.
- ⁷ Cf. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, III (1911), pp. 380-2.
- ⁸ *De Vita Mosis* I, 53-55, ed. Cohn and Wendland, IV, p. 189 ff. Cf. also *De Fortitudine* 7, *ibid.*, V, p. 275 ff.
- ⁹ Ed. Kisch, pp. 161-2.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Bachofer, *BGDSL* 84 (1962), pp. 123-41.
- ¹¹ *Ant. iud.* IV, vi, 6, ed. Blatt, p. 278.
- ¹² Ginzberg, *op. cit.* VI (1928), pp. 134-5, n. 785, suggests that this verse presupposes the Rabbinic legend. The use of *iniquitatis* in 2 Pet. 2, v. 15 may also allude to it.
- ¹³ GCS 30, pp. 185-7; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 234-5 and PG 12, 583-4 B.
- ¹⁴ *Lib. promiss. et praedict. Dei*, ed. Braun, p. 346.
- ¹⁵ E.g. Ps.-Alcuin (PL 100, 1105 A); Berengaudus (PL 17, 780 CD); Haimo of Auxerre (PL 117, 973 CD).
- ¹⁶ *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford (1922), p. 330.
- ¹⁷ *Deutsche Predigten*, II (1846), p. 131. Cf. below, pp. 176-7.
- ¹⁸ *Altdeutsche Predigten*, I (1886), p. 14, lines 11 ff.
- ¹⁹ Lines 14, 795 ff. (ed. Ehrismann). Cf. the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus*, lines 4043-4070 (ed. Morris), and Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*, lines 6175 ff. (ed. David).
- ²⁰ Cf. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, Schlußband* (1935), p. 33.
- ²¹ Cf. Scherer, QF 7 (1875), p. 49; Münscher, Diss. p. 125.

31. THE ISRAELITE ENCAMPMENT AND THE LIST OF TRIBES

Scherer correctly observed¹ that the account of the Israelite camp in the VBal (D. 77, 2 – 78, 20) follows Num. 2, vv. 3-31. However, there is no justification for his assertion that the central position of the Levites (D. 78, 15-20) has no biblical authority,² since this is clearly implied by Num. 2, v. 17, where they follow the eastern and southern encampments but precede those to the west and north. The VBal merely varies the biblical narrative by first naming the tribes at all four points of the compass (D. 77, 2 – 78, 15) and concluding with the reference to the Levites in the centre.³ In Num. 2, v. 17 they are said to carry the tabernacle; by changing this to the ark of the Covenant (D. 78, 18-19) and naming the Levites at the end, the poet makes a skilful transition to his next subject, the contents of the ark (D. 78, 21 ff.), which in turn leads to a further emphasis on the importance of the Levites in the context of Aaron's rod (D. 79, 20 ff.).

Each of the cardinal points of the compass is accorded a single MS section of almost equal length. Since the directions east (D. 77, 10; cf. Num. 2, v. 3), south (D. 77, 13; cf. Num. 2, v. 10) and west (D. 77, 25; cf. Num. 2, v. 18) are explicitly named in accordance with the Vulgate, there is every reason, including rhythmical considerations, to follow Scherer's emendation⁴ of *Vorden* (D. 78, 6) to *Norden* (cf. Num. 2, v. 25), even though Münscher was sceptical.⁵

Another textual crux is contained in the form *pizeclicheme* (D. 77, 10). Here Münscher⁶ notes that Lexer's dictionary accepts the meaning *beißig*,⁷ but he adds that this fits the context badly, and proposes *bezeichnenlich*. This is indeed more probable, and besides the similarity to the MS form the suggestion that the disposition of the camp bears an exegetical significance will help us to explain why the poet was so concerned with a list of the tribes (D. 76, 12 – 77, 2) and the description of Num. 2 that he allowed these matters to occupy a quarter of his work.

The *Glossa Ordinaria* on Num. 2 supplies us with an abridged version of Rabanus Maurus's commentary on this chapter. The fundamental notion of the interpretation is anagogical: the tabernacle in the centre signifies the Church, while the arrangement of the tribes pertains to the differing states of her members at the general judgment:

Quid autem significat tabernaculum in hoc loco, nisi Ecclesiam tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti? Duodecim principes autem erga tabernaculum castra metantes, patriarchas sive apostolos significant, quorum precibus et doctrina munitur Ecclesia. Sed et illud quod consociatione quadam tribuum et connexionem castrorum, positio et metationis ordo scribitur, pertinet sine

dubio ad aliquem in resurrectione mortuorum statum. (PL 108, 602 CD)⁸

Rabanus then proceeds to a detailed exposition of the eastern (PL 108, 602 D – 603 B), southern (PL 108, 603 C),⁹ northern (PL 108, 603 CD)¹⁰ and western (PL 108, 603 D – 604 A)¹¹ parts of the camp. The *Glossa Ordinaria* treatment of the eastern quarter selects from Rabanus the significant detail that Judah is the first of the tribes to be named, from which the obvious conclusion is drawn:

His tribubus Judas praesidet, scilicet regalis tribus, de qua ortus est Christus, humani generis rex et salvator. (PL 113, 385 C)

The christological associations of this tribe, whose supremacy, especially under King David, is indicated in Gen. 49, v. 9, are largely derived from the traditional interpretation of the lion of Judah mentioned in the Apocalypse.¹² Another detail in Rabanus's commentary on Num. 2 with strong apocalyptic associations is the reference to Antichrist (PL 108, 603 D).¹³

The same eschatological elements appear in all the interpretations of the chapter. In his third homily on Numbers,¹⁴ Origen linked the Israelite encampment with those approaching the heavenly Jerusalem of Heb. 12, v. 18 ff.; the preceding homily, where the subject is broached, is quoted by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 385 BC).¹⁵ The commentary on Numbers of the Pseudo-Bede emphasises the hegemony of Judah (PL 91, 359 B). But our most striking evidence of the exegetical tradition to which the MHG poet alludes is provided by Rupert of Deutz, who connects the four parts of the encampment with the four walls of the heavenly Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, where the names of the twelve tribes are carved on the lintels of the gates, three at each point of the compass as in the camp (PL 167, 839-840 D). F. Ohly recently discussed one of the exegetical traditions of this aspect of the heavenly city in order to justify a textual emendation of the Vorau *Himmlisches Jerusalem*.¹⁶ His study refers to Rupert's commentary on Apoc. 21, vv. 12-13 as important evidence of the tradition,¹⁷ and it is the same passage which confirms this exegete's association of the camp of Num. 2 with the anagogical context. On this occasion Rupert explicitly mentions the description in Numbers (PL 169, 1196 CD), and, as in his O.T. commentary, illustrates his interpretation by citing Cant. 6, v. 3 (PL 169, 1196 D; cf. PL 167, 839 D – 840 A) and lines 845-849 of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (PL 169, 1197 B; cf. PL 167, 840 B).¹⁸

The other edited commentaries on the Apocalypse written before the thirteenth century do not resemble Rupert in his direct reference to the O.T. encampment. This does not mean that his work is a more probable source of inspiration to the VBal than that of other exegetes, for a comparison of the *Glossa Ordinaria* treatment of the Apocalypse verses (PL 114, 746 D – 747 B) with the commentary of Rabanus and the Gloss on the four quarters of the camp clearly shows that here too the parallel is very close, even though it is not explicitly stated as in Rupert's commentaries. Indeed, the VBal seems to prefer the tradition of Rabanus and the

Gloss which establishes the association at a purely implicit level.

The influence of Num. 2 on the exegesis described by Ohly helps to explain a related problem raised in his articles: the different orders in which the cardinal points are treated in the various works on the heavenly Jerusalem. Thus Apoc. 21, v. 13 has the sequence east, north, south, west, but in Prudentius,¹⁹ Honorius of Autun²⁰ and Rupert of Deutz²¹ we find the order east, south, west, north. This is identical with that of Num. 2 followed by the VBal. In Rupert the influence of Num. 2 is beyond question, for his reference to the chapter (PL 169, 1196 D) leads to the same sequence in his exegesis (PL 169, 1197 AB). The exegetical association of north with old age or with Antichrist²² may also result in this direction being placed in the final position.

There is, as Ohly notes, a further discrepancy: the MHG *Himmlisches Jerusalem* follows the order east, south, north, west.²³ Now this, as we have seen, is also found in Rabanus Maurus's commentary on Num. 2 (PL 108, 603 BCD), though the *Glossa Ordinaria*, adhering more strictly to the order of the verses in the Vulgate, returns to the correct sequence of the chapter (PL 113, 385 C – 386 A). It is interesting to observe that, in addition to his order based on Num. 2, Rupert of Deutz twice misquotes Apoc. 21, v. 13 as 'ab oriente portae tres, ab austro portae tres, ab aquilone portae tres, et ab occasu portae tres' (PL 169, 1196 C; 1197 A).²⁴ The conclusion must be that in addition to the mutual influence of the two biblical passages arising from their exegetical correspondence we must still reckon with lapses of memory on the part of the various authors, and with textual contamination.²⁵

The importance for medieval exegesis of the disposition of the tribes about the tabernacle as described in Num. 2 is confirmed by the evidence of MS illustration. In a study of medieval Christian examples of the seven-branched candlestick of the tabernacle, which is also described in the VBal,²⁶ P. Bloch²⁷ has drawn attention to an illustration of the tabernacle and its contents on fol. 3^v–4^r of the Codex Amiatinus²⁸ produced in Northumbria under Abbot Ceolfrid (690-716), a copy of the lost Codex Grandior perhaps known to Bede.²⁹ Cassiodorus claimed responsibility for the addition of illustrations of the tabernacle of Moses and the temple of Solomon to the earlier MS.³⁰ Bloch's partial reproduction of the plan of the tabernacle from the Codex Amiatinus³¹ clearly shows, within the outer courtyard, the numbers of the sons of the Levites Gerson, Caath and Merari with the corresponding points of the compass west, south and north named in Greek, following the separate list of the Levites in Num. 3 (vv. 22-23, 28-29, 34-35). Of particular interest for this study of the VBal, however, is the edge of the MS with the area outside the courtyard, for here the twelve tribes are named and, as in the MHG poem, there are three on each side according to the tradition of Num. 2, while each is followed by the abbreviation N. (*numerati sunt*, cf. Num. 2, v. 11 etc.) and the corresponding numeral from Num. 2.³² These figures are omitted from the vernacular poem which, however, follows the Vulgate in naming the

leader of each tribe. The illustration places the first-named tribe in each group of three in the centre of the corresponding side of the tabernacle; modern critics follow the medieval exegetes in regarding these central tribes as the most important in their groups.³³

Bloch also reproduces³⁴ a similar illustration of the tabernacle of Moses from a twelfth-century MS in Vienna.³⁵ Here a name has been added over many of the columns bordering the tabernacle on each side. These names correspond in order to the forty-two stations in the wilderness listed in Num. 33 which trace the progress of the Hebrews in their journey from Egypt as far as the River Jordan and constitute an important element in the traditional allegorical interpretation of the Exodus.³⁶ The significance of this illustration for our present purposes lies in the arrangement of the sequence of names which begins at the north-east corner of the tabernacle and moves round it in a clockwise direction. The sequence thus adheres to the order east, south, west, north which, as we have seen, corresponds to the relative honour accorded to each position in Num. 2. Hence the evidence of this MS illustration suggests that this particular order was regarded as a matter of some importance by the artist who took care to follow it even when introducing a different exegetical tradition, and this fact confirms our earlier observation that it was sometimes substituted for the differing sequence of the four cardinal points in the context of the heavenly Jerusalem of the Apocalypse.

The description of the encampment in the VBal is preceded by a list of the twelve tribes of Israel (Diemer 76, 12 – 77, 2). Here we find further support for our hypothesis that by adding this information to his work the poet alludes to the traditional exegesis of Num. 2, which¹ is concerned fundamentally with the entry of the blessed into the heavenly Jerusalem at the general judgment.

Scherer criticised the account on the grounds that it purports to list Jacob's twelve sons according to their ages (D. 76, 14-18) but in reality does no such thing; the information in Gen. 29–35 is simply not followed, for Reuben is displaced by Judah as the oldest and Dan is omitted. The inclusion of Manasseh, who is not named in Gen. 29–35, could be explained by the later subdivision of Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48, vv. 8-22), but in this case the list is illogical, since Joseph occurs none the less whereas Ephraim does not.³⁷ There are other divergences from the Genesis order.

Scherer concludes that the poet is relying on memory, in contrast to the subsequent description of the encampment which follows Num. 2 with accuracy. This would indeed explain the suggestion that Judah is the oldest son of Jacob, but the sequence of the twelve tribes can be otherwise accounted for. Because of the treatment of the camp which follows, we might have expected the same order as occurs in that context, especially in view of its repetition in Num. 7 and 10. Alternatively, two different sequences in Num. 1, vv. 1-15 and 1, v. 20 ff. could have been used, but neither provides an adequate source. Apart from these and Gen. 29–35, there are fifteen other arrangements of the tribes listed in the O.T. of

which none recurs.³⁸ In no case do we find the same twelve names as are mentioned by the VBal, or in anything approaching the same order. For our source we must turn to the single N.T. list which occurs in Apoc. 7, vv. 5-8. Here we have a complete parallel, except that Gad and Asher, commonly associated as the two sons of Zilpah (Gen. 30, vv. 9-13), change places with Naphtali and Manasseh.

This minor discrepancy may well be a lapse of memory, but it is clear that the German poet based his account on the apocalyptic list of tribes rather than that of any historical O.T. context. The association with the exegetical background to the encampment linked with Apoc. 21, vv. 12-13 is now clear: again we are dealing with the blessed from each tribe who stand in the presence of God. In Rupert of Deutz's commentary on Apoc. 7 the tribes are interpreted according to the traditional meanings accorded to their names; and a significant link with the exegesis of the twelve gates of the heavenly Jerusalem lies in the emphasis placed on the messianic supremacy of Judah and the omission of Dan because of his connexion with Antichrist:

'Ex tribu Juda duodecim millia signati', etc. Convenienter et a Juda inchoat, ex qua tribu ortus est Dominus noster; et Dan praetermisit, ex qua dicitur Antichristus esse nascendus, sicut scriptum est: 'Fiat Dan coluber in via, cerastes in semita, mordens unguis equi ut cadat ascensor ejus retro' (Gen. 49, v. 17); quia non ordinem terrenae generationis, sed juxta interpretationem nominum virtutes Ecclesiae decrevit exponere. . . Ejicitur itaque ex hoc loco Dan, ut ostendatur Antichristus ex omni numero ejiciendus sanctorum. Imo sicut iste de hoc catalogo spiritali est ejectus, sic omnes Israelitae, qui non ex fide, sed tantum ex carne sunt Abrahae, ab omni numero et coetu filiorum et haereditate ejusdem patris Abrahae sive Israhel extorres judicantur. (PL 169, 962 C – 964 C)³⁹

By introducing his list of the twelve tribes and a description of the Israelite encampment the author of the VBal alludes to their exegetical association with the tribes of the faithful entering the heavenly Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, the name of each tribe of Israel inscribed above one of its twelve gates. He thus contributes to the treatment of the exodus a striking analogical dimension which received no comparable emphasis in the largely tropological VM, apart from the introduction of the jewels from the Vorau *Himmlisches Jerusalem*. Again the influence of this apocalyptic poem, so apparent in the description of the tabernacle, should not be underrated, though it seems that the eschatological material was familiar enough for an implicit allusion to suffice in the VBal.⁴⁰ The messianic primacy of Judah is once again referred to in this poem in the context of the rod of Aaron which occurs shortly afterwards:

D. 80, 14 wande ime kunt was worden.
 daz da uore was uirborgen.
 daz ein mait gebare.
 under weleherne geslahte ovh daz ware.

So self-evident is the exegesis here⁴¹ that the last line of the quotation refers not to

the Levites, whose importance is indicated in the original O.T. context (Num. 17), but to Judah, the tribe of Jesse and of Christ, which also heads the list in D. 76, 16 and D. 77, 2.

NOTES

- 1 QF 7 (1875), pp. 49-50.
- 2 Ibid., p. 50: 'davon steht Num. 2, 63 (sic) nichts'.
- 3 The Vulgate account also concludes with a reference to the Levites in Num. 2, v. 33.
- 4 Scherer, loc. cit.
- 5 Diss., p. 125.
- 6 Diss., p. 11.
- 7 I (1872), col. 293.
- 8 Cf. *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 385 C.
- 9 Cf. *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 385 C.
- 10 Cf. *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 386 A.
- 11 Cf. *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 385 D – 386 A.
- 12 Apoc. 5, v. 5, cf. *Glossa Ordinaria* PL 114, 720 B, and above, p. 134. See also the interpretation of the lion in versions of the *Physiologus*, e.g. Wilhelm (ed.), *Denkmäler deutscher Prosa*, pp. 4-5; *ibid.*, *Kommentar*, pp. 17-18; Maurer (ed.), *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, I, pp. 175-7.
- 13 Apoc. 13, v. 1 ff., cf. *Glossa Ordinaria* PL 114, 733 B ff.
- 14 GCS 30, p. 17, lines 11-19.
- 15 Cf. GCS 30, pp. 9-12.
- 16 *ZDA* 86 (1955-6), pp. 210-5: 90 (1960-1), pp. 36-40. *Himmliches Jerusalem* ed. Maurer, lines 61-94; see also Henschel and Pretzel, *Die kleinen Denkmäler der Vorauer Hs.*, pp. 96-9, where Ohly's emendation of *tugente* to *jugente* in line 71 (*ZDA* 86, p. 211) is accepted; cf. lines 98, 128 and Ohly, *ZDA* 86, pp. 214-5.
- 17 *ZDA* 86, p. 211.
- 18 See Ohly, *ZDA* 90, p. 37.
- 19 Ohly, *ZDA* 90, p. 36.
- 20 Ohly, *ibid.*, pp. 36-7.
- 21 Ohly, *ZDA* 86, p. 211; 90, p. 36.
- 22 Cf. Honorius of Autun, PL 172, 351 D. When discussing Dan's connexion with Antichrist, Gregory the Great mentions the tribe's position in Num. 2, v. 25 (PL 76, 596 C – 597 B). On the relative honour accorded to the four positions in Num. 2, see Gray, *Expositor*, 6th series, 5 (1902), pp. 237 ff.
- 23 *ZDA* 86, p. 211.
- 24 But in his commentary on Num. 2 Rupert quotes this verse correctly (PL 167, 840 B); similarly the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 114, 747 AB.
- 25 Editions of the commentaries more reliable than those of the PL would be required for a full examination of this problem. On the allegorical tradition of the four cardinal points, see also Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, pp. 87-98.
- 26 Cf. above, pp. 112-8.
- 27 *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 23 (1961), pp. 55-190.
- 28 Florence, *Bibl. Laur. Amiat. I*. Bloch, pp. 77-9.
- 29 Cf. the *Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo*, 37, in Plummer (ed.), *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, I, p. 402; II, p. 376.
- 30 Cf. *Expositio in Psalmum LXXXVI, I*, CChr 98, pp. 789-790.
- 31 Bloch, op. cit., p. 78.
- 32 Of the numbers which appear in Bloch's reproduction, the only discrepancy from the Vulgate is the figure 42,500 for Ephraim (Num. 2, v. 19: 40,500). However, some variation in different biblical texts is hardly a matter for surprise: thus the very next figure mentioned, 32,200 (Manasseh, Num. 2, v. 21), appears in different MSS of the LXX variously as 32,200, 32,300 and 32,400. The account of Rudolf von Ems in *Weltchronik* 13060-13177 (ed. Ehrismann, Berlin, 1915) gives figures which on several occasions show minor deviations from the Vulgate.

- ³³ Cf. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*, pp. 16-20, especially the diagram, p. 17.
- ³⁴ Op. cit., p. 81.
- ³⁵ *Nat. Bibl. Cod.* 10.
- ³⁶ Cf. above, p. 48.
- ³⁷ QF 7, p. 49.
- ³⁸ Gen. 46, 49; Exod. 1; Num. 13, 26, 34; Deut. 27, 33; Josh. 13 ff.; Judg. 5; Ezek. 48; 1 Par. 2, vv. 1-2; 2, v. 3 - 8, v. 1; 12; 27.
- ³⁹ See Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (1953), p. 69. For allusions to Dan and Antichrist, cf. Ambrose, CSEL 32, ii, pp. 142-5; Isidore, PL 83, 107 A; Rabanus Maurus, PL 107, 661 D - 662 C; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 557 A-D. As early as the second century Irenaeus explains why 'non annumeratur tribus haec in Apocalypsi cum his quae salvantur' (PG 7, 1205 B). Cf. Hippolytus, PG 10, 737-8 B.
- ⁴⁰ A detail such as the association of Dan with Antichrist occurs in Frau Ava's poetry in the Vora MS; cf. Kienast, *ZDA* 74 (1937), p. 11. See also *Wiener Genesis* 2668-74, 5715-6 (ed. Dollmayr), and the MHG *Speculum Ecclesiae*, p. 143, lines 12-16 (ed. Mellbourn).
- ⁴¹ Cf. below, pp. 197 ff.

32. THE ARK OF THE COVENANT AND ITS CONTENTS

In the description of the tabernacle and the ark of the Covenant in the VM there are two couplets which closely resemble lines used in the VBal version of the same descriptions. The first case concerns the frames of the tabernacle:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| D. 56, 16 | di sule dar inne.
di livhten sam ein gimme. |
| D. 81, 11 | di suele dar inne.
di lûhten same div gimme. |

While the *tabulae*, *vectes* and *columnae* of Exod. 26 ff. are decorated with silver and gold, there is no direct comparison to a jewel as in the MHG.¹ This confirms the evidence of the textual parallel that one poet borrows from the other.

The other passages refer to the contents of the ark of the Covenant.²

- | | |
|----------|--|
| D. 58, 5 | daz waren div uir heilctum.
uon div hiz dev arche p ^s piciatorium. |
| D. 81, 3 | daz was daz dritte heilctum.
danne hiz div arche p ^s piciatoriū. |

According to the VBal, the three sacred objects in the ark are the manna, the tablets with the Law and Aaron's rod. The VM version names four, adding to the above *ein eimber der was golt rot* (D. 58, 4). This is the jar in which the sample of the manna was to be kept, as described in Exod. 16, vv. 32-34. The presence of the tablets of the Law³ and of Aaron's rod⁴ in the ark is also mentioned in the O.T., but a more likely source for all the references is Heb. 9, v. 4 where they occur together:⁵

(Tabernaculum) aureum habens thuribulum, et arcam testamenti circumtectam ex omni parte auro, in qua urna aurea habens manna, et virga Aaron, quae fronderat, et tabulae testamenti.

This verse not only names all the objects found in the MHG but says, like the VM though unlike Exod. 16, vv. 33-34, that the urn containing the manna was gilded.⁶ It further explains the fact that four objects are counted in the VM as opposed to three only in the VBal, which is due merely to the interpretation of *urna aurea habens manna* as two distinct objects in one case and one only in the other. No further significance need be attached to the difference in the number.⁷

The similarity of the second pair of couplets again suggests direct borrowing. This is confirmed as before by a factor common to both vernacular versions but not present in the biblical original, in this case the misunderstanding of the word

propitiatorium.⁸ This name is not given to the ark as a whole because of the sacred objects it contains, as the German would seem to suggest, but refers to the 'throne' or 'oracle' (A.V.: mercy-seat) surmounting the ark.⁹

That the VBal is to some extent an appendix to the VM was noted in general terms by earlier critics.¹⁰ These textual parallels corroborate our previous observations which illustrate that the ark of the covenant and its contents are crucial in establishing the close relationship between the two poems. The study of the theological and legendary background to the manna has shown the interpretations of the VM and VBal to be complementary,¹¹ while this is confirmed by a textual parallel.¹² The strong N.T. undertones in the VM discussion of the tablets of the Law recur with their reintroduction in the VBal.¹³ The interpretation of the rod of Aaron, the third object in the ark, perhaps links the VBal and VMar.¹⁴

No less important as a unifying element is the ark itself. Just as the candlestick is not mentioned in the VM but is considered in the VBal,¹⁵ so we have observed the omission of any allegory of the ark from its expected place in the longer poem.¹⁶ Even in the VBal no explicit interpretation occurs, but some indication that the poet has the traditional exegesis in mind may be found in the lines:

D. 79, 18 unserre arche ist si heilctſm.
wir haben ir ere groze unde rſm.

Here *si* refers to the Virgin Mary, signified by the manna in the previous lines. A similar passage occurs soon afterwards:

D. 80, 20 gezeirde ist si der archen.
wir mugen ir unsich trosten starche.¹⁷

Again the poet speaks of the Virgin Mary, prefigured on this occasion by the rod of Aaron. He seems to imply that the ark signifies the soul of the believer who derives strength from its Marian content.

The commonest exegetical tradition finds in the ark a figure of the person of Christ, or else his body or incarnation. Hence the contents signify various attributes of Christ. Examples of this occur in Alcuin (PL 100, 1071 BC), Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 141 B; 143 C), the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 267 C) following Bede (PL 91, 404 ABC), Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 700 CD), Richard of St Victor (PL 175, 656 D) and Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 864 D).¹⁸ However, there are several alternative interpretations, among them the Church (Bruno of Segni, PL 164, 308 C),¹⁹ Christ's teaching,²⁰ and Augustine's *secretum dei* (CChr 33, p. 121). Individual exegetes do not always adhere consistently to a single explanation. In the context of the return of the ark to Jerusalem (2 Kings 6) Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 1191 D – 1192 A) interprets it as the faithful, while Gregory the Great speaks of *mens justi* (PL 75, 691 D – 692 A). Elsewhere Gregory associates the ark containing rod and manna with the heart of the good cleric who tempers firmness with sweetness (PL 76, 144 A).²¹ Bruno of Segni varies his earlier exegesis with *sanctorum cordibus*, while the tablets, manna and rod signify the law of the gospels,

Christ and the Virgin Mary respectively (PL 164, 310 B). This passage alone would provide an adequate basis for the VBal treatment. Pitra's collection includes an allegorical work which gives several meanings, including an association with the Virgin Mary.²² After interpreting the tabernacle as the soul, Origen describes the ark as *memoria eius* containing various faculties and virtues (GCS 29, p. 242).²³

Hence the allusive references to the ark in the two couplets quoted mirror a widespread exegetical tradition. It need occasion no surprise that its expression in our poems remains so restricted. That the interpretation is no more than an implicit suggestion is evidence that the poet was aware of the importance of the ark of the covenant in earlier commentaries and could perhaps assume his audience already familiar with the background. The presence in both poems of details related to the ark and its contents largely compensates for any lack of explicit interpretation.

Our survey of these details leads to two important conclusions. First, the treatment of the rod and manna in the VBal strengthens the Mariological aspect of the VBM, the lack of which in the VM is also remedied by the VMar.²⁴ The poet prefers to place his emphasis here rather than on any commonplace exegesis of the ark. Secondly, whether explicit or implicit, the complementary interpretations of the ark and its contents in the two poems confirm that the VBal is a sequel to the VM. The less certain position of the VMar in this plan will be considered in the appendices.²⁵

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Exod. 26, vv. 18, 25, 29-30, 32; 36, vv. 24, 26, 30, 34, 36; Scherer, QF 7 (1875), p. 50; Kelle, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* II, p. 119 and note. The reference to gold on the altar of incense (Exod. 30, v. 3; 37, v. 26; 39, v. 37) which immediately precedes the passage in the VM (D. 56, 13-16) may have suggested to the VBal poet the additional detail of the gold and silver on the pillars (D. 81, 13-15) not found in the VM. Cf. also the general description of the tabernacle in the VBal' (D. 81, 6-11) which is reminiscent of VM D. 55, 24-28. No allegorical interpretation of the columns appears in either poem; see, however, above, p. 108.
- 2 Cf. Diemer, Anm. p. 29; Scherer, loc. cit.
- 3 Exod. 25, vv. 16, 21; 30, v. 6; Deut. 10, v. 5; 31, v. 26; 3 Kings 8. v. 9.
- 4 Num. 17, v. 10.
- 5 Cf. Münscher, Diss. p. 123.
- 6 Similarly in a sermon ed. Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten*, II (1846), p. 117. This work also names a copy of the book of Deuteronomy among the contents: cf. Peter Comestor, PL 198, 1170 BC; Rudolf von Ems's *Weltchronik*, lines 11,886 - 11, 920 (ed. Ehrismann); Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*, lines 4816-26 (ed. David).
- 7 Cf. Kelle, op. cit., p. 119.
- 8 Exod. 25, vv. 17, 20, 22; 26, v. 34; 30, v. 6, etc.
- 9 Cf. the correct identification in the sermon ed. Grieshaber, op. cit., p. 118.
- 10 Scherer, QF 7 (1875), pp. 50-1; Roediger, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum* 1 (1875), p. 69; Münscher, Diss. pp. 125, 139, 153; Ehrismann, II, 1, p. 98; Steinger, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* I (1933), col. 331.
- 11 Cf. above, pp. 55 ff.
- 12 Cf. above, p. 56.
- 13 Cf. above, p. 141.
- 14 Cf. below, p. 197.

- ¹⁵ Scherer, *op. cit.*, p. 51. There is likewise no exegesis of the coverings of the tabernacle in D. 81, 5-14, since these have been treated in detail by the VM.
- ¹⁶ Cf. above, p. 92.
- ¹⁷ Cf. Bachofer, *Diss.* p. 179: 'wir können von ihr starken Trost empfangen'.
- ¹⁸ Cf. also Garnerius of St Victor (PL 193, 455 A) and Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten*, II (1846), p. 126.
- ¹⁹ Cf. the tradition relating to the ark of Noah, e.g. *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 105 D from Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 229 C; Hugh of St Victor, PL 176, 629 D ff.
- ²⁰ Cf. Grieshaber, *ibid.*, I (1844), p. 23.
- ²¹ A passage which has perhaps influenced the VM. See above, p. 136.
- ²² *Spic. Soles*. III, p. 211; cf. p. 451.
- ²³ See also Ambrose, CSEL 32, i, p. 424. On the place of the contents of the ark in the allegory of the church-building, cf. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, p. 166.
- ²⁴ Cf. Ehrismann, II, 1, p. 98. An implicit Marian typology may be intended in the VM, D. 47, 2-4.
- ²⁵ Cf. Polheim, *Die deutschen Gedichte*, p. XI. The most recent opponents of an overall plan in the VBM are Menhardt, *BGDSL* 78 (1956), pp. 412 ff., and Bachofer, *Diss.*, Vorwort pp. V-VII.

33. THE CONCLUSION OF THE VORAU BALAAM

Though previous critics have all noted the abrupt ending of the VBal, opinions vary as to whether the poem reaches a deliberate, though hurried, conclusion at D. 85, 3, or whether the Vorau text breaks off incomplete. The differences of opinion need occasion no surprise, for the evidence is very evenly divided between the two possibilities.

Apart from the important thematic argument that Balaam's prophecy of Christ was by far the most significant aspect of the seer's history and is therefore to be expected in a medieval poem in which he appears — especially a work containing allegorical interpretation — the evidence of a fragmentary conclusion is largely based on the MS. Scherer was followed in his belief that the end of the VBal is missing¹ by Münscher, who thought that either a planned conclusion was lost or else it was never added, and the *Wahrheit* fills the space left on fol. 96 by either contingency.² Bachofer also suggested that the VBal, like the VM,³ is unfinished; the later scribe found the ending on the worn folio illegible⁴ and substituted the *Wahrheit* from elsewhere.⁵

However, Ehrismann, arguing from the content of the poem, merely emphasised the abruptness of its conclusion. By isolating the last six lines (D. 84, 26 – 85, 3) from the rest of the poem in his analysis⁶ he underlines the fact that they read like an afterthought — as if the poet concluded his treatment of the candlestick and then realised the Balaam episode had been abandoned incomplete. Ehrismann suggested that the poet omitted any elaboration of Balaam's prophecy because the O.T. allusions to Christ's birth had already received sufficient emphasis in the VMar⁷ and earlier in the VBal with the exegesis of Aaron's rod.⁸ Since the poem is merely an appendix to the VM, further comment on the subject was unnecessary. The intentional nature of the ending is indicated by D. 84, 23-25.⁹ Menhardt also seems to imply that only the VM and not the VBal is incomplete.¹⁰

In support of Ehrismann's view it must be added that the emphasis on the burlesque comedy with the ass rather than on the serious exegetical background to Balaam's story¹¹ is to some extent paralleled by the liturgical plays of the *Prophetæ*, where his part is expanded into a short drama with the angel and the recalcitrant beast.¹² Another comparable treatment is provided by a thirteenth-century MHG sermon, where Christ's use of the ass on Palm Sunday is associated with Balaam's ass; however, instead of describing Balaam's prophetic rôle as we might expect, the preacher ignores it and instead elaborates at considerable length the sensational seduction of the Israelites by the Moabite women, instigated by Balaam. The same

episode appears in the VBal, which likewise rejects the prophecy in favour of the more popular appeal of the prophet.¹³

Though the two lines D. 84, 28 – 85, 2 refer to one verse from Balaam's prophecy (Num. 23, v. 10),¹⁴ the following couplet which concludes the poem seems to summarise his words as a whole and to suggest that no other portion of them was to be translated. This being the case, the question arises as to why these words in particular should be emphasised, since they are not directly related to the prophecy of Christ.¹⁵ However, two vernacular MHG sermons indicate the common tropological interpretation of Num. 23, v. 10 when the verse is considered alone outside the prophetic context: Balaam typifies those who wish for a righteous death, but are nevertheless controlled by their evil passions.¹⁶ Gregory the Great (PL 76, 1132 C – 1133 A; cf. 903 C), quoted by the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 422 A), and Rupert of Deutz (PL 167, 898 AB) supply close parallels.

That the verse should have this strong exegetical association when considered in isolation supports Ehrismann's suggestion that the prophecy as a whole was deliberately omitted. If the VBal is complete, the interpretation may have been intended at an implicit level, like so much of the exegesis of the work; the rushed ending has detracted from the emphasis on the underlying tropology. If, on the other hand, the text is fragmentary, the exegesis of the single verse would have followed in the original or completed version, probably occupying only a few more lines.

In spite of this exegetical evidence, the possibility remains that the prophecy as a whole should have concluded the VBal; the views of Münscher and Bachofer regarding the MS position of the *Wahrheit* are too important to be overlooked.¹⁷ The conclusion must be that, while the evidence of the content allows us to regard the VBal in its extant form as complete, or very nearly so, further investigation of the structure of the poem would be necessary to throw fresh light on the problem. Such an examination is described in Appendix II below.

NOTES

1 QF 7 (1875), pp. 49, 51.

2 Diss. p. 153. Cf. A. Bayer, *Der Reim von Stammsilbe auf Endsilbe im Frühmittelhochdeutschen* (1934), p. 98.

3 All critics agree that the VM breaks off sharply (cf. Scherer, QF 7, p. 46; Ehrismann, pp. 95, 97-8; Menhardt, *BGDSL T* 78, pp. 414-6; Bachofer, Diss. p. VI); the problem remains as to whether the work reaches a fragmentary or a deliberate, though hurried, end. The typological plan proposed by Ehrismann supports the latter view, since the allegorical background makes the return to the Promised Land with the fall of Jericho a natural conclusion. In this case the final couplet was perhaps borrowed from the poem *Von der Siebenzahl* (cf. D. 69, 4-6 and *De Septem Sigillis: Von der Siebenzahl* 39-40, ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen*, I, p. 349; Scherer, QF 7, p. 48; Menhardt, *BGDSL T* 78, p. 420) because it supplied the conclusion by the simplest and quickest means. Alternatively, the borrowing could be seen as part of a later scribe's attempt to round off an unfinished poem. Here it must be added that the last MS section of the VM (D. 69, 3-6) is unusually short; only five other sections of four lines occur in the whole extant text of the work.

- 4 Cf. Diemer, *Einleitung*, p. V; Menhardt, *BGDSL* 78 (1956), pp. 395-6, 411 n. 2; Polheim, *Die deutschen Gedichte*, p. XI.
- 5 Diss. p. VI and n. 1. The *Wahrheit* may itself be incomplete or contain transposed passages: cf. Menhardt, *BGDSLH* 55 (1931), pp. 213-23. Henschel and Pretzel reject the position of the final stanza (*Die kleinen Denkmäler*, pp. 60-1).
- 6 *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, II, 1, p. 96.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 97-8.
- 10 *BGDSL* 78, pp. 412 ff.
- 11 Cf. Scherer, *QF* 7, p. 49; Ehrismann, II, 1, p. 96.
- 12 Cf. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II (1903), pp. 54-5, 72.
- 13 Grieshaber, *Deutsche Predigten*, II (1846), pp. 131-2; cf. above, p. 163.
- 14 Cf. Scherer, *QF* 7, p. 49; Münscher, Diss. p. 125.
- 15 Though Origen, followed by Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 735 D – 736 A) and the *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 422 AB), associates them with the Magi (GCS 30, p. 136).
- 16 Cf. Grieshaber, op. cit., I (1844), p. 110; Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten*, I (1886), p. 14. In the second case Balaam's evil counsel is mentioned in this context, cf. above, p. 163.
- 17 On the dangers of seeking an exegetical significance for every detail of the narrative, cf. the criticisms of Süniger's work on the Wiener and Millstätter versions of the *Genesis* made by Smits (ed.), *Die frühmittelhochdeutsche 'Wiener Genesis'*, pp. 58-9, and Wells, *The Modern Language Review* 62 (1967), pp. 161-2.

Conclusions

CONCLUSIONS

It can be hoped that this investigation of the sources of the VM and VBal has served both to elucidate difficult passages of the text and in straightforward passages to reveal dimensions of meaning not immediately apparent, besides describing exegetical traditions which are of considerable interest in themselves. Many of the preceding pages have been concerned with unconnected studies of different passages of the two poems, and the various conclusions have been summarised at the end of each chapter. Nevertheless, certain results have emerged with a consistency which shows them to be valid for the works as a whole.

The chief of these concerns the origin and nature of the allegorization, especially in the VM, where it appears likely that the *Glossa Ordinaria* supplied the poet with his material. Since the Gloss is merely a compilation of numerous earlier writings, it would be rash to conclude that its use is beyond question or that it represents the only exegetical source. However, the examination of the background of each allegory in the first part of the study showed that none of the patristic or medieval exegetes considered consistently supplied all the details in the vernacular poem, whereas the Gloss contains a selection of material which is almost always adequate for the MHG poet provided that his allegorization relates to details which accurately represent the relevant context in the Vulgate. When this is not the case, as with the jewels introduced into the tabernacle (pp. 76-84) or the beasts sacrificed at the outer altar (pp. 97-100), the influence of the *Glossa Ordinaria* inevitably becomes less certain.¹

The second part of the study to some extent confirmed this conclusion, inasmuch as the Gloss could have supplied the inspiration for implicit exegesis such as the introduction of the N.T. Law (pp. 139-41) and the Joshua-Jesus typology (pp. 152-4), commonplace though these are. Some of the legendary material on such matters as Moses's birth and childhood (pp. 121-4), the twelve passages through the Red Sea (pp. 134-5) and the crossing of the Jordan (pp. 155-8) is included in the same source.

Though the quantity of allegory in the VBal is much smaller and is chiefly concerned with the candlestick of the tabernacle, the *Glossa Ordinaria* does not supply such a convincing source for every detail as in the case of the VM. There is some evidence that works of Richard of St Victor and Rupert of Deutz were used for certain matters: the threefold base of the candlestick (pp. 112-3), the cups on its branches (p. 115), the interpretation of the manna differing from that of the VM (p. 61), and the apocalyptic associations of Num. 2 (pp. 166-7). A more restricted influence of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the VBal lends support to the con-

clusions of Münscher and Bachofer that this work has a different author from the VM. Nevertheless, most of the other exegetical material, explicit or implicit, is also found in the Gloss.

If the *Glossa Ordinaria* is indeed the major source of the exegesis of the VM and VBal, there is no chronological problem: according to B. Smalley, the Gloss on the Pentateuch was very probably compiled by Gilbert the Universal before he became bishop of London in 1128. Despite the complexity of the problems of authorship, there seems little doubt that the whole *Glossa Ordinaria* came into being in the first half of the twelfth century and that it achieved rapid success. There is in any case no reason why the work should have been known in its final form, since the vernacular poets may well have had access to the earlier *apparatus* from which the Gloss was compiled.²

That the ultimate sources of the VM were more diverse than the corresponding portions of the Vulgate and the standard bible commentaries is clear from the presence in the work of apocryphal and legendary matter which extends beyond the use of the *Glossa Ordinaria* and the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (pp. 136-8; 148-50). Though some of the information on Moses's infancy probably derived from Josephus (pp. 121-4), other details such as the foul taste of the manna (pp. 55-63), the nature of Moses's guilt (pp. 144-7), his revelation (pp. 148-51) and the three legs of the candlestick mentioned above seem to point ultimately to Hebrew legend. Such material was perhaps known from other Latin sources and often reappears later in the twelfth century in Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, which becomes the major source, after the Vulgate itself, of the vernacular biblical epics of Rudolf von Ems, Jacob van Maerlant and the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus*.³ Direct contact with Jews must also be taken into consideration.⁴

The influence of the liturgy on some aspects of the allegorization has also been demonstrated. Examples are found in the interpretations of the girding of the loins (pp. 35-6), the waters of Marah (pp. 69-70), the manna (p. 56 and n. 3), sacrificial incense (pp. 51-2; 94-5), the veil of the tabernacle (pp. 102-3) and the *coccus* (p. 107). In the case of the *byssus* (p. 109), the liturgy seems to replace the *Glossa Ordinaria* entirely as the real source. It would perhaps be rash to conclude that the VM is closely associated with the Easter festival and its liturgy in the same way as the *Millstätter Exodus*,⁵ though this is doubtless suggested by a detail such as the *Cantemus Domino gloriose* (D. 47, 5-8) which appears in the fourth Prophecy on Holy Saturday, not to mention the more general themes of repentance, renewal through baptism, and Communion, which are prominent in the exegetical passages.

A difference between the VM and VBal, again evidence of separate authorship, is apparent in the nature of the spiritual interpretation employed. Apart from the Christological significance of certain fundamental types (e.g. the paschal lamb, the brazen serpent and the manna), the exegesis of the VM is almost entirely tropological, whereas the VBal is allegorical. This distinction was clear to Scherer, if by his use of 'Moraltheologie' and 'Dogmatik' we understand respectively 'tropology'

and 'allegory'.⁶ A more significant result of these studies lies in the evidence that the third spiritual sense, the anagogical, is also present in the two works. It is apparent not only in the context of the exodus journey (D. 49, 5-18) where it is to be expected, but also in the borrowings from the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* in the VM (pp. 76-84; 105; 107) and in the presentation of the Israelite encampment and the apocalyptic list of tribes in the VBal (pp. 165-71). We have also noted an anagogical emphasis at the conclusion of the VM (p. 157).

These eschatological elements are part of the body of implicit exegesis characteristic of the works. This includes the Joshua typology and the N.T. Law mentioned above, together with such features as the pastoral interpretation of Moses (pp. 125-9), the allusion to the serpent in the wilderness in the context of the transformation of Moses's rod (pp. 11-12), the juxtaposition of the defeat of the Amalekites and the brazen serpent episode (pp. 71-2), the presentation of Pharaoh's obduracy through the exegesis of the plagues (pp. 130-3), and the two groups of tribes at the Jordan crossing (p. 157). Apparently without foundation in the commentaries, the typological association of the massacre of Sichem with the vengeance taken for the golden calf (pp. 90-2) would seem to be the poet's own conception.

The presence of this allusive technique beside the straightforward allegorization from the commentaries is the key to the poets' own contribution to the allegorical background. The introduction of the apocalyptic material is not the only indication that they are prepared on occasion to vary the traditional exegesis; nor is the drastic compression and abridgement of the source-material,⁷ which extends to the apocryphal works.⁸ They add their own tropologies (pp. 13; 106), replace the usual allegories by tropologies from other biblical contexts (pp. 13-15; 64-6), associate similar interpretations related to quite different historical facts (pp. 47; 107) or vary and elaborate the facts for the sake of the exegesis (pp. 25-8; 90-100; 115-6; 152-4). In spite of the relative brevity of the survey of the tabernacle in the VM and the omission of numerous minor details considered by Bede and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the author tacitly reveals his awareness that the temple of Solomon is of equal exegetical importance, and that the two buildings could hardly be considered apart (pp. 50-1; 86 - 9). Such originality as can be found in the exegetical passages of the vernacular poems rests above all on the fact that, regardless of the immediate theological source, the poets were usually faced with a choice of traditional allegories and selected whichever seemed most appropriate. In the VM this selection largely conforms to the tropological emphasis of the work, but, as was indicated in the introduction (pp. 4-5), the variety of the material at the poets' disposal and their adaptation and augmentation of it serve to justify these studies of their procedure.

However much the material of the VM and VBal must be regarded as a reflection of centuries of earlier and largely fixed tradition, the fact that one poet tends to select tropology whereas the other prefers allegory may suggest differences in attitude and intention, and even in personal temperament. While this study has

been concerned with the exegetical traditions underlying the poems, the conclusions inevitably raise wider questions of their literary aspects and critical evaluation which cannot pass without comment. Apart from H. Rupp's book⁹ and the studies of the *Wiener Genesis* and *Millstätter Exodus* by S. Beyschlag and D. H. Green respectively, literary analysis of the German biblical poetry of this period has been negligible, and the reason is not hard to seek. Earlier studies have tended to confine literary comment to positivistic surveys of stylistic features, or else have been restricted to linguistic topics on the assumption that the works are of no literary value. The scholar is inevitably conditioned by the epic of the classical courtly period which is regarded as the yardstick of literary merit in MHG; hence pre-courtly works are, almost by definition, lacking in quality, or their qualities have the dubious honour of being what the excellence of Hartmann, Gottfried and Wolfram surpassed.

In the fifth and sixth chapters of his book on the *Millstätter Exodus* Green compares the consistent alternation of narrative and allegory characteristic of the VM with the greater artistic freedom of the Millstatt epic and concludes that the VM suffers from considerable aesthetic disadvantages as a result of the technique employed: 'the epic action loses in intensity by being deprived of its integral importance whenever it is interpreted only with regard to what it stands for, but it also loses in continuity because of the constant interruptions which this technique necessitates' (p. 115).¹⁰ Without wishing to deny the basic truth of this statement, that as an epic the poem is inferior to the *Millstätter Exodus*, one should make the important qualification that the judgment is relevant only to the VM on which Green bases his argument, and not to the whole VBM as he suggests. Although there can be little doubt that the VBal was conceived as a sequel to the VM,¹¹ the second poet's method is quite different; his account of Balaam and his prophecy¹² and of the Israelite encampment¹³ shows his employment of allegory to be primarily allusive rather than explicit, and it is only in the latter part of the poem that his technique approaches that of the VM. Even here, the repetitious and disturbing alternation of the two levels of narrative and exegesis is nowhere near as obtrusive as in the VM. The author, whose rather humorous comment

D. 82, 8 Wir ne mugen ez niht uirdagen.
 ein luzel scule wir hinnen sagen.
 bizeichenunge waz hi rane si.

suggests that he himself is by no means as enthusiastic about the need for his audience to have the spiritual sense expounded as was the poet of the VM with his tropological preoccupation, could not in any case well avoid the allegorical portions of his subject-matter. We have seen that the interpretation of the manna was added as a significant complement to that of the VM;¹⁴ the Christological significance of Aaron's rod was so fundamental that it could not easily be passed over; and the detailed description of the candlestick, like that of the tabernacle itself, is largely

devoid of relevance when divorced from its Christian allegorical meaning and restricted to the literal or historical plane.

The greater subtlety of approach by the author of the VBal, the fact that he conceived his purpose in a more literary and artistic spirit than the poet of the VM whose chief concern was clearly to impart dogmatic and moral truths to his hearers, is further illustrated by the structural analysis described in Appendix II below which shows his achievement in imposing form and unity upon disparate material. It remains to be said that the VM is also not lacking in artistic significance, even if the author's technique is less adaptable to an epic framework than in the case of the *Millstätter Exodus* which remains at the level of pure narrative, or the VBal where the exegetical implications are built into the narrative in a less obtrusive and more subtle manner. Green points out the true function of the allegory in the VM, which the present study has everywhere served to illustrate: the historical biblical events which might have supplied suitable material for a purely epic narrative do indeed fulfil this rôle, but the alternation of narrative with allegory also 'transposes these events into a sphere which is timeless, because of general validity'.¹⁵ The technique of the vernacular poet thus adheres to the theory of allegorical exposition according to which both the literal and spiritual senses of scripture were equally valid and not mutually exclusive. Although a modern reader unfamiliar with the importance of the *sensus spiritualis* might fairly view the presence of the overtly exegetical passages as an intrusive interruption of the epic course of events, for the medieval audience the alternation was a continual reminder of the relevance of these O.T. events to the Christian faith; a relevance not merely to the unfolding of the faith in the N.T. at the level of typology and allegory, with the corresponding emphasis on the unity and harmony of the divine plan for the universe in its historical revelation, but also, at the tropological and anagogical level, to the individual lives of each member of the audience.

Hence the lack of continuity felt by the modern reader of the VM is partly negated by an appreciation of the new dimension of thought which the exegetical passages contribute to the poem. It might still be objected that it would have been aesthetically more pleasing to employ the more refined techniques of works such as the *Millstätter Exodus* or VBal where the exegesis is either wholly subordinate to the narrative or else implied with much greater finesse, especially since the technique of the VM results in such drastic abridgement of the biblical narrative. Furthermore, as the second part of our study has shown, the poet of the VM is himself fully capable of making an implicit exegetical point even in the course of what might to the untrained reader appear as a passage of pure narrative epic. However, it does not seem exaggerated to claim that the traditional diction of the Early MHG epic, though usually regarded as primitive in comparison with that of the courtly period, is by its very lack of refinement a particularly suitable medium for the terse and laconic reduction of the biblical narrative and the repetitive, formulaic manner with which exegesis is introduced to elucidate the preceding

epic description. A detailed analysis of the style of the VM lies outside the scope of the present study, but the chief characteristics of the language of the period have been described by de Boor. Compared with the later courtly period they can be summarized as an extreme simplicity: a small vocabulary accompanies the frequent use of repetitive phrases and formulaic epithets, while the syntax is predominantly paratactic, with short sentences often introduced by the anaphoric particles *do* and *so*, and the dearth of hypotaxis easily illustrated through the primitive means by which clauses are connected, in particular pure asyndeton and the simple conjunction *daz*.¹⁶

While de Boor does not take examples from the VBM, his analysis of other works of the period is equally pertinent, for the Early MHG poems share a common body of formulaic phrases and renderings which form a collective tradition. Hence the frequent difficulty of knowing whether the many apparent borrowings from one poem to another in this period are genuine evidence of influence or merely examples of the common stock of formulaic phraseology.¹⁷ As in the case of Germanic alliterative Christian poetry, formulaic usage in the extant texts may well indicate that their origin lies in oral tradition. Just as Caedmon's hymn suggests a lost 'Caedmonian school' of biblical poetry in Old English of which the extant biblical poems are late examples, surviving because they chance to have been committed to parchment, so the works of our period may presuppose a tradition of German vernacular poets who, after the change to rhyming verse in the ninth century, likewise developed a stock of formulae which enabled the familiar biblical material to be easily memorised and handed on in an oral form which did not necessarily require the identical delivery of the same work on any two occasions.¹⁸ While the *Wiener Genesis* constitutes the first written evidence of such a tradition, it is interesting to note that even within the framework of the extant MS texts no compunction was felt at drastic revision of epics such as the *Genesis* and *Joseph* in their different MS versions.

Whether or not such an oral tradition formed the historical origin of the genre of which the VM is an example, the oral aspects of the style of Early MHG poetry are undoubtedly important inasmuch as the spoken delivery of the biblical epic heightens the effect of stylised simplicity characteristic of its diction. One example of this is supplied by the account of the plagues of Egypt, which Green compares unfavourably with the epic expansiveness of the Millstatt author's treatment of the same theme.¹⁹

- D. 38, 6 (a) An der ersten note
daz wazzer begunde bliften.
uil harte begundez stinchen.
si ne mohten ez niht getrinchen.
- (b) daz bezeichnenet ze ware
di irrechlichen lere,
di di ubelen livte lerent,
ê si sich ze gote gecheren.

- (c) Daz andere wurden froske.
 di sluffen uz den posken.
 ir wart ein michel menige
 uber alle di gegine.
- (d) daz bezeichnenet ze ware
 di tumben spottare,
 di mit unnuzzeme chose
 gotes hulde uirlisent.
 di snaterent den abent unde den morgen
 also der froske in deme horewe.

In this version of the first two plagues, where the exegesis is already beginning to dominate quantitatively, it is indeed clear that the epic flow is interrupted and that such narrative as does exist represents a drastic curtailment of the biblical source. However, other qualities are present which greater epic breadth could not supply in the same measure. With each plague a narrative passage dominated by parataxis gives way to an explanatory exegetical section where hypotaxis is rather more in evidence.²⁰ Hence a forceful, incisive introduction is followed by a slight increase in tempo with the exegesis, the rhythmic alternation enhancing the contrasting texture of the theme. The emphatic, rhetorical quality of the lines, which would be heightened by their oral delivery, is further strengthened by the characteristic use of anaphora. The particle *daz* appears as article or pronoun at the start of the second line of (a) and opens the first lines of (b), (c) and (d); at the beginning of the two exegetical passages (b) and (d) it is the formulaic line 'daz bezeichnenet ze ware' which is repeated. Such a repetitive formula may lack epic force, but in this didactic context it undoubtedly invigorates the hortative function of the verse. Another example of the powerful effect of anaphora as a rhetorical means of impressing the audience with the personal relevance of the interpretation is supplied by the three-fold use of *di* in the final exegetical passage quoted. Perhaps the best illustration of the same technique in the VM is the eucharistic interpretation of the Passover meal, where in the course of twenty-two lines (D. 42, 4-19) the anaphoric particle *so* is used as the opening word on no fewer than twelve occasions.²¹

In this rendering of the plagues of Egypt it is the very conciseness of the vernacular version, the total absence of epic expansion and the reduction of the narrative to a bare outline, which provides the rhetorical effect needed for a didactic, homiletic treatment of the material. De Boor's comment on the style of Early MHG versification as a whole is in this instance fully consonant with the story told by the poet of the VM and his personal decision about the manner of its presentation: 'Gerade ihre Vernachlässigung der feinen formalen Durcharbeitung hat ihre Größe ausgemacht, die nur einer Betrachtungsweise als 'roh' erscheinen konnte, die, verliert in den klassischen Epenstil, aus ihm alle Gesichtspunkte ableitete.'²² We can be sure that the audience was sufficiently familiar with the details of the biblical exodus for the lack of factual information about the plagues in the vernacular poem to be of no great disadvantage to them.

The terse style of the biblical narrative as paraphrased in the VM is also more effective than might at first sight appear for the reason that it has much in common with its original. The pattern of the narration of the plagues in the Vulgate shows a repetitive technique comparable to the alternation of narrative and exegesis in the VM: God's command to Moses and Aaron about the production of each plague is followed by a passage in which the plague is actually produced. The narrative is then rounded off with a reference to Pharaoh's obduracy. Hence the structural division of the VM into short MS sections is not unlike the narrative method of the Vulgate at this point.

The language of the Latin Vulgate might equally be described as primitive and unsophisticated. Like the VM, it consists of a series of simple, largely paratactic sentences, and two examples from the context of the first two plagues show that the dominance of anaphora and the rudimentary use of conjunction have much in common with the style of the VM:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Exod. 7, v. 19 | Dixit quoque Dominus ad Moysen:
Dic ad Aaron,
Tolle virgam tuam,
et extende manum tuam super aquas Ægypti,
et super fluvios eorum,
et rivos ac paludes,
et omnes lacus aquarum,
ut vertantur in sanguinem:
et sit cruor in omni terra Ægypti,
tam in ligneis vasis quam in saxeis. |
| Exod. 8, v. 3 | Et ebulliet fluvius ranas:
quæ ascendent,
et ingredientur domum tuam,
et cubiculum lectuli tui,
et super stratum tuum,
et in domus servorum tuorum,
et in populum tuum,
et in furnos tuos,
et in reliquias ciborum tuorum: |
| Exod. 8, v. 4 | Et ad te,
et ad populum tuum,
et ad omnes servos tuos,
intrabunt ranæ. |

The stylised, incantatory effect of the VM is perhaps due less to the immediate source-passage of the Vulgate than to more lyric sections of the bible such as the Psalms, with which any clerical poet would have been thoroughly acquainted. We have seen already that the Psalms undoubtedly constitute an important source for thematic material in the VM and VBal which is not adequately explained by the first six books of the Vulgate and the relevant passages of the *Glossa Ordinaria*. The Psalms serve to explain the interpretation of the staff at the Passover meal (pp. 36-7), the sacrificial incense (pp. 51-2; 94-5), the worms in the manna (pp. 57-61) and,

perhaps, the beasts sacrificed at the outer altar (pp. 98-9) and the lamps of the candlestick in the VBal (pp. 113-4). In addition, the Gloss on the Psalms may partially account for the introduction of the twelve passages through the Red Sea (pp. 134-5) and the plague of fire with its interpretation (pp. 26-7).

Particularly in a monastic environment, the repeated liturgical chanting of the Psalms must have made a lasting impression upon a cleric disposed to attempt literary work of his own.²³ There would certainly seem to be an affinity between the parallelism characteristic of Hebrew poetry and preserved in the Vulgate version,²⁴ which lends itself readily to anaphoric expression as in the case of Ps. 150 where each half of the first five verses begins with the anaphoric *laudate (eum)*, and the paratactic couplets of Early MHG poetry. In a comparable passage from Exodus itself, the hymn of triumph after the passage of the Red Sea, twenty-two verses of the Vulgate (Exod. 15, vv. 1-22) have been reduced to only ten lines in the VM, but this very compression highlights the repetitive, anaphoric, hymnic qualities of the biblical chapter:

D. 47, 2	Maria hiz ein wip. uil tugenthaft was der ir lip. moyses svester. dev was ane laster. si nam ir zinbelen. si begunde uil lûte singen. under (der) menige. uor allem deme herige. si sanc cantemus domino gloriose. si kerten fon deme sê.
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The question of whom the poets of the VM and VBal were and the nature of their audience is one to which no positive answer can be given, for the poems themselves provide no more firm evidence for solving the problem than do the great majority of the other works of the period. In the present study it has been assumed, in conformity with the views of previous critics,²⁵ that author and audience were clerical.²⁶ Such a conclusion rests more on the overall impression of the theological nature of the material than on the interpretation of detailed passages which in the case of the VM and VBal does not make any significant contribution to the solution of the problem: thus formulae such as D. 74, 15 'an den bûchen ist iz funden' merely tell us that written sources existed (and not even that the author has used them personally, for he could have been relying on memory); while a phrase such as *geistliche livte* found in an exegetical context (D. 35, 25), even if it could be proved to refer unequivocally to clerics, does not necessarily mean that the poet is addressing such an audience.²⁷ However, the preponderance of tropology in the VM would certainly suggest a clerical author with a didactic purpose.

It is a matter of dispute whether, if author and audience were clerics, they belonged to the monastic or secular clergy. This poses an even greater problem than the question of whether they were clerics or laymen. There is no positive

internal evidence in the VM and VBal, and the *Glossa Ordinaria* and the major bible commentaries from which it derives were so generally known that they shed no light on the matter. Here the argument tends to be reduced to a series of vicious circles. Since some of the biblical epics prefer straightforward narrative where others favour allegorical exegesis, one might assume a less educated, lay audience for the former type of work and a more erudite, theologically-trained gathering for the latter. However, an educated cleric might be expected to be sufficiently familiar with the Latin exegetical material not to need its condensed vernacular counterpart; while the allusive technique of some of the narrative epic poetry merely supplies the spiritual sense at an implicit level, and hence presupposes an audience more erudite than one which required even the most commonplace allegories to be expounded on every occasion. The contrast between pure epic and exegetical techniques in any case tells us little about the station of the poet himself, for his manner of presentation may represent his personal inclination in the light of his own theological knowledge, or it may reflect the command of an ecclesiastical superior. And in neither case does it follow that the needs of a particular class of audience were the immediate consideration.²⁸

Whereas Ehrismann frequently favours monastic authorship for the religious poems of the time, as in the case of the VBM, Rupp prefers to believe that the great majority of authors were secular clergy. It is true that Ehrismann was influenced by the now outmoded 'Cluniac' conception, but Rupp's view seems to be founded on no better argument than that there is no positive evidence that most of the poets were monks. Since our study has favoured the view that the VBal represents a sequel to the VM, and we have further emphasised the stylistic importance of the oral delivery of the poems, it seems reasonable to suggest that the works were planned to be recited to the less erudite members of a monastic community. But it must be emphasised that this opinion is no more than the predilection of the present writer after studying the works in question, for there is no really substantial evidence either for or against it.

A number of recurring themes in the poems deserve special mention, even though their presence is often conditioned by the exegetical import of the poetry or by the biblical history itself. One such is the emphasis on the ingratitude and despair of the Israelites in the wilderness, prominent also in the Vulgate where it leads to the exclusion of the first generation from the Promised Land. In the VM the theme is associated with man's rebellion after baptism (pp. 43; 144) and appears in the context of the manna (pp. 55 ff.), the water from the rock (p. 65) and the waters of Marah (D. 50, 30 ff.). It occurs also in the narrative of the golden calf and consequent vengeance (D. 52, 17 – 55, 5), the report of the spies (D. 64, 18 – 66, 15) and the implication that the low-born tribes who attend the commination after crossing the Jordan are the more sinful (D. 68, 24-29; pp. 156-7). While in most of these cases the murmuring and rebellion are based on the biblical account, the very conciseness of the VM in comparison makes them

especially noticeable in the MHG poem, where they form a contrast to the omission of the references to Pharaoh's obduracy (pp. 130-3).

An emphasis on conversion, penance and humility is also apparent in the VM, especially in the case of the plagues where the cumulative effect of the exegesis gives weight to this theme. Though to some extent the inevitable concomitant of any sustained tropology, it is prominent both here and later in the poem with the interpretation of the three days' journey (p. 47), while the poet elaborates the usual treatment of the purple hanging of the tabernacle in order to emphasise the importance of humility (p. 109).

Another notable aspect of the general tropology of the VM is the reference to sacrifice, which is associated with the journey into the wilderness (pp. 41-3; 50-2), the crossing of the Red Sea (pp. 48-9) and of the Jordan (pp. 155-8), and the outer altar of the tabernacle (pp. 97-100). Here it is remarkable that in every case the information concerning the offering is derived from a different biblical context to that portrayed in the VM, or else has no foundation in the Vulgate whatsoever.

The exegetical preoccupation of the poems also gives rise to an esoteric element in much of the non-biblical material, which sometimes foreshadows notions familiar to us from the work of later poets. The contrast between the altar of sacrifice and the inner altar of incense, to which only the initiated might proceed (cf. D. 57, 14-15; 61, 13-14, and pp. 92-4), points forward to the distinction in Gottfried's *Tristan* between the activities of the lovers outside and inside the grotto. The connotations of the sanctuary veil (pp. 101-4) are another aspect of the same theme. Here one is reminded of Wolfram's assertions that heathens cannot partake of the mysteries of the grail,²⁹ and we have observed the resemblances between the esoteric knowledge possessed by Adam in *Parzival* and Moses in the VM (pp. 148-50). Further parallels can be drawn between the interpretation of the manna and both *Parzival* (p. 62 n. 3) and the bread imagery in *Tristan*,³⁰ while Gottfried's allegory of the lovers' cave can be readily linked with the interpretations of the breadth of the tabernacle (p. 88) and the roundness of the bosses on the candlestick (p. 117). The exegesis of the topaz also refers to the initiates who pursue the *vita contemplativa* (pp. 77-8; 79-80), and the unequivocal distinction drawn by the poets between the esoteric position of the faithful and the exoteric heathen is very clear in the comment of the VM on Rahab, the exception to the rule:

D. 63, 12 raap was ein heidenin.
si habete doch guten sin.

The evidence of textual borrowing in the context of the jewels in the tabernacle suggests that the *Himmlisches Jerusalem* antedates the VM (pp. 76-84). As for the VBM itself, there can be little doubt that the VBal was written from the first as a sequel to the VM. The place of the other poems is less certain, but the VM also borrows from the *Vorau Genesis* and from the *Joseph* which precede it in the MS, while there is a possibility that the VMar is in turn related to the VBal.³¹

If the VMar besides the VM and VBal conform in this way to a planned treatment of the exodus and related matters, the conclusion harmonises considerably with the evidence of the MS, described by Polheim: the *Joseph*, VMar and VBal are all opened by MS capitals of the usual size in the same line of the MS, as if they were merely new sections of the same poem. But at the end of the *Joseph* a kind of subdivision is indicated by the new line with which the VM opens, though the usual capital still occurs.³² There are, in other words, two distinct elements within the unity of the whole VBM: the VM and VBal are complementary and suggest collaboration, whereas the harmony of the *Vorau Genesis* and *Joseph*, and of these poems and the following works, arises only from their arrangement in the MS after their composition. It is not clear whether the remaining poem, the VMar, falls into the first or second of these categories.

There would seem little reason to reject the notion that the planned arrangement of the VBM in turn forms part of a meaningful sequence of poetry in the Vorau MS as a whole.³³ Since it is unlikely that the individual works in the rest of the MS were written with a view to a place in a compilation, it would be wrong to see the scheme as more than a basic framework, but the broad outline of a historical pattern from Genesis to the day of judgment is nevertheless present. The exegetical material is a feature which unites many of the poems in the MS; Ehrismann suggested that the *Wiener Genesis* version of the *Joseph* was found to be adequate for the VBM because of the interpretations of Jacob's blessings,³⁴ and most critics regard the exegesis as a characteristic of the expanded, Vorau, version of the *Ezzolied*.³⁵ The resemblance of the Vorau MS to the Old English Junius MS of ca. 1000 is considerable;³⁶ here there can be no doubt that of the four poems in the MS, the *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel* form a planned sequence, the position of the *Christ and Satan* of Book II alone being a matter for controversy.³⁷

These remarks are, however, of secondary importance for the present study, the chief purpose of which was to illuminate the neglected MHG text through the investigation of the exegetical background, and to ascertain that the *Glossa Ordinaria* may have supplied almost all the allegorical material in the VM and VBal; and we shall conclude with a quotation which suggests that the vernacular works form a conscious exegetical treatment of the exodus journey in the light of the opening words of Rabanus Maurus's commentary³⁸ of which a version was used as a preface to the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Exodus:

In Pentateucho excellit Exodus, in quo pene omnia sacramenta quibus Ecclesia instruitur, figuraliter exprimuntur. Per corporalem enim exitum filiorum Israel de Ægypto corporalis noster exitus de Ægypto spirituali signatur. Per mare Rubrum, et Pharaonis submersionem atque Ægyptiorum, baptismi mysterium et spiritualium hostium interitus. Per typici agni immolationem, et Hebraeorum liberationem, veri Agni passio et nostra redemptio. De coelo datur manna, et aqua de petra. *Hic est panis qui de coelo descendit* (Joan. VI) et doctrina Christi. In monte dantur praecepta atque iudicia populo Dei, ut supernis subjiciamur disciplinis. Tabernaculum, et vasa ejus

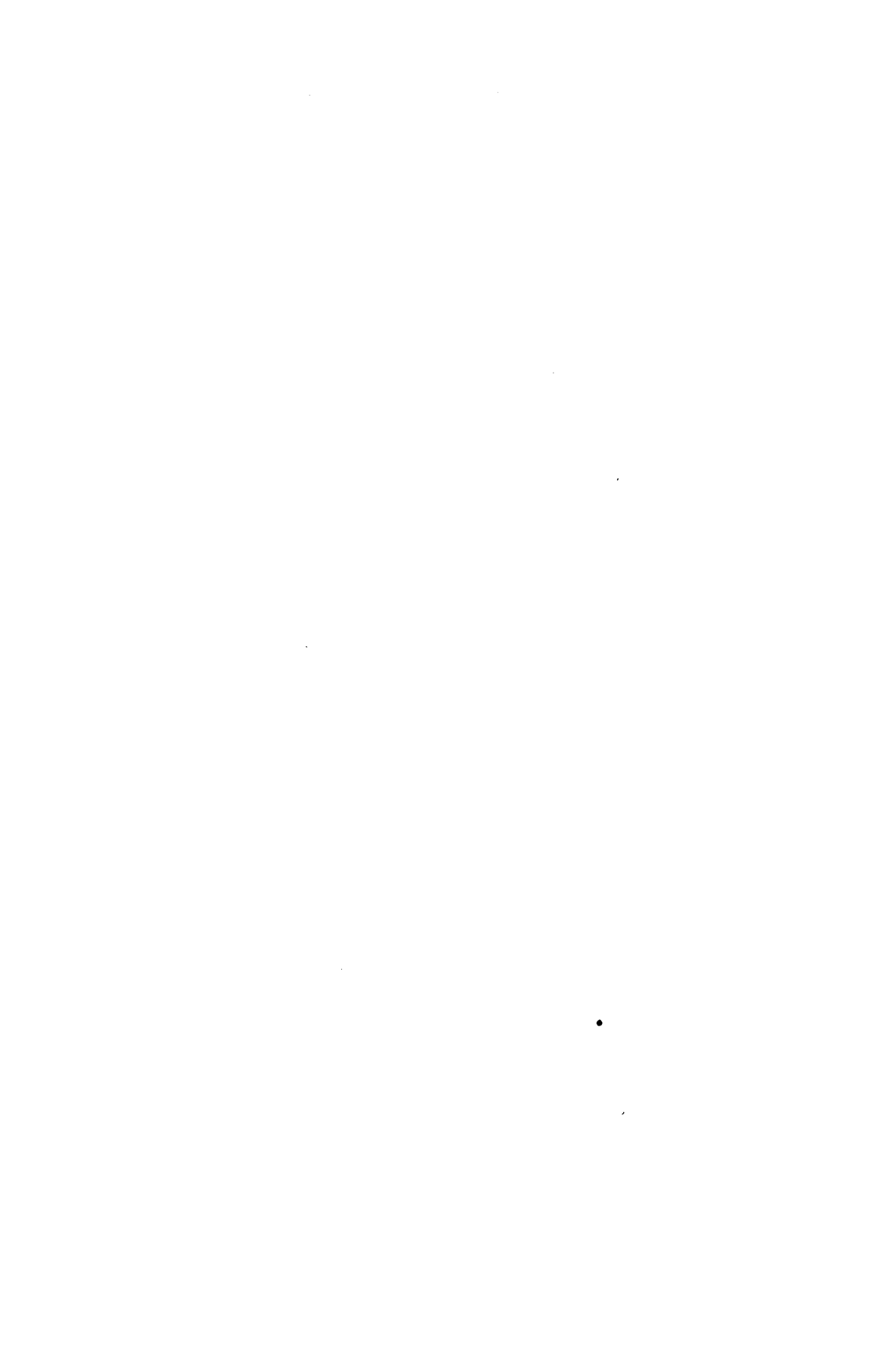
construuntur, cultus et sacrificia imperantur, quibus Ecclesiae ornatus et spiritualia sacrificia significantur. (PL 113, 183 AB)

NOTES

- 1 The lack of an adequate edition of the Gloss is another reason why the conclusion should not be too hastily drawn. Hablitzel (*Biblische Zeitschrift* 12, 1914, pp. 147-52) showed the defects of Migne's edition by collating the Gloss on Matthew (PL 114, 63-178) with an edition of 1480; cf. also Smalley, *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 6 (1938), p. 107; *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952), pp. 56 ff.; Ohly, *Hohelied-Studien* (1958), pp. 109-111. In this dissertation the textual problem has to some extent been eliminated by the studies of the earlier traditions of which the Gloss was compiled, while an edition of 1480, printed by Adolf Rusch at Strasbourg (Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, I, 1898, no. 299; Oates, *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge*, 1954, no. 124), was also used to check passages especially important for the argument. However, the immense task of producing a critical edition remains.
- 2 Cf. Smalley, *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 7 (1935), pp. 235-62; 8 (1936), pp. 24-60; 9 (1937), pp. 365-400; de Blic, *ibid.* 16 (1949), pp. 5-28; Smalley, *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 6 (1938), pp. 103-113; *The Study of the Bible* (1952), pp. 60-1.
- 3 On Peter Comestor's wide public, cf. Martin, *Recherche de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 3 (1931), pp. 54-66; Smalley, *The Study of the Bible* (1952), pp. 178-9.
- 4 Cf. Kaufmann, *Revue des Études Juives* 18 (1889), pp. 131-3; Manly, *Modern Philology* 5 (1907-8), pp. 204-5; Smalley, *The Study of the Bible* (1952), pp. 149 ff.
- 5 Cf. E. Schröder, *ZDA* 72 (1935), pp. 239-40; Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, pp. 15 ff., 377 ff. On the similar associations of the Old English *Exodus*, see Bright, *Modern Language Notes* 27 (1912), pp. 97-103.
- 6 QF 7 (1875), p. 51. Cf. Jantsch, *Studien zum Symbolischen*, p. 98.
- 7 Cf. Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, pp. 116 ff. It does not follow that these changes are due to the poets relying on memory alone, as Münscher suggested, *Diss.* p. 126.
- 8 Cf. the story of Moses's youthful adventures with the Ethiopians, omitted from the VM but common in the legendary works, e.g. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* II, x-xi (ed. Blatt, pp. 201-4); Peter Comestor, PL 198, 1144 B - D. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, II (1913), pp. 283-9; V (1925), pp. 407-10, note 80.
- 9 *Deutsche religiöse Dichtungen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*.
- 10 Cf. also Green, p. 375.
- 11 Cf. above, pp. 2-4, 173-4.
- 12 Cf. above, pp. 176-8.
- 13 Cf. above, pp. 165-71.
- 14 Cf. above, p. 56.
- 15 Green, p. 122.
- 16 *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 51 (1926), pp. 244-74; 52 (1927), pp. 31-76.
- 17 Cf. Wells, pp. 371-80 (Appendix II), and Schwarz in *Mediaeval German Studies Presented to F. Norman*, pp. 60 ff. The same problem applies to Germanic alliterative poetry. Here, however, one can make a reasonable arbitrary judgment that whereas the appearance of a whole alliterative line in two poems may well show influence (cf. *Beowulf* 1410 and O.E. *Exodus* 58, discussed by Irving in his edition of the latter poem, pp. 25-7), the evidence of the same half-line in isolation in more than one poem may be dismissed as formulaic.
- 18 Cf. the evidence from modern Slavonic and Asiatic cultures discussed in Bowra, *The Heroic Epic*, pp. 351 ff.; 437 ff.
- 19 *The Millstätter Exodus*, pp. 116-7.
- 20 The punctuation is mine. It must be remembered that the use of asyndeton makes the relative degree of parataxis and hypotaxis in Early MHG works extremely hard to determine with precision, and is an important factor in the problem raised by Maurer's theory of 'binnengereimte Langzeilen'. See W. Schröder, *BGDSL T* 87 (1965), p. 157.
- 21 (*S*) is the correct reading for D. 42, 19: cf. Bachofer, *Diss.* p. 169.
- 22 *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 51, p. 244.

- 23 The particular importance of the Psalms was first suggested to me in conversation by R. A. Wisbey. Cf. the latter's *Vollständige Verskonkordanz zur Wiener Genesis*, pp. 8-9; also Gutenbrunner in *Festgabe für F. Maurer*, p. 110.
- 24 Cf. above, p. 26.
- 25 Cf. Rupp, *Deutsche religiöse Dichtungen*, pp. 294 ff.; Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, p. 117, n. 6.
- 26 E.g. above, p. 140.
- 27 Cf. above, p. 14.
- 28 The title of the latest relevant study, B. Naumann, *Dichter und Publikum in deutscher und lateinischer Bibelepik des frühen 12. Jahrhunderts*, is deceptive, for the author merely relativises the problem by assuming an illiterate lay audience for the EMHG versions of the *Judith*, Lamprecht's *Tobias* and the fragment on Machabees, and a more erudite audience for the contemporary Latin poems on related subjects with which they are (inconclusively) compared.
- 29 Cf. *Parzival* 453, 18-22; 810, 3-13; 813, 9 – 818, 23 (ed. Lachmann).
- 30 Cf. pp. 57-8, the reference to the 'inner sweetness' (D. 50, 16), and the initiates of the *Tristan* prologue.
- 31 The most striking parallel between these two poems concerns the similarity of the exegesis of the rod of Aaron and the rod of Jesse, cf. D. 80, 18-20 and lines 69, 73 and 51 of the VMar (ed. Bachofer), also p. 173 above and p. 197 below. Though Pretzel states that the VMar 'innerhalb der Vorauer Bücher Moses einen Fremdkörper bildet' (*Die kleinen Denkmäler*, 1963, p. XI), these and less certain resemblances in theme and phraseology were noted by Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, II, 1, p. 96, n. 2. The discussion of the common element of the rod and its Mariological interpretation (cf. pp. 173-4 above and Appendix I below), together with the further link of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit mentioned in the exegesis of the candlestick (D. 82, 25) and detailed in the VMar, support Ehrismann's conclusion (op. cit. p. 98) that the VMar forms part of a planned sequence in the VBM. It is therefore possible that the textual parallels cited here show the VBal and VMar to be related in a manner similar to the VM and VBal. The VMar and VBal may have been copied into the Vorau MS in the wrong order (cf. the common opening *Wilent*, while the parallels mentioned above together with *süze oder svere. genuge oder tivre* found thus in VM (D. 47, 26-7) and VBal (D. 78, 27-8; cf. above, pp. 56, 173) and reflected in VMar 47-8 *tiure unde gûte, edele unde vrûte* perhaps suggest that the VMar was the last of the three works to be written). If this was so, a somewhat stricter adherence to the order of the O.T. would have resulted, with the Pentateuch and Joshua leading on to the major Prophets, represented by the crucial significance of Isaiah's prophecy explained in the VMar. The O.T. sequence in the MS was completed with the poems of mainly narrative interest on Solomon, Judith and the fiery furnace.
- 32 Polheim, *Die deutschen Gedichte*, p. XI.
- 33 For the earlier literature, cf. Polheim, *ibid.*, pp. XV - XVIII.
- 34 *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, II, 1, p. 98.
- 35 Schneider, *ZDA* 68 (1931), p. 15, makes a direct comparison between the two versions of the *Ezzolied* and the *Wiener* and *Vorau Genesis*. Cf. also Rupp, *Deutsche religiöse Dichtungen*, pp. 46-8; and the allegorical stanza 28 (lines 335-46, ed. Maurer) in Maurer's table, *Festschrift Hammerich*, p. 171, and *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 273. The lines of stanza 27 borrowed by the VM are also rejected from the original poem by most critics. For the borrowing, cf. D. 41, 1-6 and *Ezzolied* 326-32; D. 62, 12-14 and *Ezzolied* 333-4; Wells, p. 378, no. 11, and Papp, *Die altdeutsche Exodus*, pp. 23-4, refer to earlier critical comment. It does not appear to have been noticed that *Ezzolied* 333-4 follows directly on the passage borrowed earlier in the VM.
- 36 For the dating, see Gollancz's introduction to the facsimile edition, p. xviii.
- 37 Cf. Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript*, Introduction, pp. xi-xii.
- 38 Ed. Dümmler, *Morumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum Tomus V* (1899), pp. 394-5.

Appendices



APPENDIX I MARIENLOB

The VM briefly mentions the rod of Aaron¹ as one of the contents of the ark of the Covenant (D. 58, 1-2), but no relevant exegetical passage is found in this poem. However, in the VBal the subject is reintroduced and receives full treatment (D. 79, 20 – 80, 22). It is interpreted as a type of the Virgin Mary, while the flower signifies Christ.² It is impossible to overlook the fact that the closely related interpretation of the rod of Jesse occurs in the *Marienlob* section of the VBM,³ in association with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁴ The relationship between these two poems is also indicated by the resemblance of VBal D. 80, 18-20 to lines 69 and 73 of the VMar.⁵

The doctrine of the seven gifts finds its biblical source in Is. 11, vv. 1-2, and the same key messianic passage with its allusion to the flower of Jesse's stem provides the basis for the exegesis we are considering.⁶ The interpretation is a commonplace among exegetes of all ages; many explicitly quote the verses from Isaiah. Thus Isidore of Seville first explains the rod of Aaron as a figure of Christ's resurrection from the dead, and then continues:

Alii virgam hanc, quae sine humore florem protulit, Mariam virginem putant, quae sine coitu edidit Verbum Dei, de qua scriptum est: 'Exiet virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet' (Is. 11, v. 1), id est, Christus, qui futurae typum praeferens passionis, candido fidei lumine et passionis sanguine purpurabat flos virginum, corona martyrum, gratia continentium. (PL 83, 348 C)

Isidore is followed closely by the Pseudo-Bede (PL 91, 366 D – 367 A) and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 688 AB), while Rupert of Deutz gives a similar interpretation (PL 167, 382 D).

Many other instances of the same exegesis of Aaron's rod could be cited.⁷ The *Glossa Ordinaria* (PL 113, 406 A–C) follows Origen (GCS 30, pp. 63 ff.).⁸ There are also numerous cases in the Latin sources where the same identification is made from the verses of Isaiah alone,⁹ and examples also occur in vernacular MHG sermons.¹⁰

Hence there are numerous parallels to the commonplace exegesis of the VBal and VMar, whether the emphasis is on the rod of Aaron as in the former case or on that of Jesse as in the latter. It is hardly necessary to add that Isaiah's prophecy was prominent in medieval art – an outstanding example is the rose window in Chartres Cathedral – and in the liturgical drama of the Christmas season.¹¹

The flower imagery of the VMar deserves attention. The allegory of Christ as the lily of the valley is present in the poem (lines 45-52, 105-8). Again there is a widespread Latin tradition behind the words of the vernacular poet, for the equation of Christ with the flower of the field or lily of the valley is a very common exegetical notion, deriving from the assumption that Christ is speaking the words of Cant. 2, v. 1:

Ego sum flos campi, et lilium convallium.¹²

Among the Latin exegetes, the works of Eucherius (CSEL 31, p. 17), Rabanus Maurus (PL 111, 528 B), Peter Damian (PL 144, 753 D – 754 A), Rupert of Deutz (PL 168, 858 D ff.), Wolbero of St Pantaleon (PL 195, 1094 AB), Bernard of Clairvaux (PL 183, 1008 B–D), Alan of Lille (PL 210, 838 B) and Garnerius of Rochefort (PL 112, 929 C) can all be cited as parallels, besides Pseudo-Melito's *Clavis* and similar works edited by Pitra.¹³ In line 101 the VMar refers to the Virgin Mary rather than to Christ as the 'flower of the field'. This notion is equally common. The lily itself is frequently associated with chastity or with the Virgin Mary,¹⁴ and according to another floral image the Virgin Mary is the blossoming rose, in contrast to Eve, the thorn.¹⁵ This and all the imagery discussed in the preceding paragraphs occur in close proximity in a sermon of the MHG *Speculum Ecclesiae*.¹⁶

Much of the exegetical background to the VMar, including the interpretation of the rod of Jesse and the floral imagery, is indicated in the notes to the edition of Müllenhoff and Scherer.¹⁷ Four further points deserve comment here.

The obvious source of the Greek term *iskiros*,¹⁸ not mentioned in the otherwise full note of MSD,¹⁹ is the use of the Trisagion acclamation at the liturgical veneration of the cross on Good Friday. The Trisagion as quoted in the note first appears in its Greek and Latin form in the tenth century.²⁰

In VMar 49-55 the term *blume* is masculine, but in lines 46-48 and 73 it is feminine.²¹ Observing this anomaly, Müllenhoff and Scherer, followed by Münscher,²² assumed the text was corrupt and changed all the references to the masculine gender. However, Bachofer correctly points out that the masculine usage is intentional, for the typological emphasis on Christ, whom the flower prefigures, is strong enough to occasion the use of the alternative masculine gender in line 49. Hence there is no reason to emend the feminine usage elsewhere.²³ The same argument and conclusion had appeared earlier in A. Bayer's dissertation of 1934.²⁴

The statement that Christ, unlike others, possessed the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit wholly and all at once,²⁵ is illustrated by Müllenhoff and Scherer with a quotation from Isidore of Seville based on John 3, v. 34 and Coloss. 2, v. 9 (PL 83, 466 C).²⁶ Another possible influence on the poet is the traditional medieval exegesis of Is. 4, v. 1, where the seven women catching hold of one man are interpreted as the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit seizing on Christ.²⁷ This is especially likely as a source in view of the importance of Isaiah's prophecy in the

VMar.

We have previously observed that the image of the lily of the valley, prominent in the concluding stanza of the VMar, is derived from the Song of Songs.²⁸ The influence of this book is confirmed by the reference to the honeycomb and milk in the final lines,²⁹ for which the source, as earlier critics have noted,³⁰ is Cant. 4, vv. 10-11.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Num. 17.
- 2 D. 80, 18-22. Cf. the first stanza of the *Melker Marienlied*, ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 361; *Arnsteiner Marienleich* 64-9 (*ibid.*, p. 441); and the *Mariensequenz aus St Lambrecht* 16-21 (*ibid.*, p. 465).
- 3 See especially lines 45 ff., ed. Bachofer in Henschel and Pretzel, *Die kleinen Denkmäler der Vorauer Handschrift* (1963), pp. 178-9.
- 4 Cf. Diemer, Anm. p. 26; MSD II (Anm.), p. 250.
- 5 Ed. Bachofer. Cf. line 51; Ehrismann, II, 1, p. 96 n. 2; and above, p. 194 n. 31.
- 6 Cf. MSD II, p. 249 and the sixth stanza of the *Melker Marienlied* (ed. Maurer, *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, p. 361), also *Arnsteiner Marienleich* 32-43 (*ibid.*, pp. 439-41).
- 7 E.g. Ps.-Tertullian, CChr 2, p. 1447; Geoffrey Babion, PL 171, 392 D; Honorius of Autun, PL 172, 850 B.
- 8 See also Caesarius of Arles, CChr 103, pp. 458 ff.
- 9 E.g. Tertullian, CChr 2, p. 912; Ambrose, CSEL 32, iv, p. 54; Hugh of St Victor, PL 177, 656 D; Alan of Lille, PL 210, 793 C; Garnerius of Rochefort, PL 112, 1080 D – 1081 A.
- 10 Cf. Mone, *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* 8 (1839), col. 415; Wackernagel, *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete* (1876), p. 10; Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten* III (1891), p. 206. See also Walther von der Vogelweide's *Leich*, 4, 2-4 (ed. Lachmann, Kraus and Kuhn); Rudolf von Ems, *Weltchronik* 14048 ff. (ed. Ehrismann).
- 11 Cf. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* II (1903), p. 52; Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* II (1933), pp. 172 ff.
- 12 Cf. Diemer, Anm. p. 27; MSD II, p. 251.
- 13 *Spic. Soles*, II, pp. 396-8; III, p. 475.
- 14 Cf. *ibid.*, III, pp. 451, 475-6.
- 15 Cf. the sermon of Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, PL 184, 1020 CD; Schönbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten* III (1891), p. 206, lines 27-36; Pitra, *Spic. Soles*, II, pp. 415-6; III, pp. 451, 489 ff.
- 16 Ed. Mellbourn, pp. 96-7.
- 17 MSD II, pp. 248-51.
- 18 Line 41 (ed. Bachofer, *Die kleinen Denkmäler*, pp. 178-9).
- 19 Cf. pp. 249-50.
- 20 Cf. Eisenhofer and Lechner, *The Liturgy of the Roman Rite* (1961), pp. 198-9.
- 21 Ed. Bachofer, *Die kleinen Denkmäler*, pp. 178-81.
- 22 Diss. p. 10.
- 23 *Die kleinen Denkmäler*, Anm. pp. 69-70.
- 24 *Der Reim von Stammsilbe auf Endsilbe*. Diss., Tübingen (1934), pp. 113-114.
- 25 VMar 75-78; *Die kleinen Denkmäler*, pp. 180-1. Cf. Bachofer, Diss. p. 218, note 1.
- 26 MSD II, p. 250. Cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria* on these verses, PL 114, 370 B; 612 B.
- 27 Cf. Jerome, CChr 73, pp. 59-60, followed by the *Glossa Ordinaria*, PL 113, 1240 C; Rupert of Deutz, PL 167, 1289 CD.
- 28 See above, p. 198.
- 29 Lines 109-115; *Die kleinen Denkmäler*, pp. 182-3.
- 30 MSD II, p. 251; Bachofer, *Die kleinen Denkmäler*, Anm. p. 71.

APPENDIX II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VORAU BALAAM

Examination of the structure of the VBal suggests that the fourfold pattern of the Israelite encampment and the heavenly city may have influenced not only the theme of the poem but also its form and composition. This appendix sets out the evidence for this – albeit tentative – conclusion, which was reached by adapting to the VBal techniques of structural investigation recently applied to other MHG poetry.

Recent attempts to fathom the formal structure of MHG works have attached considerable weight to the MS capitals and the sections into which poems are thereby divided. Thus the numerical patterns proposed by Eggers¹ for *Der Arme Heinrich* receive support from the rubricated capitals,² while the importance of the capitals in the Vorau MS has been successively emphasised by the controversy over its composition³ and by Maurer in his efforts to establish Early MHG poetry upon a stanzaic basis.⁴ The structural study of the *Wiener* and *Millstätter Genesis* by M. T. Süniger is similarly founded upon the divisions of the MSS.⁵

Whatever the criticisms levelled against the hypotheses of Eggers⁶ and Maurer⁷, a glance at Diemer's edition of the VBM or at the MS facsimile⁸ shows the recurrence of the capitals at fairly regular intervals to be so striking that they provide an obvious starting-point for a structural investigation of the VBal. The accompanying diagram illustrates the plan which emerges from such an analysis.

Before attempting to draw conclusions from this survey of the MS sections, we must first mention three possible objections to the validity of the proposed analysis. The most serious is the fact that the VBal as it exists in the Vorau MS breaks off suddenly and may be incomplete. Although we have shown that the evidence for this is far from conclusive,⁹ the possibility must inevitably qualify the conclusions reached below. A less serious difficulty is presented by the possible corruption of the extant text, in particular the lacuna of fol. 96^{ra} (D. 84, 9-10). If *fransmûte* is rhymed with *gemûte* (D. 84, 8-9), the relevant section (no. 28) has 17 lines, and it would therefore seem that we are dealing with what was originally an 18-line section. While it might be argued that the lacuna was left because an indefinite number of words were illegible to the later scribe who renewed fol. 96,¹⁰ it is apparent from this scribe's treatment that he wished to reproduce the original folio as far as possible: thus the lacuna of fol. 89 and the short omission lower on fol. 96^{ra} (D. 84, 15) appear to be designed to fit what could no longer be read in the original.¹¹ Thematic considerations corroborate the brevity of the omission at D. 84, 9-10, for all the details named in the description of the candlestick (D. 81, 14 – 82, 8) receive appropriate exegetical treatment in the lines preceding

MS fol.	Diemer	Section	Theme	Lines per Section		
94ra						
94rb	72, 8	1	Balak's plan	20	} Part I Balaam and his ass	
	72, 26	2	Balaam's reactions	16		
	73, 8	3	The angel's appearance	18		
	73, 23	4	The ass's fear	8		
94va	74, 4	5	The ass injures Balaam	4		} 8 sections 126 lines
	74, 9	6	Burlesque with the ass	28		
	75, 3	7	Balaam sees the angel	8		
94vb	75, 11	8	Balaam's failure and advice	24		
	76, 4	9	Balaam on the mountain	16	} Bridge-passage 1 section	
	76, 16					
95ra	77, 2	10	The twelve tribes named	18	} Part II The camp	
	77, 13	11	Eastern encampment	14		
	77, 23	12	Southern encampment	14		
	78, 6	13	Western encampment	12		} 5 sections 72 lines
	78, 6	14	Northern encampment	14		
95rb	78, 15	15	Levites carry ark with manna	22	} Bridge-passage 1 section	
	79, 2					
	79, 20	16	The manna eaten; worms; exegesis	20	} Part III The ark and its contents	
	79, 27	17	Ark also holds one of twelve rods	10		
95va	80, 4	18	God will honour one tribe	10		
	80, 22	19	Blossoming of Aaron's rod; exegesis	20		} 5 sections 74 lines
	80, 22	20	Ark also holds tablet with Law	14		
	81, 5	21	The tabernacle	12	} Bridge-passage 1 section	
	81, 14					
	81, 24	22	Basic description of candlestick	12	} Part IV The candlestick	
	82, 8	23	Detailed description of candlestick	18		
95vb	82, 18	24	Exegesis of the three feet: the Trinity	12		
	83, 5	25	Trinity; stem, branches, cups; exegesis	14		
	83, 17	26	The drink from the cups; exegesis	14		
96ra	84, 1	27	Lilies; exegesis	16		} 9 (?8) sections 130 lines
	84, 12	28	Bosses; exegesis	(17) 218		
	84, 12	29	Lamps; exegesis. Conclusion	20		
	84, 26	30	Balaam's blessing	6		
	85, 3					
				Total	452	

and succeeding the lacuna (D. 82, 8 – 84, 20). Hence there would appear to be reasonable grounds for treating D. 84, 1-12 as an 18-line section in our analysis.

Even when care is taken to check all observations against the MS facsimile, there remains a third danger, that the scribes of our MS may have erroneously added or omitted initial capitals when copying this version from an original.¹² On the replaced leaves, the illuminated capitals are consistently omitted, but each new MS section is clearly distinguishable because spaces have been left with marginal notes of the letters to be inserted.¹³ The relative length of the sections varies considerably; there is no 26-line section, otherwise every even number from 4 to 28 inclusive is represented at least once. Examination of the relevant passages shows that there are no adequate grounds for supposing that any initial capitals have been omitted in error or that the longer sections should be subdivided, as was found to be necessary with longer works.¹⁴ Thus the 28-line section (no. 6) consists of the burlesque episode of Balaam and the ass – a story which the poet expands because he clearly enjoys it, as earlier critics have observed.¹⁵ The length of the 24-line section (no. 8) is explained by the final six lines (D. 75, 25 – 76, 4) where the poet adds to the account of Balaam's failure a reference to his deceit of the Hebrews with the women of Moab, a story perhaps known to him from other sources and added here as an afterthought.¹⁶ The 22-line section (no. 15) is, as we shall see below, a bridge-passage between the second and third parts of the poem, and as such is necessarily of some length, for it includes matter common to both these parts. Other sections of considerable length are explained by their relative epic prolixity or by the addition of exegetical material to the literal subject-matter. But the chief reason for accepting the sections as they exist in the MS of the VBal is one which also serves to confirm the structural importance of the very position of the initial capitals: the fact that the MS sections largely correspond to paragraphs in a modern prose narrative, for with each new section the subject is changed, a new event or episode is begun, or the emphasis is shifted. That the formal structure of the poem is closely mirrored and accentuated by this division into MS sections emerges clearly from the thematic analysis in the diagram.

Ehrismann, in his literary history, divided the work into three parts.¹⁷ This analysis aimed solely at a brief survey of the content of the VBal, and its unsatisfactory nature emerges from the fact that Ehrismann's third part consists solely of Balaam's blessing, the last six lines of the poem. On both thematic and structural grounds the fourfold plan suggested in the diagram seems more reasonable. The poet deals with four major topics: the story of Balaam and his ass (Part I), the Israelite encampment (Part II), the ark of the Covenant and its contents (Part III), and the description and allegorical interpretation of the candlestick (Part IV). The four themes correspond to a harmonious structural plan: in terms of both lines and MS sections, Part I shows a close numerical correspondence to Part IV, and Part II to Part III likewise. It is also remarkable that the 214 lines from the opening of the poem to the end of Part II (sections 1-14) are paralleled by the 216 lines

from the beginning of Part III to the end of Part IV (sections 16-30).¹⁸ As we have observed, most of the sections deal with a single theme which is changed or varied by a new initial capital in the MS. The chief exceptions to this rule are explained by the plan of the poem, for they form transitional sections between the different parts. Thus the ninth section tells how Balaam climbs the hill with Balak, is unable to curse the Israelites and sees them encamped before him in the valley. By the end of the section the emphasis is no longer on Balaam but on the twelve tribes: it thus constitutes an adroit transition between Parts I and II. Inspired by Num. 22, v. 41, the poet has found in this verse the opportunity to pass from the story of Balaam told in Num. 22 to the Israelite camp described in Num. 2.

No less skilful is the bridge-passage linking Parts II and III. Having described the eastern and southern sections of the camp (Num. 2, vv. 3-16), the biblical source then states that the Levites came next with the tabernacle (Num. 2, v. 17). The VBal, however, omits this detail for the present and continues in sections 13 and 14 with the western and northern sides of the camp (Num. 2, vv. 18-31). The poet returns to it in the transitional section 15, and we have already indicated how, by writing *arche* (D. 78, 18) for the biblical *tabernaculum testimonii* (Num. 2, v. 17), he is able to pass naturally from the account of the camp to the manna inside the ark without forcing the narrative unduly.¹⁹

Even this minor inaccuracy in following the source is remedied, for the third transitional section (no. 21) reminds us that the ark is itself within the tabernacle. In this case the tabernacle is the factor common to both ark and candlestick, and together with the unobtrusive use of the prepositions *Vber* (D. 81, 5) and *Dar inne* (D. 81, 14) at the beginning of the bridge-passage and Part IV respectively it enables a smooth transference from the third principal theme to the final one to be effected.²⁰

Aware of the apparent thematic discrepancies in his material, the poet has thus moulded his four themes by an adept use of the three bridge-passages. This conclusion seems to confirm the hypothesis that the VBal was carefully planned according to a symmetrical pattern. Here it must again be emphasised that the precise degree of significance that can be attached to the evidence for harmonious and symmetrical composition, and whether one is justified in detecting numerical patterns resembling those proposed for classical MHG works, are factors which must be related to the possibility that the VBal breaks off incomplete. However, since the case for regarding the VBal as a fragment is inconclusive, we are justified in proceeding to state our conclusions on the structure of the poem as an interpretation which has at least some degree of validity.

Many of the points raised in the discussion of this problem²¹ turned on the uncertain function of section 30, the last six lines of the poem. Ehrismann's isolation of this section in his analysis also underlines the fact that they read like an afterthought — as if the poet concluded his treatment of the candlestick and then realised the Balaam episode had been abandoned incomplete at an earlier

stage in the work. If this section indeed represents such a departure from the original structural conception of the poem, then its omission strengthens the harmony of the distribution of the MS sections still further by producing the pattern:

8 - 1 - 5 - 1 - 5 - 8

The most striking feature to emerge from this analysis, however, lies in the close correspondence of the fourfold structure of the VBal itself to the sequence in which the fourfold plan of the Israelite encampment is described in Num. 2, with which an earlier chapter²² was concerned. A diagram will make the resemblance clear.

Encampment (Num. 2)		Vorau Balaam	
Judah Issachar Zebulun	} Num. 2, vv. 3-9	Part I Sections 1-8	} Balaam and his Ass
Reuben Simeon Gad		Part II Sections 10-14	
LEVITES WITH TABERNACLE	Centre	LEVITES WITH ARK	
	Num. 2, v. 17		Section 15
Ephraim Manasseh Benjamin	} Num. 2, vv. 18-24	Part III Sections 16-20	} Ark and its Contents
Dan Asher Naphtali		Part IV Sections 22-30	

That the poet wished to make this further allusion to Num. 2 and its exegetical significance in the structural composition of his poem cannot, of course, be proved with any certainty, but it is a hypothesis which at the same time cannot be dismissed as a figment of the imagination.²³ For granted that a fourfold theme forms the subject of his work and underlies its structure, there is nothing remarkable in a medieval author wishing to emphasise the mystical significance of that number.²⁴ In the VBal, the link with the four sides of the camp as described in Part II of the poem, and hence with the anagogical allusion to the four walls of the heavenly Jerusalem, would form the obvious example of such a mystical connotation which could readily be reflected in the composition of the work as a whole. Evidence that the Middle Ages conceived of the tabernacle and the encampment in pictorial terms has been adduced already.²⁵

The structural resemblance between Num. 2 and the whole VBal is not confined to the parallel between the four divisions of the camp and the four parts of the German poem. In their transposed position in the VBal the Levites appear in the centre of the work with the ark of the covenant which thus retains the position of importance held by the tabernacle in Num. 2, v. 17, even though, as we have seen, the poet chose not to follow the Vulgate exactly and instead mentioned this feature at the end of the description of the camp in order to make a convincing

bridge-passage. It is appropriate that the ark is accorded this central position in the structure of the VBal, for, like the Jerusalem surrounded by four walls in the implicit allegory, it is variously interpreted as Christ, the Church and the souls of the just.²⁶

Although the Vrau MS may present an incomplete version of the VBal,²⁷ it is clear that the extant text of the poem reflects a plan as meaningful as that which underlies the introduction of the subject-matter of the Israelite encampment, and that a direct association may be intended between the description of Num. 2 and the structure of the work as a whole. Though obviously stimulated by the omission from the VM of themes chiefly derived from the book of Numbers, the VBal is far from being the amorphous appendix which earlier criticism implied. The exegetical significance of the poem becomes ever more apparent as its four themes are introduced, each carefully moulded to its predecessor by means of the bridge-passages. The attention of the audience is first captured by the entertaining narrative of Balaam's ass; then follows the list of tribes and the encampment, their full import enigmatically introduced in D. 77, 10; Part III with the ark and its contents mixes narrative and allegorical interpretation; and the final treatment of the candlestick, where there are suggestions that the poet is hurrying through his material²⁸, is almost entirely allegorical. It is difficult to know how the author of the VBal could have better resolved the problem of fusing the disparate subject-matter which the sequel to the VM required. The distinctive character of his poem is apparent both in this presentation of narrative and exegetical passages and in the introduction of an implicit analogical dimension, revealed thematically in the fourfold plan of the encampment and structurally in the external form of the poem.²⁹

NOTES

¹ Eggers, *Symmetrie und Proportion epischen Erzählens*, Stuttgart, 1956.

² Cf. Robson, 'The Technique of Symmetrical Composition in Medieval Narrative Poetry', *Studies in Medieval French presented to A. Ewert*, Oxford (1961), pp. 26-75, especially pp. 48 ff. where Eggers' work is considered.

³ Cf. Fank's polemic against Menhardt, *BGDSL* 78 (1956), pp. 387 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Dichtung und Sprache des Mittelalters: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, pp. 174-213; *Die religiösen Dichtungen* I, pp. 15-48, 59.

⁵ *Studien zur Struktur der Wiener und Millstätter Genesis*, Klagenfurt (1964). See also the review by Wells, *Modern Language Review* 62 (1967), pp. 161-2.

⁶ Cf. Robson, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.; Bumke, *Euphorion* 51 (1957), pp. 222-7.

⁷ Cf. W. Schröder, *Festschrift Quint*, pp. 194-202; *BGDSL* 87 (1965), pp. 150-165.

⁸ Ed. Polheim. For the VBal, see fol. 94^{ra}-fol. 96^{ra}.

⁹ Cf. above, pp. 176-8.

¹⁰ Cf. Polheim, pp. XI-XII.

¹¹ Cf. the indentation at D. 41, 1, even though part of this MS section (not the opening line) was probably substituted from the *Ezzolied*: see above, p. 194 n. 35.

¹² Cf. Robson, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49 (table and notes).

- ¹³ Cf. Menhardt, *BGDSL* 78 (1956), pp. 149-150. The capital D of Diemer 84, 10 has been ignored as an erroneous addition, since there is no space at the beginning of this MS line. Instead, a small capital D was added in the margin close to the *er* with which the eleventh line of the MS column begins. This appears to be a later annotation designed to make better sense of the passage immediately following on the lacuna by reading *Der* for *er*. Cf. Polheim, p. XXI n. 16.
- ¹⁴ An example of the erroneous omission of a MS capital occurs in the VM at Diemer 59, 30, where the evidence of the Linz fragment of the poem (ed. Lambel, *Germania* 7 (1862), pp. 230-5; Wilhelm and Newald, *Poetische Fragmente des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 1-4) shows that the word *der* should introduce a new MS section. The capital is confirmed by the change of theme, the introduction of the jacinth. The Linz fragment is independent of the Vorau text, cf. Menhardt, *BGDSL* 78 (1956), p. 416.
- ¹⁵ Cf. Scherer, *QF* 7, p. 49; Ehrismann, II, 1, p. 96. The emphasis on the comic element in the story rather than on its serious exegetical background is to some extent paralleled by the liturgical plays of the *Prophetæ*, where Balaam's part is expanded into a short drama with the angel and the recalcitrant beast: see E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, pp. 54-55, 72, and above, p. 176.
- ¹⁶ Cf. above, pp. 162-4.
- ¹⁷ P. 96.
- ¹⁸ Furthermore, the centre of the whole poem (line 226) coincides with the middle of the fifteenth and central section (D. 78, 23).
- ¹⁹ Cf. above, p. 165.
- ²⁰ Further support for the rôle played by these bridge-passages in the interpretation of the theme and structure of the VBal is apparent in their close connection with the textual parallels to the VM which help to establish the VBal as a sequel to the longer work (cf. above, pp. 2 ff., 172 ff.). The parallels in question occur in the descriptions of the manna (D. 78, 25-28; cf. 47, 24-27) and the columns of the tabernacle (D. 81, 11-12; cf. 56, 16-17). It is noticeable that in each case the lines in the VBal occur in two of the three bridge-passages, sections 15 and 21 respectively. The structural feature serves to illuminate the relationship of the VBal to the VM. In the case of the manna, the poet is no longer concerned with the fundamental details already given in the VM, and can afford to copy some of them wholesale in the introductory bridge-passage; thence he passes swiftly to section 16 and begins the third part of the work with the new topic in which his real interest lies – how the manna was eaten, and the interpretation of the worms. In the account of the tabernacle in the VBal the couplet repeated from the VM similarly mirrors the poet's indifference to a subject already exhausted by the longer work: for him it is merely a convenient bridge between the contents of the ark and the candlestick, an entirely new theme. The remaining bridge-passage, section 9, though lacking any explicit quotation of the VM, nevertheless resembles the other transitional sections in containing a brief reference to events described in detail in the longer poem, in this case the most crucial event of all, the passage of the Red Sea (D. 76, 9-12). After this concise introduction, the poet turns immediately to his real focus of interest, the twelve tribes.
- ²¹ Cf. above, pp. 176-8.
- ²² Cf. above, pp. 165-71.
- ²³ The dangers inherent in attempting to detect structural harmonies without regard to the content of the work in question have been made abundantly clear by critics of the notorious cruciform plan of a Gothic cathedral upon which B. Mergell supposed Wolfram's *Parzival* to be constructed. Cf. Weber, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum* 66 (1952-53), pp. 89-93; W. J. Schröder, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 74 (1953), cols. 208-211; W. Wolf, *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 34, N. F. 3 (1953), pp. 246-248.
- ²⁴ Cf. Rathofer's recent discussion of the structure of Otfrid's gospel-harmony, *ZDA* 94 (1965), pp. 36-38.
- ²⁵ Cf. above, pp. 167-8. Though here, of course, the four quarters of the camp were shown on the four sides of the tabernacle rather than in the consecutive sequence of the description of Num. 2.
- ²⁶ Cf. above, pp. 173-4.
- ²⁷ There is obviously little point in speculating unduly about the structure of the VBal if a substantial portion of the work is indeed missing as the addition of the *Wahrheit* on fol. 96 may indicate. Nevertheless, certain possibilities can be noted. If the *Wahrheit* is omitted, there would be space for about 190 lines of verse on the rest of fol. 96. But it would have been a surprising coincidence if the VBal had reached exactly to the end of fol. 96, and a blank space may have been left at the end of the original leaf in order to mark the conclusion of the whole VBM; the same technique occurs between the end of the *Kaiserchronik* and the

beginning of the VBM, and at the conclusion of the *Judith* poems before the *Vorauer Alexander* (cf. Polheim, *Die deutschen Gedichte*, p. X). Hence one might reasonably postulate for the VBal a fifth part of some 130 lines, resembling Parts I and IV in size and occupying the rest of fol. 96^r and half of fol. 96^v. Even such an addition would not necessarily preclude the structural association with the eschatology of the encampment, for in the case of a five-part poem the central position of the heavenly city, which previously corresponded to the bridge-section 15, would now coincide with Part III, where again the ark and its sacred contents form the subject. Possibly the explicit exegesis of Christ's birth (D. 80, 18-20) would have appeared at the very centre of such a plan, thus forming a parallel to the rôle of the exegesis of the blind man's healing in fit 44 of the *Heliant*, which for Rathofer constitutes part of the structural nucleus of the epic. Cf. Rathofer, *Theologischer Sinn als tektonische Form*, pp. 444 ff., etc.; *ZDA* 93 (1964), pp. 256 ff. Interplay of the figures four and five also characterizes the theme and structure of Otfrid's work: see Rathofer, *ZDA* 94 (1965), pp. 36-38.

²⁸ Cf. D. 82, 8-11; 84, 19-26.

²⁹ Another feature which may underlie the structure of the VBal and illuminate the harmony of its composition is the Golden Section ratio, a numerical pattern of possible relevance to MHG poetry: see Eggers, *Wirken des Wort* 10 (1960), pp. 193-203; Duckworth, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 91 (1960), pp. 184-220; *ibid.*, *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's 'Aeneid'*; Batts, *Traditio* 20 (1964), pp. 462-471. The Golden Section is described by Batts (*ibid.*, p. 466) as 'the formula whereby any quantity is divided into two unequal parts in such a way that the ratio of the smaller part to the larger is equal to that of the larger part to the sum of the parts. In practice this means a ratio of approximately .62:1.' Multiplying the total number of lines in the VBal, 452, by .618 in order to obtain this division of the poem, we reach line 279 (D. 80, 6) at the beginning of the exegetically crucial passage dealing with the rod of Aaron. Subdivision of this figure on the same principle gives us line 172 as the corresponding break in the first part of the work, and it is this very line, D. 77, 10: *mit pizeclicheme magene*, which points to the eschatological significance of the encampment. It can also be argued that corroboration of this pattern is provided by the MS sections of the poem. The divisions indicated by the Golden Mean ratio occur near the end of sections 11 and 18 and if, as the structural analysis suggested, we accept a total of 29 rather than 30 sections, we encounter the symmetrical pattern 11 - 18 - 29 which, as Eggers (*Wirken des Wort* 10, p. 195), Duckworth (*Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass.* 91, p. 194) and Batts (*Traditio* 20, pp. 469-470) have pointed out, is a perfect example of the Golden Mean. One cannot over-emphasise the tentative nature of such considerations as these, but until more is known with greater certainty about numerical and structural patterns in medieval works they inevitably provide much food for thought.

Bibliography

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The bibliography is classified as follows:¹

I. Exegetical works.

- (a) Selected works of reference, including versions of the bible, with titles listed in alphabetical order.
- (b) Christian exegetes listed alphabetically,² followed by their dates and works. The *Glossa Ordinaria*, and the Jews Philo and Josephus, are also entries in this list. Latin versions of Greek works have been cited where editions exist, and spurious works will be found under their supposititious authors. Notes on authenticity have been added where appropriate. Editors are named for the CSEL and GCS collections, though not for the CChr, PG, and PL.
- (c) Hebrew and apocryphal works in translation, under the name of the editor or translator.
- (d) Critical literature relating to the above.³

II. Vernacular works.

- (a) Selected works of reference listed under the name of the editor.
- (b) Texts, under the name of the editor.
- (c) Critical literature relating to the above.

¹ Works which fall into more than one of these categories are listed once only, under the heading most suitable for the present study.

² In contrast to the body of the text, where groups of exegetical authors have usually been enumerated in chronological order.

³ In a few cases theological works were not accessible in the original language, or in the latest editions.

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2. EXEGETICAL THEMES AND TOPOI

In view of the many nuances of allegorical meaning and the imprecise nature of many exegetical concepts, this index has largely been confined to the more distinctive themes discussed. Themes where number is important are listed together under the heading 'number symbolism'.

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