

Edition, Translation, and Exegesis: The Carolingians and the Bible

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Carolingian society, as we have become increasingly aware, valued books, and of the books it had it valued the Bible most. Scripture was a central preoccupation of the literate classes; it formed, certainly, the main reading of scholars in monasteries and courts. Rulers, too, whether literate or not, wished to know what it said, and literate laymen and women were interested in scriptural matters.¹

What is striking about the reading of the Bible in the ninth century is not simply that people in many different walks of life wished to do it. It is also that they gave attention to the biblical text. They shared a realization that it was necessary to establish its history—to know how it had been edited and translated into Latin—before attempting to undertake its exegesis. Because they were members of a society so concerned with the supply of books, they were conscious of the tasks of edition and revision; because they read them in a language they did not normally speak, they were familiar with the exercise of translation. The recognition of the importance of these acts was a distinctive feature of Carolingian scholarship. In their attention to philological procedures and details, to the work of editing, revising, and translating, ninth-century scholars made a lasting contribution to the ways in which Europeans would think about the Bible.

Their first effort was to secure an accurate Latin text. Alcuin's Bible is perhaps the best known of these works; he presented it to Charlemagne on the occasion of his coronation as emperor, and thereafter Alcuin's

scriptorium at Tours made many copies.² At least four other editions survive from the late eighth and early ninth centuries, testifying to a great concern for the revision of the Latin Bible.³ A second effort was directed toward the production and distribution of manuscripts. There is evidence for the intention in contemporary legislation: public authority emphasized education and made explicit the need to learn from Scripture.⁴ Indeed, the scriptoria produced biblical manuscripts in large quantities, and the compilers of library catalogues put these books first in lists of their holdings.⁵ Despite the many copies of scriptural texts in circulation, however, not all monastic or episcopal centers could be expected to have the pandect, a manuscript copy of the whole Bible.⁶ This is an interesting fact, and it suggests that much book production was intended merely to supply basic classroom requirements. A third task was to interpret Scripture. For the Carolingian commentators, this meant turning to the fathers of the church. "The first necessity," writes Beryl Smalley, "was to make the patristic tradition available and intelligible."⁷

The eighth and ninth centuries marked a period of heightened interest in Christian antiquity. Much attention was given to the church fathers, especially in the monasteries, where the culture was based on the Bible and its interpretation.⁸ The Rule of St. Benedict itself was a patristic document. And the thoughts of the early teachers—the "fathers," the "doctors," the "defenders of the faith"—suffused monastic life.⁹

The process by which their work was gathered up in the monasteries of northern Europe is often seen, as Smalley's remark implies, as the reception of a tradition. I should like to argue here that it was that and something more: that when patristic texts were passed through the hands of Carolingian scholars they were configured and reconfigured as much as they were read. Carolingians turned to the Fathers for guidance, certainly; but it is just as certainly true that, to quite a considerable extent, it was the work of the Carolingians that helped to define the tradition and to establish it.¹⁰

Let us examine this proposition against the background of the reading of Scripture. Here the dominant figure was St. Jerome (ca. 340–420). In the ninth century, Jerome's edition of the Bible, familiar to us today as the Vulgate, or *Vulgata editio*, was coming to be adopted generally throughout the empire.¹¹ The Vulgate was in part a revision of older Latin versions of Scripture, in part a new translation from Greek and Hebrew sources. Jerome's contribution was manifold: he edited, translated, and commented. His works formed the basis of Carolingian biblical scholarship. "Be mind-

ful," wrote Alcuin, "of the most blessed Jerome, the most celebrated teacher of divine Scripture in the holy Church."¹²

Before considering the ways in which Frankish scholars responded to Jerome, it might be useful to review his writings. The early history of the Vulgate Bible is complicated, to some extent because Jerome did not set about his task in an orderly fashion. He moved from book to book, often retracing his steps and correcting earlier work. In 384 he gave Pope Damasus a revision of the Four Gospels—the first in what would become a very long series of revisions and translations that occupied him until his death.¹³

Jerome did not approve of the Old Latin translations current in his own time; he insisted that the Latin Scriptures must be based on a knowledge of the original texts. In a famous letter on the translation of the Psalms, he wrote:

When the Latins face a problem caused by variant readings in different copies of the New Testament, they return to the Greek, the language in which the New Testament was written; in the same way, we must consult the Hebrew original when Greeks and Latins disagree about an Old Testament text. Only in this way will the little streams that flow from the original spring retain their purity.¹⁴

One example will serve to illustrate his method. Jerome was especially fascinated by the Psalter, and he returned to it again and again. Between 382 and 384 he began revising the Old Latin Psalter used in Rome; the text now known as the Roman Psalter was once thought to represent that revision. (It now appears, however, that Jerome's work has been lost and that the text as we have it represents the unrevised Old Latin prototype.) Shortly thereafter, in 386 and 387, Jerome prepared a new Latin version on the basis of the Greek columns in Origen's *Hexapla*. It was this version, later known as the Gallican Psalter, that found its way into the Vulgate edition. The third of Jerome's translations, the Hebrew Psalter, was made directly from the Hebrew some time before 392.¹⁵

Jerome's attention to textual matters made him a rarity among Latin scholars of his day. The philological approach to Scripture—as opposed, for instance, to the allegoresis of Ambrose and Augustine—was little understood. Indeed, most of his contemporaries saw his work as meddling with texts that had been hallowed by tradition; they preferred the Old Latin translations. Augustine even wrote to discourage

him from translating directly from the Hebrew. It was sufficient to use the Greek of the Septuagint, he said, for that translation had been divinely inspired.¹⁶ Jerome defended his position in the prefaces to his new revisions and translations and developed it further in numerous scriptural commentaries and handbooks.¹⁷

In addition to his writings on the Bible, Jerome translated works by Origen, Eusebius, and Didymus. He wrote books on church history and controversy, including *On Famous Men*, *Dialogue with a Luciferian*, and *Lives of the Hermits*. He was the author of a remarkable collection of letters. Jerome's literary activity was, in the words of his recent biographer J. N. D. Kelly, "prodigious, sometimes feverish."¹⁸

The Franks, however, valued him most for his gift of the Latin Bible. Ratramnus of Corbie called him the "translator of the Divine Law, most skilled in all the sciences," and "most learned in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages."¹⁹ Hincmar of Reims described Jerome as "most expert in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues." And, he added, "carrying on his inquiry with the Lord's inspiration, he was rewarded by penetrating to the marrow and very vitals of Sacred Scripture."²⁰ Ninth-century scholars have left behind many such expressions of praise.²¹ They show both the veneration in which Jerome was held and the reasons for it: he was the translator of the Bible, knew the original languages, and was very learned. What had been, in Jerome's own lifetime, an exceedingly controversial approach to Scripture by this time was regarded as authoritative.

How had it happened? I think some explanations are to be sought in the particular circumstances of Frankish society, where the impetus to provide books led scholars to respect editing, and where the use of multiple languages by the learned led them to think about translating. They read the Bible in a Latin they did not normally speak. They were accustomed, therefore, to move quickly from one form of Latin to another or from Latin to the vernacular.²² They were aware of the process of translation in their own lives and knew its difficulty, its compromises, and its necessity.

Jerome had traveled freely in the Mediterranean world of late antiquity, studying Latin in Rome with Aelius Donatus, perfecting his Greek in Antioch and Constantinople, and learning Hebrew with a converted Jew in the Syrian desert. Four hundred years later, in the more restricted universe of the Frankish kingdoms, the same possibilities did not exist. Few scholars learned Hebrew or Greek; we do not know of any who learned both.²³ Yet they continued to have before them the admonitions of writers like Isidore of Seville, who said: "There are three sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and they are supreme through all the world."²⁴

Jerome's knowledge of the biblical languages was a fact that impressed itself vividly upon the Franks. They referred to it often, not only in their written texts but also in the visual arts. Portraits of Jerome in biblical manuscripts, common through the period, illustrate his philological activities.²⁵ Their iconography marks a departure from late-antique precedents. Let us consider three examples.

Perhaps the earliest such reference comes from the court of Charlemagne. The ivory covers of the Dagulf Psalter (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Ivories 9 and 10) were made sometime between 783 and 795. They originally contained the corrected text of a Psalter Charlemagne had prepared as a gift for Pope Hadrian I (r. 772–95).²⁶ A dedicatory verse by the scribe Dagulf connects the covers to the manuscript and to Jerome's revision: "The thorns were drawn from the Psalter by the studies of a man who kept vigil through the night."²⁷

On the upper panel of the front cover (see fig. 5 in chap. 6), a youthful King David is shown composing the Psalms and dictating to scribes; on the lower panel, David sits on a throne and plays his harp, surrounded by musicians and attendants. The back cover portrays Jerome. He is an elderly figure with a bald head and short beard. The upper panel shows the presbyter Boniface handing a scroll to Jerome, who rushes to meet him. The scroll contains, presumably, a message from Pope Damasus asking him to revise the Psalter.²⁸ In the background are some buildings representing Jerusalem. On the lower panel, Jerome is shown holding the Psalter in his hand and dictating his revision to scribes.

Anton von Euw has shown that the scenes from Jerome's life are compilations based on prefatory texts in the manuscript. They do not seem to have any iconographical precedent. The Jerome panels, he suggests, were made up at the Carolingian court to provide a match for the David panels.²⁹ The pairing was new. It drew attention to Jerome's work of revision and translation by setting it beside David's work of composition. Jerome's cover was not, as it might have been, simply the reinterpretation of a late-antique author portrait. Rather, the two covers were to be read together, and together they honored the men to whom the Carolingians owed their Psalter.

Later illustrations made more pointed reference to Jerome's role as translator. An important example is the frontispiece to the prefaces of St. Jerome in the Vivian Bible, the so-called First Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 1, fol. 3v; reproduced as the frontispiece to this volume). The manuscript was copied at Tours about 845 and dedicated to the king by the lay-abbot Count Vivian and the monks of

St. Martin. Like its companion, the Jerome frontispiece in the San Paolo Bible (Rome, San Paolo fuori le mura, Bible, fol. 3v), it has as its theme Jerome as translator of the Bible.³⁰

In the Vivian Bible, scenes from the life of Jerome are arranged in three panels, with inscriptions on purple bands below that explain the episodes.³¹ Above and to the left, Jerome, wearing Carolingian garments, leaves the city of Rome (personified by a female figure holding a lance and shield). A ship sets sail for the East. In Jerusalem, to the right, Jerome gives coins to his Hebrew teacher. The second panel shows Jerome interpreting Scripture for Paula, her daughter Eustochium, and two other women. To the right, a monk takes down Jerome's words, while behind him, two men begin to multiply the text (one reads, the other takes dictation). In the bottom panel, Jerome gives copies of his completed Latin Bible to six monks, who carry them off to buildings on the left and right.

The sources of the Jerome frontispieces are unknown.³² No late-antique narrative scenes of Jerome's life survive, although scholars have proposed a fifth-century model. It seems likely that, whatever his visual models, the artist also consulted some biographical source. It too is unknown. The frontispieces present an oversimplified chronology of Jerome's travels that was first given in the sixth-century *Chronicle* of Marcellinus Comes. By the ninth century, however, the chronology had become familiar; it circulated in two anonymous biographies of the saint.³³

Motifs and devices borrowed from other contexts seem to have been adapted to a new theme.³⁴ Here again, Carolingian artists illustrated their debt to Jerome. And they did it quite literally, in a narrative beginning with Jerome's travels to the places where he studied Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, and ending with his distribution of Bibles to monks, who returned with them to their monasteries.

It was probably not a coincidence that so graphic an account of the preparation of the Bible came from the scriptorium at Tours. Tours had been Alcuin's home at the end of his life, and the monks of St. Martin had made many copies of his text. They had an appreciation for the work of revision. Nor was it likely to be a coincidence that the emphasis on Jerome's work of translation was to be found in a Bible addressed to Charles the Bald, as there was considerable interest in Greek at his West Frankish court. The scholar John Scottus Eriugena (ca. 810–ca. 877) was director of the court school and author of a remarkable series of translations of Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Maximus the Confessor. Indeed, John Scottus compared himself to Jerome in the introduction to his translation of Pseudo-Dionysius.³⁵ Others at the court, who knew less

Greek, played at translation by writing macaronic verse with Greek words gleaned from glossaries.³⁶

Liuthard, principal painter at the court school of Charles the Bald, gives us an author portrait of Jerome. It was done about 860, in a Psalter executed for the king's personal use (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 1152, fol. 4r; see fig. 1).³⁷ The miniature follows the familiar stylistic model of an evangelist portrait, that is, a representation of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John. Jerome is shown at work on his translation. As in the Vivian Bible, it is a youthful Jerome—beardless, tonsured, and haloed. He is seated on a cushioned throne under a canopied arcade. His left hand touches a lectern holding an open book; with his right hand he dips a pen into a pot of ink. The richness of the clothing, the throne, and the elaborate setting suggest that the painter wished to stress the importance of his subject. Jerome is identified by an inscription: "Jerome, noble translator and mighty priest, nobly translates the Psalms of David."³⁸

These few examples point to the development of a new iconography of Jerome in the Frankish kingdoms. Both the portraits and their inscriptions attest to his scholarship. Jerome's work on the Psalter came increasingly to be compared with David's, because the Franks relied upon Jerome's texts. He had labored through many nights, as Dagulf put it in his dedicatory verse, to draw the thorns from the Psalter. Jerome's work of translation was increasingly valued in a society that experienced firsthand the complicating factor of linguistic diversity. It was a society, moreover, aware that knowledge of the biblical languages was becoming a precarious achievement.

The Carolingians, then, found their own reasons to appreciate Jerome. His contemporaries had often disagreed with him; Augustine and others were satisfied with the Old Latin Bible and saw no need for further revision and translation. By the end of the eighth century, however, circumstances had changed. The Carolingians knew that such activities were important, for they would not have had their Bible without them.

Jerome's work represented an approach to Scripture that had great appeal for many Carolingian scholars. His writings often formed part of the apparatus in Carolingian biblical manuscripts. His famous Letter 53, to Paulinus on the study of the Bible, preceded copies of Alcuin's text; Letter 106, to Sunnia and Fretela on the translation of the Psalms, introduced scholarly editions of the Psalter; and the biblical prefaces frequently appeared in editions of Scripture.

Jerome's scriptural commentaries were extremely popular.³⁹ As a rule, he began a commentary with an analysis of the Latin text of the relevant



FIGURE 1. Court school of Charles the Bald: St. Jerome translating the Psalms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 1152, fol. 4r. Photo: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

passage. He discussed the translation and compared it with other translations, and he compared the Latin with the original Greek or Hebrew. Next he explained the literal meaning of the text, what he called the historical verity (*historiae veritas* or simply *historia*); and, finally, he probed its figurative and allegorical meaning in order to come to the “secrets of spiritual

understanding" (*spiritualis intelligentiae sacramenta*).⁴⁰ Jerome made linguistic problems the basis of his exegesis.

There were those, of course, for whom such detail seemed superfluous. Teachers simplified his narratives, removing philological discussions they thought were above the heads of their pupils.⁴¹ Josephus Scottus shortened Jerome's commentary on Isaiah by removing the references to variant Greek readings.⁴² Christian of Stablo defended his writing of a new commentary on Matthew by saying that his readers would not understand Jerome's commentary without the help of a commentary on Jerome.⁴³

But for many, Jerome was an inspiration. Perhaps it was his work on the Psalter that made the most lasting impression. It had been Jerome's favorite biblical book, and it was the favorite, too, of readers in the Middle Ages. Jerome had left three recensions: the Roman Psalter, the Gallican Psalter, and the Hebrew Psalter. Ludwig Traube wrote:

Scarcely any facts of textual tradition which confronted the Western Middle Ages contributed as much to the awakening of critical thought and widening of the intellectual horizon as the existence of Jerome's three Psalters, their deviations from each other, their relationship to the Hebrew original and to the Septuagint translation, Jerome's extensive commentary on specific passages, with reference to still other Greek translations, and the concise but eloquent style which his critical notations incorporate into the text of the Gallican Psalter.⁴⁴

In order to compare the texts, Carolingian scholars devised what was to become one of their characteristic study instruments: the triple, or tripartite, Psalter (*Psalterium triplex*, *Psalterium tripartitum*). In these books, the three Latin texts were presented in parallel columns, so that readers could make line-by-line comparisons.⁴⁵

Another type of study book was the bilingual Psalter. The form of the Greek-Latin codex had been inherited from late antiquity. The Franks used it for the study of Scripture (*Psalterium duplex*). The double Psalters gave a Greek version (usually the Septuagint) in one column and one of Jerome's Latin versions in another. Irish scribes on the Continent preferred an interlinear arrangement, with the Latin translation written above the Greek original.⁴⁶

Still more careful textual study was made possible by the introduction of the quadripartite Psalter (*Psalterium quadruplex*, *Psalterium quadrupartitum*). In A.D. 909 Salomon III, bishop of Constance and abbot of Saint

Gall, commissioned the first such work from the scriptorium of the abbey. (It is now Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 44 [A.I.14]),⁴⁷ The Psalter presented, in four parallel columns, Jerome's Gallican, Roman, and Hebrew Psalters, and the Greek text of the Septuagint, given in Latin transliteration (see fig. 2). A dedicatory verse of forty-four dactylic hexameters explained the history of Jerome's translations from the Greek and Hebrew sources. The purpose of the four texts in the edition, it said, was

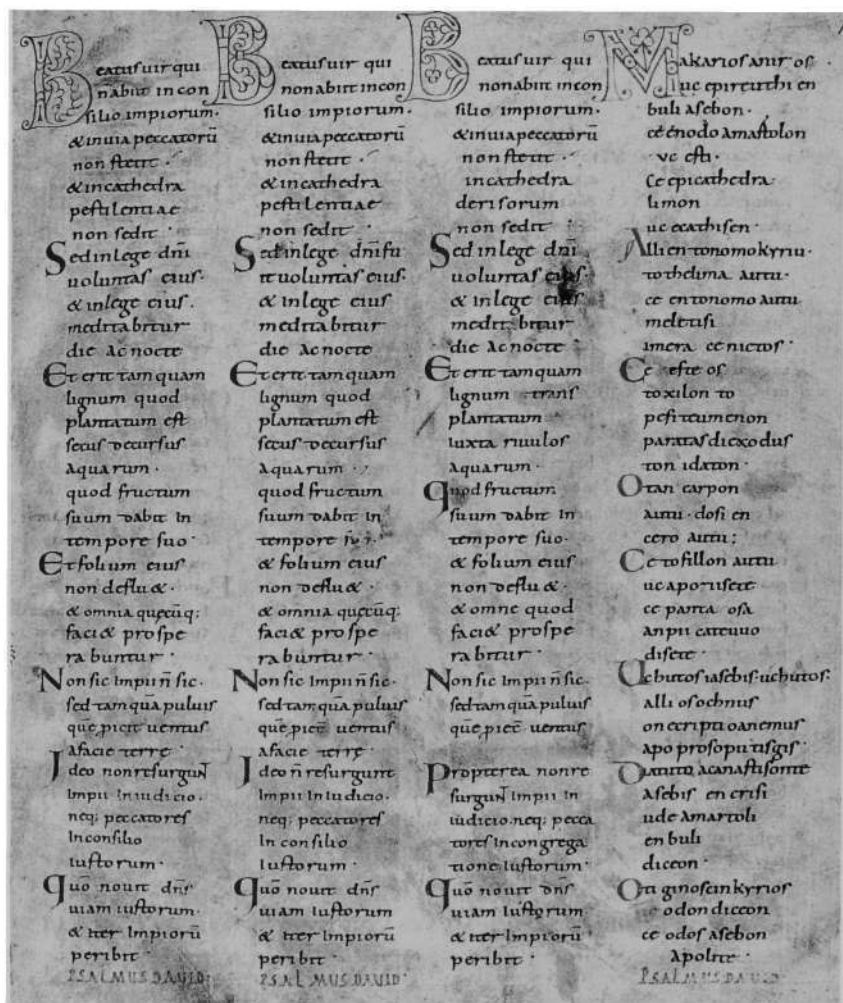


FIGURE 2. Scriptorium of Saint Gall: The quadripartite Psalter of Bishop Salomon III. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 44 (A.I.14), fol. 12r. Photo: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek.

to enable learned men to follow four routes to the hidden meaning of Scripture.⁴⁸

These manuscripts were books for scholars. They were used by men who were highly trained and who, like Jerome, assigned priority to linguistic problems. Scholars did not need to know the original languages of Scripture to recognize differences in the Latin texts. They could—and did—consult Jerome's Letter 106 on the translation of the Psalms to learn the reasons for the different renderings of Greek and Hebrew.⁴⁹ Jerome in all his work had pointed to the connection between translation and exegesis. The multiple Psalters permitted Frankish scholars to explore it.

Jerome had been a conspicuous figure in his lifetime—as translator and expositor of Scripture, as a satirist and Latin stylist, and as a hermit in the desert. His work had often been controversial. After his death the hostility seemed to fade, and “for the next thousand years and more,” remarks Kelly, “a crescendo of adulation was to surround him.”⁵⁰

The Carolingians were among the first to recognize his achievement. He had given them the Latin Bible. Their debt was immediate. They sought to define it. In the art of their manuscripts they called attention to Jerome's textual scholarship, and in a novel series of editions they carried his work forward. They sought, too, to interpret his life. Two anonymous writers of the mid-ninth century composed biographies of him; in one, Jerome was assigned his earliest, and for many centuries his only, miracle.⁵¹ Indeed, they venerated him as a saint: Florus of Lyons, Hrabanus Maurus, Wandelbert of Prüm, Ado of Vienne, and Usuard were among those who listed his name in the martyrologies.⁵²

The Franks greeted Jerome with a new spirit of welcome and, in doing so, distinguished themselves from many of his Christian contemporaries. What brought about the change? It had to do, surely, with the nature of Carolingian society, and with its urgent need for books. The men of late antiquity might take for granted a supply of learned texts, but those of the eighth and ninth centuries could not. Carolingian scholars were vitally concerned to establish the text of the Latin Bible, to make copies and distribute them, and to understand the text itself. In all of these activities they relied upon the example of Jerome. Their own efforts, moreover, had given them a particular understanding of his. More than people in other times, perhaps, they knew the importance of editions, revisions, and translations. That is why their actions cannot simply be described as the reception of texts from late antiquity. In their adoption of Jerome's philological methods and in their invention of new images of him and assertion of new roles for him, the Carolingians defined and established a tradition.

Notes

1. Annotations in a ninth-century library catalogue from the abbey of Saint Gall give evidence for the lay interest in Scripture. Among the borrowers of books were Emperor Charles the Fat (839–88) and his wife, Richardis. Charles had borrowed a volume of homilies on the Gospels by Gregory the Great; Richardis had taken a volume of Gregory's homilies on Ezekiel and another volume of Jerome on the prophets: Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 728, p. 6; printed in Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 1:72–73. For prompting my interest in the complex nature of early medieval literacy, I am indebted to Rosamond McKitterick's book *The Carolingians and the Written Word*. I thank the Arts Research Board of McMaster University for assistance in obtaining the photographs reproduced here.
2. Bonifatius Fischer, *Die Alkuin-Bibel*.
3. For these editions, see Fischer, "Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen." See also Laura Light, "Versions et révisions du texte biblique." The bibliography on the subject is vast. For a critical review of scholarship to date, see John J. Contreni, "Carolingian Biblical Studies."
4. The point is made by Contreni, "Carolingian Biblical Studies," pp. 74–77.
5. On the priority of Bibles in the library catalogues, see McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, p. 197.
6. There was a copy at Saint Gall: Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 728, p. 5; printed in Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 1:71: "Bibliotheca una." The pandect is listed first in the catalogue, followed by individual books of the Old and New Testaments.
7. Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 37.
8. See Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, pp. 89–111.
9. On the early history of the terminology used to describe church teachers, see Berthold Altaner and Alfred Stuiber, *Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, pp. 3–5. (An English trans. of the book is available, but it is based on an earlier edition: Altaner, *Patrology*, trans. Hilda C. Graef [Freiburg, 1960], pp. 3–5.)
10. This is a large theme to which I shall return in other studies.
11. The term *Vulgata editio* became customary in the thirteenth century: see Altaner and Stuiber, *Patrologie*, p. 398. For an overview, see Raphael Loewe, "The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate."
12. *Commentaria in s. Joannis evangelium*, in PL 100:740: "Memento clarissimum in sancta Ecclesia divinae Scripturae doctorem, beatissimum siquidem Hieronymum." See also PL 101:279, 742, 774.
13. On Jerome's complex pattern of work, see Jean Gribomont, "The Translations: Jerome and Rufinus."
14. *Epistula 106, Ad Sunniam et Fretelam, de psalterio, quae de LXX interpretum editione corrupta sint*, in *Saint Jérôme: Lettres*, ed. and trans. Jérôme Labourt, 8 vols. (Paris, 1949–63): "Sicut autem in nouo testamento, si quando apud Latinos quaestio exoritur, et est inter exemplaria uarietas, recurrimus ad

fontem Graeci sermonis, quo nouum scriptum est instrumentum, ita et in ueteri testamento, si quando inter Graecos Latinosque diuersitas est, ad Hebraicam confugimus ueritatem; ut quicquid de fonte proficiscitur, hoc quaeramus in riuiis" (5:105) (English trans. in Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* [Baltimore, 1985], p. 17). On the reception of the letter in the early Middle Ages, see Bernice M. Kaczynski, "Greek Glosses on Jerome's *Ep. CVI, Ad Sunniam et Fretelam*, in MS Berlin (East), Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 1674." Much has been written about Jerome's view of translation. For a recent account, see Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, pp. 45–55.

15. See Gribomont, "The Translations," pp. 223–26; and Colette Estin, "Les Traductions du Psautier." See Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the "Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim,"* for an analysis of his approach to the biblical languages.
16. On the correspondence of Jerome and Augustine, see J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies*, pp. 217–20.
17. For Jerome's defense against "the howling dogs who rage savagely against me," see Kelly, *Jerome*, pp. 168–70.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 141. For a survey of Jerome's work, see Altaner and Stuiber, *Patrologie*, pp. 394–404, 632–34; and Gribomont, "The Translations," pp. 212–46. Jerome reviewed his own writings in *De uiris illustribus* 135, ed. Wilhelm Herding (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 65–66.
19. Ratramnus of Corbie, *De partu sanctae Mariae* 28, ed. J. M. Canal, *Marianum* 30 (1968): 105: "Hieronymus, sacrae legis interpres; omnium peritissimus disciplinarum, fidei turris inconcussa, sapientiae lampade splendissimus, eloquio facundissimus, latini, graeci, hebraeique sermonis doctissimus."
20. *De praedestinatione Dei*, in PL 125:246: "Et sanctus Hieronymus, Hebraicae, Graecae, et Latinae linguae peritissimus, qui dicitur ut nucem iuxta nucleum frangens, medullas et ipsa viscera Scripturae sanctae investigando, Domino inspirante, penetrare promeruit."
21. More *testimonia* are collected in PL 22:213–36. For a discussion, see M. L. W. Laistner, "The Study of St. Jerome in the Early Middle Ages," p. 237.
22. Much remains to be learned about the complex linguistic relationships of early medieval Europe. For a provocative reassessment, see McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 1–22.
23. See Bernhard Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages." On Hebrew, see Matthias Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters*. On Greek, see Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*; and Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age: The St. Gall Manuscripts*. On the process of translation, see Kaczynski, "Medieval Translations: Latin and Greek."
24. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 9.1.3–4.
25. For general surveys of the iconography of Jerome, see Bernard Lambert,

Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta: La Tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de saint Jérôme, 4:A:53–76 and pls.; Renate Jungblut, *Hieronymus: Darstellung und Verehrung eines Kirchenvaters*; and Peter Bloch and Hermann Schnitzler, *Die ottonische Kölner Malerschule*, 2:144–52 and pls. 630–48.

26. The ivory covers and the manuscript are now separated. The Psalter is in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1861. See Kurt Holter, ed., *Der Goldene Psalter "Dagulf-Psalter": Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat von Codex 1861 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2:58–65.
27. Printed in Holter, *Der Goldene Psalter "Dagulf-Psalter"*, 2:47:

Illic psalterii prima ostentatur origo,
Et rex doctiloquax ipse canere choro,
Utque decus rediit sublati sentibus olim,
Quod fuerat studio pervigilante viri.

28. The role of the pope has frequently been exaggerated. In the preface to his revision of the Gospels, Jerome attributes the initiative for the work to him, but this may simply be a literary convention. In fact, it is not certain at whose initiative Jerome undertook the early Roman revisions of the Gospels and the Psalter. See Gribomont, "The Translations," pp. 220–23.
29. Anton von Euw, "Studien zu den Elfenbeinarbeiten der Hofschule Karls des Grossen," pp. 54–56.
30. On the two frontispieces, see Wilhelm Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 1: *Die Schule von Tours*, pt. 2, *Die Bilder*, pp. 50–53, 314–17; Joachim E. Gaehde, "The Turonian Sources of the Bible of San Paolo Fuori Le Mura in Rome," pp. 361–65; and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, pp. 6–7, 84–95.
31. See MGH, *Poetae* 3:248:

Exit Hieronimus Roma condiscere verba
Hierusalem Hebraeae legis honorificae.
Eustochio nec non Paulae divina salutis
Iura dat altithrono fultus ubique deo.
Hieronimus, translata sibi quae transtulit almus,
Ollis hic tribuit, quis ea composuit.

For the *tituli* of the San Paolo Bible, see MGH, *Poetae* 3:259–60.

32. Kessler, in *The Illustrated Bibles*, observes that "these are among the most enigmatic ninth-century paintings. The subjects of the episodes in them have not been precisely identified; their relationship to one another has not been fully established; and their textual and pictorial sources remain unknown" (p. 84).
33. See Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, p. 25.
34. Florentine Mutherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, p. 77.
35. On John Scottus Eriugena, the greatest translator of the early Middle Ages, see Edouard Jeaneau, "Jean Scot Erigène et le grec"; and Jeaneau, "Jean Scot Erigène: Grandeur et misère du métier de traducteur." For the comparison to Jerome, see MGH, *Poetae* 3:547: "Quod si quorundam mordetur dente feroci / Hoc leue: namque meo contigit Hieronimo."

36. The "Carmina Scottorum" appear in MGH, *Poetae* 3:685–701.
37. Wilhelm Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 5: *Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen* (with Florentine Mutherich), p. 138.
38. See MGH, *Poetae* 3:243: "Nobilis interpres Hieronimus atque sacerdos / Nobiliter pollens transscripsit iura Davidis."
39. For a list of the commentaries, see Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 3:51–74. For a discussion of their popularity in the eighth and ninth centuries, see Laistner, "The Study of St. Jerome," pp. 239–45.
40. *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem Libri XIV* 13.42.13, in *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera*, pt. 1, *Opera exegetica*, vol. 4, ed. Franciscus Glorie, CCSL 75 (Turnhout, 1964), pp. 615–16.
41. See Contreni, "Carolingian Biblical Studies," pp. 79–80, for a discussion of pedagogical concerns as a stimulus for exegesis.
42. *Appendix ad Alcuini Epistolas*, no. 1, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, *Epp.* 4 (Berlin, 1895), p. 483.
43. *Epistolae variorum inde a saeculo nono medio usque ad mortem Karoli II (Calvi) imperatoris collectae*, no. 24, ed. Dümmler, MGH, *Epp.* 6 (Berlin, 1925), pp. 177–78.
44. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 25 (1904): 134–35, quoted by Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, p. 50.
45. Beruo of Reichenau, in the early eleventh century, mistakenly thought the arrangement itself came from Jerome; see Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, pp. 50–51.
46. On all of these biblical manuscripts, see Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age*, pp. 75–98 (with bibliog. and pls.).
47. On the Psalter, see Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age*, p. 78; and Berschin, "Salomons III. Psalterium quadrupartitum in Köln und Heidelberg."
48. The poem is printed by Arthur Allgeier, "Das Psalmenbuch des Konstanzer Bischofs Salomon III. in Bamberg: Eine Untersuchung zur Frage der mehrspaltigen Psalterien." Photographs of the two manuscript pages containing the poem are published in Berschin, "Salomons III. Psalterium quadrupartitum," p. 328.
49. See above, n. 14.
50. Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 333. On Jerome's posthumous reputation, see also Laistner, "The Study of St. Jerome," pp. 253–55; and Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*.
51. For the two biographies, *Vita (I) S. Hieronymi* (Inc. "Hieronimus noster") and *Vita (II) S. Hieronymi* (Inc. "Plerosque nimirum"), see PL 22:175–84, 201–14. See also *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. E. Dekkers, no. 623, p. 142, and no. 622, p. 141. Jerome's miracle (the extraction of a thorn from a lion's paw) is given in the *Vita (II)*. For a discussion, see Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, pp. 37–45; and Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, 3:68–69.
52. On Jerome's place in the martyrologies, see René Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie: Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire*, pp. 51–68.