

The Glosses on the Epistle of St James in the Fulda Codex (Fulda, Landesbibliothek, MS Bonifatius 1): A Reassessment.

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A reappraisal of the Latin glosses on the Epistle of St James in the Fulda Codex (Fulda, Landesbibliothek, MS Bonifatius 1), which were entered by two Anglo-Saxon glossators in the mid-eighth century. The present paper argues that the second (later) glossator, although working in tandem with the first glossator, reveals a style of exegesis markedly different from that of his predecessor. Furthermore, the second glossator, while clearly indebted to a Hiberno-Latin tradition of exegesis on James, displays an independent streak in many of his glosses. A working edition of the glosses is also supplied.

Key words: Anonymus Scottus Commentary on the Catholic Epistles, Archbishop Boniface, Bede's Commentary on the Catholic Epistles, Epistle of St James, Ernest Ranke, Fulda Codex, glossing, hibernicisms, M-A. Aris and H. Broszinski, M. Parkes, Pseudo-Hilary Commentary on the Catholic Epistles, relations between Jews and gentiles, the mystical body of the church.

Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles from the patristic period and the early Middle Ages are extremely rare. That is hardly surprising: their canonicity was called into question, their brevity marked them as minor works (by comparison with the Pauline Epistles and the Gospels), while their rather literal contents did not invite the higher, allegorical interpretations favoured by Western exegetes. In the Western Churches only one integral patristic commentary was known, Cassiodorus's *Complexiones in epistulas Apostolorum*, a work highly selective in its choice of passages for exegesis.¹⁾ All the more remarkable then that three commentaries on the Catholic Epistles have survived from the periphery of early medieval western Europe: two from Ireland, composed in the seventh century,²⁾ and a third, authored by Bede, from early-eighth century Northumbria. The earlier of the two Irish works, the *Commentarius in Epistolas Catholicas Scotti Anonymi* (hereafter referred to as "Anonymous Scottus" and abbreviated "Anon. Scottus"), although preserved in an early-ninth century Continental manuscript,³⁾ has Irish origins, as evident from its citing as exegetical authorities certain Irish scholars, notably, Lodcen, Manchianus, Bercannus filius Aido, Bannbannus, and Breccanus, all of whom are known from independent sources to have flourished in the south of Ireland in the mid-seventh century.⁴⁾ The second Irish commentary, the *Tractatus Hilarii in Septem Epistolas Canonicas* (hereafter referred to as "Pseudo-Hilary" and abbreviated "Ps-Hilary") shows clear evidence of influence from the first.⁵⁾ Its Irish origins are suggested not only by this dependence but also by its frequent use of Isidore of Seville (a revered source for Irish scholars) and its citing of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, a grammarian whose works, if not composed in Ireland, first found favor there. Although dated by its most recent editor to *ca.* 690–708,⁶⁾ Ps-Hilary more likely was composed between

1) J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 70, 1319–1418; and R. Gryson (ed.), *Cassiodori Senatoris Complexiones Epistularum et Actuum Apostolorum*, Corpus Christianorum, series latina 98B (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 116–21. See E. Dekkers (ed.), *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (3rd edn., Steenbruges, 1995), no. 903 (p. 297). In addition to Cassiodorus's work, fragments of a commentary by Clemens of Alexandria (four epistles) in a Latin translation made by an anonymous author at the request of Cassiodorus survives. Augustine also commented on the Catholic Epistles, but the section on the Epistle of James is now lost; see Dekkers, *Clavis*, no. 279 (p. 109).

2) Ed. by R. E. McNally, *Scriptores Hiberniae minores I*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 108B (Turnhout, 1973). Hereafter all citations from these two works are referenced by page and line number of that edition.

3) Now Karlsruhe, MS Aug. CCXXXIII, fols. 1r–40v, which was probably copied at the monastery of Reichenau; see McNally, *Scriptores*, p. xvi.

4) As argued by A. Breen, "Some seventh-century Hiberno-Latin texts and their relationships," *Peritia* 3 (1984), 204–14 at 204–10.

5) As shown by McNally, *Scriptores*, pp. xii–xvii.

6) McNally, *Scriptores*, p. xvi.

670–690, perhaps closer to the earlier terminus.⁷⁾

By the early years of the eighth century, both of these commentaries had reached Anglo-Saxon England, as evidenced by their direct influence on the Venerable Bede, who drew on them for his own treatise on the Catholic Epistles (*In Epistolas Septem Catholicas*), composed ca. 709–716.⁸⁾ However, Bede was not the only Anglo-Saxon exegete of his time to have commented on the Catholic Epistles, using these two Irish works. A circle of Anglo-Saxons associated with Archbishop Boniface, the apostle of the Germans, which was active in the early- to mid-eighth century also drew on the two Irish works for a series of glosses on the Epistle of St James. The evidence for their activity appears on the margins of a de-luxe copy of the New Testament in uncial script, made in Italy ca. 541–46.⁹⁾ According to a long-standing tradition, the manuscript was later associated with Boniface, but whether he brought it with him from England or acquired it on the Continent (perhaps on one of his three visits to Rome) remains unclear.¹⁰⁾ These glosses are the subject of the present paper.

Written on the margins of fols. 435^v–441^v,¹¹⁾ they were entered by two different hands, both writing in Insular cursive minuscule of a type associated with eight-century southern England.¹²⁾ The sequence of glossing from the first hand (Glossator A) to the second (Glossator B) is evident from six instances where B added his own gloss to that of A; as also by the fact that B often had to locate his glosses on the margins far removed from their lemmata because of the pre-existing glosses of A. The most

7) Breen, “Some seventh-century texts,” 210–14.

8) See M. Karsten (ed. and trans.), *Beda Venerabilis in epistulam Iacobi Expositio: Kommentar zum Jacobusbrief*, *Fontes Christiani* 40 (Freiburg, 2000), 43–7, who would link in common authorship this commentary and the letter of Ceolfrith to King Nechtan of the Picts (*HE* V, 21), thereby suggesting a date around 715.

9) Generally referred to as the Fulda Codex, it was prepared for Victor, bishop of Capua in southern Italy. Among biblical scholars it is most famous for its arrangement of the four Gospels according to Tatian’s *Diatessaron*, where they are presented as a continuous narrative, though in this case the original Old Latin text has been revised to agree with the Vulgate.

10) It was at Fulda by the end of the eight century, as evidenced by annotations made in a Fulda-type hand of that date. See M. B. Parkes, “The Handwriting of St Boniface: A Reassessment of the Problems,” in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London and Rio Grande, 1991), pp. 121–42 at p. 132.

11) Given the relatively narrow spacing between the lines of the main text, interlinear glossing would have been difficult to achieve and would also have marred the visual presentation of the main script.

12) See Parkes, “The Handwriting of St Boniface,” pp. 122–5, for a thorough analysis of the differences between the two hands. See below, Plate 1, lines 13–15 (right margin) for gl. 34 by the first scribe, and lines 16–19 (right margin) for gl. 36 by the second scribe. I am grateful to the Hochschul-und Landesbibliothek Fulda for permission to reproduce this image of fol. 436^r; and to its librarian, Ms. Nadine Hecht, for her help in enhancing the image.

obvious aspect of A's glosses is their paucity, a mere 14 out of 109. Moreover, all of them are confined to the first chapter (of five) of the Epistle (fols 435^v–436^v), which makes comparison with those of B, which cover the full epistle, that much harder. No less obvious is their predilection for brevity; the majority consist of a single clause, offering simple literal or didactic comments. In content these glosses are unsystematic, that is to say they do not follow any obvious scheme of interpretation, such as one normally finds in early medieval exegesis. For the most part they seem to represent direct, immediate responses in a literal spirit to the scriptural text, as in the following examples:¹³⁾

Iac 1:5 “SI QUIS AUTEM INDIGET SAPIENTIA POSTULET A DEO: ut sciat *uiam suam disponere* secundum Deum.” [gl. 18]

1:6 “POSTULET AUTEM IN FIDE: id est, ut accipiat *scientiam* quam *postulat*.” [gl. 20]

1:13 “DEUS ENIM INTEMPTATOR MALORUM EST: quia non habet causam in malorum temptatione, sed in bonorum.” [gl. 34]

1:17 “APUD QUEM NON EST TRANSMUTATIO: id est, de bono in malum.” [gl. 43]

“NEC UICISSITUDINIS OBUMBRATIO: id est, ut nubes obumbrant solem uel occasus, sic et mutatio boni in malum.” [gl. 45]

1:23 “HIC COMPARABITUR UIRO CONSIDERANTI UULTUM NATIUITATIS SUAE IN SPECULO: id est, in quo et in quali natus est.” [gl. 58]

Other glosses could be loosely categorized as mystical interpretations, an approach which the glossator signaled with the term *spiritaliter* in gl. 38, where “mortem” is read as eternal perdition:

1:15, “PECCATUM UERO CUM CONSUMMATUM FUERIT GENERAT MORTEM: id est, per actum animae *spiritaliter mortem generat*.” [gl. 38]

1:18 “UOLUNTARIE GENUIT NOS UERBO UERITATIS: id est, in baptismo.” [gl. 47]

“UT SIMUS INITIUM ALIQUOD CREATURAE EIUS: per generationem *creaturae eius*, id est, ut *praedicare euangelium omni creaturae* (id est, omni creato in baptismo).” [gl. 49]

1:21 “IN MANSUETUDINE SUSCIPITE INSITUM UERBUM: id est, quod modo praedico uobis, hoc est, euangelium.” [gl. 55]

1:25 “QUI AUTEM PERSPEXERIT IN LEGE PERFECTA: id est, in noua *lege*.” [gl. 60]

At least six of them betray influence from the two Irish commentaries on James. Thus, evidence for

13) Here, and throughout, the biblical lemma is given in capitals, while quotations or words from Scripture within the glosses are italicized. The glosses are numbered in accordance with that of the edition (see Appendix). “Iac” stands for the Epistle of St James (Iacobus).

Anon. Scottus occurs in

1:6 “POSTULET AUTEM IN FIDE: id est, ut accipiet *scientiam* quam postulat” [gl. 20]. Here the glossator is responding to the phrase IN FIDE, which serves to clarify POSTULET and, in the present context, is evidently interpreted to mean “in good faith” (rather than “faith” as belief). In other words, the gloss explains that asking for wisdom in good faith means being willing to accept whatever knowledge is conferred by God. The same interpretation occurs in Anon. Scottus, 7, 162–5, “Quo exemplo apostolus hic de postulanda sapientia docet: id est, Salamonis.... Hec postulatio ualde Domino placuerat.” What binds the two comments is their shared reference to the biblical story of Solomon’s request for wisdom, to which God had replied, “quia...non postulasti diuitias...sapientia et scientia data sunt tibi” (II Par. 1:11–12). The story is implied in Anon. Scottus with the mention of “Salamonis,” while in the gloss the collocating of “sapientiam” with “scientiam,” a close verbal echo of God’s words, points to the same source.¹⁴⁾

1:13 “DEUS ENIM INTEMPTATOR MALORUM EST: quia non habet causam in malorum temptatione, sed in bonorum” [gl. 34]. Glossator A’s comment that God has no reason for tempting the wicked — presumably since nothing good could come of it — resembles Anon. Scottus 8, 229–9, 230, “*Nemo cum temptatur, dicat et reliqua, quia ualde errant qui putant quoniam a Deo temptantur mali....*”

1:18 “UOLUNTARIE GENUIT NOS UERBO UERITATIS: id est, in baptismo” [gl. 47]. Compare Anon. Scottus 9, 256–8, “*Genuit...id est spiritaliter per innouationem Spiritus per bapitismum et doctrinam.*”

Glossator A also borrowed from Ps-Hilary:

1:17 “APUD QUEM NON EST TRANSMUTATIO: id est, de bono in malum” [gl. 43]. Here James is speaking of the divine bounty which comes from a God “with whom there is no change” (TRANSMUTATIO). By way of illustrating the contrasting reality of our world in which change prevails, Glossator A borrows from Ps-Hilary 60, 241, the example of the human propensity to shift from good to evil, “Id, homo de bono in malum.”

“NEC UICISSITUDINIS OBUMBRATIO: id est, ut nubes obumbrant solem uel occasus, sic et mutatio boni in malum” [gl. 45]. Following the line of interpretation dictated by the previous gloss (and using the same phrasing), Glossator A illustrates the unpredictable human turn from good to evil by

14) Ps-Hilary 58, 145–6, “Postulatio autem sapientiae...in Salomone...figuratur,” is also close enough to Glossator A’s comment, but diverges from the latter in interpreting IN FIDE negatively as referring to Simon Magus who sought the gifts of the Holy Spirit for the wrong reason (58, 158–60).

taking the figurative use of OBUMBRATIO in the lemma and transforming it into the physical phenomenon of the sun overshadowed by the clouds. Although couched allegorically, Ps-Hilary, 60, 242, employs the same imagery of light and darkness, “*Nec uicissitudinis obumbratio. Id, ut obumbret lucem ueritatis caligine peccati.*”

1:25 “IN LEGE PERFECTA: id est, in noua lege” [gl. 60], with which compare Ps-Hilary, 62, 300, “*Magna est lex noua euangelii.*”

Other aspects of A’s intellectual background emerge from his remaining three glosses:

1:9–10, “GLORIETUR AUTEM FRATER HUMILIS IN EXALTATIONE SUA DIUES AUTEM IN HUMILITATE SUA: tapinosis est, id est, magnae rei humiliatio: diuiti quod debuit pauperi, pauperi autem quod debuit diuiti adsignauit” [gl. 23].

Here James engages in a type of paradox reminiscent of Christ’s preaching in the Gospels, emphasizing that persons of low status will exult in their condition even as the rich are destined to debase themselves. Glossator A, however, evidently took the words literally and objected to them as a stylistic lapse, an instance of the rhetorical error known as *tapinosis*, that is, “lowering the state of a great subject by words.”¹⁵⁾

Another comment seems to have been inspired by personal familiarity with Christian hymnody:

1:17, “DESCENDENS A PATRE LUMINUM: qui est lux lucis et fons luminis” [gl. 42].

The gloss is a verbatim quotation from the hymn, *Splendor pater aeternae*, attributed to St Ambrose, and often employed for the hour of Lauds in the Roman rite, which suggests that A was familiar with that version of the Divine Office.

Potentially the most revealing of Glossator A’s entries is his very first gloss on Iac 1:1, “IACOBUS: *Iacobus Alpei, frater Domini, quemque dicunt ab ipso saluatore episcopum ordinatum et ordinem misae faciendi ostendisse creditur*” [gl. 1].

Despite its brevity, the gloss contains no less than four distinct claims about the Apostle James. The first two, that he was the son of Alpheus (Mt 10:3) and thus related to Christ as ‘brother’ (Mt 13:55), are commonplaces of the Gospels, though in making the second claim the glossator conveniently steered clear of its implications for Christ’s paternity. However, the third claim, that Jacob was personally ordained bishop by Christ, is remarkable since it goes well beyond the orthodox patristic position.

15) Isidore, *Etymologiae*, lxxxiv.11; translated by Stephen A. Barney et al., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 57. For further discussion of this gloss, see p. 120, below.

Authorities on the early Church such as Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* II.23.1) and Jerome (*De viris illustribus*, ch. 2) unambiguously stated that James was consecrated bishop by the other Apostles; and even apocrypha such as the “Gospel of Thomas,” while suggesting James’s special relationship with Christ, did not specifically make the claim that he was ordained by him. Admittedly, Glossator A qualifies his claim with the verb *dicunt* (‘they say’), a usage which suggests oral tradition rather than the kind of written authority underlying the first two claims. Similar doubts hover over the fourth claim, that James instituted a liturgy of the Mass that he had learned personally from Christ. As far as I know, the closest thing to documentary support for this claim in western sources is Jerome’s *De Viris Illustribus* ch. 2 where, citing the apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews as his source, he states that after his resurrection Christ “brought bread and blessed and broke it and gave to James the Just,” an act which could be read tendentiously as a form of initiation into the rites of a primitive Mass.¹⁶⁾

How to characterize A’s glosses? For the most part they betray a rather literal approach with a pastoral emphasis on the biblical text, mingled with some mystical interpretations. Their content is unremarkable, nor is there anything noticeably independent about most of them. The exceptions are the three glosses discussed above (gll 1, 23, and 42), the first a tendentious statement about the apostolic succession, the second a hypercorrection of a rhetorical usage in James, and the third a recall of a line from a liturgical hymn. Together they convey an impression of idiosyncratic glossing.

The second glossator, B, supplies comments which are markedly fuller and more discursive than those of his predecessor; the majority contain at least two clauses (each often presenting a different interpretation), while about ten of them are much longer. Throughout all of B’s glosses dependence on the two Irish commentaries is consistently evident; indeed, almost two thirds of them (some 60 out of 95) show some level of influence from those works.¹⁷⁾ For example, Iac 1:4, “IN NULLO DEFICIENTES: id est, *in nullo* genere tormentorum *deficientes*, uel in bono opere imperfecti” [gl. 17], probably derives from Ps-Hilary. 58, 136–7 (rather than its close counterpart in Anon. Scottus 6, 147–8), “in nullo opere bono, uel in nullo genere tormentorum.” Likewise, Iac 1:27, “UISITARE PUPILLOS ET UIDUAS IN TRIBULATIONE EORUM: cura pupillorum et uiduarum ecclesiae commendatur; *pupilli*

16) Thomas P. Halton (trans.), *St Jerome: on Illustrious Men*, The Fathers of the Church, vol. 100 (Washington D.C., 1999), p. 8. Glossator A’s claim gains some credibility from the survival of a rite known as the Liturgy of St James, which many liturgiologists regard as the first of the various liturgical rites of early Christianity.

17) Gll. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13–17, 21–3, 26, 28–30, 32, 35, 36, 41, 46, 48, 51, 52, 56, 57, 59, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68–74, 76–80, 83, 85, 87, 88, 92 (?), 94–9, 103, 106, 108, 109.

autem *et uiduae* mystice intelleguntur sensus corporis et animae quos debemus adtendere” [gl. 65]. The first comment, a literal/pastoral interpretation, comes from Anon. Scottus, 11, 330–1, “dum omnibus commendantur *uisitare pupillos*,” with the minor change of “omnibus” to “ecclesiae”;¹⁸⁾ while the mystical interpretation of the second clause is a compressed version of Anon. Scottus 11, 334–36, “Pupilli, id est sensus carnales a diabolo male nutriti... Et *uiduas*, id est animas desertas a diabolo.” Sometimes, Glossator B draws on both Irish works for a single gloss. Thus, Iac 1:23, “IN SPECULO: mulierum est mos considerare se *in speculo* ut placere uiris suis possint. Ita animas nostras considerare oportet *in speculo* euangelii, ut uiro suo Christo placere poterint et non obliuiscantur praecepta eius” [gl. 59]. Here the simple mystical interpretation of “speculo” as the Gospel comes from Ps-Hilary. 62, 300, “Magna [specula] est lex noua euangelii,” while the image of Christian souls (“animas nostras”) examining themselves in the mirror of the Gospel, in order that they may please their mystical husband, Christ, comes from Anon. Scottus 11, 311–13, “*In speculo*, in quibus se sanctae animae conspiciunt et in his agnoscunt quid uero celsi <Patri> placeat uel quid displiceat.” Likewise, Iac 2:4, “ET FACTI ESTIS IUDICES COGITATIONUM INIQUARUM: *iudices cogitationum*, id est, auctores; iudex enim *cogitationum* est qui eas in opere profert” [gl. 71], where the first clause, the explanation of “iudices” as “auctores,” comes from Anon. Scottus 11, 350–1, “*Et facti estis iudices*, id est auctores,” while in the next clause the explanation of “iudex cogitationum” comes verbatim from Ps-Hilary 63, 354, “Iudex enim cogitationum est, qui eas in opere profert.”

However, it would be wrong to infer from such examples that Glossator B’s glosses merely consist of passages borrowed verbatim from the two Irish sources. In fact, in most instances where he borrows, he enlarges these sources, while often modifying their content by locating them in a larger interpretative context.

A very obvious manifestation of his activity are the additions of scriptural quotations, intended either to bolster the interpretation of a gloss or stand alone as a discrete gloss. In that he may well have been following his Irish models (where this technique is common), but at the same time he supplied at least nine independent Scriptural quotations. Two examples will suffice:

1:14 “UNUSQUISQUE UERO TEMPTATUR A CONCUPISCENTIA SUA ABSTRACTUS ET INLECTUS: de qua dixit apostolus, *caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum; abstractus a Deo et inlectus a diabolo in multa genera peccatorum*” [gl. 36]. Here the second clause (“*abstractus...peccatorum*”)

18) Discussed below, p. 11, (a) (e).

derives from Ps-Hilary. 60, 226–7, “abstrahitur homo a Deo, et illicitus fit ut multa genera peccatorum,” but the preceding quotation, “*caro...spiritum*” from Gal 5:17 is independent.

4:9 “MISERI ESTOTE ET LUGETE ET PLORATE: ut *beati qui lugent nunc*, et cetera” [gl. 105]. The gloss consists of an abbreviated quotation from Mt 5:5 which is not found in either of the Irish commentaries.¹⁹⁾

But what makes B’s glosses truly independent is their elaboration of a group of themes of his own devising which permeate the glosses as a whole and impart to them an authorial unity. Even as he borrowed individual ideas from the Irish commentaries, he framed them in larger interpretative contexts based on these themes. At least, four such framing themes are evident in his glosses.

(1) Christian charity and mercy.

(a) This theme is first introduced in gl. 12 with a comment on PATIENTIA (Iac 1:3) which declares that “*patientia est primus fructus caritatis*.” Some influence from Rm 5:3–5 has been suggested,²⁰⁾ though that passage treats patience as an intermediate stage between enduring tribulations and arriving at hope—not as the product of charity. In any case, the gloss has no equivalent in the Irish sources.

(b) Commenting on Iac 1:25, “IN LEGE PERFECTA LIBERTATIS: *legem libertatis dicit caritatem*, de qua apostolus ait, *portate inuicem honera uestra sic adimplebitis legem Christi*” [gl. 61], he equates the perfect law of liberty with charity, an interpretation (along with its supporting scriptural citation) independent of the Irish sources. Significantly, this interpretation differs from that of Glossator A who, in an adjacent gloss, equates the law of liberty with the “new law.”

(c) Again, commenting on Iac 2:10, “QUICUMQUE AUTEM TOTAM LEGEM SERUAUERIT OFFENDAT AUTEM IN UNO FACTUS EST OMNIUM REUS: id est, *si non habet caritatem*, dum nihil prosunt omnia mandata; uel si unum de .x. mandatis reliquerit” [gl. 83], B in the first part of his gloss interprets the lemma to mean that without charity the fulfillment of all the other commandments is nothing. Both interpretations and the Pauline quotation “*si non habet caritatem*” etc. (I Cor 13:1) are independent.

(d) At Iac 2:12, commenting once again on the lemma “PER LEGEM LIBERTATIS INCIPIENTES

19) For other examples, see gl 49 (Mc 16:15), 61 (Gal 6:2), 62 (Lc 18:10–11), 83 (I Cor 13:1), 87 (Mt 6:15), 88 (I Pt 4:8), and 102 (Mt 7:18).

20) Marc-Aeilko Aris and Hartmut Broszinski (eds.), *Die Glossen zum Jakobusbrief aus dem Victor-Codex (Bonifatius 1) in der Hessischen Landesbibliothek zu Fulda*, Veröffentlichungen der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda, vol. 7 (Fulda, 1996), p. 91. See also gl. 16.

IUDICARI,” the glossator first defines it as “nouum testamentum” (following his Irish sources Anon. Scottus 13, 408–9 and Ps-Hilary 64, 409–10) and then independently as “caritatem” [gl. 85], just as he had done in gl. 61 (see (b) above).

(e) Iac 2:13, “SUPEREXULTAT AUTEM MISERICORDIA IUDICIO: hoc est, ualet *miseriordia* ad liberandum plusquam iudicium ad damnandum — uidetur tamen iudicium esse ut peccator damnetur. *Superexaltat autem misericordia iudicio*, ut fuit Loth, quia caritas magis defendit hominem quam uerum iudicium damnet de minim<is> peccatis, *quia caritas cooperit multitudinem peccatorum*” [gl. 88]. The main idea of the second sentence (“*Superexaltat...peccatorum*”), that mercy supplants judicial condemnation — as exemplified by Loth’s conduct in Genesis 19, comes from Anon. Scottus 13, 416–8, “*Superexaltat autem misericordia*. Id est, etiam si reus fuerit in aliquibusdam delictis, misericordia facit illum euadere, ut in Loth ostensum est.” But note how B has substituted “caritas” for “misericordia” in his source and independently added the quotation from I Pt 4:8 that charity covers a multitude of sins.

(2) The mystical body of the Church (*ecclesia*).

Glossator B mentions *ecclesia* eight times (gll. 6, 9, 21, 41, 65, 76, and 85) in contexts which suggest his interest in the living church of his own time.

(a) Thus, Iac 1:1 “DUODECIM TRIBUBUS QUAE SUNT IN DISPERSIONE: secundum sensum, ecclesiae catholicae quae dispersa est in orientem et occidentem et meridiem et aquilonem; sicut israelicae plebi gentes interiectae sunt, sic ecclesiae interserunt se genera infidelium” [gl. 6]. Here, in an interpretation not found in the Irish sources, “the twelve tribes who are scattered abroad,” the declared audience of James’s epistle, are mystically interpreted (“secundum sensum”) as the catholic church throughout the known world, living alongside different kinds of unbelievers.

(b) At Iac 1:2, Glossator B interprets OMNE GAUDIUM EXISTIMATE as an exhortation to the church throughout the world: “uniuersali ecclesiae praeceptum est ut permaneat in fide et speret post hiemem asperam aestatem fructuosam, id est, post persecutionem praemia caelestia” [gl. 9]. While the notion that GAUDIUM consists of the eternal rewards after persecution comes from Ps-Hilary, 57, 113–6, “mundus per multa temptamenta hiemis et frigoris... <ad> aestatem floridam ducitur. Sic ... homo per multas tribulationes ad praemia uitae aeternae uadit,” Glossator B changed the subject of his source from “homo” to the “ecclesia.”

(c) Iac 1:6 “QUI AUTEM HAESITAT SIMILIS EST FLUCTUI MARIS QUI A UENTO MOUETUR ET CIRCUMFERTUR: quia est sicut uentus mare, sic falsi doctores ecclesiam turbant; et per *uentum*

diabolus intellegitur, a quo instabilis anima *mouetur* persuasione mali spiritus — si sapientiae et Dei gratiae incredulus permanserat” [gl. 21]. Although some of this comment has echoes in Anon. Scottus 7, 175, “uentus quasi diabolus,” and Ps-Hilary, 58, 162–3, “Sic instabilis mens hominis infidelis,” the comparison with false teachers who disturb Church doctrine, and thereby cause individual souls to continue in a state of doubt (cf. gl. 40) about God’s grace and wisdom, appears to reflect B’s own ecclesiology.

(d) Iac 1:17 “OMNE DATUM OPTIMUM ET OMNE DONUM PERFECTUM DESURSUM EST: hic respicit ad initium creaturarum omnium, quia Deus omnia bona creauit, qui est pater luminum (id est, angelorum), et qui luminaribus doctrinae inluminat ecclesiam suam. *Datum optimum*, baptismum est; *donum perfectum*, paenitentia uel uirginitas et continentia” [gl. 41]. The reference to God enlightening his church with the light of doctrine is based on Anon. Scottus 9, 242, “donum doctrinae spiritualis in doctore,” but B independently identifies the recipients of this spiritual doctrine as God’s church (“ecclesiam suam”).

(e) In Iac 1:27, “UISITARE PUPILLOS ET UIDUAS IN TRIBULATIONE EORUM: cura pupillorum et uiduarum ecclesiae commendatur; *pupilli* autem *et uiduae* mystice intelleguntur sensus corporis et animae quos debemus adtendere” [gl. 65], the opening directive to care for the fatherless and the widows probably comes from Anon. Scottus 11, 330–1, “omnibus commendantur *uisitare pupillos*,” but again B independently substituted “ecclesiae” as the object of the exhortation.

(f) Iac 2:6, “NONNE DIUITES PER POTENTIAM OPPRIMUNT UOS ET IPSI TRAHUNT UOS AD IUDICIA: quod de persecutoribus ecclesiae intellegitur, qui iudicium faciunt in terra secundum suam uoluntatem in sanctos” [gl. 76]. Without any guidance from the Irish sources the glossator adopts an allegorical interpretation of DIUITES as persecutors of the “ecclesia,” whose members are referred to as “sancti” (also in gl. 2, 32).²¹⁾

(g) Iac 2:12 “SIC LOQUIMINI ET SIC FACITE SICUT PER LEGEM LIBERTATIS INCIPIENTES IUDICARI: hoc est, modo per misericordiam quam ante non habueritis. Hic morem doctorum corrigit ut quod doceant in ecclesia opere inpleant, et ad omnes credentes quasi dixisset, *sic facite* ut *loquimini* sermonibus. *Per legem libertatis* nouum testamentum in quo demisa sunt peccata; uel caritatem *incipientes*, id est cum uenistis in fidem” [gl. 85]. In the second sentence (“Hic...sermonibus”) the glossator was evidently influenced by Ps-Hilary. 65, 423–4, “*et sic facite*, ac si dixisset, sermonibus fidei confir-

21) On the use of this term to denote contemporary Christians, see below, pp. 115–16.

mamini operibus,” but he personalized his source by giving it a living subject, teachers in the church who may be reluctant to practice what they preach.

(3) Jews and gentiles and the controversy of faith and good works.

The comparison between Jews and gentiles in (2)(a) above (gl. 6), anticipates a series of glosses that work within a framing context whereby the two parties (along with their respective Testaments) are juxtaposed sometimes agonistically and sometimes in complementarity.

(a) An example of the latter is Iac 1:4 “UT SITIS PERFECTI ET INTEGRI: hoc est, in opere bono, corpore et anima; siue in uetere et nouo testamento bene intellegentes” [gl. 15]. Here the first clause offers a literal interpretation, an exhortation to perfection and integrity in good works (the collocation “corpore et anima” is also found in Ps-Hilary, 58, 134). The second clause, introduced by “siue,” which has no counterpart in the Irish sources, offers a mystical interpretation in which PERFECTI is allegorically equated with the Old Testament and INTEGRI with the New, while implying that a proper understanding (“bene intellegentes”) of both traditions is necessary.

(b) Iac 1:8 “UIR DUPLICI ANIMO INCONSTANS IN OMNIBUS UIIS SUIS: ille *duplex animo* est qui inter uetus et nouum testamentum dubitat. *In uiis suis*, hoc est, in cogitationibus et uerbis et operibus” [gl. 22]²². Possibly influenced by Anon. Scottus 8, 189–90, which refers to the apostles as those “qui fuerunt in confinio utriusque testamenti...,” the first sentence interprets the subject (UIR DUPLICI ANIMO) as one who hesitates between the two Testaments, a situation likely to have obtained in the Early Christian communities with their mixture of Jews and gentiles.

(c) In Iac 2:1, “NOLITE IN PERSONARUM ACCEPTIONEM HABERE FIDEM DOMINI NOSTRI IHESU CHRISTI GLORIAE: de datione baptismatis diuiti et pauperi; haec dicta sunt Iudeis et gentibus” [gl. 67], the second clause (“haec dicta” etc.) evidently applies the lemma to a community of Jewish and gentile believers—the glossator seems to have been aware that James was bishop to such a mixed congregation.

(d) This awareness is confirmed in Iac 2:5, “NONNE DEUS ELEGIT PAUPERES IN HOC MUNDO: id est, gentiles et Iudaeos in unum; ut est, *beati pauperes spiritu*, et reliqua” [gl. 73], where Jews and gentiles are expressly collocated as the single body of the elect.

However, in a subsequent series of glosses (gll. 89–100), most of which owe nothing to the two Irish sources, Glossator B portrays Jews and gentiles engaged in controversy over the relative merits of

22) On the second sentence, “*In uiis... operibus*,” see p. 115 and n. 28, below.

faith and good works as the means to salvation. Although the issue was raised by James (Iac 2:14–26), neither he nor the Irish commentaries identify particular parties in this doctrinal dispute. That is left to Glossator B, who in the first gloss of a series interprets

(e) Iac 2:14, “QUID PRODERIT FRATRES MEI SI FIDEM QUIS DICAT SE HABERE OPERA AUTEM NON HABEAT: contentio inter Iudaeos et gentes, sed ad ambos dirigitur responsum” [gl. 89], as a dispute (“contentio”) between Jews and gentiles, while promising a response to both sides in what follows. Later we learn that the Jews championed the superiority of good works, while the gentiles favoured faith:

(f) thus, Iac 3:1, “NOLITE PLURES MAGISTRI FIERI FRATRES MEI: id est, sed unum sentite, hoc est, fidem et opus in salutem, quia Iudaei in opere gloriabantur, gentiles autem in fide” [gl. 98].

(g) A pair of earlier glosses, “QUID PRODERIT: uobis in futuro, quia *non dederitis* pauperibus *necessaria*” [gl. 90] and “FIDES SI NON HABET OPERA MORTUA EST IN SEMET IPSAM: hoc significat quia non excitat ad uitam habentem se, quia *fides* est sine operibus quasi lucerna sine oleo tenebrosa” [91], seems to question the gentile position. The first of these rhetorically asks what reward can those who neglect the physical needs of the poor expect in the next life (“quid proderit uobis in futuro”), while the second answers the question in no uncertain terms, stating that faith without good works is like a dim lamp lacking oil.²³⁾

(h) Three further glosses advance the discussion: Iac 2:18, “SED DICET QUIS TU FIDEM HABES ET EGO OPERA HABEO: hic interrogatio est et discretio inter fidem et opera, quae utraque simul prosunt” [gl. 92], is read by the glossator as a question (possibly influenced by Anon. Scottus, 13, 429–30, “Et quasi interroganti Iacobus respondit: *Et ego opera habeo*”) which serves to highlight the distinction between faith and good works. Yet as if by way of answer, Glossator B adds that the two work best together (“quae utraque simul prosunt”). In the same vein the gloss following, “OSTENDE MIHI FIDEM TUAM SINE OPERIBUS: quasi dixisset, inuenies eam uacuum” [gl. 93] answers the question posed by its lemma, asserting that without good works faith is hollow (“uacuum”). And when in the next verse, Iac 2:19, “ET DAEMONES CREDUNT,” James drives home the point about the futility of faith by itself—since even demons believe in God—the glossator hastens to head off any unsavoury association between demons and Christians who prioritize faith above all else (the gentiles), by characterizing the statement as a type of simile, “hoc ideo dixit ad exemplum” [gl. 94].

23) Significantly, the simile is also attested in patristic writings to illustrate the superiority of almsgiving over fasting.

(i) Conversely, at Iac 2:21, “ABRAHAM PATER NOSTER NONNE EX OPERIBUS IUSTIFICATUS EST,” which simply states that Abraham was saved (justified) by works (“ex operibus”), the glossator is at pains to qualify this bald statement in favour of good works by stating that Abraham already possessed faith, which he then brought to bear on his good deeds: “id est, tamen quod operatus est et prius credit, et sic operatus est” [gl. 96]. This qualification, which was obviously designed to balance faith and good deeds, may have been influenced by Anon. Scottus 14, 439–40, “Iacobus autem de operibus post fidem sequentibus dixit.”

Even as James moves on to an entirely different subject in Chapter 3 of his Epistle, Glossator B continues to harp on this theme of faith and good works.

(j) Thus, commenting on Iac 3:1, “NOLITE PLURES MAGISTRI FIERI FRATRES MEI,” he shifts the focus from rejecting a plurality of teachers (PLURES MAGISTRI) to exhorting a complementary unity of faith and works: “id est, sed unum sentite, hoc est, fidem et opus in salutem, quia Iudaei in opere gloriabantur, gentiles autem in fide” [gl. 98]. This focus may reflect the influence of Anon. Scottus 15, 491–3, “*Nolite plures magistri*. Id est, quia docuit fidem operibus confirmari; et ut, si aliquis utrumque teneret, non festinaret principatum accipere,” though the latter contains no reference to the doctrinal contention between Jews and gentiles about the issue.

(k) Finally, commenting on Iac 3:2 “SI QUIS IN UERBO NON OFFENDIT HIC PERFECTUS EST UIR: quod ante, fidem cum opere confirmans et opus cum fide, similiter obseruat in lingua sua” [gl. 100], the glossator identifies careful speech (IN UERBO) as based on the recognition that faith and good works go together. The perfect person combines the two in speech and conduct (see gl. 31).

Several conclusions emerge from a study of these glosses. First, that while drawing on the two Irish commentaries Glossator B skillfully carved out an independent line of exegesis, introducing new perspectives on the biblical text. Secondly, that his glosses constitute an integral body of commentary, held together by a nexus of comments that intersect around a few shared central themes. Thirdly, that his glosses represent a type of exegesis quite different from that of Glossator A. The latter’s glosses have the ad-hoc quality of someone responding directly to the biblical text in front of him, an impression strengthened not only by his acceptance of its readings *tels quels*, but also by the idiosyncratic character of his comments (especially in gll. 1, 23, 42). By contrast, B’s glosses have a decidedly scholarly quality, as if they had been extracted from a commentary. Dependence on a commentary (with its own lemmata) would help explain not only B’s tendency to repeat biblical lemmata in his gloss but also the fact that some of them contain different biblical readings. For example, at gl. 57,

“FALLENTES” (Iac 1:22) of the lemma becomes “fallaces” in the gloss; gl. 87 NON FECIT MISERICORDIAM (Iac 2:13) of the lemma is repeated in the gloss, but in the form “non facit misericordiam”; gl. 88, “SUPEREXULTAT” (Iac 2:13) of the lemma becomes “superexaltat” (a well-attested variant) in the gloss; at gl. 107, where the lemma from the main text reads “MANDUCABIT” (Iac 5:3), B’s gloss has the preterite “MANDUCAUIT”. Furthermore, while A tends towards a literal reading with a pastoral emphasis, B (while not rejecting this approach) almost always envisages other levels of interpretation, especially mystical. The latter approach he sometimes signals with terms such as *alligoric* (gl. 2), *sensum* (gl. 6), *mystice* (gl. 65), *spiritaliter* (gl. 79), *intellectum* (gl. 81), and *exemplum* (gll. 94, 95).

Stylistical differences between the two glossators are also evident. A’s glosses are highly cryptic, an effect produced mainly by the syntactical complementarity of gloss and lemma—even when the formulaic “id est” intervenes—in closely knit constructions; for example, those of purpose, explanation, and relativity: “POSTULET...ut sciat” (gl. 18), “INTEMPTATOR MALORUM EST: quia non habet causam” [gl. 34] and “A PATRE LUMINUM: qui est lux” etc. [gl. 42]. In B’s glosses, by contrast, the syntactical boundary between lemma and gloss is marked, so that the reader is very aware of the lemma as primary and the gloss as secondary. And in marking his glosses B uses “hoc est” (21x),²⁴ “id est” (25x),²⁵ and “ut est” (4x); as well as deictic “hic” (7x)²⁶ meaning ‘here (in this lemma),’ whereas A uses only the conventional formula “id est” (10x).²⁷

Another feature of B that sets him apart from A is his hibernicisms, certain stylistic and semantic usages favoured by Irish exegetes. Thus, he twice employs the well-known Irish triad of ‘thought, word and deed’ (gll. 22 and 37);²⁸ he uses formulaic phrases favoured by Irish commentators, such as “et corpore et anima” (gll. 5, 15, 16, 54, 65); “in bono/malo opere (gll. 13, 15, 17, 31, 37); “dilectio Dei et proximi” (gll. 14, 16); and the formula “respicit ad” to connect a biblical passage with a previously related one (gll. 41, 51). He also employs two semantic usages common in Irish exegesis: the use of *sancti* to denote contemporary Christians (gll. 2, 32, 76),²⁹ a practice well attested in Irish Psalter

24) Gll. 22, 23, 30, 32, 40, 47, 54, 63, 66, 68, 69, 74, 75, 80, 82, 85, 86, 88, 98.

25) Gll. 17, 41, 50, 68, 71, 73, 77, 78, 79 (2x), 83, 85, 86, 87, 96, 98, 99, 101, 103, 104, 106, 107 (2x), 108 (2x).

26) Gll. 25, 41, 68, 69, 84, 85, 92, 95.

27) Gll. 20, 24, 38, 43, 45, 47, 49 (2x), 55, 58, and 60. The one exception is his use of “hoc est” (gl. 55), probably because he had used “id est” immediately before within the same gloss.

28) See P. Sims-Williams, “Thought, Word and Deed: An Irish Triad,” *Ériu* 29 (1978), 78–111.

29) Cf. Old Irish substantive *noib*, ‘a holy/consecrated person.’ The same use of *sancti* occurs in Anon. Scottus 9,

exegesis; and the term *sensus* (gl. 6) by itself to denote ‘the mystical meaning,’ where one might have expected the addition of a defining adjective such as *mysticus/allegoricus*.³⁰⁾ Also unusual is his etymology of “Israel” as “anima uidens Deum” (gl. 77) which, while based on Jerome’s “Israel: uir/mens uidens Deum,” substitutes “anima” for “mens.” This etymology was the norm in Hiberno-Latin texts, e.g., in the glosses to the Southampton Psalter.³¹⁾ Since none of these usages occur *in loco* in the corresponding passages of the two Hiberno-Latin commentaries, they may plausibly be attributed to B.

The relationship between Glossators A and B so far argued for runs counter to the hypothesis advanced by Malcolm Parkes that A (whom he identified as Archbishop Boniface) and B worked in tandem in a complementary relationship. In support of his hypothesis Parkes pointed to the external evidence of their shared use of the same *signes de renvoi*, symbols which connected a word in the main text with its corresponding comment on the margin. He noted that Glossator A inserted these symbols—though their use was not required for his glosses which were conveniently (and unambiguously) located very close to their corresponding lemmata—from which he concluded that A expected other glosses to be added,³²⁾ presumably the more numerous ones of B. Internally, he argued for “the persistence of the independent thematic emphases of Glossator A in some of the glosses of Glossator B,” notably “the importance of the role of bishops” and their shared predilection “for practical applications of the words of scripture.”³³⁾ Admittedly, the first feature is present in the two sets of glosses, but the statistical count is insignificant: bishops are mentioned once by A (gl. 1) and twice by B (gll. 7 and 52). As for the second, practical applications of Scripture are actually scarce in A (perhaps gll. 18 and 20), who seems more interested in emphasizing the proselytizing mission than giving guidance about how to put Scripture into practice, while of nine occasions when B cites Scripture independently of his Irish sources,³⁴⁾ very few (gll. 66, 85, and 86) could be said to have an overtly practical application.

263, with reference to people of the Old Testament.

30) On this usage, see M. McNamara, *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 165 (Sheffield, 2000), p. 272.

31) Thus, Pss 13:7, 24:22, 52:7 passim; ed. P. P. Ó Néill, *Psalterium Suthantoniense*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 240 (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 30, 59, 137. The substitution of “anima” for “mens” probably had its origins in a seventh-century Gaulish commentary known as the *Glossa Psalmorum ex Traditione Seniorum*, which was well known in Ireland.

32) Parkes, “The Handwriting of St Boniface,” pp. 141 and 123. But see Plate 1 where A’s insouciant use of the right margin’s space (with gll. 42, 43 and 45) caused difficulties for B.

33) “The Handwriting of St Boniface,” pp. 139–40.

34) See n. 19, above.

Parkes went so far as to claim that such was the influence of Glossator A on B that the latter should be viewed “as a kind of emanuensis...working under supervision, amplifying the glosses of Glossator A, and drawing upon the content of a recognized corpus of exegesis and apposite Biblical parallels to support and consolidate the interpretation initiated by Glossator A.”³⁵⁾ In support he pointed to the evidence of “composite” glosses, instances where Glossator B supplemented a gloss entered by A. Let us examine these occurrences seriatim.

(1) 1:15 “PECCATUM UERO CUM CONSUMMATUM FUERIT GENERAT MORTEM: id est, per actum animae spiritaliter *mortem generat*” [gl. 38]; to which Glossator B added, “*Consummatum erit peccatum iniusti quando cadit in mortem, ubi perit confessio*” [gl. 39]. The biblical text marks a progression from concupiscence to sin to spiritual death. While both glossators focus on the first clause, A interprets *consummatum* as the completion of sin in a deliberate act of the soul (*per actum animae*), which when effected leads to spiritual death. By contrast, B not only personalizes the action by identifying the agent of the sin (*iniusti*), but also, unlike A, takes *consummatum* to be the completion of the sinner’s spiritual downfall, a state in which confession (and therefore forgiveness) is not possible. Significantly, B makes two textual changes: he repeats the biblical lemma, before offering his comment, and in doing so changes its verb from future perfect (*fuert*) to simple future (*erit*). While the first change could be read as notice of a fresh appraisal, a break with A’s interpretation, the second with its simple future implies the inevitability of what will happen to the sinner, in contrast to the contingency implied in the future perfect of the biblical lemma (and A’s comment), where effecting the second clause is contingent on the completion of the first. Both glossators offer allegorical interpretations, but interpret the biblical verse quite differently.

(2) 1:17 “APUD QUEM NON EST TRANSMUTATIO: id est, de bono in malum” [gl. 43], and Glossator B’s addition, “*uitae aeternae perditio*” [gl. 44]. Here James is speaking of the divine bounty which emanates from God, “with whom there is no change.” Glossator A takes his cue from Ps-Hilary 60, 241, which contrasts the absence of TRANSMUTATIO in God with its deleterious presence in humans, who tend to change from good to evil, “Id, homo de bono in malum.” Glossator B’s cryptical note about eternal perdition seems to point to the ultimate consequence of such behavior,³⁶⁾ and thus appears to be a direct response to A’s gloss. However, the fact that it is a step further removed from the

35) Parkes, “The Handwriting of St Boniface,” pp. 140–1.

36) B’s brevity may have been dictated by the single line of space available between A’s two consecutive glosses (nos. 43 and 45); see Plate 1, lines 31–35 (right margin).

main theme of the lemma (God's immutability), and is almost a digression, hardly seems in keeping with Glossator A's focus on this present life. Nor is B's comment found in either of the two Hiberno-Latin commentaries.

(3) 1:17 "NEC UICISSITUDINIS OBUMBRATIO: id est, ut nubes obumbrant solem uel occasus, sic et mutatio boni in malum" [gl. 45]; and Glossator B's, "Quia obliuio post scientiam, siue nox post diem, nobiscum sunt, non cum Domino in caelo" [gl. 46]. Glossator A returns to the theme and subject of his immediately preceding gloss [43], the human tendency to turn from good to evil, which he compares to the overshadowing of the sun by clouds, a moral interpretation probably suggested by the comment of Ps-Hilary, 60, 241-2, "*Nec uicissitudinis obumbratio. Id, ut obumbret lucem ueritatis caligine peccati.*" B, by contrast, focuses on UICISSITUDINIS (rather than OBUMBRATIO), interpreting it literally as the mutability of the human condition (*nobiscum sunt*), which changes 'from a condition of awareness to one of forgetfulness, from day to night.' This mundane interpretation was probably suggested by Anon. Scottus 9, 251-2, "Id est, de iuuentute in senectutem...de luce ad tenebras," which identifies similar kinds of mortal mutation. Thus, B's gloss not only focuses on a different keyword than A, it also draws on an alternative source (Anon. Scottus) and offers a literal interpretation more in keeping with the import of the lemma.

(4) 1:18 "UOLUNTARIE GENUIT NOS UERBO UERITATIS: id est, in baptismo" [gl. 47]. Glossator A adopts the allegorical interpretation of GENUIT found also in Anon. Scottus 9, 256-8, "*Genuit...id est spiritaliter per inuouationem Spiritus per bapbtismum...*" By contrast, Glossator B's comment, "*Uerbo ueritatis, hoc est euangelii; ut sitis filii, inquit, patris uestri qui in caelis est; et in principio, faciamus hominem*" [gl. 48], first focuses on the phrase UERBO UERITATIS (as evident by its presentation as a fresh lemma), offering a conventional allegorical interpretation which may derive from Anon. Scottus, 9, 259, "*Uerbo ueritatis, id est euangelii.*" He then offers two additional glosses in the form of cryptic biblical quotations (the assumption being that readers will mentally supply the rest): the first from Mt 5:44-5, in which Christ equates loving one's enemies with the exalted status of being sons of God (*filiis patris uestri*). The references here to "filii" and "pater" suggests yet another allegorical interpretation of GENUIT NOS, a new form of divine generation based on Christian charity. The second quotation (from Gn 1:26) references God's decision to create mankind and thus serves as a literal gloss on GENUIT NOS. It may well have been suggested by Ps-Hilary 60, 246-7, "*Uerbo ueritatis. Id, ad imaginem, et reliqua,*" which cues the reader to Gn 1:26. But the first biblical quotation, with its notion of divine paternity shared through charity, does not correspond to anything in A's rather

conventional interpretation; nor is it found in either of the Irish commentaries.

(5) 1:18 “UT SIMUS INITIUM ALIQUOD CREATURAE EIUS: per generationem *creaturae eius*, id est, ut *praedicate euangelium omni creaturae* (id est, omni creato in baptismo)” [gl. 49]; and B’s addition, “Nos sumus *initium aliquod* per passionem et resurrectionem Christi, id est, *primi nouissimi*” [gl. 50]. Glossator A takes the verse to mean that humans may in some manner assume God’s generative powers by preaching the Gospel to each one of his creatures who has been begotten in baptism, a metaphor already used by him in gl. 47. But whereas A’s focus is on CREATURAE EIUS, Glossator B reads INITIUM as key to the quotation, interpreting it as follows: thanks to Christ’s passion and resurrection, we Christians represent a new beginning, and those who were first (*primi*) have now been relegated to last (*novissimi*). The phrase, *primi novissimi*,³⁷⁾ comes from Mt 20:16, “So shall the last be first,” a saying which was conventionally applied by Christian apologists to Christians of the more recent New Testament dispensation—in contradistinction to the Jews of the Old Testament. Significantly, Anon. Scottus (9, 262–5) and (following it) Ps-Hilary (60, 252–61, 253) also interpret *initium* in terms of the dichotomy of old and new biblical dispensations. Thus, while A’s gloss carries an evangelical message, which may well reflect a personal sense of mission, that of B follows a historical interpretation in accord with the Hiberno-Latin tradition.

(6) 1:21 “IN MANSUETUDINE SUSCIPITE INSITUM UERBUM: id est, quod modo praedico uobis, hoc est, euangelium” [gl. 55]; and then B’s gloss, “*Insitum* per multa tempora patriarcharum et prophetarum, de quo dicitur, *ipse enim saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum*” [gl. 56]. Here Glossator A comments on UERBUM only, interpreting it allegorically as the Gospel, a reflection perhaps of his single-minded emphasis on evangelization, as in gl. 49. Glossator B focuses on INSITUM (literally ‘engrafted’) as qualifier of UERBUM, interpreting the collocation to mean that ‘the word’ preached by James is not something entirely new, since it has been grafted with the teachings of the Old Testament (“per multa tempora patriarcharum et prophetarum”). For this explanation he undoubtedly depended on Ps-Hilary 61, 280–1, “*Verbum insitum*, ac si dixisset, non noua doceo uos, sed *insitum* per multa genera patriarcharum et prophetarum *uerbum* diuinae maiestatis commodo.” The pattern whereby A emphasizes evangelization while B provides a historical interpretation based on Ps-Hilary is repeated as in (5).

37) Unnecessarily emended to “primi [et] novissimi” in Ranke’s edition, and so translated by Aris and Brozinski, *Die Glossen zum Jakobusbrief*, p. 63, “also des erstens und letzten.”

To sum up: of these six ‘composite’ glosses, only the second (gl. 44 vis-à-vis gl. 43) shows Glossator B taking his cue from his predecessor’s gloss, but doing so in such a tangential way as to suggest that the comment was his own. In all the other cases, Glossator B offers interpretations which not only fail to reveal any influence from A, but do not even reach a plausible level of complementarity with the latter. All of which makes unlikely the hypothesis that Glossator A was the guiding force behind all the glosses.

It remains to consider one final piece of evidence for B’s independence of A, those instances where the two glossators comment on the same biblical material, though not necessarily on the same lemma.

(1) In Iac 1:6, “POSTULET AUTEM IN FIDE: id est, ut accipiat *scientiam* quam *postulat*” [gl. 20], Glossator A evidently had in mind a single recipient of divine wisdom (most likely Solomon), judging by the singular verbs and the biblical echo,³⁸⁾ whereas Glossator B, “ET DABITUR EI: quia omnibus *in fide* *postulantibus* Deus *sapientiam* tribuet” [gl. 19], envisages universal recipients. In other words, whereas A adopted a literal/historical approach, B’s is tropological.

(2) 1:9–10, “GLORIETUR AUTEM FRATER HUMILIS IN EXALTATIONE SUA DIUES AUTEM IN HUMILITATE SUA: “tapinosis est, id est, magnae rei humiliatio: *diuiti* quod debuit pauperi, pauperi autem quod debuit *diuiti* adsignauit” [gl. 23]. Glossator A read the verse as a stylistic *faux pas*, a rhetorical lapse (tapinosis) in which James inappropriately assigned to the rich man the fate properly belonging to the poor man (and vice-versa). By contrast, Glossator B accepted the paradox implied in James’s verse by quoting a similar sentiment from the mouth of Christ: “hoc est, quod in euangelio legitur, *qui se exaltabit humiliabitur*” [gl. 24], to the effect that they who exalt themselves will be humbled—the parallel clause (Mt 23:12) that those who humble themselves will be exalted is no doubt understood. This approach is in marked contrast to the comment of A who evidently took the verse at face value (in effect, interpreting it literally), refusing to accept its Christian paradox and essentially attempting to rewrite it with his gloss. Moreover, Glossator B adds another gloss of tropological import immediately after, equating the rich man with the sinner³⁹⁾ who is destined to a state of abasement either in this world, by the penance that he must undergo, or in the next, by eternal perdition. Thus, 1:10, “DIUES AUTEM IN HUMILITATE SUA: hic unusquisque peccator intellegitur, quia *diues* est in suis uoluptatibus, per quas humiliabitur, aut hic per paenitentiam et emendationem, aut ibi in

38) See p. 105, above.

39) Perhaps following the advice of Ps-Hil, 59, 195–6, which argued that it had greater exemplary potential, “*Diues uero condemnatur magna narratione, ut non exemplum ab eo teneatur.*”

pena perpetua” [gl. 25], an interpretation not found in either of the Hiberno-Latin commentaries.

(3) Diverging interpretations of the same biblical verse (Iac 1:13) are also found in a sequence of three glosses (gll. 33–35), the first and last by Glossator B, the middle one by Glossator A. The latter’s gloss reads as follows, “DEUS ENIM INTEMPTATOR MALORUM EST: quia non habet causam in malorum temptatione, sed in bonorum” [gl. 34]. In other words, God has no reason to tempt the wicked (presumably because they are beyond redemption), rather it is the good who receive such divine affliction. Glossator A’s rather cryptic gloss, with its narrow focus on the immediate lemma,⁴⁰ clearly implies that God does indeed tempt good people. Contrast this position with that expressed by Glossator B, “NEMO CUM TEMPTATUR DICAT QUIA A DEO TEMPTATUR: *Nemo* inputet *Deo*, cum patiatur tormenta pro meritis suis” [gl. 33], and “DEUS ENIM INTEMPTATOR MALORUM EST IPSE AUTEM NEMINEM TEMPTAT: non *temptat Deus* malos homines, sed suis actibus mali uindictam meruerunt; sed probat aliquando bonos, sicut Abraham” [gl. 35]. These two comments of Glossator B offer the same interpretative message that any sufferings undergone by humans represent condign punishment for evil deeds, and not temptation inflicted by God. To make his message clearer Glossator B distinguishes between temptation (an activity which God does not engage in) and testing (which he occasionally employs against the good), drawing on Ps-Hilary, 60, 221–3, “Duplex genus est temptationis: aliud, quod deicit; alud [sic] quod probat. Probauit *Deus Abraham*.” So, while at first glance Glossator B’s gl. 35 might seem to offer a clarification of the preceding cryptic comment of Glossator A in gl. 34, in reality their interpretative positions are incompatible, since the former rules out the divine temptation envisaged by the latter.

(4) Another related pair are B’s comment on Iac 1:17, “OMNE DATUM OPTIMUM ET OMNE DONUM PERFECTUM DESURSUM EST: hic respicit ad initium creaturarum omnium, quia Deus omnia bona creauit, qui est *pater luminum* (id est, angelorum), et qui luminaribus doctrinae inluminat ecclesiam suam. *Datum optimum*, baptismum est; *donum perfectum*, paenitentia uel uirginitas et continentia” [gl. 41]; and A’s “DESCENDENS A PATRE LUMINUM: qui est lux lucis et fons luminis” [gl. 42]. This latter comment on PATRE LUMINUM, a verbatim quote from the first stanza of the Ambrosian hymn, “Sit splendor paternae gloriae . . . , ” strikes an odd note in the present context. Insofar as it has any interpretative value, it appears to take *pater luminum* as referring to Christ, the light of the world. Glossator B, although commenting on a different part of the same verse (drawing on both

40) Which is delimited by a *signe de renvoi*, as well as the marginal alignment of the gloss beside it.

Ps-Hilary 60, 237–9, and Anon. Scottus 9, 242–4), situates “pater luminum” in the context of creation (cf. Gn 1:3, “Fiat lux et facta est lux”) and specifically interprets it to mean ‘father of the angels.’ Not only does this allegorical treatment have no counterpart in the Irish commentaries, it also seems quite at variance with A’s literal, and perhaps ad hoc, interpretation.

(5) Commenting on Iac 1:23, “HIC CONPARABITUR UIRO CONSIDERANTI UULTUM NATIUITATIS SUAE IN SPECULO,” Glossator A reads, “id est, in quo et in quali natus est” [gl. 58]. The cryptic phrase, “in quo et in quali,” admits of several readings, but given the biblical context, the meaning ‘in which and what kind of (state) he was born’ seems best. Glossator B comments as follows, “IN SPECULO: mulierum est mos considerare se *in speculo* ut placere uiris suis possint. Ita animas nostras considerare oportet *in speculo* euangelii, ut uiro suo Christo placere poterint et non obliuiscantur praecepta eius” [gl. 59]. Thus, in A’s gloss the man who looks at himself and contemplates the circumstances of his birth is replaced in B’s gloss by the image of a woman who preens herself before the mirror in order to please her husband (“uiro”), an allegorical interpretation in which the woman represents the human soul studying the mirror of the gospel in order to please Christ, its master (“uiro suo”), by not forgetting his precepts. This interpretation derives from Anon. Scottus 11, 311–13, “*In speculo*, in quibus se sanctae animae conspiciunt et in his agnoscunt quid uero celsi <Patri> placeat uel quid displiceat,” but note that the Irish source gives only the allegorical meaning. B independently provided the literal foundation for this allegory in the form of a woman looking at herself in the mirror. That the same person might have composed both glosses seems unlikely, since the literal meaning offered by A could not provide the basis for the allegorical one given by B. In sum, it appears that in all five cases of comparison the interpretations offered by B are not only alternatives to, but incompatible with, those of A, thus ruling out a complementary relationship in their interpretations.⁴¹

However, such differences in interpretative approaches are not at all incompatible with the hypothesis that A and B collaborated on some level (as suggested by the organization of the *signes de renvoi*), and the ‘composite’ glosses. Their heavy dependence on the same two Hiberno-Latin commentaries suggests a shared intellectual milieu,⁴² one, moreover, in which Bede’s commentary on

41) For a sixth example, see p. 109, (1) (b), above.

42) Note also that the orthographical practices of the two glossators generally agree with the spelling practices of Boniface’s *Ars grammatica* in mingling standard and variant forms of certain words (G. J. Gebauer and B. Löfstedt (eds.), *Bonifatii (Vynfretth) Ars grammatica*, Corpus Christianorum Series latina 133B [Turnhout, 1980]). Thus,

the Catholic Epistles was evidently not used. Thus, they comment on passages that were ignored by Bede; for example, the lemma “HIC CONPARABITUR UIRO CONSIDERANTI UULTUM NATIUITATIS SUAE IN SPECULO” (Iac 1:23) is addressed by both A and B, where Bede has no comment on this verse. More significantly, when the glossators and Bede comment on the same passages their respective interpretations differ, both in their level of dependence on the Hiberno-Latin commentaries and in their independent comments. For example, in Iac 1:5, “SI QUIS AUTEM UESTRUM INDIGET SAPIENTIAM POSTULET A DEO” (‘Whoever lacks wisdom let him ask it of God’), where Bede narrowly interprets *sapientia* as understanding the usefulness of temptation as a means towards salvation,⁴³ Glossator A reads it as a form of knowledge, equating it with *scientiam* [gl. 20], whereby ‘one knows how to arrange one’s life according to God’s will’ [gl. 18], an interpretation also found in Anon. Scottus 7, 162–5. Likewise, Iac 1:15, “DEIN CONCUPISCENTIA CUM CONCEPERIT PARIT PECCATUM” (‘then when concupiscence has conceived, it produces sin’), is interpreted by Bede (following Gregory the Great) as a process of temptation involving three stages (suggestion, delight, and consent),⁴⁴ whereas Glossator B offers a different triad of thought, word, and deed (gl. 37).⁴⁵

The cumulative weight of significant differences in glossing habits and interpretative approaches between A and B casts serious doubts on Parkes’s hypothesis that A was responsible for all the glosses and that B was a mere amanuensis who “completed the copying of a collection of glosses composed by Boniface over a period of time.”⁴⁶ What does emerge instead is that Glossators A and B together bear witness to a second Anglo-Saxon milieu (besides Bede’s Northumbria) in which the two Irish commentaries were carefully studied and became (as with Bede) the basis for further, independent exegesis on the Epistle of James. From that perspective it would be desirable to shift the focus from

spellings such as *commonio* for *communio* (in B, gl. 3 and 79), *misae* for *missae* (in A, gl. 1), are well attested in the *Ars grammatica* which has, for example, *gauissus* (p. 61, line 5) and *gauisus* (61,19); and vacillates between *commonia* (44, 259 and 267; 48, 414; 52, 566; 56, 715) and the regular spelling, *commune/communia* (19, 135; 16, 26; 18, 93). These practices stand in marked contrast to those of their contemporary, Bede, who advocated strict spellings norms in his *De Orthographia*.

43) “Sed hic specialiter de illa sapientia dici uidetur qua nos in temptationibus uti necesse est”; D. Hurst (ed.), *Bedaes Venerabilis Opera, pars II, opera exegetica*, CCSL 121 (Turnhout, 1983), p. 184, lines 65–6. For Glossator A’s interpretation, see p. 105, above.

44) “Tribus modis temptatio agitur, suggestione, delectatione, consensu”; Hurst, *Bedaes Venerabilis Opera* 188, 192–3.

45) On which, see n. 28, above.

46) “The Handwriting of St Boniface,” p. 141.

Glossator A (and his possible identification with Boniface)⁴⁷⁾ to Glossator B as the possible composer of the ninety-five glosses in his hand.

APPENDIX: EDITION OF THE FULDA GLOSSES

The glosses have been twice edited, first by Ernest Ranke, *Inclytæ Universitati Literarum Berolinensi, idibus Octobribus a. MDCCCLX semisaecularia celebranti gratulatur Universitatis Literarum Marburgensis prorektor cum senatu, inest Ernesti Ranke Specimen Codicis Novi Testamenti Fuldensis* (Marburg, 1860), pp. 19–31 and, after an interval of more than a century, by Marc-Aeilko Aris and Hartmut Broszinski, *Die Glossen zum Jakobusbrief aus dem Victor-Codex (Bonifatius 1) in der Hessischen Landesbibliothek zu Fulda*, Veröffentlichungen der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda, vol. 7 (Fulda, 1996). The latter, although heavily dependent on Ranke’s edition,⁴⁸⁾ represents an improvement in providing some theological context for the glosses (introduction, pp. 15–25), a generally accurate but rather simplified apparatus fontium (pp. 91–94),⁴⁹⁾ and a text that corrects most of Ranke’s errors of transcription.⁵⁰⁾ However, the new edition is marred by a blind acceptance of the manuscript readings even when they are grammatically wrong and a corresponding failure to consider plausible emendations made by Ranke.⁵¹⁾ Less seriously, it follows its predecessor’s tendency to

47) See Hartmut Hoffmann, “Autographa des Früheren Mittelalters,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 17 (2001), 1–62 at 15–17, who plausibly argues that the personal note in A’s glosses which Parkes interpreted as reflecting the words of Boniface himself is simply the glossator replicating the direct speech of James to his audience. Hoffmann (p. 17) concludes that since the identification of Glossator A with Boniface relies in large part on questionable evidence, one should at best regard it as a hypothesis: “Da diese Identifizierung zu einem wesentlichen Teil wohl auf jener fragwürdigen Deutung der Glosse beruht, wird man sie höchstens als Hypothese akzeptieren können.”

48) By the editor’s own admission, “editione Ernesti Ranke nisis,” *Die Glossen zum Jakobusbrief*, p. 45. The present edition is indebted to Ranke for his readings of the glosses on fol. 435^v (especially gll. 19, 21–23 and 25–27) which subsequent to his edition were rendered illegible by the application of a reagent.

49) Although valuable as a general pointer to potential sources, it does not discuss the exact relationship between gloss and putative source.

50) However, some of Ranke’s errors are retained: notably, “dixit” for “dicit” (gl. 51), “quod” for “quia” (gl. 82), “christi” for “. x.” (gl. 83), “fidem” for “fide” (gl. 85), “dirigitur” for “dirigetur” (gl. 89), “corpus” for “opera” (gl. 94); the omission of “id est” (gll. 9, 98, 101, 103), “est” (gl. 41, 2°), and the incorrect incorporation of gl. 78 into the preceding gloss.

51) For example, Ranke’s insertion of “deum” after “in” (gl. 7), and his emendations of “de minim” to “de minimis” (gl. 88) and “pro multitudine magistrōs” to “p. m. magistrorum” (gl. 99) have much to recommend them. A number of Ranke’s emendations are relegated to the textual apparatus.

normalize the Latin spelling⁵²⁾, thereby potentially concealing significant data about the orthographical practices of the two glossators. Nor does it provide any punctuation (including capitalization) for the glosses, despite the presence of a parallel German translation which implies editorial decisions on how to read the glosses. Given these problems, the present paper supplies an independent edition with modern punctuation, which adheres to the manuscript readings as far as possible, while emending where the requirements of good sense and grammar dictate. All such emendations are indicated by angled brackets.

The fourteen glosses of the first scribe (Glossator A) are printed in Calibri font to distinguish them from the glosses of the second scribe (Glossator B), which are in Times New Roman. Lemmata (taken from the text of the Epistle of James in the Fulda Codex) are printed in block letters, while other words or passages from the Scriptures that occur in the glosses are highlighted in italics. For ease of consultation and discussion the glosses have been numbered, following the sequence of their lemmata.

[1] 1:1 [435^v] IACOBUS: *Iacobus Alphei*, frater Domini, quemque dicunt ab ipso saluatore episcopum ordinatum et ordinem misae faciendi ostendisse creditur.

[2] IACOBUS: Iacob interpretatur supplantator; alligorice, omnes sancti uitia sua superabunt.

[3] DEI ET DOMINI: quod dicit *Dei* pertinet ad Patrem, sicut *Domini* ad Filium; Deus et Dominus commonia nomina sunt sanctae trinitatis.

[4] IHESU CHRISTI: Ihesus inter<praetatur> saluator, Christus unctus.

[5] SERUUS: non *seruus* peccati, sed gratiae Dei *seruus*, et corpore et anima.

[6] DUODECIM TRIBUBUS QUAE SUNT IN DISPERSIONE: secundum sensum, ecclesiae catholicae quae dispersa est in orientem et occidentem et meridiem et aquilonem; sicut israhelicae plebi gentes interiectae sunt, sic ecclesiae interserunt se genera infidelium.

[7] SALUTEM: salus uera est in <Deum> credere et episcopum audire, qui *salutem* ministrat audientibus.

[8] 1:2 OMNE GAUDIUM EXISTIMATE: *omne gaudium* praesens non est, sed quod hic initiatur per fidem et in futuro inpletur per speciem.

52) For example, “Abrahae” for “Habrahae” (gl. 97), “coel-” for “cael-” (gll. 46, 48), “comprobatus” for “conprobatus” (gl. 31), “consummatum” for “consummotum” (gl. 39), “impletur” for “inpletur” (gll. 8, 57, 61), “imperfecti” for “inperfecti” (gl. 17), “intelligitur” for “intellegitur” (gl. 21), “poenitentia” for “paenitentia” (gl. 41), “religio” for “relegio” (gl. 63), “tentationes” for “temptationes” (gl. 11).

[9] OMNE GAUDIUM EXISTIMATE: uniuersali ecclesiae praeceptum est ut permaneat in fide et speret post hiemem asperam aestatem fructuosam, id est, post persecutionem praemia caelestia.

[10] EXISTIMATE: pro certo scitote.

[11] CUM IN TEMPTATIONIBUS UARIIS INCIDERITIS: ut est, *per multas temptationes oportet nos intrare in regnum caelorum*.

[12] 1:3 SCIENTES QUOD PROBATIO FIDEI UESTRAE PATIENTIAM OPERATUR: *probatio fidei per patientiam* erit, quia patientia est primus fructus caritatis.

[13] PATIENTIAM: hoc est, perseuerantiam bonorum operum usque in finem, ut dicitur, *qui perseuerauerit*, et cetera.

[14] 1:4 PATIENTIA AUTEM OPUS PERFECTUM HABEAT: *opus perfectum* est dilectio Dei et proximi.

[15] UT SITIS PERFECTI ET INTEGRI: hoc est, in opere bono, corpore et anima; siue in uetere et nouo testamento bene intellegentes.

[16] PERFECTI ET INTEGRI: *perfecti et integri* et corpore et anima; *perfecti* in dilectione Dei et proximi, opere et fide.

[17] IN NULLO DEFICIENTES: id est, *in nullo* genere tormentorum *deficientes*, uel in bono opere imperfecti.

[18] 1:5 SI QUIS AUTEM INDIGET SAPIENTIA POSTULET A DEO: ut sciat *uiam suam disponere* secundum Deum.

[19] ET DABITUR EI: quia omnibus *in fide* postulantibus Deus *sapientiam* tribuet.

[20] 1:6 POSTULET AUTEM IN FIDE: id est, ut accipiat *scientiam* quam *postulat*.

[21] QUI AUTEM HAESITAT SIMILIS EST FLUCTUI MARIS QUI A UENTO MOUETUR ET CIRCUMFERTUR: quia est sicut uentus mare, sic falsi doctores ecclesiam turbant; et per *uentum* diabolus intellegitur, a quo instabilis anima *mouetur* persuasione mali spiritus—si sapientiae et Dei gratiae incredulus permanserat.

[22] 1:8 UIR DUPLICI ANIMO INCONSTANS IN OMNIBUS UIIS SUIS: ille *duplex animo* est qui inter uetus et⁵³⁾ nouum testamentum dubitat. *In uiis suis*, hoc est, in cogitationibus et uerbis et operibus.

[23] 1:9-10 GLORIETUR AUTEM FRATER HUMILIS IN EXALTATIONE SUA DIUES AUTEM IN HUMILITATE SUA: tapinosis est, id est, magnae rei humiliatio; diuiti quod debuit pauperi, pauperi

53) MS “et uetus”

autem quod debuit diuiti assignauit.

[24] GLORIETUR AUTEM FRATER HUMILIS IN EXALTATIONE SUA DIUES AUTEM IN HUMILITATE SUA: hoc est, quod in euangelio legitur, *qui se exaltabit humiliabitur*.

[25] 1:10 DIUES AUTEM IN HUMILITATE SUA: hic unusquisque peccator intellegitur, quia *diues* est in suis uoluptatibus, per quas humiliabitur, aut hic per paenitentiam et emendationem, aut ibi in pena perpetua.

[26] QUONIAM SICUT FLOS FAENI TRANSIBIT: iuxta Esaïam prophetam, *omnis caro foenum est et omnis gloria eius sicut flos cito cadet*.

[27] 1:11 EXORTUS EST ENIM SOL CUM ARDORE ET AREFECIT FAENUM: Christus est *sol* aeternus et *sol* iustitiae, qui *ardore* Spiritus Sancti dicit: *ignem immittere in terram*.

[28] [fol. 436'] ET FLOS EIUS DECIDIT ET DECOR UULTUS EIUS DEPERIIT: omnes prauitates eius deperiant, et luxoria et diuitiae multae.

[29] ITA ET DIUES IN ITINERIBUS SUIS MARCESCIT: heresis et uoluntas humana *marcescit*, quando in senectutem et in mortem cadit.

[30] 1:12 BEATUS UIR QUI SUFFERT TEMPTATIONEM: hoc est, *humilis* qui incipit beatitudinem in temptationibus et perficiet in praemium.

[31] QUONIAM CUM PROBATUS FUERIT: in fide et in operibus bonis conprobatus, post uictoriam *accipiet* uitam aeternam.

[32] ACCIPIET CORONAM UITAE: hoc est, quod dictum est omnibus sanctis, *esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi*, et cetera.

[33] 1:13 NEMO CUM TEMPTATUR DICAT QUIA A DEO TEMPTATUR: *Nemo* imputet *Deo*, cum patiat tormenta pro meritis suis.

[34] DEUS ENIM INTEMPTATOR MALORUM EST: quia non habet causam in malorum temptatione, sed in bonorum.

[35] DEUS ENIM INTEMPTATOR MALORUM EST IPSE AUTEM NEMINEM TEMPTAT: non *temptat Deus* malos homines, sed suis actibus mali uindictam meruerunt; sed probat aliquando bonos, sicut Abraham.

[36] 1:14 UNUSQUISQUE UERO TEMPTATUR A CONCUPISCENTIA SUA ABSTRACTUS ET INLECTUS: de qua dixit apostolus, *caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum; abstractus* a Deo et *inlectus* a diabulo in multa genera peccatorum.

[37] 1:15 DEIN CONCUPISCENTIA CUM CONCEPERIT PARIT PECCATUM: *conceperit* in cogita-

tionem, *pariet* in uerbo et in opere mala inlicita.

[38] PECCATUM UERO CUM CONSUMMATUM FUERIT GENERAT MORTEM: id est, per actum animae spiritaliter *mortem generat*.

[39] *Consummatum erit peccatum* iniusti quando cadit in *mortem*, ubi perit confessio.

[40] 1:16 NOLITE ITAQUE ERRARE FRATRES MEI: hoc est, *nolite* increduli esse.

[41] 1:17 OMNE DATUM OPTIMUM ET OMNE DONUM PERFECTUM DESURSUM EST: hic respicit ad initium creaturarum omnium, quia Deus omnia bona creauit, qui est *pater luminum* (id est, angelorum), et qui luminaribus doctrinae inluminat ecclesiam suam. *Datum optimum*, baptismum est; *donum perfectum*, paenitentia uel uirginitas et continentia.

[42] DESCENDENS A PATRE LUMINUM: qui est lux lucis et fons luminis.

[43] APUD QUEM NON EST TRANSMUTATIO: id est, de bono in malum — [44] uitae aeternae perditio.

[45] NEC UICISSITUDINIS OBUMBRATIO: id est, ut nubes obumbrant solem uel occasus, sic et mutatio boni in malum.

[46] Quia obliuio post scientiam siue nox post diem nobiscum sunt, non cum Domino in caelo.

[47] 1:18 UOLUNTARIE GENUIT NOS UERBO UERITATIS: id est, in baptismo.

[48] *Uerbo ueritatis*, hoc est euangelii; *ut sitis filii*, inquit, *patris uestri qui in caelis est*; et in principio, *faciamus hominem*.

[49] UT SIMUS [fol. 436^v] INITIUM ALIQUOD CREATURAE EIUS: per generationem *creaturae eius*, id est, ut *praedicate euangelium omni creaturae* (id est, omni creato in baptismo).

[50] Nos sumus *initium aliquod* per passionem et resurrectionem Christi, id est, *primi nouissimi*.

[51] 1:19 SCITIS FRATRES MEI DILECTI: respicit ad id quod supra dicit, *omne datum*, et cetera.

[52] SIT AUTEM OMNIS HOMO UELOX AD AUDIENDUM TARDUS AUTEM AD LOQUENDUM: hoc ad initium doctrinae contra causas elationis; sciebat enim apostolus eos ad quos episcopus mittitur primatum uerbi uoluisse tenere et docere.

[53] ET TARDUS AD IRAM: hoc in euangelio legitur, *qui irascitur fratri suo reus erit iudicio*.

[54] 1:21 PROPTER QUOD ABICIENTES OMNEM INMUNDITIAM: hoc est, generaliter quae a diabulo sunt sumpta per *inmunditiam* corporis et animae, quae pertinent ad fornicationem.

[55] IN MANSUETUDINE SUSCIPITE INSITUM UERBUM: id est, quod modo praedico uobis, hoc est, euangelium.

[56] *Insitum* per multa tempora patriarcharum et prophetarum, de quo dicitur, *ipse enim saluum faciet*

populum suum a peccatis eorum.

[57] 1:22 ESTOTE AUTEM FACTORES UERBI ET NON AUDITORES TANTUM FALLENTES UOSMET IPSOS: *factores uerbi* sunt qui custodiunt praecepta, fallaces illi qui non custodiunt praecepta et desiderant euangelium Christi audire et non implere.

[58] 1:23 HIC CONPARABITUR UIRO CONSIDERANTI UULTUM NATIUITATIS SUAE IN SPECULO: id est, in quo et in quali natus est.

[59] IN SPECULO: mulierum est mos considerare se *in speculo* ut placere uiris suis possint. Ita animas nostras considerare oportet *in speculo* euangelii, ut uiro suo Christo placere poterint et non obliuiscantur praecepta eius.

[60] 1:25 QUI AUTEM PERSPEXERIT IN LEGE PERFECTA LIBERTATIS: id est, in noua *lege*.

[61] IN LEGE PERFECTA LIBERTATIS: *legem libertatis* dicit caritatem, de qua apostolus ait, *portate inuicem honera uestra sic adimplebitis legem Christi*.

[62] 1:26 SI QUIS AUTEM PUTAT SE RELIGIOSUM ESSE: laudando semet ipsum, ut dixit phariseus, “*non sum sicut publicanus iste.*”

[63] [fol. 437^r] NON REFRENANS LINGUAM SUAM SED SEDUCENS COR SUUM HUIUS UANA EST RELIGIO: hoc est, quia consistit cor eius in laude sua, et *uana est relegio* eius; quia uerbum dicit quod non manet in corde eius, et ideo *cor suum* seducitur.

[64] 1:27 RELIGIO MUNDA ET IMMACULATA APUD DEUM ET PATREM HAEC EST: ideo adiecit *Patrem* ut et personam Filii ostenderet, quia Pater nomen Filii est.

[65] UISITARE PUPILLOS ET UIDUAS IN TRIBULATIONE EORUM: cura pupillorum et uiduarum ecclesiae commendatur; *pupilli* autem *et uiduae* mystice intelleguntur sensus corporis et animae quos debemus adtendere.

[66] INMACULATUM SE CUSTODIRE AB HOC SAECULO: hoc est, ut nemo causa pecuniae *pupillos* uisitet, aut causa turpi^s amoris *uiduas*.

[67] 2:1 NOLITE IN PERSONARUM ACCEPTIONEM HABERE FIDEM DOMINI NOSTRI IHESU CHRISTI GLORIAE: de datione baptismatis diuiti et pauperi; haec dicta sunt Iudeis et gentibus.

[68] NOLITE IN PERSONARUM ACCEPTIONEM HABERE FIDEM DOMINI NOSTRI IHESU CHRISTI GLORIAE: hic *totam legem* per sinecdochen tangit; *gloriae* dicit, id est datius casus; *fidem gloriae*, hoc est, resurrectionis Ihesu Christi.

[69] 2:2 UIR AUREUM ANULUM HABENS IN UESTE CANDIDA INTROIERIT AUTEM ET PAUPER IN SORDIDO HABITU: *anulum aureum habens*, hoc est, diuitis omnibus; *ueste candida*

indicat gaudium mentis; *pauper* sordidus, non intus sed foris est. Exemplum regis et pauperis hic accipitur, et de omnibus intellegitur qui reddent causas iniquitatis.

[70] 2:4 NONNE IUDICATIS APUD UOSMET IPSOS: quasi dixisset, non *apud* Deum hoc iudicium est; hoc cum in uobis cogitatis.

[71] ET FACTI ESTIS IUDICES COGITATIONUM INIQUARUM: *iudices cogitationum*, id est, auctores; iudex enim *cogitationum* est qui eas in opere profert.

[72] 2:5 NONNE DEUS ELEGIT PAUPERES IN HOC MUNDO: ut est, *elegit Deus stulta mundi ut confundat sapientes*, quod de Maria et Ioseph⁵⁴⁾ et de apostolis intellegitur, qui piscatores et inlitterati fuerunt.

[73] PAUPERES: id est, gentiles et Iudaeos in unum; ut est, *beati pauperes spiritu*, et reliqua.

[74] [fol. 437^v] ET HEREDES REGNI QUOD REPROMISIT DEUS DILIGENTIBUS SE: hoc est, quod ueritas dicit, *beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum*.

[75] 2:6 UOS AUTEM EXHONORASTIS PAUPEREM: hoc est, *non dantes ei necessaria*.

[76] NONNE DIUITES PER POTENTIAM OPPRIMUNT UOS ET IPSI TRAHUNT UOS AD IUDICIA: quod de persecutoribus ecclesiae intellegitur, qui iudicium faciunt in terra secundum suam uoluntatem in sanctos.

[77] 2:7 NONNE IPSI BLASPHEMANT BONUM NOMEN QUOD INUOCATUM EST SUPER NOS: *bonum nomen* est Israel, id est, anima uidens Deum; uel *nomen* christiani.

[78] BONUM NOMEN: id est, Christi.⁵⁵⁾

[79] 2:8 SI TAMEN LEGEM PERSPICITIS REGALEM...BENE FACIS: *legem regalem*, id est, commonem Moysi; id est, si uultis eam seruare, *bene* agitis —spiritaliter scilicet.

[80] DILIGIS PROXIMUM TUUM SICUT TE IPSUM BENE FACIS: *ne memineris iniquitatem proximi* tui, hoc est, post paenitentiam; et alii non faci quod non uis tibi fieri.

[81] 2:9 SI AUTEM PERSONAS ACCIPITIS PECCATUM OPERAMINI: ad *personas* diuitum hoc intellectum pertinet.

[82] REDARGUTI A LEGE QUASI TRANSGRESSORES: hoc est, quia non seruastis legem Dei, lex puniebat uos; ut est, qui facit opera terrena occidatur.

54) After "Ioseph" the letters "in" are present, perhaps an inchoative "intelligitur," the verb which was supplied further on to cover two subjects, Joseph and Mary and the Apostles.

55) Awkwardly inserted on the narrow (right) margin and connected to its lemma by means of a signe de renvoi (÷). Aris and Broszinski, *Die Glossen zum Jacobusbrief*; p. 72, incorrectly incorporate it into gl. 77.

[83] 2:10 QUICUMQUE AUTEM TOTAM LEGEM SERUAUERIT OFFENDAT AUTEM IN UNO FACTUS EST OMNIUM REUS: id est, *si non habet caritatem*, dum nihil prosunt omnia mandata; uel si unum de .x. mandatis reliquerit.

[84] 2:11 QUOD SI NON MOECABERIS OCCIDES AUTEM FACTUS ES TRANSGRESSOR LEGIS: hic Iudaeos uoluit intellegi qui in multis offendunt Deum.

[85] 2:12 SIC LOQUIMINI ET SIC FACITE SICUT PER LEGEM LIBERTATIS INCIPIENTES IUDICARI: hoc est, modo per misericordiam quam ante non habueritis. Hic morem doctorum corrigit ut quod doceant in ecclesia opere inpleant, et ad omnes credentes quasi dixisset, *sic facite* ut *loquimini* sermonibus. *Per legem libertatis* nouum testamentum in quo demisa sunt peccata; uel caritatem *incipientes*, id est cum uenistis in fide.

[86] SICUT PER LEGEM LIBERTATIS INCIPIENTES IUDICARI: id est, sicut per nos modo coepistis in noua lege iudicari, sicque alios iudicate, hoc est misericorditer.

[87] 2:13 IUDICIUM ENIM SINE MISERICORDIA ILLI QUI NON FECIT MISERICORDIAM: hoc dicit ne hominibus *sine misericordia* iudicaretur, ubi conuentus eorum fuerint. *Qui non facit misericordiam*, id est, qui non inpleuit nouum testamentum cum fide, ut *si non demiseritis hominibus*, et cetera; et si in iudicio pauperis lenis et misericors fueris, *iudicium* Dei non timebis.

[88] SUPEREXULTAT AUTEM MISERICORDIA IUDICIO: hoc est, ualet *miseri*cordia ad liberandum plusquam iudicium ad damnandum—uidetur tamen iudicium esse ut peccator damnetur. *Superexultat autem misericordia iudicio*, ut fuit Loth, quia caritas magis defendit hominem quam uerum iudicium damnet de minimis peccatis, *quia caritas cooperit multitudinem peccatorum*.

[89] 2:14 QUID PRODERIT FRATRES MEI SI FIDEM QUIS DICAT SE HABERE OPERA AUTEM NON HABEAT: contentio inter Iudaeos et gentes, sed ad ambos dirigitur responsum.

[90] 2:16 QUID PRODERIT: uobis in futuro, quia *non dederitis* pauperibus *necessaria*.

[91] 2:17 FIDES SI NON HABET OPERA MORTUA EST IN SEMET IPSAM: hoc significat quia non excitat ad uitam habentem se, quia *fides* est sine operibus quasi lucerna sine oleo tenebrosa.

[92] 2:18 SED DICET QUIS TU FIDEM HABES ET EGO OPERA HABEO: hic interrogatio est et discretio inter fidem et opera, quae utraque simul prosunt.

[93] OSTENDE MIHI FIDEM TUAM SINE OPERIBUS: quasi dixisset, inuenies eam uacuum.

[94] 2:19 ET DAEMONES CREDUNT ET CONTREMISCUNT: hoc ideo dixit ad exemplum, quia

nihil fides sine operibus prodest, sed opera cum fide; demones opera⁵⁶⁾ non habent sed fidem uacuum quae <non> saluat eos.

[95] 2:21 ABRAHAM PATER NOSTER NONNE EX OPERIBUS IUSTIFICATUS EST: hic exemplum ueteris legis professum est, ut commendat iustitiam.⁵⁷⁾

[96] ABRAHAM PATER NOSTER NONNE EX OPERIBUS IUSTIFICATUS EST: id est, tamen quod operatus est et prius credidit, et sic operatus est.

[97] OFFERENS ISAAC FILIUM SUUM SUPER ALTARE: locus autem in quo factum haec oblatio Moraim uocatur, et interpretaetur lucida uel ostensa, quia de Sion alio nomine intellegi potest, et ideo specula Sion interpretaetur, quia Habrahae in illo loco salus humani generis ostensa est futura esse, et in Sion postea templum Salom<on>is constructum est. Per *Abraham*, pater Deus; per *Isaac*, filius Dei; per berbicem, car<o> diuina; per ligna et altare, crux Christi significatur.

[98] [fol. 438^v] 3:1 NOLITE PLURES MAGISTRI FIERI FRATRES MEI: id est, sed unum sentite, hoc est, fidem et opus in salutem, quia Iudaei in opere gloriabantur, gentiles autem in fide.

[99] SCIENTES QUONIAM MAIUS IUDICIUM SUMITIS: id est, maiorem uindictam pro multitudine magistrorum⁵⁸⁾ quam unum sentire.

[100] 3:2 SI QUIS IN UERBO NON OFFENDIT HIC PERFECTUS EST UIR: quod ante, fidem cum opere confirmans et opus cum fide, similiter obseruat in lingua sua.

[101] [fol. 439^r] 3:5 MODICUM QUIDEM MEMBRUM EST ET MAGNA EXULTAT: id est, *magna* eleuatio in glorificatione.

[102] [fol. 439^v] 3:12 NUMQUID POTEST FRATRES MEI FICUS UUAS FACERE AUT UITIS FICUS: ut *non potest arbor mala fructus bonos*, et cetera.

[103] [fol. 440^r] 4:5 AD INUIDIAM CONCUPISCIT SPIRITUS QUI INHABITAT IN UOBIS: id est, ille carnalis spiritus uester contra alios.

[104] 4:6 MAIOREM AUTEM DAT GRATIAM: id est, *humilibus*.

[105] [fol. 440^v] 4:9 MISERI ESTOTE ET LUGETE ET PLORATE: ut *beati qui lugent nunc*, et cetera.

[106] 4:15 PRO EO UT DICATIS SI DOMINUS UOLUERIT: id est, ideo dixi uobis.

56) Both Ranke and Aris and Broszinski, *Die Glossen zum Jacobusbrief*, p. 82, read "corpus." Although the gloss is now illegible, it appears from its outline and alignment with the line below it, that it contained at most five letters.

57) The gloss was incorrectly attached to the previous verse by a misplaced signe de renvoi.

58) MS "magistros," an error probably caused because the word was added on the margin as the correction of an omission.

[107] [fol. 441^v] 5:3. ET ERUGO EORUM IN TESTIMONIUM UOBIS ERIT ET MANDUCABIT CARNES UESTRAS SICUT IGNIS: id est, quod in illis *erugo* uidetur; *et manducauit carnes*, id est, assidua cura pro eis ac sollicitudo.

[108] 5:5–6 IN DIE OCCISIONIS ADDIXISTIS OCCIDISTIS IUSTUM: id est, in Christi passione *addixistis*; id est, inter uosmet ipsos ad *alterutrum*.

[109] 5:7 PATIENTES [fol. 441^v] IGITUR ESTOTE FRATRES USQUE AD ADUENTUM DOMINI: responsio illis qui hoc dixerunt, ut expectarent *usque* dum Deus uindicaret de eis.⁵⁹⁾

59) The final page (fol. 442^f) contains no glosses.

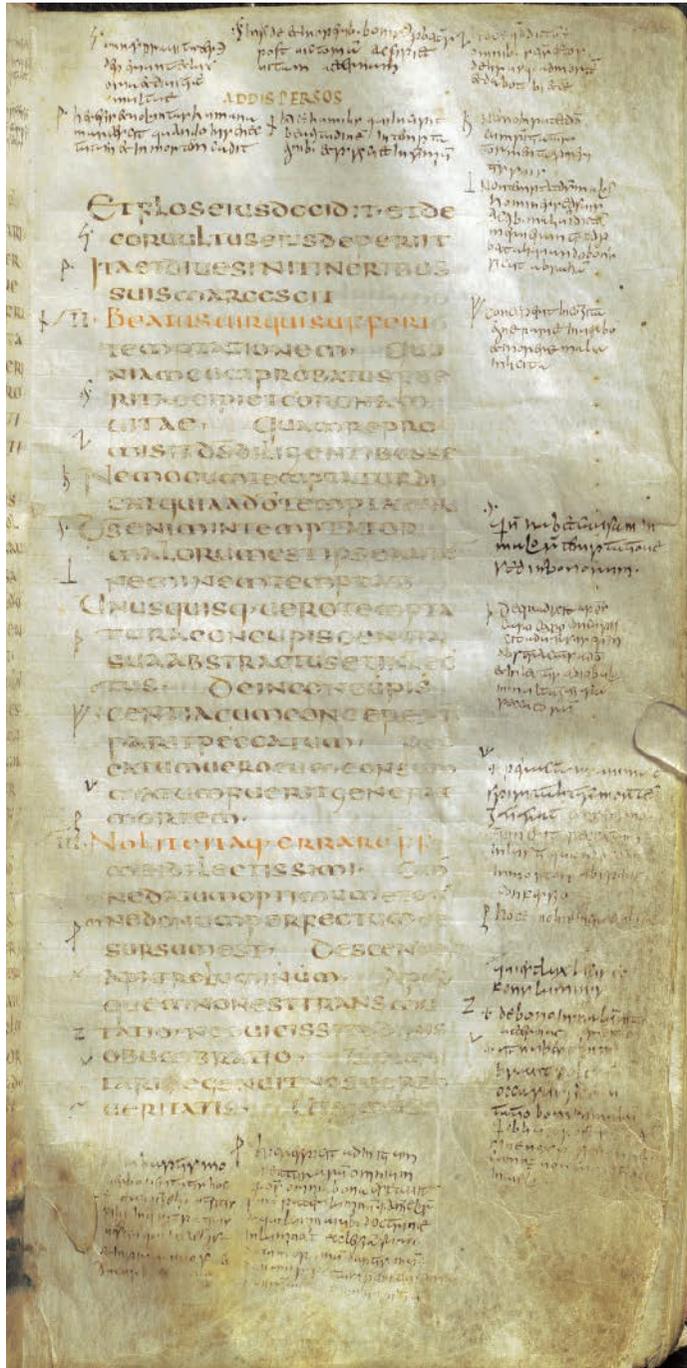


Plate 1: Fulda, Landesbibliothek, MS Bonifatius 1, fol. 436r (Epistle of James, 1:11-18)