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Medieval Glossary of Biblical Symbols – Pseudo-Garnier’s of Langres *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam*¹

Średniowieczny glosariusz symboli biblijnych
Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam Pseudo-Garniera z Langres

ABSTRACT: In the article, we will present the life and works of Garnier of Langres, and show the specificity of the *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam* and the problems associated with the attribution of the work and the manuscript tradition. It will also reveal the inadequacy of the text published in *Patrologia Latina* and the need for a critical edition.

KEYWORDS: Bible, medieval interpretation, Garnier of Langres, allegory, biblical hermeneutics

ABSTRAKT: Artykuł prezentuje życie i twórczość Garniera z Langres, wykazuje specyfikę *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam* oraz problemy związane z atrybucją dzieła i tradycją przekazu rękopiśmiennego. Wskazuje na nieadekwatność wydania w *Patrologia Latina* i potrzebę edycji krytycznej.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Biblia, interpretacja średniowieczna, Garnier z Langres, alegoria, hermeneutyka biblijna

¹ The article was based on a lecture given during the VI Congress of Polish Medievalists (20–22 September 2018, Wrocław).

Introduction

A few years ago,² we began working on a little-known text included in Migne's collection, the *Patrologia Latina* among the works of Rabanus Maurus (d. 856) entitled *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam*. It is a glossary containing the symbolic explanations of biblical motifs based on patristic and medieval works. Initially, we intended to translate it into Polish. However, it soon turned out that not only the attribution of the work is incorrect, but the text included in the *Patrologia Latina* also leaves a lot to be desired. Upon acquiring digital reproductions of the most important manuscripts of the work, we undertook the difficult task of its critical edition within the framework of a grant which we had received in 2018 in the Universalia National Program for the Development of Humanities. In the present article we are going to present the initial, partial results of our research.

Initially, we are going to outline the life and work of Garnier of Langres (d. after 1225). Furthermore, we will show the specificity of *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam*, as well as problems connected with the attribution of the work and the tradition of manuscript writing. We will point out the inadequacy of the publication in the *Patrologia Latina*, as well as the need for a critical edition. In subsequent parts of the article, we will present a hermeneutic introduction to the glossary, followed by its critical compilation, along with a Polish translation.

The life and work of Garnier of Langres

Garnier of Langres was born in mid-XII century, in Rochefort-sur-Brévon, into a noble family. At a very young age, he entered the Longuay (Longum Vadum) Cistercian Abbey in the Langres diocese. The abbey abandoned the Rule of St. Augustine in 1150 and accepted the rule from Cîteau. Soon, Garnier became the prior of the Clairvaux Abbey, and in 1180, the abbot in Auberive. Six years later, he was called back to Clairvaux to take on the post of abbot there. At that time, he received a letter from Richard the Lionheart (d. 1199), in which he asked him to preach a new crusade, following in the footsteps of his predecessor Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), in order to provide military support

² The research is a joint work of the author of the article and Dominika Budzanowska D.Sc. The project of a critical edition and the Polish translation of the studied text received a grant from the Universalia National Program for the Development of Humanities in 2018.

for the Crusaders from the Holy Land. In 1193, Garnier was consecrated as bishop in order to become the ordinary of the Langres diocese. Six years later, he resigned from his post of bishop due to problems connected with administering the diocese and left as a simple monk for the abbey in Clairvaux. He died several years – after 1225.

Garnier put together 40 sermons.³ However, it seems that he was not a talented preacher, since according to J.C. Didier, “they have neither the anointing nor the charm.”⁴ He frequently quoted classicist authors. From among the Fathers of the Church, he especially favored Ambrose (d. 397), Jerome (d. 420), Augustine (d. 430) (his metaphors of Christ as a doctor), Boethius (d. 524) and Bede (d. 735). From time to time, he also quoted John Scotus Eriugena (d. 877) and he was one of the first authors influenced by Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202), especially his thoughts on symbolism. Apart from two letters, Garnier also wrote a polemical treatise against the Cathars, *Tractatus contra amaurianos*,⁵ which contains an interpretation of a Tetragrammaton by Joachim of Fiore.

The specificity of *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam*

Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam is the most comprehensive medieval dictionary of biblical symbols. It reflects the symbolic *universum* in accordance with the medieval tradition of the four senses of the Holy Scripture. This means, that the author does not limit his perspective only to symbols intended by the inspired writer (as is the case with contemporary biblical scholars), but also takes into account symbols created by the readers based on the literary motifs of the biblical text. These symbolic interpretations come from the earlier texts of the Fathers of the Church and other medieval authors.

The work attributed to Garnier of Langres begins with a hermeneutic introduction, explaining the differences between the literal, allegorical, moral and anagogical senses. Then, the terminology is arranged in an alphabetical order of literary motifs. Each entry contains four elements:

a) presentation of a literary motif, usually with the aid of a single word,

³ *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, [in:] *Patrologia Latina* (further: PL), 205, pp. 159–828.

⁴ *Ils n'ont pas la moindre onction, ni le moindre charme*; J.-C. Didier, *Garnier de Rochefort. Sa vie et son oeuvre. État des questions*, „Collectanea ordinis cisterciensium reformatorum” 17 (1955), p. 154.

⁵ *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medioevalis* (further: CCCM), 232, P. Lucentini (ed.), Turnhout 2010.

- b) symbolic meaning attributed to said motif,
- c) the biblical quotation which was used to form the symbolic interpretation is preceded by the name of the book of the Bible or a general hint as to where the quotation comes from,
- d) a brief explanation of the interpretation, focusing on its spiritual significance.

Most of the literary motifs have more than one interpretation. Some of them, e.g. water (*aqua*) contain as many as 21. Sometimes the same literary motif is interpreted in a different way depending on the biblical context.

Prior to the XII century, two glossaries were prepared in a similar way, namely, the *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae*⁶ by Eucherius of Lyon (d. 450) from the first half of the V century, and the *Clavis*,⁷ wrongly attributed to Melito of Sardis (d. 180), an anonymous work created between the VII and IX centuries.⁸ Eucherius had some influence on the *Clavis*, but neither of these works is reflected in the *Allegoriae* attributed to Garnier of Langres. Neither of the glossaries is arranged in an alphabetical order, the entries are grouped according to association (e.g. things above ground, animals, body parts etc.).

Attribution of *Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam*

Studies on the attribution of the glossary boast a rich history. *Editio princeps* by Gregorius Colvenerius (d. 1649), a professor at the University of Douai, was published in 1626, among the works of Rabanus Maurus.⁹ The attribution has no grounds in any manuscript and was probably based on the fact that numerous symbolic interpretations of the glossary come from the works of Rabanus. Colvenerius's text was printed with the same attribution in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* series.¹⁰

⁶ Eucherius of Lyon, *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae; Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (further: CSEL) 31/1, pp. 3–62. Eucherius's edition in PL 50, pp. 727–772, contains latter interpolations from the works of Bede. On the subject of the exegesis of Eucherius see also: T. Skibiński, *L'interpretazione della Scrittura in Eucherio di Lione*, Roma 1995.

⁷ J.-P. Laurant, *Symbolisme et Ecriture, Le cardinal Pitra et la „Clef” de Meliton de Sardes*, Paris 1988 (publication of the manuscript from Clairmont).

⁸ *Terminus post quem* is the beginning of the VII century, the times of Gregory the Great (d. 604), who had great influence on the *Clavis*. *Terminus a quo* is the beginning of the IX century, since Theodulf of Orléans (d. 821) and Rabanus Maurus (d. 856) use the *Clavis* in their commentaries.

⁹ G. Colvenerius, *Hrabani Mauri opera quae reperi potuerunt omnia in sex tomos distincta*, Köln 1626, vol. 5, pp. 749–823.

¹⁰ PL 112, pp. 849–1088.

Until studies conducted by André Wilmart¹¹ in the second decade of the XX century, the attribution was widely accepted. The only exception was based on manuscript 13411 from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. This proposed attributing the work to Adam Scotus (Adam of Prémontré, Adam of Dryburgh, d. 1212). However, it seems that there is a lack of compelling evidence to support it.

Wilmart brings to light several arguments against the alleged authorship of Rabanus Maurus. At least three of them are worth mentioning:

- a) all the *Allegoriae* manuscripts, under the term *bysus* contain a quotation from Hildebert, the bishop of Mans, stating his name. Hildebert of Lavardin became the bishop of Mans in 1097, then the archbishop of Tours in 1125 and died somewhere between 1133 and 1134, more than 300 years after the death of Rabanus Maurus;
- b) as far as the fourth sense of the Holy Scripture, Rabanus Maurus (after Cassian and Bede), uses the term *anagoge* in his writings, while in the *Allegoriae*, the term *anagogia* always appears;
- c) quotations from Psalms in the works of Rabanus Maurus come from the Gallican Psalter, while in the *Allegoriae*, verses of Psalms were taken from the Roman Psalter.

Attributing *Allegoriae* to Garnier of Langres is based mainly on the evidence from manuscripts 392 and 32 from the library in Clairvaux (presently in Troyes). Both these manuscripts contain, at the end of the text, information provided by Abbot Conrad about donations made by Garnier of Langres for the abbey, as well as about the fact, how the conventual community shall express its gratitude, with the exact date of 1216. Then, there is a XIII-century appendix, apparently from the same time: *Hunc etiam librum dedit dominus Garnerius quondam lingonensis episcopus* ("This book was also given by Lord Garnier, in the past bishop of Langres"). At the end of the last page of manuscript 392, there is an inscription of the abbey librarian, also from the XIII century: *Angelus domini Garnerii quondam lingonensi episcopi* (The angel of Lord Garnier, in the past bishop of Langres). The text containing the title of the work, *Angelus*, based on the first word of the glossary, seems to indicate authorship. However, it may also be the result of the provenance of the manuscript. Most likely it was a gift to the abbey from Garnier at the end of his life, when he no longer held the post of bishop.

¹¹ A. Wilmart, *Les allégories sur l'Écriture attribuées à Hraban Maur*, „Revue bénédictine” 32 (1920), pp. 47–56.

It must be noted, that both manuscripts 392 and 32 contain the later form of text indicating numerous interpolations, as will be seen in the latter part of our article. That is why, even if we assume Garnier's authorship, it will be connected with the extended and edited form of the text (δ), and not the original (β). In our opinion, the original form of the text was anonymously composed in the XII century. Most likely it took place prior to 1125, since the above-mentioned Bishop Hildebert is presented as *episcopus cenomanensis* (of Mans), and not as the bishop of Tours, a town that is more important as far as a bishopric is concerned.

The manuscript tradition of *Allegoriae*

Allegoriae is represented by over 55 manuscripts stored in various libraries all across Europe. Most of them (18) are found in France, however it is worth mentioning, that the next ranked country as far as the amount of preserved manuscripts is Poland, with six of them – three in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow and three in the University Library in Wroclaw. Six manuscripts date back to the end of the XII or the beginning of the XIII century, eight to the first decades of the XIII century, fourteen to the XIII century, three to the end of the XIII century. All the remaining ones are from the XIV and XV centuries.

Based on internal criticism, we have discovered three stages of the creation of the text. The first, composed of manuscripts belonging to the β family, represents the shortest form of text. It was created before the end of the XII century, most likely – as has already been mentioned – between 1100 and 1125. It contains an introduction of hermeneutic character and only a few extensions outside the original intent of bestowing a symbolic significance upon literary biblical motifs. This version of the text has attained great prominence and is represented by numerous latter manuscripts spread all around Europe and the British Isles.

We have also found three manuscripts containing an extended form of the text – the γ family. The interpolations are mainly based on adding new, symbolic interpretations and some extensions containing definitions and differentiations. The introduction was preserved, however several stylistic corrections had been made. Manuscripts from this family are found in France and in Italy. Such form of the text probably appeared in the second half of the XII century or at the beginning of the XIII century (before 1216).

Finally, the δ family represents the most developed form of the text. Here, we will find numerous interpolations containing new symbolic interpretations, definitions and differentiations. This version has been edited based on γ , however

the introduction was omitted. These kind of manuscripts are found in many locations, starting with Portugal and ending with Poland, where we can find four copies.

The story of the creation of *Allegoriae* leads us to formulate a hypothesis about the existence of an original form of the text – the α form – that could be called *schedarium Garnieri*. Most likely, this was not a volume, but a collection of cards containing individual interpretations collected from literary sources. It can also not be excluded that the *schedarium* was expanded by introducing new cards (α_1 i α_2) containing interpretations that were interpolated into the original text during the latter stages of edition (γ i δ). Unfortunately, this is only a hypothesis, since manuscript evidence as to the existence of the *schedarium Garnieri* has not been found.

As of present date, we have been able to locate digital facsimiles of 27 manuscripts and one printed version, which can be classified according to the following *stemma codicum*.

β family (short form of the text):

Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 868 (XII century) (only entries starting with the letter A)

Paris, Sorbonne, P588 (XII century)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 13411 (XII century)

Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 539 (XIII century)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 589 (XIII century)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 599 (XIII century)

Oxford, Laudianum, Misc. 504 (XIII century)

Oxford, Wood, Empt. 16 (XIII century)

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 634 (XIII century)

Assisi, 249 (XIII century) (entries starting with A–B, influences of the γ family)

Olomouc, Státní Vedecké knihovna, M.I.274 (1300–1350)

Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, VIII.B.27 (1442–1443)

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I.F.97 (1400–1450)

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I.F.265 (1464)

Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 112 (based on an unidentified manuscript).

γ family intermediate (form of the text, containing interpolations):

Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1697 (XIII century)

Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1704 (XIII century) (entries in a shortened version)

Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Borgh., 148 (XIV century).

δ family (extended text form with numerous interpolations):

Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 32 (prior to 1216)

Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 392 (prior to 1216)

Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, 0087 (1201–1225)

Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cód. Alcobacenses, 410 (1257)

Oxford, Merton coll. 200 (beginning of the XIV century)

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, BJ1467 (1443)

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, BJ1471 (XV century)

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I.F.99 (1474).

Inadequacy of the *Patrologia Latina* edition and the need for a critical edition

The most popular and widespread edition of the *Allegoriae* is Migne's *Patrologia Latina* based on Colvenerius's edition. Both of the contemporary translations, into Italian by Pier Giorgio di Domenico¹² and into English by Priscilla Throop,¹³ have been completed based on this edition.

The manuscript used by Colvenerius is part of the β family and contains the proper form of the text. Nevertheless, Migne's edition is far from perfect. Firstly, it seems that Colvenerius's manuscript was heavily damaged, contained numerous gaps and illegible fragments, all of which has been marked in the edition. Secondly, the scribe utilized abbreviations, which the editor wrongly deciphered. Some abbreviations are frequently confused, e.g. *quod* instead of *quia*, *Psalmio* instead of *Psalmis*, *Canticis* instead of *Cantico*. Thirdly, the editor was an expert in classical Latin and from time to time, especially when the text was difficult to read, he did a lot of guesswork with the aim of reconstructing the probable original form. Moreover, the Colvenerius edition contains interpolations, unconfirmed by any manuscript and far removed in style from the original version of the text.

All of this leads us to the conclusion that, the text of the *Allegoriae* from *Patrologia Latina* should be replaced with a new critical edition based on evidence from manuscripts.

¹² Rabano Mauro (pseudo), *Allegorie sulla Scrittura*, transl. P.G. di Domenico, Citta' del Vaticano 2002.

¹³ Anonymous, *Allegories in All Holy Scripture*, transl. P. Throop, Charlotte, Vermont 2009.

Remarks concerning the preparation of the critical edition

In the critical edition of *Allegoriae* which we have prepared, we take into account the available manuscripts from the XII century and the best manuscripts belonging to the β family from the XIII century. In situations when different versions of the text are represented by important manuscripts, we also check β manuscripts from the XIV-XV centuries, as well as evidence from the γ and δ families. Due to the significance of the *Patrologia Latina* edition, we also include its variations in the critical apparatus, although we have not yet accessed the manuscript which served its publication.

Apart from the critical apparatus, we also study sources of *Allegoriae*. Some interpretations are definitely based on the *Morals on the Book of Job* by Gregory the Great (d. 604) or commentaries to various Books of the Bible by Bede the Venerable or Rabanus Maurus. We have also come across influences of Augustine and Ambrose. Similarities to Eucherius, Fulgentius (d. 533), Primasius of Hadrumetum (died c. 560), Cassiodorus (d. 585), Ambrose Aupert (d. 784), or Paschasius Radbertus (d. 865) seem rather accidental and are a result of the common spiritual tradition of the interpretation of the Bible.

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