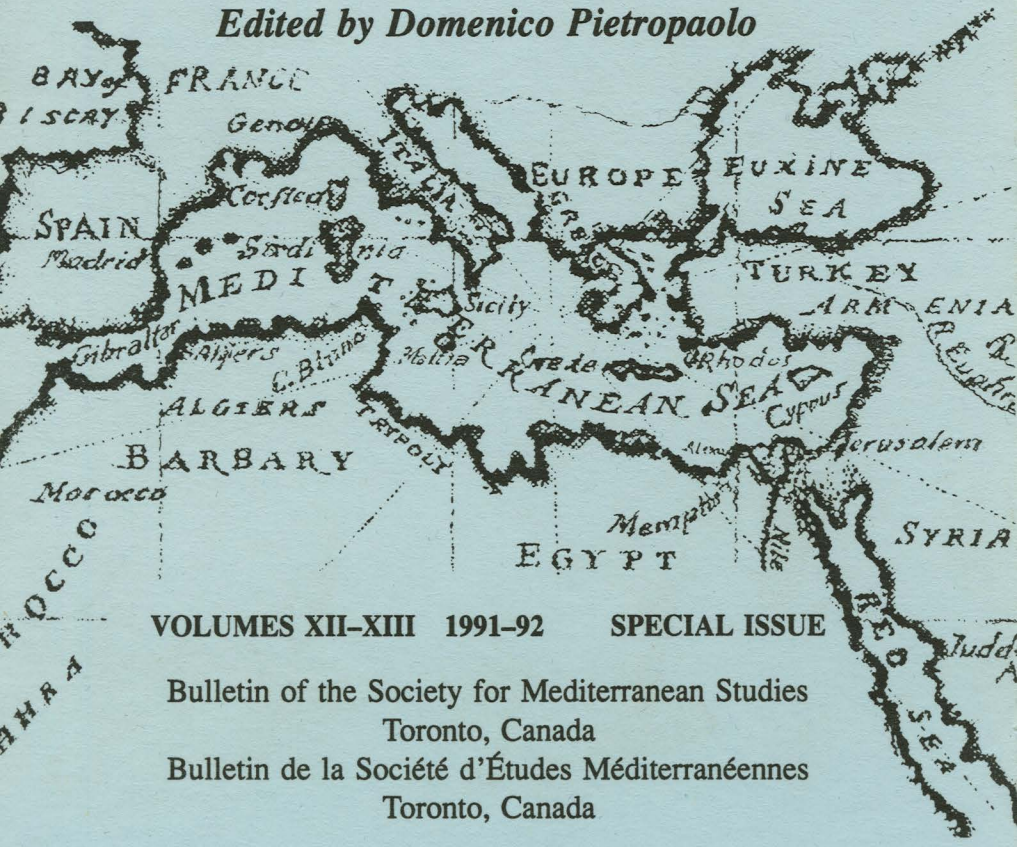
SCRIPTA MEDITERRANEA

Writing and the Growth of Culture in the Mediterranean

Edited by Domenico Pietropaolo



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Text and Ideology in Hellenism

The last line of an early schedule of papers for this conference read: "We expect to publish the proceedings in the spring of 1992." The expectation will reassure many, not least me. I, for one, hardly ever remember anything I hear in lectures, and have trouble enough remembering what I read. The assurance that the conference proceedings will be published allows all of us to let our thoughts wander as we sit here. Listening, we can meditate, can mentally argue, or rephrase our own contributions. On publication, the convenient format of our publications allows us to look over the conference volume briefly, then put the book on our shelves, or in the bathroom, to be read or cited when the need arises.

We write—and think—for publication. We can phrase our conceptions as abstrusely as those of Claude Levy-Strauss because we know our audience can sit and puzzle over what we mean; if we are as noted as Levy-Strauss, we can be confident that they will take the time to do so. If we are me, we try to be a little clearer and tax the patience of our readers less. But as I write—note that I say write—the introduction to this lecture, I use language appropriate for publication and develop and present my concepts in a way that will be clear on the page: the fact that my ideas are presented orally is revealed only in a relative informality of the first paragraph or so, and the orality of the message emerges not in the words or sentence structure but in the actual performance and delivery of the text.

Text and orality, as I use the words here, are near-exclusive concepts. Where there is text, it eventually supplants orality, and with orality, no text exists. I will be discussing today the manner in which the emergence of text influenced and even framed the ideology of Hellenism, and also how the physical nature of text also contributed to that mentality we call Greek. (I do not use ideology and mentality as synonyms, but as complementary concepts.) It is banal to stress the difference between oral and written culture, but perhaps a little less so to stress the difference, within text societies, of the manner in which text is created, presented and preserved.

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For a long time, Hellenic traditions and memories about the Homeric epics and the manner in which they were sung by bards depended on notions of memory. The concept of "oral poetry" with which we are familiar today is a relatively new, twentieth-century idea which owes its inception to Milman Parry, and even today is based on his insights into formulaic diction and constantly living and changing narrative verse. Fundamental to Parry's notion of the kind of poetry which could give rise to such monumental epics as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was the idea that the tradition limited content by form: one could only "sing" about events, concepts, people when the corpus of formulae or the formulaic diction could apply or be adapted to them. Parry's concept could be described by McLuhan's "The medium is the message," in a way.

Consider, for a moment, the Homeric *Iliad*, and match it to Vergil's *Aeneid*. The *Iliad* claims to be about "The wrath of Achilles ——" while the *Aeneid* is about "Arms and the man ——" The Greek epic uses a narrative technique to focus on a short period of time—a few days or weeks at most—and one place, and makes a psychological and cosmological investigation of the human condition, while the Latin poem is itself primarily a narrative using epic conventions, a history, covering a very broad scope of time and distance and comprehending a large number of political, moral, cultural and ideological conceptions. The first could work in a written culture, but the second could not in an oral one. (I cannot prove the second part of the preceding sentence, but the existence of the *Iliad* today is ample proof of the first part.)

Very early in the history of the development of Hellenism, the *Iliad* was written down. Tradition tells us that this peculiar act took place during the time that Pisistratus was tyrant in Athens—the mid sixth century. The transmission of the *Iliad* into written form established a text for the Greeks, and that text froze the potential of impact which the work in oral form could make ideologically. Whether or not some segments of the epic were originally interpolations, as some critics argue, they were undoubtedly in the Pisistratid text, and they stood as part of this fundamental expression of Greek thought. The Achilles-figure, the human who sought repeatedly to find a successful rationale for decision and human existence, became a paradigm for the human condition, great not because he succeeded in his confrontation with a

hostile or uncaring cosmos, but rather, because in the face of repeated failure, he still insisted on asserting his will, human will. It helped to make Hellenism's glorification of the self the diametrical opposite of the eastern goal of elimination of the self.

The writing down of the *Iliad* was a step toward the establishment of Athenian society as a writing culture. It was a long time, however, before the essential orality of that culture gave way completely before writing. I agree with Eric Havelock that it was not until the end of the fifth century B.C. that writing dominated in the transmission and framing of culture in Athens. Most of the implications of this have not been noted, however, and in discussing the transition from orality to text and its effects on mentality and ideology I hope also *pari passu* to lend some confirmation to Havelock's thesis.

It is not an unimportant fact that almost every important Greek author whose works we have intact—or nearly so, falls into the period 450–350 B.C. We have all of the *Histories* of Herodotus, all of the account of the Peloponnesian War that Thucydides wrote, albeit incomplete as he left it. We have all of Xenophon's varied works, plus some others attributed, and we have the entire Platonic corpus—plus letters which are arguably spurious. All these are prose writers. From the same period, (or before, in the case of the first tragedian) we have about ten per cent of the works of Aeschylus intact, about seven per cent of the plays of Sophocles, while we do a little better for Euripides—about a fifth extant. The attrition is savage, and yet, less severe than the losses which resulted in the near destruction of the entire body of lyric poetry and complete absence of works of other tragedians. Furthermore, while we have the intact works of the dramatists I have named, we have practically nothing of any of their prose-writing predecessors or contemporaries apart from those I have named, and of the noted philosopher who followed Plato, his pupil Aristotle, we have again only a small part of the works attributed to him, and of third-century philosophers, we have only fragments of an extremely voluminous outpouring.

The unusual aspect of this data is in the collocation of extant writers, particularly when we take into consideration the relative insignificance of these writers in the body of Greek literary papyri, now known in significant enough numbers to give some indication of the relative frequency of texts in the collections of Greek readers in

Egypt. There the dominance of Homer iis obvious, with about half of all literary papyri representing epic texts. Euripides' works appear frequently, as do those of Demosthenes, while of our "complete" authors, only a small, scattering of papyrus fragments remains. So the preservation of complete texts of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato and Xenophon cannot be demonstrated to be due to exceptionally large numbers of texts available in antiquity, unless we hypothesize that the traceable patterns of the East differed greatly from other parts of the ancent world.

Is it, then, literary taste? Or philosophical inclinations? We do know that Plato was a figure of dominant importance in Roman times. Is it to the same philosphical orientation that we owe one apparently complete recension of Plotinus that we must credit the survival of all of Plato? To literary taste we can certainly attribute the greater survival of Euripidean tragedy over the works of Aeschylus and Sophocles, for we have independent evidence of Euripides' preferment, even in his own time, but why Herodotus and Thucydides and Xenophon over the popular Euripides?

I could meander through this material, setting up straw men and knocking them down, but instead I will get right to the point. In my view, the concentration of "complete" authors at the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth centuries is related to the transition from oral to written culture, and, furthermore, the use of writing by historians and philosophers to a large extent controlled the nature and development of Hellenism—and in turn, western civilization.

Before I explore this further, I will deal with the issue of the extant texts of drama, since the argument might be made that the existence of our dramatic texts pushes the shift earlier, and calls for an acknowledgement that the ideas of drama represent written, rather than oral culture. In the first place, the existence of texts of drama is no more evidence for the written-culture mentality of dramatic expression than the texts of Homeric epic would argue for an essentially written culture as the background of epic. The majority of expression in the fifth century could easily have been oral, while the developing importance of writing could have motivated the writing down of play scripts in much the way the interest in history motivated the writing down of the traditional (oral) Athenian archon list and list of Olympian victors.

Second, and more important, drama is *per se* oral. What is said by the characters and playwright comes out in the "winged words" of epic. Enunciated, they fly away, and if the force of their impact is not great, the impact itself will be slight, and listeners will either forget what was said or will miss its significance. The difference between the needs of oral communication and written communication is so great as to determine the nature of what can itself be communicated, and drama, as oral in its entirety, can only deal with matters communicable in an oral culture.

In mid-fifth century Athens, drama dealt with the same issues as those treated by epic. Presented in the religious context of the festival of Dionysus, plays explored the natures and actions of the gods, the human condition, morality and ethics in private and public life, the interaction between the cosmos and the human domain. Narration was secondary, particularly in the works of Aeschylus and Sophocles, reasoned argument not only scanty but hardly necessary, the speeches and choruses instead aiming at producing emotional perception of the outcome of the actions of the characters. What happens when people do *that*? is a question that drama can ask, and the answers provide the nature of what drama can teach.

This kind of composition can present human problems, can demonstrate their effects and the actions they stimulate. It can present situations, and offer emotional and spiritual interpretations. It can probe deeply into religious and philosophical problems, and present them with stunning clarity and emotional force. It can even present solutions by way of examples and the simulation of action. What it cannot do, however, is present sequential argument, moving from starting point through a series of ideas and steps to reach a conclusion which depends for its acceptance on the success of conviction carried by both the parts and the coherence of series of statements. It conveys its truth through the directness of perception, rather than through the construction of its logic.

Logic belongs to the world of writing, rather than speech. It calls for a great deal more than just the hesitation of cogitation, reflection, revision, as Plato described Lysias developing a speech he was to deliver, writing "at his leisure, and over a long period of time" (*Phaedrus*, 228). It calls for the reader to have leisure and time to read, reread, think and evaluate. And argumentative writing, itself,

ultimately calls for some form of logic, some set of rules which a reader will accept as validating the steps of argument, and which can be used as the reader checks back over what has been read, rereading and rethinking to assert agreement or denial.

So writing both permits and calls for logical sequential developent in argumentation. It also permits lengthy, complex and variegated narrative. It can accept a bewildering array of people, places, events, can reach over a long period of time and can even allow for frequent forays back and forth in time. When the writing is presented on the pages of books, in the manner of modern texts, rather than in the rolls of early and middle antiquity, pages over which the reader can turn back and forth to be reminded of ideas and names, the complexity, subtlety and content can be almost limitless. Today, for example, historians can dump all sorts of obscurities into their texts, in the confidence that a reader who has got lost can be reoriented by using the index.

By now, say 15 minutes into my discussion, you listeners need some direction signals to explain where this argument is going, so that you can follow it. Readers, on the other hand, can forge ahead without them, looking back if they forget any of the points I have made so far. The listeners, then, I will remind of a few points: I accept the notion that the extensive use of writing began in Athens in the late fifth century B.C.; I noted that the preservation of the complete work of a few major prose writers of that period or shortly after is peculiar to that period; I alleged that writing permits of a kind of argumentation and complex narrative in history and philosophy which is not possible in oral composition and that the existence of written composition may even call for modes of thought unknown to oral composition. I am now going to argue two propositions: First, that the reason for the preservation of the work of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Plato is the maintainence, in their texts, of some of the ideology of earlier Hellenism along with the creation of the new ideology which in later Hellenism coexisted with the earlier. Secondly, I am going to claim that Hellenism has at least two conflicting mentalities or ideologies. One of these, characteristic of the earlier Homeric, dramatic and oral way of thinking, sees human beings developing understanding and experience through direct perception: with the inevitably fragmentary and personal nature of

perception, this mentality sees the human condition as fundamentally limited, buffeted and at the mercy of a cosmos which is poorly understood or known not at all and which itself is inaccessible to and uncaring of humanity. The other ideology, which I may call the mentality of writing, is based on faith in human reason and on the view that human beings using their minds are capable of reaching accurate conceptions of the nature of the cosmos.

It is clear that the work of the extant prose writers does not show a deliberate rejection of an earlier attitude about humanity and the cosmos. There is neither that, nor a calculated endorsement of a new and different idea, or even an explicit endorsement of the value of writing itself. These are, after all, transitional figures, with attitudes reflective of the past and involved in activity leading to the future. Plato, for one, in the very act of writing denigrated its value and its relation to truth, holding out written books as mere reminders of the valuable, discussable and refutable ideas and words of spoken discourse. And these wrters were not the first, by any means, to compose in writing or in prose. What is new about their age and their work is the growing importance of writing as the mode of communication, so that by the time of Plato's death in the mid-fourth century, the written work was the norm. And what is new about all these writers is their acceptance of the basic assumption of the validity of human reason and knowledge. Herodotus asserted a cyclical nature for human history, citing evidence by which one can deduce its truth, and his account of the vast panorama of Persian and Greek history and the Persian Wars is a validation of the possibility that humans can know their limits. The Lydian history of the dynasty of Croesus is so precise a prelude in microcosm of the great story to come that we must see his using the potential of writing to focus the attention of readers on his main points.

Thucydides, with his seemingly modern choice of a narrower focus to probe in depth, has a similar faith in the value of history. Who can read his pages without an awareness of his aim of moral education? To know the events of this "greatest disturbance of the Greeks" is to learn a great deal about right and wrong in statecraft and human behavior. And in Plato's case, learning is what all the discourse is about—probing the potential of human reason to recognize true reality and abandon the deceptions of the world of seeming

and becoming to which the senses respond. Even Xenophon, seen by many to have been of a lesser intellectual ability than the others, wrote with the same confidence in the capability of politicians and philosophers to make decisions on the basis of knowledge which could be called accurate.

Yet, with all this "new," the heart of traditional Hellenism has not been expunged from the world view of these figures. The human being operates in a cosmos over which humanity has very little control. The king of Herodotus' cycle is as powerless to affect the broad sweep of events as is any figure of epic or tragedy. Thucydides' narrative takes place entirely on the human level and the author passes by all the questions of cosmic and human interaction, and for the most part, the same is true of Xenophon. Plato's work is concerned with knowing reality, not altering or affecting it. The difference between Achilles and Oedipus on the one hand and the historian or philosopher of Herodotus and Plato is knowledge, but it is *only* knowledge. Achilles at the end of the *Iliad*, like Ajax, Philoctetes, Prometheus, is unbowed but uncomprehending. Plato and Herodotus would lead us to comprehension and perhaps acquiescence, but they would not assert the modern confidence in the possibility of human control of the environment.

Knowledge itself would someday be praised as power, and the human confidence in the power of knowledge traces itself back to that point in Hellenism when some Greeks developed a confidence in the very possibility of knowledge, so that in the next generation, Aristotle could assert that the human being by nature desires to know. From the fourth century on, many Greek writers based their whole approach to understanding on the tacit assumption that accurate, or true knowledge was not only abstractly possible but in some instances at least had actually been achieved. By the end of the fourth century we could have Epicurus assert the complete divorce between humanity and the cosmos: "If the gods exist, they don't care." Zeno, his contemporary and rival, as we understand the two schools of thought, began a tradition which in essence equated the divine force with that of reason.

This is a long way from the cry of one of Euripides' characters, "If you are a god you must be crazy," but the Euripidean vision of the cosmos as a moral shambles, at least from the human point of view,

persisted in Hellenism for a long time. This is the view of life which the epic accepts, which fits the events of the plays of Sophocles and Euripides, which Aeschylus explores in some plays and rejects in the *Oresteia*, that remarkable account of transition from divine to human justice, from cosmic conflict tormenting humanity to the settlement of scores both divine and human. The view of humanity floundering in a cosmos neither understood nor manageable in any way never died out of Hellenism, but the manner in which it would be discussed changed radically. No longer an *Oresteia* on the stage, but dialectic and argument, recorded for reminding and discussion, as Plato would put it, carried the burden of human cosmological, ethical and moral investigation for Hellenism. The atrophy of the tragic drama came quickly after the birth of written philosophy, and within a decade or two the stage was occupied by comic writers and melodrama like that of Menander. The genre in which thought was carried on altered irreversibly. While enquiry into the human condition might in the future be carried on in a "literary mode," that was a long time in the future and would await an idealization of Hellenism many centuries in the future. Meanwhile, for the rest of antiquity, poetry and the drama would be devoted, for the most part, to entertainment and the expression of personal feelings—or at the most impersonal, ideas and ideals about society and human affairs or metrical renditions of philosophical tracts.

It is the philosophical tracts that would carry on the exploration which characterized the religious drama of fifth century Athens. The first creator of these, Plato, was himself suspicious of the very medium of writing which he was using, and tried to preserve the impact of orality and metaphor which he knew from his youth. He certainly did not move very far along the road of logic and controlled argument which writing allowed. This emerged in the corpus of texts attributed to Plato's student Aristotle, a corpus which in its bare existence presents us with a large number of problems: questions related to the extent to which each text was authored specifically by Aristotle or might have been a recording of his teaching; problems related to the apparent neglect of many of the works and the later creation of a collection or an "edition;" the effect of the assembly of works into a text which seems to have obliterated chronology and development in the writing; curiosities like the emergence of an Aristotelian

Constitution of Athens as late as the end of the nineteenth century and a concomitant debate over authorship and attribution.

However one may react to these problems, the philosophical tracts which make up the Aristotelian corpus show a remarkable difference from Plato's in their confidence in writing and in their use of tools which writing makes possible. As history, once fixed as a genre by Herodotus and Thucydides, comprehended an assembly of information, opinion, values and experience of an extremely wide range of people, places and times, and could even spill over into poetry as in the *Aeneid*, philosophy could, now in an organized way, approach subjects like physics and metaphysics (whatever we take that designation of Aristotle's work to mean), astronomy, ethics, logic, rhetoric, politics and natural science. And all these are based not only on Aristotle's assumption of the essentially human nature of the taste for knowledge, but on a confidence in the ability of the human to achieve something significant in a quest for it. And it is a buildable, developable kind of knowledge. At the end of the Antigone, the chorus tells us, "The basis of happiness is wisdom." But what is the wisdom we learn from the misfortunes of Antigone, Haemon and Creon, in terms of knowledge we can use and expand for the future? Very different is the knowledge we gain from Aristotle, and his exposition of the route to human happiness in the *Nichomachean Ethics* and *Politics*.

Both Sophocles and Aristotle contributed to the medley which made up the music of Hellenism, and their very different harmonics continued to influence the manner in which the music was composed and heard. In Hellenism and in our culture the confidence in human potential for knowing has run in a straight line from Plato to Popper, (an odd collocation I have deliberately chosen) coexisting with a sense of *nausée* which has made it possible for Nietzsche to argue for Homeric values in the century of Marx.

As I considered the impact of writing on the ideology of Hellenism, I had also in mind the question of the effect of the nature in which the writing and text was recorded and preserved: I mean the roll, rather than the codex. Plato in the *Phaedrus* was concerned that writing would erase memory, but the difficulty of using the roll to refer back to specific passages or even, to find specific information in it seems to have made that threat a little remote. Certain the

inaccuracy and approximation by which earlier writers were cited by later among the Greeks suggests that memory was often used in preference to arduous precision. Just as Christian use of the codex and Jewish insistence on maintaining the roll may account at least in part for the difference in attitude toward scripture and basic text found in the two theological traditions, so the dependence on the roll through most of antiquity may have had its effects in preserving the earlier aspect of Hellenic mentality, and. perhaps, even playing a part in the predilection for Platonic over Aristotelian approaches on the part of most Greek philosophy of later times. When you reach the end of a set of rolls containing the *Republic*, it is difficult to go back to the points at which your faith in Socrates' assertions might have wavered. The metaphoric and mythic characteristics of Plato's writing continue the orality of earlier composition. Furthermore, the reading of the roll, listening to writing, so to speak, as many ancient readers did, also continues orality to some extent, and the combination of the transmission of text in this manner may well encourage styles and thought less Aristotelian, that is, less oriented to data and precision. Indeed, since we know from administrative practice in Egypt that the roll was even used for filing, that is, disparate documents were pasted together to form rolls which made individual texts virtually unfindable, the mentality of using writing for reference and consultation was a long time coming. The convenient codex, with pages that can be turned quickly, back and forth, more accommodating to scholarship and science, was a very late arrival on the scene in the ancient world. The earliest Christian codex is dated by its editor to 100, and only that editor was convinced that it was that early. Ultimately, after antiquity and its orientation had been swept away by the disruption of Mediterranean life after the fifth century of our era, and Greek texts returned in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, they came back in codex form, and then it was Aristotle who held the intellectuals' attention.

In antiquity, once writing prevailed it established the mentality of logic and progressive argument, but the enduring roll did not encourage the kind of investigation for which a book is better suited—based on data collection, comparison and cross reference. Anyone who is familiar with the most extensive ancient astronomical work, Claudius Ptolemy's *Almagest*, will be aware how difficult that work, or at least

its predecessors, would have been to use in roll form, and some of the peculiarities of reference and content in the *Almagest* may have been due to the existence of Ptolemy's source-information only in roll form. A modern comparison may be the difference between a hand-written notebook and computer memory for data retrieval and analysis—and it is worth noting that many in humanities, at least, have not had their mentality changed yet to go beyond notebook questions in using the computer memory. Among the limits on Greek science and technology may have been those imposed by the nature of the vehicle for communicating and recording information, and it would come as no surprise to find "roll attitudes" hanging on for a long time after the beginning of the use of the codex.

I am able to be only tentative in these suggestions about the ideological implications of using rolls instead of codices, and I do not want to press my ideas any further than I have suggested. With regard to the implications of writing on the mentality of Hellenism, however, I have more confidence. I can see a collocation of changes in the types of genre used to carry cultural concerns with the dominance of the new medium of communication, and I can see indicators like the odd contemporaneity of the group of authors whose works are completely preserved. I think that along with these phenomena and the change in the manner of text-creation came an ideological shift which produced a confidence in the capability of the human being to comprehend the earthly and cosmic environment, both in physical and moral terms. Where Hellenism earlier had evolved a mentality in which the all-important human developed a tolerance and insoucience of the neglectful or hostile cosmos, now it carried its emphasis on the human to a much higher level—the human could know, as well as suffer, and so had a new role to play. We can trace the development of the ideas, we can follow the emergence of the written text, we can see a shift in the vehicles of thought; I suggest that all are interrelated.

University of Toronto

Brian Peckham

Literacy and the Creation of the Biblical World

INTRODUCTION—LITERACY AND LITERATURE

The Historical Context

Biblical literature, the attitudes and beliefs it embodies, the history that it supposes and narrates, is the legacy of the southern kingdom of Judah. The northern kingdom of Israel, always a separate entity, left no written record and contributed to the process of revelation only by its demise. The North was literate—a few inscriptions are evidence that its people could read and write—but it produced no literature and would not have left any mark if Judah had not created a world where they both belonged.

Northern Israel had belonged in fact to the world of the Phoenicians and Aramaeans and finally shared their fate. It was allied with the Sidonians and prospered as long as this bold and curious people, with the cooperation of Damascus and a coalition of Aramaean and Neo-Hittite allies, could maintain its commercial network that stretched from the Levant and northern Syria through the Aegean to the western Mediterranean. Israel was overrun and destroyed in the late eighth century when this network fell into the hands of the Assyrians and Samaria became an undistinguished province of the Assyrian empire.

Judaean literature began abruptly, after the fall of the North, and flourished for the next two hundred years. The fate of its ancient nemesis, of its brother Joseph, its sister kingdom whose capital was Samaria, was the immediate inspiration of its writers. Comparison of the two kingdoms and a sense of doom or destiny, especially among the prophets, was the constant theme and worry of their works.

The first hundred years of this literary flourishing, under the auspices of the Assyrian empire, were stable and secure. And under the aegis of the Tyrian empire, as it renewed ancient ties with Egypt, colonized the Mediterranean and traded with the world, they were years

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of daring innovation. The second hundred years, under the Babylonians and Persians, were more austere and introspective. Judah was subdued, it finally shared the fate of Samaria, and its literature was dedicated to belaboring the fact or to searching out a meagre future for its people.

Both centuries were times of change and in both there were presentiments that the past was slipping away and would be lost without imaginative endeavors to preserve it for the future—presentiments that were realized in such ventures as the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, in the literary renaissance under the fabled king Nebuchadnezzar, and in the Bible. The literature of Judah flourished through its contact with this world, through the turmoil and excitement that it engendered, through the effort of wit, will and imagination that these amazing centuries encouraged or required. But left to its own resources and traditions by the magnanimous Persian empire its inspiration dwindled and was soon extinguished.

The Literary Matrix

Judaean literature appears, without antecedent, vigorous and fully formed. It is the product of a literate society that fed on borrowed literary models and indigenous traditions. It is written and not oral, not the residue of an oral society, or the product of oral composition, or the result of oral transmission, but the creation of an educated people who did not compose literary works until the time was right. Judaean literature was inspired by the sudden coincidence of opportunity and necessity, the necessity dictated by the fall of the North, the opportunity offered by the spectacular political, economic, social and religious changes in the South.

The historians of Judah, from the very first, relied on the classics of Babylonian literature, law and science, copied contemporary Assyrian political and historical works, borrowed from the Greeks some of their legends and the idea of a national epic, took from the Phoenicians the narrative forms that they, in turn, may have learned from the Egyptians, and mimiced the tales of their Transjordanian neighbors. The prophets vied with them for the attention of the people, fumed against the intrusion of foreign and worldly fashions and, by appealing to familiar ideas, images, themes and beliefs, constructed indigenous traditions to compete with the new and bewildering his-

torical interpretations.

The historians were well-read and studious. The prophets were the singers, orators, dramatists and entertainers of their time. These writers thrived on their diversity and disagreements and together wrote the history of their people by understanding their past, putting their own times in perspective and assuming responsibility for their future. Judaean literature waned when, chiefly under the pressure of historical theory, the choices were limited and conformity was required.

THE EVIDENCE FOR LITERACY

The evidence for such a literate society is the literature itself. The specific evidence that its literature was written and read is first, the interaction of individual editors and authors, secondly, the development of distinctive but mutually dependent historical and prophetic traditions and third, the extinction of literary inspiration by an emerging book culture that revised and canonized the traditions and made classical Judaean literature both exclusive and conformist to suit an orthodox and provincial point of view. The society remained literate, as it had been in the beginning, but its literature was a thing of the past.

I. Literacy: The Interaction of Individual Authors and Editors

The simplest evidence for literacy is the relationship of edited to original literary works. The originals were written by individual authors with distinctive styles, interests and aims. They were composed as continuous and complete works and have been preserved as such in the Bible. The revised versions are second, or in some cases, third or fourth editions of the same works. These editors were authors in their own right, some of them more gifted than others, who reorganized and rewrote the originals and ensured their continued usefulness by relating them to current issues, trends and opinions. The efforts of these editors were not trivial or merely pedantic. Their works sometimes doubled or tripled the size of the originals that they incorporated, and they regularly contributed the most striking or memorable part of the book.

A. Authorship—The Evidence for Writing and Texts

1. *Reflections on Writing*

a. The Historians: The earliest literature, as if entranced by its novelty, is eager to explain how and why it came to be written. The first historians refer to the fact that their works, or significant parts of them, were written. They generally note that what was written had first been spoken, and they are careful to identify the speaker, the writer and the contents of their texts. Since it was customary for legal and commercial documents to be inscribed and witnessed, it is not surprising that these historians single out the significance of their written laws and covenants, written they maintained by Moses or by God, witnessed by the people and meant to be the basis of belief and practice. There were prosaic uses for writing, but written literature was new in Judah, and these historians reflected on their writing and defended their craft by including its authorization and by noting in advance its general acceptance by a believing audience.[1]

b. The Prophets: In prophetic texts, the fact that the histories were written is acknowledged, but writing is considered a new and very dubious enterprise. It is normal, from the prophetic perspective, to speak and listen, to listen and know, to understand and act. But written texts, the prophets said, ruin this process and preclude hearing, comprehension and proper behavior. Hosea complained that the covenant had been broken and the laws neglected, and sadly concluded that even if the laws were written ten thousand times the people would not understand but would consider them strange.[2] Jeremiah quoted the people as saying that they did understand and observe the law, but not the written law that the scribes had falsified.[3] Isaiah protested that the people refused to listen to him and then went on to describe their refusal to listen and understand as giving an educated person a sealed book to read, or giving an illiterate an open book, that neither could read or understand.[4] But literature was here to stay and even the prophets wrote in the hope, as Isaiah said, that someday when the people were ready to listen they would read and understand.[5] Writing soon became the accepted norm and within a century Habakkuk, commenting on this text, could remark that the people would not believe if they were told, but would get the message only if it were written.[6]

2. *Reflections of the Writing Material*

That the authors wrote their material, even when it was to be sung, recited or performed, is evident as well in the form and organization of their works. Their writing instruments included pens and brushes, styluses and chisels and they could write on waxed boards, on clay, stone, leather, or on papyrus scrolls. What they wrote, not unnaturally, sometimes reflects the features of the material they used.

Triptychs, three writing boards bound by hinges, seem to have been in common use among the prophets, at least among those whose works were lyric or dramatic. The earliest prophecy is composed in two matching parts, each with three equal sections.[7] The format is compatible with their inscription on two triptychs, and this analogy is reinforced by the prophecy's episodic style, by the discontinuity and literary separation between the sections and the parts. Another prophecy can be seen as composed of four triptychs, whether in fact or in imitation of available writing material, and the consequent disjunction of the separate sections and parts has baffled commentators ever since.[8] At the end of the seventh century prophecies tended to be composed in lyric genres. One prophet wrote a text composed of a hymn, a ballad and an ode. Another wrote a psalm, with the tripartite structure of lament, expectation and praise. A third prophecy is a speech composed of an exordium, an exhortation and a valediction. All of them have the form of a triptych, and the triptych's physical structure may account for the combination of genres and the odd inconsequence of their parts.[9]

Scrolls and tablets were written in columns. The evidence for their actual use or for their influence on the organization of texts is the position of editorial annotations and comments. The earliest history is written in episodes, each containing a number of incidents, and conceivably has the format of a scroll written in columns. The second edition of the work was composed by interspersing comments, but usually by adding complementary or alternative material before and after each episode in the manner of encompassing columns, or by inserting column-length material between the original incidents. The third edition consisted of expanding the editorial comments into column-length incidents, or of inserting other columns of its own.[10]

Prophetic texts were often written in columns. One of them[11] was edited by writing a different but mirroring version in the middle or

at the end of most of the original columns, matching half-column with half-column or whole column with whole. Another, originally written in two columns, was edited by appending two more columns at the end that simply retold the same story in the opposite order and from another point of view.[12] A significant aspect of editing was reorganization of the original work, and the practice of writing in columns made it easy and natural to redistribute the original parts simply by writing more columns.

By the end of the biblical period authors and editors were skilled in the production of books and sometimes divulged the mechanics of their production. One editor described how the book was dictated by the author, written by a scribe, read out loud by a secretary, column by column, to the king, burned bit by bit by the king when three or four columns had been read, and finally rewritten in the same way but edited and greatly expanded by the inclusion of more of the same sort of material.[13] Another book, composed of speeches by Moses, was said to have been written by him and, after disappearing for centuries from history, was found in the library of the temple in Jerusalem.[14] Some works are actually composed on the model of libraries and contain numerous books with clear beginnings and ends and with repetitive links that keep them in order and assure their proper place on the shelf.[15] One work combines history and prophecy and seems to be modelled on the composition of an archive, with a mix of public and private documents arranged in chronological order and with dockets at the beginning of books and labels at the top of columns to organize and catalogue the diverse material. The Bible itself, if it could be reconstructed for this time, might be just such a library of prophetic and historical works.

B. The Editorial Process

1. *Editorial Techniques*

All of the original works were edited, some of them beyond immediate recognition. The original compositions, all of them in different styles and belonging to different genres, can be found by undoing the editorial process. This is technically simple, but literarily complex since the editing is not piecemeal but changed the old compositions into new literary works, with intertwined topics and themes, with intricate styles and genres, and with an amazing multiplicity of

meanings.

Editing consists in repetition and cross-reference. A text is edited by inserting another text that repeats parts of the original and that, by prolepsis or resumption, refers to other editorial insertions made elsewhere in the original work. Editing is not random, trivial or thoughtless. It consists in annotating texts in the original to comment on them both individually and in their original sequence, and it produces bit by bit a complete, discontinuous interpretation of an originally continuous text.

Editing is like footnoting, with the footnotes becoming part of the text. It begins by marking a critical spot in the original text with another text partly like it—like the footnote number or the bracketed reference in a contemporary text. It continues, in a near or distant context, with another usually more developed text that comments on the original and also elaborates, in a narrative, descriptive or explanatory mode, the meaning of the initial reference—like the footnote to a text or, depending on the stylesheet, like an excursus, or like the list of sources and references at the end of the work. Finally, editing produces a totally different interpretation that is pursued in an ongoing subplot or subtext, a text measured in paragraphs, columns, large parts of books or even whole books added to the original work, that gradually subsumes the original and gives it a new structure, form and meaning—like an appendix in a modern book that outlines topics or areas that have to be considered but cannot be included in the present work, or like a whole new book or critical series commenting on the first. The technique of editing is simple and indefinitely repeatable. Its effects are difficult and often astounding.

Repetition is literal or deictic.[16] Literal, or verbatim, repetition seizes on a few key words, sometimes no more than one or two, sometimes a whole sentence, from the immediate context. It occurs at the beginning or at the end of the inserted text and is either proleptic or resumptive, that is, it is taken from the original text that either follows or precedes.[17] Deictic, or demonstrative, repetition uses nominal, adverbial or proniminal substitutes for the original text and refers either to the preceding text in general or to specific elements in it. Personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns or the definite article define the preceding topic and often introduce a parenthesis; for this reason they tend to stand out in their context and are the

equivalent of "that is" or the like. Nominal deictic reference is the use of proper names or titles, as vocatives or subjects of the clause that they introduce, in order to identify the subject or object of the preceding context. Adverbial deixis includes simple adverbs such as "there" or phrases such as "on that day," or "after these things," often to attach a variant, tangential or even irrelevant text to the original.

Editing is either obvious or unobtrusive. An editorial link may fit its context and stand out only by its reversal of the original word order, or it might repeat the terms of the original in an opposite or contradictory sense.[18] The interpolated text, similarly, can either imitate the language, style and mood of the original, or it can conflict with its context by introducing extraneous or inconsistent material,[19] by mixing genres and forms of expression,[20] or by disagreeing with the person,[21] number[22] or gender[23] of the original text. Unobtrusive editing works by drift and gradually changes the topic and the focus.[24] Conflicting editing signals an entirely different reference or point of view.

2. *Compositional Techniques*

All of the familiar stories in the Bible have been edited and often what is most appreciated is the edited form. Observing the editing technique, the kinds of repetition and the system of cross-referencing that they support, allows the stories to unfold and speak out and take their place in the history and literature of ancient Judah.

[a] The beginning of the Bible, the start of the earliest text, was the story of the garden of Eden. It began by mentioning, by the way, that "God made earth and heaven" but it did not pursue the topic and went on instead to talk about the garden. An editor prefixed the story of creation that the original version alluded to but omitted by repeating the opening words of the original in the opposite order. The original talked about "earth and heaven." The editor's story starts "In the beginning God made heaven and earth." At the end, this edition is careful to lead back into the original story by repeating twice that God created heaven and earth, once as a summary of its own version, once as a title of the original.[25]

It is the simplest kind of repetition involving two or three words of the original. It leads into an entirely different story, is developed in later comments, and becomes an entirely different interpretation.

The original supposed that once upon a time Gods and people were pretty much the same. The second edition, at this point and in later texts that are cross-referenced to it, changes once upon a time into real time and sameness into similarity. In this version's story of creation time begins with the days of the week. In the following story of the flood time stretches into the centuries that people like Methusaleh and Noah lived. In general in this edition time is the main distinction between God and the world and, in the Sabbath and the festivals, the main connection between them.

[b] According to the original story God planted a garden for himself, put Man in it and, when he could not find a companion for Man among the animals, made Woman. The garden was in a never never land, watered from the fresh water ocean under the earth, and was notable for having two trees that provided knowledge and life. An editor found all this a little fanciful and filled the text with notes and cross-references to much more likely stories.

This edition situates the garden in the real world by saying that the garden was watered by a river with four branches, the Tigris and Euphrates running through Assyria and Babylonia, a third river marking the border of Canaan and another that flowed from Jerusalem and encircles Egypt.[26] The editor fits in this geography lesson by repeating at the end of it the statement that preceded it, but even this was changed: the original said that God put man in the garden; this edition says that God put man in the garden to till it.[27] The geography is more or less suitable and could even pass for original. But the real world that the editor is talking about is the land where Israel lived and the countries where it was driven into exile. This is not the world of creation but the world as it turned out to be at the end of the story.[28]

The original said that God made the animals and brought them to Man, thinking that they were suitable companions. The editor thought the whole thing was unsuitable and said instead that God brought the animals to man to be named. The insertion is sewn in by repeating at the end exactly what preceded it. Both texts are there to be read. One is from the legend of Gilgamesh and tells of Man's humanization by Woman. The second edition's text is part of an ongoing interest in origins and causes that becomes, in the rest of this story and by cross-reference throughout the edition, the

theory that sin entered the world through Adam and Eve and finally destroyed it, that is, Israel's world, the world ruled by Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia.

[c] The Tower of Babel story is familiar only in its edited form. The original was a story of divine aspiration, of building cities and high towers that brought people in contact with their Gods. The editor, as in the Eden story, was interested in history and ethnography and, by repeating all the key parts of the original text, explained that the city was in Mesopotamia, that the tower could be built because bricks had been invented, and that the city was actually Babylon because there people began to babble in different tongues.[29]

[d] In the original story God, in the person of three men, visited Abraham and announced that Sarah would have a son. She laughed at the idea and God, to prove that nothing was too marvelous for him, destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah and everyone who lived in them with an amazing rain of fire and brimstone. This was too much for the editor who stopped God on his way to Sodom to argue that indiscriminate destruction might be unjust.[30] The stop is a deictic repetition: the original talks about the men; the new text identifies one of them as Yahweh.[31]

In this edition, God left after the argument and so when the original says that God rained fire and brimstone on the cities the editor has to add, by repeating the text, that God rained fire and brimstone from God in heaven.[32] In the original one of the people killed was Lot. The editor thought differently and at the end of the story repeated all its key words to state, in evident contradiction of the original, that Lot escaped.[33] This of course fits with the editor's total rewriting of the story and had to be so if, as the argument went, Abraham had interceded and God was just. Lot's escape also lets the editor introduce Moab and Ammon and so situate the story in real history and geography.

[e] Early in his life, according to the primary history, Moses saw a burning bush. God spoke to Moses out of the bush, and the fact that the bush burnt without being consumed is the first in a series of amazing things that happened to Moses. This series, the reader and editor know, will culminate in the covenant that God, whose covenant name is Yahweh, makes with Moses and Israel when he appears to them on mount Sinai. Two editors retold the story, not for

its own sake, but to dispute this new name of God and the covenant relationship that it implied.

The first editor began by repeating the original divine speech: in the original story Yahweh said that he had seen the affliction of his people and had heard their cries; the first editor reverses the order of the expressions, saying that God has heard their cry and seen their affliction.[34] This repetition lets the editor enter the text but is not at all the point the editor wanted to make. The gist of the editorial comment is that there was no covenant on Sinai and that the name Yahweh does not suit the traditional God of the Fathers.[35]

The second editor tried to smooth out the contradiction. This text is added at the end of the editor's remarks by deixis and repetition: the last sentence there had God talking to Moses and telling him to speak to the people; the second editor notes that God spoke to him *again* and told him to speak to the people. The point of this edition, which will go on to insist that there is only one true God, is that all the names of God are right and that Yahweh was in fact the God of the Fathers.[36] Both editors' remarks are substantiated as their versions progress. As often happens, they are not germane to the contiguous text that they purport to interpret but to the complete work that they are in the process of rewriting.

[f] When Moses was on his way back to Egypt, before the exodus began, Yahweh tried to kill him. His wife Zipporah circumcised their child and touched his feet and said "Now you are a blood bridegroom to me" and he left him alone. The masculine pronouns are ambiguous but the original seems to have meant that Zipporah touched Yahweh's feet and took him as her groom and consequently Yahweh let go of Moses.[37] The editor was appalled at the physical presence of God and added, after the statement that Yahweh left, "it was then that she said 'blood bridegroom' because of the circumcision."[38] It was difficult to change the story of Yahweh trying to kill Moses,[39] but at least the editor could make it quite clear that Zipporah neither touched Yahweh nor spoke to him by suggesting that it was the child she touched and that it was Moses, after their son had been circumcised, to whom she declared that he was her bridegroom of blood.

In the original story Moses relived the heroic exploits of Adam and Jacob by encountering and, through the actions of a clever woman, overcoming God.[40] Adam and Eve became like God and Jacob, over-

powering a man with no name, became Israel. In this story, Yahweh and Moses become kinsfolk in preparation for the formal declaration of covenant that Yahweh is about to make to him and to Israel on mount Sinai. The editor had little use for the covenant, none at all for the belief in a blood relationship that the covenant subsumed and embodied, and tried to negate or confuse the point of the original story.[41] In the original the rite of circumcision established a physical bond and a family relationship between Yahweh and Israel. The editor disagreed and accepted the standard Priestly explanation that circumcision was a sign of Yahweh's covenant with Abraham according to which, far from being in touch with the people, Yahweh was their God and the transcendent source of all their blessings.

[g] In the covenant on Sinai the original history records that Moses wrote down the words of the covenant that Yahweh had spoken to him.[42] However, there was an editor who did not believe in this covenant and who thought instead that it was the decalogue that had been revealed on Sinai. These ten commandments had been inserted earlier in the text at an appropriate place,[43] and the editorial change here consists simply in referring the reader back to them. Despite its significance in the overall rewriting of history, the change is minimal and is made by the use of the deictic definite article: the original said that Moses wrote the words of the covenant; the editor adds "*the* ten words."

[h] The historians disputed how Israel got from Egypt to Canaan and how long it took them. The earliest history said they went directly from mount Sinai to the land and that Moses' Midianite brother-in-law showed them the way.[44] One of the editors thought that the journey was symbolic of Israel's course through history and therefore explained that God went with them. Since the chief sign of the presence of God, in this editor's view, was the Law, and since the Law was kept in the ark of the covenant, this edition substituted the ark for the Midianite. The original said that the people travelled for three days from the mountain; the editor says that the ark travelled three days' journey ahead of them and was instrumental in routing their enemies.[45] Enemies and victory in battle are not germane to either the original or the editorial versions of the journey from Sinai to Canaan but they will become topical in the editor's account of Israel's failure to conquer, except ritually and symbolically, all the

land that was allotted to the individual tribes.[46]

[j] The story of David and Goliath is familiar only in its edited version. In the original David was the hero of Israel who met and defeated an unnamed Philistine champion in single combat. It is the editor who calls the Philistine Goliath and who describes him as a giant armed in good Indo-European fashion. This description is fitted in by the use of deictics, that is, by the use of the proper name Goliath, and by the repeated use of pronouns that identify him with the unnamed Philistine. The original said that the Philistine champion came out of the enemy camp to challenge Israel, and that his shield-bearer went ahead of him. The editor inserted the description of Goliath's armor between these two clauses by saying "*Goliath* was *his* name, from Gath, six cubits and a span was *his* height," and by going on to talk about *his* helmet on *his* head, the coat of mail that *he* wore, the greaves he wore on *his* legs, the javelin slung between *his* shoulders, and the great length of *his* spear.

The description is memorable and part of a monumental reworking of the original text. The peculiar thing is that it is not true and the editor knew it was not. Goliath's armor makes David's victory all the more amazing. The giant's name, however, and the insistence on his accoutrements, is just a way of marking the text so that the editor can correct it by cross-reference in a later context. Many chapters and more than a book later this editor gives a list of the warriors in David's heroic band and one of them, Elhanan, from Bethlehem, as David was, is credited with the victory over Goliath. David was a great leader, this editor thought, but he was not the warrior who met the Philistine in single combat. The original story was wrong but it would have been ruined by correcting it on the spot. It was kept, greatly improved and fitted with the elements of a theological treatise, but at the end of this part of the history, just before David dies, the editor points out that the original was mistaken and supplies the evidence that confused its author.

[j] One of the histories ends with the Assyrian invasion and siege of Jerusalem in the time of Hezekiah and the miraculous deliverance of the city because the king trusted in Yahweh and made Jerusalem the center of Yahweh's cult. The first reason is given to refute Isaiah.[47] The second reason reflects the basic theme of this history concerning the centralization of worship and it is supported in this episode by

recording that Samaria, the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel, was besieged and captured just because it did not worship Yahweh in Jerusalem. The editor who corrected the story of Goliath, the one with the mania for historical accuracy, also corrected the main thrust of this story and many of its details.[48]

This editor saved and embellished the story of deliverance because it was a chance to introduce the prophet Isaiah and to settle a dispute, evident in the original version, between Isaiah and the author of the story. But, remarkably enough, the editor also included another version in which Jerusalem was not saved but capitulated to the Assyrians and paid tribute. This version, which is also reflected in the Assyrian annals, is told in a paragraph that is inserted by anticipating in its first and last sentences words from the next sentence that it displaced. The original narrated that the *king of Assyria sent* an embassy to Jerusalem. The first editorial sentence uses the same words to say the opposite, that the *king* of Judah *sent* an embassy to the *king of Assyria*, and the last sentence says that tribute was paid to the *king of Assyria*.

This edition also wanted to substantiate its interpretation by including accurate historical and archaeological details, such as the fact that the Siloam tunnel had been dug in the reign of Hezekiah but, instead of spoiling the narrative, it simply marked the spot in the text and recorded the details at the end of the episode. The spot is marked by literal repetition: the original said that the Assyrian embassy *went up and arrived* at Jerusalem; the editor repeats the key words to say that they *went up and arrived* and stood by the spring and the tunnel; at the end of the episode the editor records, in a summary of his military prowess, that it was Hezekiah who dug the tunnel and the spring.

The author of the original narrative made a mistake in the chronology of Hezekiah's reign that affected the date of the fall of Samaria, and the editor went to incredible lengths to correct it.[49] First of all, the editor wrote another chapter before this one and included the correct date according to the chronology of the last king who reigned in Samaria. Secondly, where the author gave the wrong dates in the reign of Hezekiah for the siege and capture of Samaria, the editor added a synchronism with the reign of the last king of Israel, a cross-reference to the preceding chapter, that established the

correct dates.[50] The synchronism was inserted by demonstrative pronouns: "In the fourth year of Hezekiah—*this* was the seventh year of Hoshea—. . . . in the sixth year of Hezekiah—*this* was the ninth year of Hoshea." The problem was that, although the dates in the reign of the king of Samaria were correct, the synchronism itself was wrong: it put Hezekiah about fifteen years too early and made a mess of the chronology that the editor generally followed. The problem was corrected by writing another chapter at the end of the episode. This chapter—inserted artificially by the deictic link "Now in those days"—narrates that king Hezekiah became mortally ill but miraculously recovered through the intercession of the prophet Isaiah who not only saw to his cure but had the wit to correct the chronological discrepancy by prolonging the king's life and adding fifteen years to his reign.

[k] Isaiah was a prophet in the time of Hezekiah. His work was edited twice, once in the time of Cyrus, a second time early in the reign of Darius I. In a sequence that describes the Assyrian invasion in the time of Hezekiah all three versions jostle for position. The first editor added comments to the conclusion of each part of the original, the second wrote brief introductions to each part of the original and edited text. The editing is done in the usual way by repetition and cross-reference. The complete text ends up with three completely different interpretations of the causes and effects of the invasion.[51]

In one place the original quotes the Assyrian king's boast that he has conquered the whole world. The second editor, simply by repeating the quotation marks—"he said"—anticipates the boast with another. Apart from being boasts, however, they have nothing in common and the second edition just uses the occasion to repeat and develop its own ideas about piety.[52] The first editor, on the other hand, merely reflects on the boasting and not on what the king purportedly said. This reflection begins by repeating and paraphrasing the beginning of the original: Isaiah began by saying that Assyria was a stick that God used to discipline his disobedient children; this editor begins by saying that Assyrian boasting is as perverse as pretending that a stick wields the hand that holds it.[53] The only link to the original is a couple of words repeated in the same order, but with the image reversed, and then this edition goes on to pursue the question of monarchic government that is its constant preoccupation.

Later the first editor, eager to pursue this matter but unable to find a suitable link, created a nominal deictic link. In the original version the Assyrian king is at the gates of the city. The king is not named and the references to him are third person singular personal pronouns. The nominal deictic link is the name and title of God—"Behold, the Lord, the Lord of Hosts"—that interprets the pronouns as references, not to the king of Assyria, but to God.[54] The contradiction is plain and clearly marks the editor's text. It only makes sense by supposing, as the original said, that an instrument is an extension of the agent, specifically, that the Assyrian invasion was in the hands of God.

In another place the second editor interrupts the first to interject a favorite idea. The first edition was engaged in an involved and long-winded description of the decimation of the Assyrian army in some undisclosed future time that, it concluded, would leave so few troops that a child could count them and write down the number. The second editor took up this idea of a remnant to talk about the few pious people who would survive to worship God in Jerusalem. The texts are almost completely unrelated, and the second is linked to the first only by an artificial reference–"on that day"—to that indefinite future time.[55]

Conclusion

These editorial techniques were simple and could be used any number of times. Repetition is minimal. It comprises either very few words, written in an opposite order, or in an extraneous context or with an opposite intent, or it consists in deictic and sometimes irrelevant reflection on the adjacent text. Cross-referencing means essentially that editorial remarks are never isolated but belong to an intermittent but gradually developing interpretation of the whole original work. Most books were revised once. Some, such as the book of Isaiah or the first five books of the Bible, were edited two or three times. The editorial technique is always the same but the cross-references can become remarkably intricate, profound or even obscure.

The editorial process is the simplest and clearest evidence that the original works were written and read. It is an adjacent text, after all, that is repeated, repeated verbatim, and with an awareness of the order of the words and their meaning. It is an adjacent text as well that becomes the occasion for remarks, hung on it by de-

ictic repetition, that are impertinent, parenthetical, and sometimes simply outrageous but relate it to other works and to a developing literary tradition. Editing always breaks up the original text, but cross-referencing proves that the original was not disjointed or fragmentary but had been read by the editor as a complete text with a clear and cumulative meaning. The editing, in its turn, produces a complete work, a work done bit by bit, developing as it goes, a new book, a new stage in the growth of the tradition.

Editors used simple editorial techniques but were also intelligent and thoughtful and wonderfully skilled commentators. They could read and understand texts, not just in the literal way that editorial techniques required, but with all their nuances and their allusions to other writers and to a developing literary tradition. They could detect and imitate different styles and literary genres and the final editor of a complicated work could distinguish the original version from any and all of its rewritings. They recognized what sources the authors used, and often relied on the same source, or on a alternative source very much like it, to compose their own comments and reflections. Although editing consisted largely in distributing the original text in a new context and in this way distorted it, editors and commentators respected the integrity of the original compositions and regularly relied on other works as proof-texts or authorities for their new or critical opinions.

II. Literacy: The Development of Historical and Prophetic Traditions

The fundamental argument for literacy from the beginning of biblical times is the development of historical and prophetic traditions. It is not just that editors understood authors and rewrote their texts using their sources or some other equally reliable text, it is also that authors knew each others' works, that they did not compose their texts in a vacuum, or as a blind reflex of some real event, but expressed their own opinions with respect to other opinions and schools of thought.

The original works can be read by undoing the editorial process. It becomes clear in the process that, like their editors who repeated snippets of their texts in order to add comments and interpretations, the original authors quoted the words of their predecessors and contemporaries to develop their ideas, or fill their imaginations or give

credibility to brand new perceptions. Like their editors who overlay their works with cross-references to the ongoing editorial subtext, these authors dotted their works will allusions to the texts that they quoted. By tracing these quotations and allusions it becomes clear what each author had read and the relative chronological order of their works is firmly established.

A. The Interweaving of History and Prophecy

Within this relative sequence of works there is a constant distinction between prophecy and history. Prophets and historians know each others' works, but historians rely mainly on historians and prophets mostly on prophets, and each group is critical of the other. Within each group there is the gradual construction of a tradition, each writer referring in some way to the first in their group, later writers referring not only to some individual predecessors but more and more to all of them together. Prophecy and history were distinct, but they were interwoven and mutually sustaining traditions.

The distinction between the two traditions is a combination of many factors. These are all ultimately based on the fact that the histories belonged to the world of learning, that history was a school tradition, while the prophecies belonged to the world of the performing arts and involved the artist and the participation of the audience. This distinction of genre and situation could be misinterpreted as evidence for orality, for the assumption that biblical texts, especially prophecy, derived from oral tradition and were composed and transmitted orally. But it is only evidence that there were separate, interacting and vital traditions, some works written to be read and understood, some written to be sung, declaimed, and performed.[56]

The distinction of historical and prophetic traditions is evident from their form and content. The interweaving of the two traditions becomes apparent in their reactions to each other. One is narrative and eloquent, the other follows the common cadences of direct discourse. Prophecy is oldfashioned and conservative. History is the source of constant innovation.

1. *Nation and People*

The histories, among other things, described Israel as a nation, a single, if sometimes complex, political entity.[57] The earliest history

is ostensibly a family history: it strings out the story of Israel from creation to settlement in the land as if it occurred in a linear succession of generations, from Adam and Noah through Abraham, Isaac and Jacob to the metamorphosis of Jacob as Israel. But it thinks of Israel as a unit, a single people, and tells the history of this people through the eyes of Moses, as if their history were coincidental with his life or, as the history itself says, as if he might have become a nation in their place.

The first and second editors of the history maintain this fiction of a unified Israel, the first concentrating on the institutions that unified it,[58] the second detailing the social and legal principles that united the people and made the fiction work.[59] A second history, composed as a sequel to the first and written in Jerusalem to magnify the Davidic dynasty, exaggerated the fiction to maintain that it was unnatural of the northern kingdom to break away from David and from the center of true worship in Jerusalem.[60] It was only the last historian who, under the influence of the prophetic perspective, described Israel as a conglomeration of tribes centered on Judah in the South and on Joseph in the North. But, to compensate for the facts, even this Historian felt obliged to construct a theory of the political and religious unity of an ideal Israel and struck on the idea of an amphictyony that was all the rage in the Mediterranean world at that time.[61]

The prophets, on the contrary, always thought of their audience as the people of God, a family, the children of God.[62] From the earliest prophet onward they took their distance from the government, from the prophets, priests, kings and judges who, they said, were moved by luxury and personal aggrandizement.[63] From the start they took the part of the poor and represented the people who lived in the city without intellectual, spiritual or political power.[64] They called them "my people," and opposed in particular the theories proposed by the historians, theories such as covenant and centralization of worship, that sapped the common will and perverted traditional ways of life.[65]

2. *Urban and Rural*

The historians, who sometimes betray their urban roots, were advocates of rustic endurance and promoters of the charms of primitive existence. The prophets, who were the champions of the people rooted in the soil, inveigh against the city. The earliest history, for

instance, portrays Abraham as a cattleman, Isaac as a farmer, Jacob as a herdsman, the sons of Israel as shepherds, the history of Israel as the journey they made with their flocks. The first editor had little to add but designed a tent to be the temple of God.[66] The second editor codified laws that concerned domestic and rural matters and promoted festivals that were based on the agricultural calendar.[67] The second historian was intent on the glory of Jerusalem and dealt mainly with events that had occurred in the city, but was intrigued nevertheless by the ideal of the shepherd-king who worshipped rustic ancestral Gods.[68]

The prophets, on the other hand, opposed the luxury of the city, the festivals that were financed by gouging the poor, the harm that city life did to institutions like the family.[69] For these prophets, the city was the problem and its destruction was the solution.

3. *Secular and Religious*

The historians magnified a secular international world. The prophets idealized local and regional religious values. The earliest historians described the relationship between Israel and its God in terms of an international treaty. The prophets opposed this notion of treaty with the traditional concepts of law and justice.[70] The historians spun their narratives out of myths, legends and ritual dramas and created a God who was superhuman and accessible in the elements of nature. The prophets created the angry God, the perplexed parent, the jealous husband, the just judge, the God who cared, admonished, argued, punished, wept and even repented.

4. *Belief and Action*

The historians wrote prose, the prophets wrote poetry. The historians used genres of information and instruction and tried to influence public opinion and generate belief in the theories they propounded. The prophets tried to entertain and persuade, to move the audience from ignorance to understanding, from apathy to action. The historians were scholars who were content to be known by their writings, who talked about men and women in the past and in their own times but never alluded to themselves. The prophets identified themselves by name, included themselves among their dramatic characters, expected their audiences to listen to their songs, to become personally

involved in their plays, to respond to their orations. The historians were public figures, agents of the government, who created schools, or schools of thought, and who ultimately were responsible for the establishment of Torah and orthodoxy. The prophets were private individuals who, by trying to preserve traditional beliefs and practices against the radical innovations embraced by the historians, were a constant source of ferment and revolution.

B. The Development of the Traditions

The development of historical and prophetic traditions can be seen in the reliance of one writer on another, of any writer on all those who had written before, and particularly in the way that the first writer in each tradition became the model and the inspiration of all the rest. The first history is the source and basis of the others. The first prophecy intrigued every prophet who followed. Even in the interweaving of traditions, as prophets criticized historians and historians tried to deal with prophecy, origins were determinative, and the beginning always exerted the dominant force.

1. *Historical Tradition*

The first history is a prose epic that follows the journey of God and his people from the garden of Eden to a visionary paradise on the borders of Canaan. Its epic characteristics are its episodic structure, its timelessness, its creation of a world shared equally by God and his people, and its use of myth, legend and ritual to establish its interpretation.[71] These features, in turn, were taken up by the historian of Jerusalem and became the framework of historical revision by later editors and authors.

a. Episodes: The episodes are a series of complete stories, each with a beginning, a middle and an end, about heroes and heroines of the distant past. They are related to each other by the development of common themes but otherwise have no narrative connection. The episodes—the stories of creation, the flood, Abraham and Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses—are terse and allusive and presume that the reader already knows about the heroes and heroines and is familiar with one or more versions of the story. Their central theme is the similarity that exists between God and the people he created. It is stated clearly in the first episode, illustrated in the next four and

thematized again in the last.

Each episode begins with a mythical or legendary incident that, in the manner of a title, docket or endorsement, serves to identify it. The first episode begins with an allusion to the old story of creation that it does not tell.[72] The second episode begins with an allusion to the legends of the demigods.[73] The third alludes to mythical themes in the Babylonian story of the flood.[74] The fourth alludes to the Canaanite myth of fertility.[75] The fifth alludes to the legend of Adonis.[76] The last begins with a nod to the legend of Sargon of Assyria[77] where the abandoned child grows up to be the virtuous ruler. Each of these incidents is a variation on the story that is actually told in the episode and is both traditional and, in varying degrees, peripheral to the epic's original telling.

The editors who rewrote the epic recognized its episodic structure, added the information that the epic presumed known but failed to include, and inserted their versions of the stories that the epic told and of the myths and legends to which it only alluded. The story of creation gets told.[78] The demigods are cut down to size and overshadowed by the remarkable stories of the antediluvian heroes.[79] The allusion to the Babylonian theory that the flood was caused by noisy people who disturbed the Gods is put into perspective by identifying these people on a map of all the nations of the world.[80] The allusion to the Canaanite myth of fertility is preceded by the story of Rebeccah's barrenness, her miraculous conception of two nations, and the marvelous birth of her children.[81] The allusion to the legend of Adonis is filled out in all its details.[82] The legend of the abandoned child is developed into the story of the man who supplants his father.[83]

b. Timelessness: The timeless quality of the epic is partly its lack of any chronology and partly its compression of events. The editors were eager to remedy both. The epic alludes to the day that God made heaven and earth, and the first editor turns it into a week. The eating of the forbidden fruit seems to take place the afternoon of the same day—God finds out about it in the evening—but an editor suggests the passage of time by recounting the marriage of Adam and Eve. The flood follows almost immediately but the first editor separates creation and the flood by the thousands of years that the antediluvians lived.[84] In no time at all the Tower of Babel is built and as soon as it is abandoned Abraham leaves for the West,[85] but the first

editor separates these events with the story of the birth of nations and the genealogy of Abraham's ancestors.[86] Isaac is just born at the end of the third episode but is already married by the beginning of the fourth.[87] All the editors account for the passage of time by including the story of the binding of Isaac when he was a young man, an account of the death of Sarah, and the story of Abraham's death in advanced old age. Jacob is barely back from Harran when Joseph gets sold into Egypt, but again genealogies intervene to let time slip away, and one of the editors notes that Joseph was then seventeen.[88] The last episode begins with the Pharaoh who did not know Joseph, but the later versions mention how long Jacob had lived in Egypt and how old Joseph was when he died.[89]

The second history follows exactly the episodic pattern of the epic and has a similar feeling for mythical time. The editor of this history, who was also the last editor of the epic, filled out the episodes and added a precise and detailed chronology. It is this history that has the battle of Jericho and the idea that the whole land was conquered all at once, but the editor explains that the land had not been completely conquered even when Joshua died.[90] It is also this history that puts Saul and David right after the time of Joshua, but the editor introduced the era of the judges to account for the hundreds of years that supposedly separated them. This is also, like the epic, a history of great heroes of the past but it ends, annalistically, at the time of writing, with Hezekiah still on the throne of Judah, and with an impossible temporal crasis that makes king Tirhaqah of Egypt a contemporary of Sennacherib instead of an adversary of his son Esarhaddon. The editor corrected the chronology but the author's disregard for real time and the editor's fanciful correction have perplexed scholars and exegetes ever since.

c. One World: The epic describes a world where God and people mingle and are so similar that they are sometimes confounded. The Jerusalem historian made Yahweh a resident of the city. The first editor reacted by separating God so entirely from the world that the second editor was obliged to introduce an encompassing theory of divine providence to fill up the gap.[91] The last editor thought that God was in heaven and let the world be governed vicariously by fate and destiny in the guise of the law and the prophets.[92]

In the first episode God and man share the garden of Eden, the

man and woman eat the forbidden fruit and God just chances to discover it when he is out walking in the garden, and the man and woman have to be sent out of the garden to maintain a distinction between them and God. In the second episode the sons of God marry the daughters of man and among their offspring are included such immortals as Noah. In the third episode, the tower of Babel had to be abandoned before people could ascend to the domain of the Gods, but God directs Abraham to the land where he lives and comes to visit him in Canaan in the guise of three men. In the fourth episode Jacob wrestles with a man who tells him that he has wrestled with God and won. In the fifth episode God does not appear among the dramatic characters and his place is taken by Joseph who dies and descends into Egypt where he lives to become the dispenser of grain to the whole world. In the sixth episode, in a wonderful redoing of creation, God tries to kill Moses but is outwitted and subdued by a woman. At the end of the epic God is living among his people in a land like the garden of Eden.

The symbol of this symbiosis, and the climax of the epic, is the covenant between Yahweh, Moses and Israel on mount Sinai. The implications of the covenant were detailed in the sequel that located the paradise where God and people lived together not in the distant past or in the land of a unified Israel but in the contemporary city of Jerusalem. The editors of both historical works were repelled by the symbol and its political implications and were forced to invent acceptable alternatives. For one it was to create a secular world, governed by time, independent of God, where people, from time to time, tried to be like God in holiness and rest. For another it was to suppose that God lived in heaven and that people lived reasonable lives under the law. For the third it was to describe the history and mechanics of a community of tribes dedicated to the worship of God. For all of them the basic solution was to jettison the covenant and the kinship that it implied in favor of a kinship of flesh and blood and political reality.

d. Myth, Legend and Ritual: The epic was a powerful synthesis of myth and reality that represented and reinterpreted everything that people in Judah at that time knew and believed. It was written to show that Yahweh, the God of Israel, was God. The myths of the world were applied to the history of this people to prove that Yahweh

could take his place at the head of the great Gods just as Israel could assume its distinguished place among the nations of the world. Those who rewrote the epic acknowledged that it had achieved its purpose and rewrote it for that reason. Some were reticent toward the name and merely said that God was God. Some magnified his name with the epithets and attributes of all the Gods and cast the other Gods as useless idols. Some had a more humble attitude toward Israel. All of them had to come to terms with the epic's discovery of an historical and religious world and propose an alternative of their own.

2. *Prophetic Tradition*

Among the prophets Isaiah held the place that the epic had for the historians. He was a lyric poet, a singer as he himself suggests. Others were orators or dramatists. He wrote his words in a book for a later day. They all tried to deal with this day, with the reasons and circumstances of its coming, with possible remedies, or with what might be done when the day was past. As the historians created the world of Judah, taking the country out of relative obscurity into the light of mythical and historical time, so the prophets at first undid the world of Judah and then wondered how the people might survive more simply, according to their ancient customs, in an alien and constricting world.

Isaiah introduced, in more or less developed form, all the major themes of prophecy. The prophets who followed him presented them in increasingly elaborate detail. He was the first to stand up against the historians and defend traditional values. They all quoted from the histories and carried on the debate. He was the first to oppose the covenant, its implication that no matter what happened God was on Judah's side and all was well, its contempt for ordinary justice, its insistence on the blessings of the good life, its provision for rollicking urban festivals that despoiled the countryside, its encouragement of international alliances and reliance on arms, its attempt to persuade the people that they did not have to listen to prophets like himself. He was the first to insist on education, ridiculing the supposed learning of the leaders of Jerusalem, describing God as a parent who was trying to educate his children, who was willing to reason but would use physical punishment to discipline them, who would one day abandon them to their enemies until they learned their lesson. Above

all, he foresaw that someday Jerusalem would be destroyed in order to be rebuilt on the firm foundation of truth and justice.

All of this was presented in a lyric and primitive dramatic form. The form required response, and the foretelling was too assured and specific to be avoided. The prophets who followed him were inspired by his insight and daring. Amos concentrated on the day that he had predicted and, in a cycle of melancholy orations, pointed out that none of the covenant festivals, financed as they were by fraud and injustice, would be able to delay it. Hosea concentrated on their belief in the mythical God proposed by the epic, on their unwillingness to listen to the prophets and learn, in an elaborate drama in which God, the prophet and the people all got to play their parts. The prophets who followed quoted the words of Isaiah, and continued this dramatic presentation of the the words of God and the response of the audience. Micah wrote an update of his prophecy that imitated its structure and style. Jeremiah quoted all the prophets who preceded him and wrote a drama in which God, the prophet and the people shared the stage and the people finally abandoned the illusions concocted by the historians and agreed with the prophetic tradition. In the end, of course, Isaiah's prediction was fulfilled. Just before it was, Habakkuk was inspired to repeat his prediction and compose a lament to accompany its fulfillment.

The fact that the historians had created a world for Judah, an inflated and pompous world that did not correspond to common perceptions, becomes evident in these prophetic texts. Isaiah had predicted almost complete destruction of Judah and Jerusalem. The next prophet thought of it as destiny and doom and the undoing of sacred times. The next thought of it as death, the end of the natural cycles of fertility. The next predicted that Jerusalem would be ploughed like a field and urban culture would be reduced to its agricultural roots. The next described this as the undoing of creation, the very opposite of what the historians described. The last prophet to write before the fall of Jerusalem thought of it literally as the end of the world.[93]

III. Literacy: Orthodoxy and the End of Literary Inspiration

Literacy and literature are not coeval. Judaean literature began suddenly, after the fall of the northern kingdom, in a time of great

prosperity and change, under the impetus of foreign models and native inspiration, and developed through the constant struggle of prophets and historians to find the truth. Literacy did not disappear, but literature did when these conditions no longer prevailed, when the struggles ceased and the truth seemed certain.

The indirect evidence for literacy, then, for the origin of the Bible in literary endeavor, is that the ability to read and write was not sufficient inspiration for literature. It was, in fact, because of the development of literary traditions, because of the ability to read and write, because of the habit of editing the classics of Judaean literature, that inspiration finally came to an end.

Literacy produced great literature in Judah as long as the prophetic and historical traditions remained distinct and could thrive on each other's creativity. But the pressure of events and the interpretation they received conflated the two traditions and soon reduced them to an orthodox sameness. Historical tradition had magnified Judah and its God and no longer corresponded to the reality of a captured client state. Prophecy had come true and there was little left to do but touch it up with more hopeful predictions for the future. In the sixth century prophecy began to be written in prose, as if it were history, or succumbed to its inherent biographical tendencies, or neglected the future to deal with contemporary civic and religious problems, or projected old interpretations of past events into a dreary apocalyptic future. Some history was written in poetry, as if history were prophecy and prediction, and some set out to write the story of prophetic intervention to prove that prophecy once determined a happier course of events. The turning point in the extinguishing of the spirit of historical inquiry and prophetic prediction was the publication of a comprehensive history of the world of Israel that synthezied the traditions and made prophecy the servant of a scientific historical theology.

This History was the work of the author who composed most of the Torah and the Former Prophets, the Bible from *Genesis* to the book of *Kings*. It included all the earlier histories, edited and interpreted in the usual way, and a distillation of the prophetic tradition. The histories were edited to resemble and agree with each other. The prophetic tradition was absorbed into the history either by direct quotation or allusion to the prophetic texts, or by writing caricatures

of the prophets, or by developing a theory of prophecy that made it subservient to the Law. This History succeeded in provoking belief, as the histories had before it, by creating a world. But the History was universal and definitive, and the world it created was immutable and self-contained where everything had its reason and its place and nothing did not fit.

This History, like the work of the earlier editors, was inspired above all by the epic. But instead of episodes it was made up of books. In place of timelessness the author invented eras that succeeded and yet matched each other and produced a cycle that became a model for all time. Instead of a world where God and Israel were equal it described two worlds meeting on the tangent of the Law. In place of myth, legend and ritual, which had seduced the readers of the epic and persuaded them to believe even less credible things, there was fact, evidence and sustained historical theory.

It was the theory that made the History convincing. This was, essentially, that the world was governed by an eternal Law that became evident in historical events and was finally revealed to Moses, that violation of the law was sin, that sin would not go unpunished, that the universality, inviolability and absolute autonomy of the law proved the unique transcendence of God. The theory was constantly verified in the History, beginning with Cain and Abel, and it was absolutely confirmed in the end when Judah and Jerusalem were destroyed for their sins.

The theory destroyed the prophetic impulse and made prophecy redundant by identifying the prophets as purveyors of this Law. Prophets became a mostly anonymous band called "my servants the prophets" who lived on the fringe of society and interfered in the affairs of the kingdom. Prophecy was stereotyped and became a routine proclamation of the transcendence of the God of Israel, summons to repentance, condemnation of the worship of other Gods, and prediction of punishment for sin. True prophets were named but, by definition, were those who had failed in their mission and had not averted punishment. The prophets who had succeeded or who had said or done differently were excluded from prophetic or historical tradition. Some of them were vilified in unflattering sketches, but the majority were conspicuous by their absence from a History that, superficially at least, gave preeminence to the prophetic word.

A few prophets and historians protested against the theory. Jonah portrayed a God who was interested in forgiving sin, not in exacting punishment for it. Joel described the fall of Jerusalem as a natural calamity unrelated to sin or guilt. The writer of the book of *Jeremiah* proved in excruciating detail that prophets did not fit the History's stereotype and that Judah and Jerusalem were ruined not by sin and necessity, as the Historian claimed, but because specific kings had not listened to Jeremiah's bold advice. The *Chronicles* written at the end of the century showed that the prophets had had a positive effect on the course of events. But the will and the occasion were erased and these same *Chronicles* portray the prophets as singers and ministers in the temple. The protest ended and with it died the inspiration of the prophets.

All of the prophetic works were revised in the light of the definitive History. All the editors agreed with the theory. A few precisions were added because it seemed unjust that presumably innocent people in Israel, Judah or Jerusalem had been punished, or because truly guilty aliens, such as the Babylonians and their Edomite allies, had not been included explicitly in the History's theoretical scheme. But every one of the editors referred to the History and revised the prophetic works to take account of it. In the process the original prophecies became riddled with prophetic stereotypes, and with awkward historical references and arguments taken from the History, and prophecy gradually acquired the cast of the historical tradition it was originally written to resist.

In the end history won out over prophecy and prophecy ceased. When the protests died away history itself became less speculative and tried to be an accurate analysis of recorded events. The definitive History was a fantastic reconstruction of the past and a reliable program for the future that gave Israel a secure place in the world for all time. From the first it had commanded attention and assent and, to this day, it is considered by many not only credible but almost literally true.

CONCLUSION

Literacy involves the ability to read and write. Reading can be more or less proficient but can be done without understanding. The ability to write is varied and the skill has numerous uses. In biblical

times it had political and economic uses, it served civic and legal purposes, it was crucial in times of war for communications between prophets, kings and military officers, it was used by individuals for religious, commercial, and academic purposes, and it could mark the months and the seasons. It was an occasional skill without literary or historical pretensions.

A particular kind of literacy is the ability to create a society and culture characterized by learning, rationality and imagination. It is the ability to produce a literature that is meant to be understood and that actually has an impact on its readers. This kind of literacy flourished in Judah and Jerusalem from the fall of Samaria into post-exilic times. It fell into abeyance when the monarchy that fostered it crumbled and was repudiated, and when the people were turned in on themselves and decided to rebuild Judah and Jerusalem along the lines prescribed by the History and according to the conformist interpretations of the always conservative prophets.

The end of the literary traditions was marked by changes in the language itself. The Hebrew script began to be abandoned. The writings began to reveal the local and regional differences that a self-confident culture had suppressed. Speech, particularly in the poetic tradition of prophecy, became inflated with archaisms and paralyzed by a repetitive parallelistic style. Judaean words were replaced by borrowed words, and grammar and syntax became more influenced by the speech of their foreign administrators and of their neighbors. The language of the classics, in a generation or two, would no longer be understood by the people for whom they were originally written.

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NOTES

1 Cf. Exod 31:18; 32:15–16; 34:27–28; Deut 6:4–9.
2 Hos 8:1, 11–12.
3 Jer 8:8–9.
4 Isa 29:11–12.
5 Isa 30:8.
6 Hab 1:5; 2:1–3.
7 The three sections of the first part are Isa 1:1a, 2–6, 7abA, 8, 18–20; Isa 5:1–2, 4–5, 11–12, 18–19, 26–29; Isa 10:5–7, 13–14, 28–32. The second part includes Isa 28:9–19; 29:1–4, 9–14; 30:1–4, 8–17. Cf. B. Peckham, "The Function of the Law in the Development of Israel's Prophetic Traditions,"

Law and Ideology in Monarchic Israel (JSOTSS 124; ed. B. Halpern and D.W. Hobson; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991) 108–146.

8 Cf. Brian Peckham, "The Composition of Hosea," *HAR* 11(1987) 331–353.

9 Nah 1:1a, 2–8; 2:2, 4–11; 3:1–4,8–11; Hab 1:1–3a, 5–6, 8–10, 12, 13a; 2:1–3; 3:2–12, 15–19a; Zeph 1:1a, 2–3abB, 14–18; 2:1–6, 12–15; 3:1–8. Cf. B. Peckham, "The Vision of Habakkuk," *CBQ* 48(1986) 617–636.

10 Cf. B. Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 35), Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985.

11 Cf. W. Zimmerli, "Das Phänomen der 'Fortschreibung' im Buche Ezechiel," *Prophecy. Essays Presented to Georg Fohrer on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, 6 September 1980* (BZAW 150; ed. J.A. Emerton; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980) 174–191.

12 Joel 1:1–20; 2:1–27 and Joel 3:1–5; 4:1–21.

13 Jer 36.

14 Deut 31:9, 24–26; 2 Kgs 22:8, 11.

15 Cf. B. Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 21–68.

16 The use of deictic elements was pointed out by M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) 44–55.

17 Resumptive repetition occurs at the end of the editorial addition and repeats the material that preceded it: cf. C. Kuhl, "Die 'Wiederaufnahme'—ein literarkritisches Prinzip?," *ZAW* 64 (1952) 1–11. Proleptic repetition occurs at the beginning of the editorial addition and anticipates the material that follows it.

18 Cf. P.C. Beentjes, "Inverted Quotations in the Bible. A Neglected Stylistic Pattern," *Bib* 63(1982) 506–523.

19 Cf. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 43.

20 Cf. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 144.

21 The third person singular in a first or second person singular *legal* context (as Deut 15:2 in 15:1–3; Deut 19:4–6, 11–12 in 19:1–13) is not a sign of editing but marks a specific, non-verbatim, use of a precedent from another legal text (cf. Exod 23:11 and 21:12–14); cf. W. Morrow, "The Composition of Deut 15:1–3," *Hebrew Annual Review* 12(1990) 115–131. The principle is observed in the Yabneh Yam inscription where the plaintif refers to himself as "his servant" according to epistolary conventions, but as "your servant" when appealing to the book of the law (Exod 18, 22), and as "I" when demanding redress.

22 Cf. Fishbane, *Bliblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 47. Alternation between second person singular and plural occurs frequently in *Deuteronomy* and is a recognized editorial feature: cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5–11* (AnBib 20; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1963) 241; C. Begg, "The Literary Criticism of Deut 4,1–40. Contributions to a Continuing Discussion," *ETL* 56(1980) 10–55, p. 22; P.E. Dion, "Deuteronomy 13: The Suppression of Alien Religious Propaganda in Israel during the late Monarchical Era," *Law and Ideology in*

Monarchic Israel (JSOTSS 124; ed. B. Halpern and D.W. Hobson; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991, 147–216) 175. However, the technique is common to the author and the editor and is as much a feature of composing as it is of editing. The author uses change of number to mark quotations from other works or cross-references to the author's own texts: e.g. Deut 5:6–7, 9b–11 is singular in a plural context (5:4–5, 24–27*) to mark it as a quotation, with a change in word order, from Exod 34:6–7, 14; conversely, Deut 11:18–20 is plural in a singular context to mark it as a cross-reference, verbatim but with changes in word order, to an earlier exhortation (6:4–9). The editor uses change of number to mark critical comments on the author's text, cross-references to the edited text, and quotations from the author's text or from its sources in their original or edited form: e.g. Deut 12:16 is fitted in by verbatim repetition (*raq*, cf. 12:15) but is plural in a singular context to mark it as the beginning of a critical commentary on 12:15 (cf. 12:21–25, 27–28); Deut 1:31aA, singular in a plural context, is a cross-reference to the editor's text (1:19 plural) but 1:31aB, also singular in a plural context, is a quotation from Num 11:12 (with a change of gender: Num 11:12 refers to a woman carrying her child but Deut 1:31aB refers to a father carrying his child); Deut 6:14 is plural in a singular context to mark it as a quotation from the author's text (Deut 5:7), but 6:16 is plural in a singular context to mark it as a quotation from Exod 17:7; Deut 7:4bA and 7:5 are plural to mark them as quotations from the texts that prove and illustrate them (Exod 34:13; Num 25:3b).

23 Change of gender, like change of number, is a feature of composition and editing. Lot is warned not to look back, and when his wife does look back the connection between the two texts is emphasized by saying that "she looked behind *him*" (Gen 19:17, 26). When the dominance that skews the relationships between men and women (Gen 3:16b) is transformed into a theory of resistance to sin and temptation all the genders are reversed (Gen 4:7b). In Zephaniah's prophecy the seashore where the Philistines are to be massacred is feminine (Zeph 2:6); in the editor's version the seashore is reserved for the remnant of Judah and, to mark the editorial change, the word is masculine (Zeph 2:7). Nahum (1:7–8) quotes from Isaiah (28:17–19) and Jeremiah (5:10aB; 30:11) words of Yahweh concerning the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem and to mark the quotations uses a feminine suffix when referring to the city as Yahweh's place (*meqomah*). Ezekiel's description of the animals with human likeness who presaged the vision of the glory of God remodels the Priestly story of creation (Gen 1:24–26) and the allusion is marked by using masculine suffixes to refer to the animals in human form (Ezek 1:6 [*lahem*], 10aA, 22–24a, 25a, 26) and feminine suffixes to refer to the animal form of the human creatures (Ezek 1:10aBb–11). His editor followed the same principle of making the gender of suffixes correspond to their referent instead of to their antecedent but also used opposite gender to mark editorial additions (e.g. 1:24b, 25b) or cross-references to the edited text (e.g. 1:9, 12, 17 [*blktn*]): this produced a strange and difficult text that the editor explained

in a later chapter (Ezek 10; cf. D.I. Block, "Text and Emotion: A Study in the 'Corruptions' in Ezekiel's Inaugural Vision [Ezek 1:4–28]," *CBQ* 50[1988] 418–442; G.A. Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew* [American Oriental Series 72; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1990] 48). In a similar vein, Ezekiel's diatribe against the prophets (Ezek 13:1–16) is matched by an editorial harangue on the prophetesses (Ezek 13:17–23).

24 All editing, no matter how unobtrusive, is marked and kept separate from the original text since this not only preserved the original but highlighted the editor's interpretation which had no meaning apart from it. Fishbane allows for some unmarked editing but the examples that he gives, as he himself often notes, are marked by repetition. For instance, when the word "runnels" is defined as "watering troughs" (Gen 30:38) the editing is not "an unmarked pleonasm" (*Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 65) but is marked by repetition or by what Fishbane defines more precisely as a 'disruptive redundancy which is also explanatory in nature' (p. 64): the original said "*in* the runnels" and the editor said "*in* watering troughs;" the original said "in front of the sheep . . . when they came to drink" (*hasso'n . . . bebo'am listot*) and the editor partially reversed the word order to say "where the sheep came to drink" (*'aser tabo'na hasso'n listot*). It was clearly marked because it was not just a lexical comment but an editorial cross-reference to another act of divine providence, as the parallel text described it (Gen 31:4–13), in a similar situation in the same country in the time of Abraham (Gen 24:20).

25 The original began in Gen 2:4b. The editorial repetitions are in Gen 1:1 and 2:1, 4a.

26 Gen 2:10–15.

27 Gen 2:15 = 2:8. Since 2:9 and 2:16–17 focus on the trees in the garden, the description of the world rivers (2:10–14) falls into a proleptic and resumptive frame or *Wiederaufnahme* (2:8–9, 15–17) that often marks editorial insertions.

28 At the end of the story (2 Kgs 17, 25) Jerusalem is sacked and the people of Israel and Judah, apart from the few left in the ancestral land of Canaan, are dispersed in Assyria, Egypt and Babylonia.

29 The original (Gen 11:1, 4–7, 8b, 9b) was modified at the beginning (11:2–3) and the end (11:8a, 9a) by literal repetition: Gen 11:2 "Now . . ." = 11:1; Gen 11:3 "They said . . ." = 11:4; Gen 11:8a "Yahweh dispersed them . . ." = 11:9b; Gen 11:9a "the speech of the whole world" = 11:1.

30 Gen 18:17–33.

31 In the original God is the three men (cf. Gen 18:9, 13) and after their conversation Abraham goes with *them* to send *them* on their way (Gen 18:16). The editor identified *them* as God and two angels: the editorial text begins "*Yahweh* said . . ." (Gen 18:17), and, after Yahweh has left (Gen 18:33), continues with "*the two angels*" travelling to Sodom (Gen 19:1).

32 Gen 19:24b.

33 Gen 19:29 = 19:25.

34 Exod 3:9–10 = 3:7–8.

35 Exod 3:9–14, cf. Exod 34:6–7, 10.

36 Exod 3:15.

37 Exod 4:24–26a.

38 Exod 4:26b.

39 In fact the editor tries to squelch the magic and mystery of the original by surrounding it with two other stories about Moses that develop its themes in a positive and practical direction. The first (Exod 4:20b–23) precedes the original and consists of a conversation in which Yahweh commissions Moses to work miracles in Egypt and previews the plagues that will end with the death of the firstborn sons of the Egyptians and the redemption of Israel who is the firstborn son of Yahweh. The second (Exod 4:27–31) follows the original and tells how Aaron met Moses on his way back to Egypt and how, because of his magic skills, everyone believed that Yahweh had visited the sons of Israel. In these two stories the original sinister encounter is replaced by friendly meetings, mystery is replaced by miracle, blood relationship with Yahweh by divine or tribal sonship, the threat of Moses' death by the promised death of the Egyptians, and a fearless and unselfish woman by timid and selfcentered men.

40 In the story of the garden of Eden (Gen 2–3) the woman first makes a man out of Adam (Gen 2:25) and then, by sharing with him the fruit of the tree of knowledge, makes him like God (Gen 3:22). Jacob, like Moses, is visited at night and by struggling with a man is transformed into Israel (Gen 32:25, 26aA, 27–30). Moses, like Adam, through the power of a woman becomes familiar with God and, like Jacob, becomes a surrogate of Israel (cf. Num 14:12).

41 The familial origins and political developments of treaty and covenant are described in "Kinship and Covenant," a paper read by F.M. Cross at the annual meeting of the *Biblical Colloquium*, San Diego, October 26, 1991.

42 Exod 34:17–18abA.

43 Exod 20:2–17. The decalogue was inserted by deictics that identified "God" who spoke in the original (20:1) as "Yahweh your God" (20:2). At the end of the insertion, after Moses has been made the mediator of the Law, the editor adds another statement that defines the original "these words" of God (Exod 20:1) as the "these ordinances" of Moses (Exod 21:1).

44 Num 10:29–33a.

45 Num 10:33b–36.

46 Cf. Num 14:44; Josh 1–8.

47 Compare 2 Kgs 18:19–32 and Isa 28:9–19; 29:1–4; 30:1–5, 8–17.

48 Cf. B. Peckham, "The Function of the Law in the Development of Israel's Prophetic Tradition," *Law and Ideology in Monarchic Israel* (JSOTSS 124; ed. B. Halpern and D.B. Hobson; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991) 108–146.

49 2 Kgs 18:9–12.

50 2 Kgs 18:9aB, 10b; cf. 2 Kgs 17:5–6.

51 To Isaiah's text (Isa 10:5–7, 13–14, 28–32) II Isaiah added 10:15–19, 24–27,

33–34 and to their combined texts III Isaiah added 10:1–4, 8–12, 20–23.

52 In Isaiah's version (Isa 10:13–14) the Assyrian king spoke of his invincibility. In III Isaiah's version the king attributed his invincibility to the fact that the defeated nations, notably Israel and Judah, worshipped idols (Isa 10:8–11). The writer also added that Yahweh would purify the cult in Sion (10:12a) and, with a nod to II Isaiah (10:15–19, 24–27), that the Assyrian king would be humiliated (10:12b).

53 Cf. Isa 10:5–7 and 10:15–19.

54 Cf. Isa 10:33–34 and 10:32.

55 Cf. Isa 10:15–19 and 10:20–23.

56 The relationship of prophecy to the performing arts has been explored by Joyce Rilett Wood (*Amos: Prophecy as a Performing Art and the Emergence of Book Culture*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1992) and the following remarks depend on her work and reflect our frequent conversations on the subject.

57 The material belonging to each of the histories is listed in B. Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 95–140.

58 The Priestly institutions are related to time and natural occurrences and revolve around the covenants with Noah (rainbow), Abraham (circumcision) and Israel (Sabbath).

59 The Elohist considered the law (Exod 18*, 21–23*) a concrete and tangible form of a universal divine providence that was most evident in the constant guidance of the Angel of God.

60 Cf. B. Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 3–6.

61 The amphictyonic model was proposed by M. Noth (*Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930) and was understood to reflect the realities of premonarchic Israel. It is rather a Deuteronomistic interpretation of the ideal structure of Israel under the kingship of Yahweh which, this writer thought, could be implemented in any period of Israel's history, including the exilic period when, on the model of the Greek leagues, it was elaborated for the first time.

62 For instance, Isa 1:2–3; 30:9; Amos 3:1; Hos 1:2–4, 6, 8–9; 5:7; 9:11; 11:1–4; 13:13.

63 For instance, Isa 5:11–12; 28:14; Amos 6:1–7; Mic 3:1–12.

64 For instance, Isa 28:17; 30:12; Amos 2:6–8; 5:10–12; 6:12–13; 8:4–6; Hos 12:1–3, 8–9; Mic 6:9–16; 7:1–7.

65 For instance, Isa 28:14–19; 29:1–4; Amos 5:21–24; 8:9–10; Hos 1*–2*; Mic 6:1–8; Jer 6:18–21; 8:18–19.

66 Exod 25:8.

67 Exod 21:2–37; 22:1–8, 20a, 21–22, 24a, 25–28, 29b. The editorial elements were affixed by deixis (22:29a), by change of number (22:24b), by repetition with opposite word order (22:9–10, cf. 22:8) or by repetition with change of number (22:20b, 23). They rationalize the original (22:9–10, cf. 22:8;

22:11–14, cf. 22:6–7), complement it (22:15–16, cf. 21:7–11), or bring it into line with the laws, arguments and historical perspective of *Deuteronomy*. Cf. M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 172–187.

68 For instance, 1 Sam 1*, 11*; 2 Sam 5:1–4*; 15:7.

69 For instance, Amos 2:6–8; 3:9–12; 4:1–5; Mic 6:1–16; Nah 3:1–4, 8–11; Zeph 3:1–8.

70 For instance, Exod 34:10; Deut 5:2–3; Isa 28:15, 18; Hos 1:6, 8–9; Mic 3:9–12; Jer 6:16–21.

71 These characteristics of epic were discussed by Dennis Becker in "The Israelite Epic" (Unpublished: Toronto School of Theology, Biblical Seminar, March 19, 1992).

72 Gen 2:4b–6.

73 Gen 6:1–2, 4aBb.

74 Gen 11:1, 4–8a, 9a.

75 Gen 26:1aAb, 7–14, 16–17, 26–31.

76 Gen 37*.

77 Exod 2*.

78 Gen 1:1–2:4a.

79 Gen 5; 6:3–4aA.

80 Gen 10.

81 Gen 25.

82 The Elohist added many details of the legend (Gen 37*–50*), called Joseph "Lord" or Adonis (*'adon*, Gen 45:8–9) and toyed with the idea of his divinity (Gen 50:19). The Deuteronomist added an historical adaptation of the legend of the incestuous union from which Adonis was born (Gen 38).

83 Exod 3:16–12:51.

84 Gen 5.

85 Gen 11:1–9*; 12:1–9*.

86 Gen 11:10–32*.

87 Gen 21:1a, 2a, 3; 26:1aA, 6–9, 11–14.

88 Gen 36; 37:2*.

89 Gen 47:7–50:26.

90 Cf. Josh 11:23* and Josh 12; 13:1–7.

91 The Priestly writer made time the boundary between God and creation and invented seasons and occasions when they might meet. The Elohist made law and justice the structure of human discourse and the revelation of an omnipresent God.

92 In Gen 15, for instance, the Deuteronomist makes Abraham a prophet and paragon of the law and reveals to him the course of history, symbolized in exile and exodus, whose concrete details will be narrated in the following books. History, conversely, is just the unravelling of this plan and is inconsequential except for the wisdom and justice it reveals.

93 Cf. Amos 8:1–3a, 9–10; Hos 9:11–14; 13:12–13; Mic 3:9–12; Jer 4:23–27; Zeph 1:2–3aAb; 3:8.

Randall Rosenfeld

The Prophets and Apostles Write: Images and the Medieval Understanding of Writing

My goal in this paper is a relatively simple one. It is to fix the meaning of an image of signal ubiquity in the high Christian cultures of the Middle Ages, the image of the man writing.[1] The *imago hominis scribendi* seems to have enjoyed few if any temporal or geographical exclusions from the age of Cassiodorus up to that of Trithemius, save for what has been engineered through loss or destruction.[2] The artefacts used for illustration below, and the texts married to them, perceptively or rashly, have some mediterranean associations, as is only fit and proper given the nature of this volume of papers, yet what is said concerning those artefacts and texts is of equal significance for the remainder of medieval Latin Christendom, and possibly beyond. Latin texts cited herein circulated where Latin was read, and the images were familiar things to Gospel users from the British Isles, the lands on the extreme west of the world, to the crusader states, representing Europe in the Middle East.[3] The facts of production and provenance of some of the artefacts illustrate well the striking interconnexions of the heartland areas of mediterranean culture with those regions queueing for mediterranean cultural adoption.[4] Equally arresting is the longevity of the ideas conveyed in the texts. And it is the durability of those ideas concerning the activity of the scribe which embolden the author occasionally to use the idiom of typification: the medieval scribal image, the medieval concept of the scribe, and so on. This is not to deny that there are distinctions in the corpora of depictions and texts, variations dependent on time and place, nor that exceptions of importance do occur. These, nevertheless, do not fracture the unity of the material, they merely add depth to it.

If the goal is to fix the meaning of the image of the scribe, whose meaning is to be established? The only people whose opinions are worth bothering about here, are of course the contemporaries of the artisans who produced the artefacts. The goal then is to establish

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how a medieval viewer of a picture of a scribe would read and comprehend that picture.

This uncomplicated end, to settle the meaning of these images, is also an attempt to solve the close question: What is the function of the images of scribes found on medieval artefacts?

There are, not unexpectedly, numerous profitable ways to frame this question towards an answer. Suppose, for instance, that our scribe is an evangelist set before the text of his Gospel.[5] One can then answer that the economy of design of the book ordains that a grand image of the evangelist as scribe be put on a folio just before the beginning of his text to act as a quick means of locating his Gospel within the codex. This image of the scribe found in this Gospel book would be said to function as a principal graphic signpost, dividing the text into major units, and as a quick means to find the beginning of that Gospel text, a bookmark.[6] Or, one can answer just as appositely, that the economy of display and status of the codex demands that a labour intensive work of fine materials executed by a skilled hand should be part of the book.[7] This same image of a scribe found before the text of his Gospel would have an ornamental function, making the book a symbol of wealth and power, and, if the codex resides in an ecclesiastical treasury, a rich cultic offering as well.[8] These two functions, one stemming from an economy of design, the other from an economy of display, are by no means mutually exclusive. They are also both answers somewhat obvious and practical to the question of function, answers which are sufficient, which yet fail to close with the meaning on the plane of the learned signification of Christian symbols, the level on which the available texts, all theological exegesis of one sort or another, are intended to function. Indeed, given that we lack direct medieval comment on the significance of these images, we can only approach an educated contemporary's understanding of them through the matching up of the iconography with the symbols expounded in Christian exegetical texts. It follows, then, that the symbols, those small elements which make up the scribal image, those iconographies of the figure, the figure's occupation, writing tools and inspiration, have to be invested with meaning culled from appropriate texts, yet before the texts can be mined the iconographic objects which make up the scribal image have to be identified. It is salutary to realize that both operations

yield imperfect results, for the first relies on informed judgement, and the second on the state of current knowledge; as to that, we do not even possess a name for every instrumentum scribendi depicted.[9]

As a prolegomenon to the consideration of the texts it would be well to rehearse briefly the history of scribal images in the pre-modern West, and the limited scholarly literature that has been devoted to it.[10]

A sketch of the history of scribal depictions may start most profitably with the materials available in Late Antiquity. It is out of these stuffs that the medieval scribal representations were fashioned.

The three portraits in the Vergilius Romanus, portraits of Virgil by common reckoning, have been together elevated to the position of a pictoral locus classicus in the histories of both author portraits and evangelist(!) representations (fig. 1).[11] This is due in part to lack of competition. The Vergilius Romanus portraits are thus considered to be rare survivals of a common feature in expensive late antique codices of Augustan literature.[12] Those author portraits, together with late antique sculptural representations of philosophers, have been decreed to be the double origins of medieval portraits of the Gospel authors.[13] Many, and perhaps the majority of medieval evangelist portraits are portraits of men writing, or in the acts prepatory to writing.[14] The question of the origins of evangelist portraits, thus far the province of art historians, must also be a question of the origins of the iconographic tradition of evangelists as scribes. The discussion, to date, has not evidenced any awareness of this. The Vergilius Romanus portraits are depictions of a man who uses books, not of one who makes them. The figure holds what may be a volumen, and is flanked by a lectern on one side, and a capsa on the other; thus the portrait shows a figure, a written document, and the furniture for displaying and storing written documents, not for creating them. Similarly, the Late Antique philosopher or poet statues generally presented display the accoutrements of reading, but not those of writing.[15] If the activities and objects associated with the figures are iconographic features as important as the evangelists' expression, posture, clothing, or the architectural setting, then activity as well as countenance, stance, vesture or background ought to be taken into account when discribing the origins of medieval evangelist portraits, that is, medieval portraits of the evangelists as scribes.[16] The activi-

ties of the figures, and the objects associated with them are probably of more importance than the number of folds in the evangelist's himation or chiton, or whether Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John sits or stands. The common account of the origins of medieval scribal depictions is therefore somewhat unsatisfactory. It can be made more satisfactory by incorporating those Late Antique iconographies of writing which entered medieval iconographic tradition.[17]

If philosophers and poets are rarely, if at all, shown as writers in the arts of Late Antiquity, who is? The answer here should not be entirely surprising: those who write in Late Antique art are chiefly the servants of the state and keepers of administrative records.[18] More than a few surviving artefacts have writers on them, but two in particular can stand as representative of the Late Antique writing imagery 'big with consequences' for the development of medieval scribal images.

The first is found on the 'largitio' scene, one of the panels newly commissioned for the north side of the Arch of Constantine (315 A.D.), and the figure writing there is not one of the most significant in the composition (fig. 2).[19] One need not be adventurous to see a functionary here recording the disbursement of coin.

The second example, is also a work from the fourth century, though from its close. The vicarial diptych of Probianus is stylistically imposing but physically small (fig. 3).[20] The writing occurs in the upper belt of each tablet. Probianus, as depicted on one leaf, writes on a scroll, and on both wings the two officials who flank him write with styli on multiple-leaved wax tablet codices.

A point to note here is that it is not just low grade officials, such as financial or law court functionaries,[21] who can be shown with writing equipment, but also a higher-up, such as the VICARIVS VRBIS ROMAE. The fact that various grades of the Roman civil service could be shown with instrumenta scribendi suggests that the writing instruments are signs, a shorthand to indicate membership in the Roman bureaucracy. Symbols need not be exclusive, witness the bonus pastor of Late Antique sarcophagi, an image with meanings for various mystery religions,[22] yet the majority of scribal images with ascertainable contexts surviving from before the sixth century seem to be associated with administrative activities, or at least record keeping.

If the origins of, or rather broad models for the iconography of the evangelists as scribes are sought, then recourse must be had to the Late Antique iconographic types who actually do write. A broad-minded account would accept the two iconographic exemplars of the poet-philosopher of Late Hellenism and the Late Roman civil servant as the twin visual images which were combined to produce the effigies of the Gospel writers writing. Perhaps, if it is so, one can speculate that this mixed iconography, an iconography which might have given offence to artistic and social conventions in the first or third century, had become acceptable by the sixth century, the time of the first extant evangelist-as-scribe depictions.[23] This was also the period when a high Roman office-holder such as Gregory the prefect of Rome could become Gregory the bishop of Rome, a transformation which seems natural enough to us in light of Gregory's colleagial predecessors who had suffered a similar exchange of office through rabble enthusiasm (evidently a professional risk for the highly placed and highly competent from the fourth century on); Ambrosius of Milan or Sidonius of Auvergne come to mind. One could even argue that the bishops of the fourth to sixth centuries combined some of the functions that poets, philosophers and administrators had separately performed.[24] One more transformation in a transformed late classical world. Perhaps it is not this simple. Ambrose, Sidonius and Gregory, and many of their colleagues were not just administrators made bishops, they were Roman gentlemen made bishops, men who had a good knowledge of the rhetorical arts, and mayhap even more than a passing aquaintance with Greek philosophy in Latin guise. The worlds of the Late Hellenistic poet-philosopher and the Late Roman civil servant may not have been as far apart and exclusive as the iconographic types alone suggest.

The product of the joining of the iconographical exemplars of the Late Hellenistic poet-philosopher with the Late Roman civil servant is to be seen among the corpus of evangelist representations of the sixth century. In these, the earliest extant medieval scribal depictions,[25] the evangelist is represented either as writing or in the company of writing tools. The range of materials on which this iconography of writing is found is quite startling. It occurs on artefacts as seemingly humble as a clay pilgrim's ampulla, carrying a St Matthew from Asia Minor (fig. 4),[26] and contrastingly, as august as

the Matthew on the mosaic of the south wall of the chancel in San Vitale, Ravenna, an imperial commission in a politically important city, at that time the Italian capital (fig. 5).[27]

The San Vitale evangelists offer us the first securely dated examples of the Gospel writers as scribes, and indeed of Late Antique writers who are not record keepers. There is no reason to think that this iconographical type was created by the 'planners' for this imperial commission, working from the pre-existing materials described above (that is, the iconographies of the poet or philosopher of Late Hellenism and that of the record keepers of Imperial Rome). The incident of this very iconographical type on humble pilgrims' flasks of approximately the same period, and thought to have been produced a quarter circuit of the Mediterranean away, would argue for the earlier invention of this image and opportunities for its dissemination. Barring massive redatings, fortuitous finds, or the uncovering of an uncharacteristically communicative text, the exact place and time of the invention of medieval Christian scribal images will remain uncertain.[28] It is certain, however, that our earliest secure examples come from the Empire ruled by the Justinian dynasty.

The fact that the image of the evangelist writing is found on items of 'mass production,'[29] made from and containing humble but valuable materials is worth some digression. It is the combination of the particular function, production and decoration of these objects which gives them their importance for this topic.[30] Intended to hold water or oil come into contact with saints' relics and fashioned out of earth from the vicinity of their tombs, these ampullae were mementos empowered with the efficacy of the saints' healing power and the safeguard of their protection. They were secondary relics through the materials involved. When decorated from the mould with the figure of an evangelist as scribe, did the ampullae remain simply decorated secondary relics, with the depiction of the saint as scribe merely performing a function analogous to an eigthteenth century madeira label, or could the scribal depictions themselves be considered as secondary relics? The resolution of this crux would require vigorous prospecting in the sources for the Eastern theology of icons, the main texts of which were collected and commented on by the Damascene and the Studite centuries after the production of these first images.

What we are presented with in the San Vitale St Matthew and the

St Matthew of the Paris ampulla here illustrated, is a notable correspondence in the depictions, which the acute observer may attribute to the use of formula. One hesitates to use the term 'visual trope.' In both, the inspiring figure of the man, the evangelist's symbol, is present, though its function is more obviously expressed in the San Vitale example. The evangelist in either depiction is seated, writing in a bound codex with a calamus, or possibly a stylus. In the San Vitale example, there is a 'writing table' holding a cylindrical atramentarium, a calamus, and an unidentified object,[31] and, placed near the Apostle's feet, is a capsa stuffed with volumina. The evangelist on the ampulla is accompanied by what appears to be a short column fulfilling a similar function to the table in the image of imperial commission, and there may be an unidentifiable writing tool in this ensemble as well. Detail is, not surprisingly, better in the costlier imperial project erected on Italian soil.

By viewing the discrete objects in these two representative early images, not as separate things, but as grouped by function, one can isolate the essential elements which frame the medieval Christian image of the scribe in art. Those elements, classed by function, which are indubitably common to these two depictons, are three. The first is the text carrier, upon which the copy is written, the second is the principal writing implement, that is, the instrument actually used for forming the letters, and the final element is the figure of inspiration, in this case, the evangelist symbol of Matthew.

Of the other objects present on the mosaic and ampulla, the surface to hold writing tools, that is, the 'writing table' or 'writing column,' is also common to both images, provided one decides it truly is a writing column to the left of the St Matthew on the ampulla. Items which are not common to the two representations, namely the capsa, the volumina, the atramentarium, occur with greater or lesser frequency in the subsequent corpus of scribal images; of these, the atramentarium is iterated most often.

The pattern of these earliest Christian scribal depictions is to be found traced in the lineaments of all their descendents through a thousand years duration, though, extending the metaphor, direct patrilineal descent is rarely proveable. This recurring formula of scribe, text carrier, instrument for forming the letters, ink reservoir, and a figure of inspiration can be found buried within the later elaborate

profusion of instrumenta scribendi of many Eastern examples, and as well, within the majority of Western examples, starkly unelaborated. In not a few Western instances, one can even find these elements minimalized to, excluding the ever present scribe, the text carrier and the instrument for framing the letters (a development much less characteristic of the Eastern material). The reduced formula carries the same import; it enables us to identify the figure as one who is, or was, writing, or is going to write.

The last 'pre-Carolingian' images to be introduced here are good illustrations, respectively, of a depiction which embodies a reduced formula (fig. 6),[32] and one whose richness of writing tools transcends the formula (fig. 7).[33] These two depictions also stand out for they are especially difficult of interpretation.

The first is the image of Mark from the Chad, or Lichfield Gospels, saec. VIII[1]. The Evangelist clasps his closed codex(?), on his right is either a stylized stylus, or an atramentarium on a pointed stick,[34] stuck into a part of the cathedra, and the inspiring figure of the evangelist's symbol, the lion, which carries a closed codex (the exemplar?) in its claws. From the standpoint of a scribal depiction, the chief oddity here is the presence of the stylus or atramentarium as the only visible instrumentum scribendi. It is shown oversize, and its documentary value is probably low. The work is otherwise not an unexpected one for a portrait of an evangelist emanating from an eighth century insular workshop.

Before detailing the instrumenta scribendi in the Codex Amiatinus Ezra picture, or commenting on the interpretative difficulties presented by them, I offer this book and this image as a forcible example of the cultural interconnexions of the Mediterranean with geographically removed cultural clients, alluded to at the inception of this paper. The codex first. It was produced around the end of the seventh century, one of three similar biblical manuscripts of gargantuan proportions, from the scriptorium of an Anglo-Saxon monastery, either Monkwearmouth or Jarrow in Northumbria.[35] The Amiatinus copy was destined for presentation to Pope Gregory II, and was being transported to that end by abbot Ceolfrith, who perished en route in 716, within Burgundy. This manuscript, the earliest surviving to contain the Vulgate entire, has been thought by many to be a close copy, textually and visually, to the Codex Grandior produced at the

southern Italian twin monastery of Vivarium, prior to the death of its lay head and founder, Cassiodorus (in A.D. 580). The Codex Grandior, following this historical reconstruction, may have found its way to Northumbria in the baggage of Benedict Biscop or Coelfrid, acquired on the Roman leg of their A.D. 678 Grand Tour. Those who do not believe the Northumbrian book to be a slavish copy of the southern Italian pandect, are still willing to authorize the last named codex in a reduced role, as one among many models; and if not that manuscript, they move the verbal model of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* in its stead.[36] And none deny the fine Late Antique patina to the image, however it was imparted. The import of 'Roman' books to Albion, and the export of Roman-looking books thence to the city on the Tiber; was ever 'coals to Newcastle' better reversed?

Aside from the discussion of models and copies, Ezra (for so he is labelled in clear contemporary capitalis) and his scribal tools are intractable. The prophet is seated, codex in lap, calamus in his right hand. Nearby, a double-compartment atramentarium rests on a stretcher table ('writing table'), and in the background is a bookpress, containing a *novem codices* bible, perhaps even Cassiodorus'. Scattered on the floor around the scribe, are six instrumenta scribendi; calamus, circinus, dua vasa,[37] a narrow tapered object with a fine point, and a triangular object with incurving sides and one spatulate end. The last two objects have thus far eluded convincing identification. If every object in an illumination cannot be identified, and that convincingly, some doubt may be expressed as to whether we have the technical means to interpret that illumination; this is a problem which recurs, particularly with the Eastern Christian materials.[38] There remains a further difficulty with the Amiatinus painting, one which goes to the heart of the codicological use of these materials; before 'reading' every medieval image of a scribe, a question must be asked: what is the documentary value of this image? At first, the documentary value of the Amiatinus Ezra as scribe would seem to be quite high, following on its apparent naturalism, barring the handling of perspective, which would be considered deficient by highest first-century standards. Yet, this handling of the relationship of object parts in space might itself indicate that something else, rather than correct, cool clasicism or twentieth century photographic accuracy, is intended. This may or may not invalidate the documentary value

of any element shown. Some have seen the codex open on the floor as the exemplar being copied. One, 'reading literally' along these lines, could marvel at the scribe's eyesight. A similarly minded viewer would, then, have to ask why the scribe is beginning four lines down his blank recto page, why he is rendering sacra sriptura in what is meant to be an extremely cursive script, and, how it is that his arm can span the reach to the atramentarium to recharge his reed pen. Would this viewer then be justified in believing that the very manner in which Coelfrid's scribes held their pens is indeed mirrored here, with the ring finger placed ahead of the index finger, and thereby controlling the calamus? Perhaps.[39]

Scribal images from the later eighth century forward show broad, easily characterized patterns and divergences, though, as always with large classes of material remains, a goodly number stand contrary to the characterization of the many.

The chief divergence lies btween East and West. Eastern Christian depictions of scribes are marked by a definite lack of uniformity, an absence of formula in the rendering of the instrumenta scribendi (though every Eastern rendering can be thought to include the basic formula found in the sixth century material discussed above; it is as if the post-sixth-century images are unsystematic elaborations of what came before). The other elements in the compositions, such as the position of the scribe, the rendering of volumes, costume, perspective, architectural details, and physical characteristics of the evangelists are all treated according to the strict iconographical types and conventions that prevail in Byzantine and related art. This fluidity in the representation of type and number of writing implements, though a standard lineament of Eastern scribal images, is an apparent oddity in the whole of Byzantine art. It certainly calls for an explanation.

The phenomenon is clearly seen in three thirteenth century evangelist depictions (figs. 8, 9, 10).[40] The images are clearly related among themselves. Similarities in pose, dress and features are as striking as are the differences in instrumenta scribendi, writing furniture, and the products of writing. In the Princeton example (fig. 9), a St Matthew, we see three calami, an oval, double-compartment atramentarium, a vas, a curved, straight-backed cultellus, one circinus, a lectern, two tables equipped with a lower tray for writing equip-

ment, two codices and two volumina. The picture of John from a Stauronikita monastery manuscript (fig. 8), on the other hand, displays one calamus, a cylindrical, single compartment atramentarium, one vas, a cupboard for writing tools, and a lectern, both combined into one integral piece of furniture, and two codices. And finally, in the Smyrna illumination (fig. 10), again of St John, we find one vas, a lectern, a two-tiered cupboard for writing equipment, and two codices. These three similar images are by no means exceptional, in the degree to which the tools of calligraphy shown in each are dissimilar.

Western images of scribes are characterized by the use of formula in the very area where Eastern images are not; the illustration of the writing tools. The basic formula employed there, made of those elements common to the depiction on the sixth-century pilgrim's ampulla now in Paris, and that of St Matthew in the chancel of San Vitale, consists, as the reader will recall, of the text carrier, the principal writing implement, an inspiring figure, and possibly a surface to hold the tools. The last mentioned item, though it may be common to both early images, did not become an invariable part of the formula, however, the atramentarium, present in the San Vitale depiction, did. And the basic formula was sometimes further expanded to include at least one of the following: a work surface, a further product of writing, and, increasingly from the ninth century, a cultellus.[41]

The formula is well illustrated by two stylistically different, but functionally similar images. The Matthew from the Ebo Gospels (fig. 11)[42] sits at a 'writing lectern' (for want of a better term), he writes into a codex with a penna, and in his left hand, which holds the codex open, he holds a horn-shaped atramentarium. His evangelist symbol is also present, holding a partially unwound volumen. The figure of John from the 'Gospel Book of Francis II' (fig. 12),[43] is likewise seated, and a lectern carrying a codex is at his side. Another codex rests in his lap, and he holds a penna in his right hand, and with his left he supports a horn-shaped atramentarium. His evangelist symbol, which holds an open scroll, is contained in a rondel on the opposite recto page.

With a persistence which is striking, this tradition of scribal depiction lasted beyond the period under examination here; the portraits

of Erasmus by Dürer and Quentin Massys demonstrate this.[44] A good example from the later fifteenth century is found in the scribal 'group portrait' of the four Evangelists in the 'Schwarzes Gebetbuch' of Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy (fig. 13).[45] All four scribes are in the same room, and there is only one work surface, a table, which is set between Matthew and Mark. Mark's codex rests on the table, as does a rectangular, triple compartment atramentarium, along with two pennae, and a crumpled leaf(?). Matthew, Luke and John hold their codices, or volumina on their laps. Matthew and John write, Luke examines the end of his pen, and Mark appears to be splitting the nib of his pen with a cultellus. The four evangelist symbols are also present.

It is a common perception that, with the rise of the use of a more naturalistic perspective, and a greater attention to the careful rendering of detail in illuminations, many depictions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries offer a more reliable record of quotidian objects and processes than earlier works. Yet, no one viewing works of these centuries can afford to ignore the eloquent words and demonstration of an eminent art historian, that in the most naturalistic works ". . . all meaning has assumed the shape of reality; or, to put it the other way, all reality is saturated with meaning. . . ," and that furthermore, earlier and more direct use of visual symbolism, such as is explicated in Durandus' *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (c. 1286), had not disappeared by the fifteenth century; that, indeed, direct symbolism and 'symbols disguised under the cloak of real things,' could be found side by side in the same composition.[46] The sort of problems encountered in interpreting this material, in light of its meaning(s), is well illustrated in the evangelist depictions in a book of hours produced in the third decade of the fifteenth century, which belonged to the Bronchoven family of Brabant in the first half of the sixteenth century (fig. 14),[47] and in a roughly contemporary illumination of Augustine in a copy of the *De civitate dei*, formerly in the library of the celebrated Baron Montesquieu, author of the *Esprit de lois* (1748) (fig. 15).[48] The depiction in the book of hours of Matthew as a scribe presents the viewer with a naturalistic-looking portable pennaculum and atramentarium ('penner and ink-horn,' sometimes referred to as a scriptorium[!]), and naturalistic colonettes. The penna, on the other hand, is certainly oversize, and the angel leaning through the win-

dow and holding the end of a scroll, was almost certainly seen in the fifteenth century as a 'symbol disguised under the cloak of a real thing,' and a symbol not untouched by humour, but what is its documentary value for daily life in the scriptorium? Alternately, one may find instrumenta scribendi apparently accurately draughted, but shown handled in an awkward or futile manner. The writing tools, penna, cultellus and two horn-shaped atramentaria, in the portrait of Augustine, set before the *De civitate dei* text, are certainly drawn to scale. The saint's hands, however, are not accurately rendered, and the penna and cultellus are placed on that part of the text carrier which is not supported by the writing desk, and, indeed, which could not be seen by the saint.

Neither of these depictions, therefore, offers an absolutely naturalistic representation of reality, nor does the reality they present represent just the book production process they show. Matthew performs an operation on his pen while his angel looks on, yet it is not a pen one could find in nature, and Augustine places pen and knife on a 'book,' but not in such a manner that he could ever hope to write while on this earth. Each element in these compositions has to be given a separate assessment to determine its possible symbolic content, the manner in which that symbolic content is made manifest, and whether the particular compositional element, either object or process, symbol or not, is a naturalistic representation. This conclusion should surprise no one, for it is by no means a radical one. It is just one which has been largely absent from the literature on scribal depictions of the last eighty years.

I end this sketch of the history of medieval scribal depictions with a nod in the direction of those images which go beyond formula. They form a respectably numerous class of representations, with little in common other than that they show an abundance of instrumenta scribendi, and, occassionally, a wealth of scribal techniques. They are no easier to interpret than the more usually encountered, formulaic depictions. They may, however, be more valuable witnesses because they illustrate tools and technologies which are often not shown. The only problem, needless to say, is the old problem: the relationship between possible symbolic content, method of conveying the symbolism, and the degree of naturalism in the depiction.[49]

The reader will by now have gained some knowledge of the appearance of the medieval image of the writer. The design for which the foregoing history was undertaken may by now be somewhat indistinct in the reader's recollection. To reiterate, the purpose of this study is to learn something of what these images meant to the literate contemporaries of their creators, through touching on the purpose of the scribal image. For this, it is necessary to turn to the evidence afforded by texts.

Here, yet a further difficulty is encountered, for of texts, there are none which have so far been identified as direct commentaries on scribal images. It is necessary, naturally, to turn to literatures which do exist, and of these, a reasonable place to turn to is biblical exegesis, for there are both evangelists and scribes in the Bible. Needless to say, the 'scribes' of the Old Testament can be thought to have had little in common with medieval copyists, and this was realized by some medieval exegetes.[50] Yet the Old Testament 'scribes' were in some respects functionally similar to the evangelists, and to medieval scribes who were also authors, or even interveners into the text, and indeed, even to those who took their duty as simple copyists (those beloved of Lachmannians) seriously enough.

Cassiodori Senatoris institutiones is a sixth century text,[51] authored by the great administrator of the Rome of the Ostrogoths, who retired to his own personally devised monastic otium, and who continues to play a large, though necessarily posthumous, part in Amiatinus scholarship. His *Institutiones* are, among other things, a syllabus for the study of biblical scholarship which, in Augustinian wise, embrace the study of classical literature and its expression as a preparation to 'divine' study. It is a text, that, to judge by manuscript survivals, remained popular even when its importance as a transmitter of a classically informed, biblical programme of study had been eclipsed.

It is in two passages that Cassiodorus furnishes mystical readings of the 'historical' activity of writing. The first, occuring at I.XXX.I, concerns the fingers as they manipulate the calamus on the page: "Man multiplies the heavenly words, and in a certain metaphorical sense, if one may so express himself, that which the virtue of the Holy Trinity utters is written by a trinity of fingers."[52] The scribe who copies biblica is not merely a scrivener copying a text; he is, in

a sense, a figure for the Trinity, the original creator and promulgator of scripture. And it is the three fingers united in the one action of writing, which lead the mind to God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The second passage is found at the conclusion of the same paragraph. It emphasizes, in forcible fashion, the unity of the Trinity: "They [the scribes] deserve praise too for seeming in some way to imitate the action of the Lord, who, though it was expressed figuratively, wrote His law with the use of His all-powerful finger."[53] God, therefore, provides a model for the scribe who wishes to see the wider significance of the activity in his work; writing biblical texts with his pen, he 'imitates the action of the Lord,' who writes the law with His finger. It is also that the scribe is a figure for the Lord, and his pen a figure for the finger of the Lord graving the decalogue. When one peers in through the scriptorium door at the scribe, contemplation will lead one from the scribe to the Lord of Exodus 31,18. It is important to be reminded that this text of Cassiodorus' was available throughout the Middle Ages.

Cassiodorus' 'Handbuch' is a work meant to provide an education adapted from the old classical formation, and is overtly intended for a monastic audience. Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, on the other hand, is a work aimed at a broader section of the populace, and if not to the literate laity fluent in Latin, at least assuredly to those who spoke to the laity.[54]

The *Legenda aurea* was written before its mendicant author became the Dominican provincial for Lombardy in 1267. He was later elevated, reluctantly, to the office of archbishop of Genoa, the region of his birth, and he ended his career at the summit, or rather began it, with a popular cultus.

The popularity of Jacobus' collection of brief hagiographical vitae ranged according to the sanctorale, is such as to astonish even his modern critics.[55] Matter of chief interest to this study is found in the lives of the evangelists, particularly SS Matthew and Luke.

Of St Matthew, we read that: "Matthew is a double name . . . or [vel] from manus, hand, and theos, God, as it were the hand of God . . . and the hand of God through the writing of the Gospel of God."[56] This is a rather clear statement of the instrumental nature of the evangelist; if Matthew is not God's pen, he is certainly the hand of the creator of sacred scripture, the hand which writes the letters

of the text on the page. Matthew is a cog in the machine of textual transmission, he moves the text from God the author to the audience of Christians. The etymology of Matthew's name provides a figure of God writing His Gospel. Is this what is to be seen when one looks at a later thirteenth century depiction of St Matthew as a scribe? Would a copyist contemporary with Jacobus de Voragine, stopping to reflect in the middle of copying the *Evangelium secundum Mattheum*, see himself as a figure of God writing His sacred text, and so be drawn up to contemplate the creator of The Book, and the universe? It is an image worth entertaining. It is certainly not far in effect from Cassiodorus' mystical readings, if a little less subtle.

Touching on the *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, we read: ". . . his [i.e. Luke's] gospel is authenticated by the authority of many; of course it was authenticated by the authority of many, seeing that it was appointed beforehand by the Father. . . , it is inspired by the Holy Ghost, whence Jerome says in his prologue on Luke: 'At the instigation of the Holy Spirit he wrote this Gospel in the district of Achaia.' "[57] One is left in no doubt as to the identity of the predestinator of the gospel. Taken alone, this statement seems to leave more for Luke to contribute as author to his gospel, than Matthew to his, yet read in the context of the collection, that is together, the two passages complement each other. The emphasis on the sufficiency of God's authority in the passage from the vita of Luke is then a statement of Luke's instrumentality in the realization of the *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, corresponding to Matthew's role in the writing of the first gospel.

One of the sources used by Jacobus de Voragine in the *Legenda aurea* is the *Glossa ordinaria*, a work of the preceding century, whose history of composition is very complex and incompletely explored.[58] The *Glossa ordinaria* became the standard gloss on the Bible, as its somewhat subsequently acquired name, and abundant manuscript witnesses testify. As a work of Latin biblical exegesis it was directed to a more learned audience than the hagiographica of James the Dominican.

The passage of greatest significance in the *Glossa ordinaria* for the understanding of the meaning of images of the apostles as scribes, is the commentary on Matthew 13,52. The biblical text is: "He said to them: This is why every scribe learned in the kingdom of Heaven

is like to a mortal paterfamilias, who brings forth from his treasury goods new and old."[59] One of the glosses on *scriba* states that: "The apostles are the scribes and notaries of Christ, impressing his words on the tablets of the heart, and they are potent in the treasures of the paterfamilias [i.e. Christ], putting out new and old goods from the treasury of His teachings, since whatever is proclaimed in the gospel they prove with the words of the law and the prophets."[60] Again, the idea of the apostles, of whom the evangelists are four, as intermediaries ('scribes and notaries') in the transmission of Christ's text ('His words') to us ('impressing His words on the tablets of the heart') is clearly presented. Some elements in the interpretation in this gloss can be found stated as late as the end of the fifteenth century. In the words of Johannes Trithemius (1497): "Scribes, therefore, are the heralds of the divine will which they have handed down to us through the visible written word."[61]

It is interesting to see a choice of language by the author of the gloss which evokes the circumstances of the transmission of the decalogue, recalled through the use of the metaphor of 'the tablets of the heart' as the text carrier of the New Law. Intriguing also to note that the *Glossa ordinaria* does not elaborate on, or even reproduce Cassiodorus' mystical reading of Exodus 31,18.[62]

The gloss on the first word of psalm 44,2, 'He belched' ('eructavit'), is relevant to a discussion of figurae of writing, and, what is more, has a touch of humour about it. It is, in verity, a rather breathless parody of a gloss: " 'Inwardly the replete prophet belches forth praise,' which is taken by certain people who, not considering the text, judge, rather more superstitiously than truly, that these things be understood thus of the Father: 'He belched'; that is, from my fullness and the secret essence I begat the Word, through whom, known, 'I speak'; that is, I order all things through Him [the Word] when 'I speak'; and this is 'my tongue,' and He is the 'pen of my scribe,' for as a scribe is nothing without his pen, and a pen without a scribe is likewise nothing, so the Father and Son cooperate."[63]

This passage is clearly meant to be a set piece of misinterpretation, worthy of ridicule. One wonders if it is an invention of the glossator, or if, as the words of the glossator imply, there were contemporaries who held these views. One suspects the glossator of hyperbole. What is more, the theology contained there is curious: in which orthodox

statement of faith is the relation of the Father and Son characterized as 'cooperative'? As for the Holy Spirit, it is not directly mentioned in the figure of the relationship of the scribe to his pen. In this case one would have no choice but to bring the Spiritus Sanctus into the mind's contemplation through a burlesque of an Augustinian position: as the mutual love of the first and second persons of the Trinity explains the third person, so this is figured by the mutual love of the scribe and his pen . . .

What, finally, is the meaning of Western medieval depictions of holy figures as scribes?

According to Cassiodorus, the scribe can be seen as a figure of the Lord in two ways. When man 'multiplies the text, uttered by the Trinity,' the three fingers which guide the pen metaphorically signify the Trinity, and the undifferentiated activity of the scribe reproducing the scriptures imitates, after a fashion, the Lord writing the Old Law with His 'all-powerful finger.' These two mystical readings are, of course, complementary. Someone in the sixth century or later who, upon seeing a scribe at work, recalled Cassiodorus' text, would find his contemplation ascend from the earthly image of the writer before him to the higher plane of the writer who authored the liber vitae. Cassiodorus does not speak of the scribe as necessarily physically present, rather it is the idea of the scribe that he considers. The form of the scribe is as immediate in a painted or fashioned image of a scribe as in the true presence of the animate scribe; one as well as the other will lead to the contemplation of God. Cassiodorus' two mystical readings have a great deal to tell us about how a learned audience could read a scribal depiction, from the sixth through the fifteenth century. I would go further and venture the opinion that the Western medieval corpus of scribal 'portraits' are to be read first and foremost in this way, as devotional images.

Jacobus de Voragine informs his auditors, or readers, that the evangelist Matthew signifies the 'hand of God' (manus=hand+theos=God), and that Matthew is to be understood in this sense as the 'hand of God' writing the 'gospel of God' (*Evangelium secundum Mattheum*). The identification of the scribe with God is more direct, less qualified, than in Cassiodorus' text. Regarding Luke, we learn that his gospel is authoritative, for it is authorized by the Father, Luke being inspired by the Holy Ghost.

From the *Glossa ordinaria* exegesis on Matthew 13,52, we learn that the apostles are the 'scribes and notaries of Christ,' who 'impress His (Christ's) words on the tablets of the heart.' And this is echoed in a text from the very end of our period, in which the 'humanist' German Benedictine Trithemius states that 'scribes are the heralds of the divine will which they hand down to us through the written word.'

The texts presented here, from Cassiodorus to Trithemius, are concordant in stating that the Christian holy man is not the final originator of his text. He is, rather, instrumental in insuring the transmission of the text of scripture from its divine author to its divinely-ordained receiver, humankind.[64] The holyman, prophet or evangelist, transfers the inspired text to a technology we can use, the written word. It is, I believe, a principal function of medieval scribal images to show in visual form what these texts describe. An apocalyptical evangelist symbol or the Holy Spirit inspires the text into the mind of the evangelist or prophet, who is shown writing out the text to give to us. The text is, indeed frequently shown being written into a bound codex to indicate that the entire work of sacred scripture has another, ultimate author, different from the intermediary depicted writing the text on the medieval artefacts.

To the meaning of the medieval image of the scribe as a devotional representation, may be added a second meaning of importance. The medieval image of the scribe shows the transmission of the divinely authored text from God, via the evangelists, to us. The presence of the Western Christian formulaic scribal image, which is a schematic representation of the transmission of a text, may, when placed before that text, in fact function as a guarantee of its authenticity, that it has come down through the 'right channels,' as it were.

The minimalist nature of the formulaic depiction of the scribe, as encountered in the vast majority of Western medieval scribal representations, requires further comment. Its use can surely be accounted for. It is a good example of not multiplying entities beyond necessity. Only the bare minimum of instrumenta scribendi are shown, because that is all that is required to indicate that the figure is a scribe. The illuminators did not intend to provide us with highly detailed illustrations for artes scribendi. As Gregory I remarks, in the preface to his *Moralia in Iob*: "It is pointless in the extreme, to

ask who wrote these things, when the Holy Spirit is believed through faith to be the author of the book . . . When therefore we recognise the work, and we hold the Holy Spirit to be the author of the work, when we seek the writer, what do we do than when reading the characters, we inquire by what pen it was written?."[65]

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NOTES

1 Or woman, though the characteristics of the images of female scribes adopt the idiom of the male depictions, i.e. the illustration of the relationship to authority and transmission, the posture and activity of the writer, the instruments, etc. One can, for example, compare one from among the most famous images of a female scribe, that of Hildegard von Bingen on f. 9r of Lucca, Biblioteca Governatina, MS 1942, saec. XIII$^{in.}$ with that of, for example, Peter the Deacon on f. 2v of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9916, saec. XII, and speculate on general influences. Dr. Lesley Smith of Linacre College, Oxford, is preparing a major study on depictions of female scribes, which will appear in a collection of papers edited by David Ganz and Randall Rosenfeld (forthcoming).

The scope of materials on which the image of the scribe is found range from mosaic (evangelists in the chancel of San Vitale, Ravenna, sixth century), sculpture (evangelists on the tympanum of the Puerta del Sarmental of Burgos cathedral, c. 1240–1250), gold metalwork and cloisonné enamel (evangelists on the central plaque of the Pala d'Oro, in the Tesoro di San Marco, Venice, early twelth century), to the rather more humble slip-covered terracotta (evangelist on ampulla from North Temenos House at Aphrodisias in Caria, Trench B, inv. nos. 67–70, sixth century?). As to the number of such objects produced in the 'Middle Ages,' or even surviving from the sixth to the fifteenth century, none have been tempted to guess their number. A catalogue would fill volumes.

2 It would be as difficult to gauge destruction as to estimate original production.

We still await a comprehensive treatment of all aspects of the subject. A good, general survey of eastern materials can be found in Herbert Hunger and Klaus Wessel, 'Evangelisten' in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. Klaus Wessel, vol. II, Stuttgart, 1971, cols. 452–507. For Western items see V.I. Mazuga, 'Observations sur les techniques utilisées par les scribes

latins du haut moyen âge' in *Scriptorium* XLIV (1990), 1, 126–130, and his larger studies in Russian cited therein. For a review of the critical literature, including later work by Hunger, see Randall A. Rosenfeld, 'Mediaeval Depictions of Scribes from Manuscript Sources: Their Codicological Significance' (M.S.L. thesis, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies), Toronto, 1991. I would like to thank Dr. Mazuga for making his articles available to me.

3 For example, see the depiction of John on f. 170v of the Gospel Book of MacDurnan, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1370, saec. IX^2, Armagh?; see J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century* (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles vol. I), London, 1978, no. 70, pp. 86–87; and the portrait of Jerome on f. 1r of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS nouv. acq. 1404, c. 1280–1281, Acre, Biblia; see Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*, Princeton, 1976, cat. no. 5, pl. 37, pp. 60–75.

4 This last point has been chronicled many times, particularly with regard to literary culture and the 'fine arts.' Classic statements are R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries*, Cambridge, 1954, supplemented by *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500–1500*, ed. R.R. Bolgar, Cambridge, 1971; and Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, trs. John J. Contreni, Columbia, 1978. It must be said, however, that the miltary, economic and 'political' relations between Rome and the barbarians cannot be characterized in quite this fashion; see Walter Goffart, *Rome's Fall and After*, London, 1989, 'Rome, Constantinople, and the Barbarians,' pp. 1–32 (= *American Historical Review* 86 (1981), 275–306), where at page 12 the author nevertheless remarks: "Such a view [slow infiltration of alien peasants and soldiers, according to Mommsen and Dopsch] presupposes the existence of a uniform Germanic or at least a barbarian identity. The certainty of its absence implies that the infiltrators were more likely to acquire coatings of Greco-Roman culture than to impress their variegated ethnicities upon their adopted home."

5 As, for example, the evangelist images in the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 14000, A.D. 870, fols. 16r, 46r, 65r, 97r; see Florentine Mütherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, pp. 27, 102, pl. 35 (f. 16r). Unfortunately, neither *Der codex aureus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, ed. G. Leidinger, 6 vols., Munich, 1921–1931, nor the works of Wilhelm Reinhold Walter Koehler on Carolingian miniatures were available to me for the writing of this paper.

6 Perhaps a crude ancestor of the devices discussed in Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the 'Manipulus florum' of Thomas of Ireland*, Toronto, 1979, pp. 27–36. This raison-d'être of evangelist portraits is alluded to by Otto Pächt, who arrives at it from the standpoint of liturgical use; Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction*, with a preface by J.J.G. Alexander, London-Oxford, 1986,

pp. 35–36. A multiplicity of finding aids are illustrated in *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, eds. Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin, Paris, 1990.

7 A direct, though not invariable, relation between social station, resources, and the level and quality of decoration in a book seems to be an inescapable theme running through Christopher De Hamel's *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1986. For a discussion of books as wealth in the Carolingian cultural world see Rosamund McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 148–157.

8 There are many examples. One imagines the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram (see note 5 supra) in this role. The exhibition catalogue *The Medieval Treasury. The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, ed. Paul Williamson, London, 1986, presents a St Mark on a leaf from a saec. XII Byzantine Gospel book in this context (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 8980 E (MS 1420), pp. 158–159, colour plate 14), as well as the four evangelists as scribes on several German ivory plaques, saec. XI^2, which, if from a book cover, would show this iconography used externally as part of the design for display of a book (220–220c–1865, pp. 100–101). See also Manfred Groten, 'Schatzverzeichnisse des Mittelalters' in *Ornamenta ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik in Köln*, ed. Anton Legner, vol. II, Köln, 1985, pp. 149–155.

9 This has led to interesting results in published studies. It is greatly to Hunger's credit that he carefully describes the instruments of writing which we cannot identify in the Eastern Christian depictions; Hunger, 'Evangelisten,' 1971, col. 478, and Herbert Hunger, *Screiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur* (Beck's Arhäologische Bibliothek, ed. Hans von Steuben and Martin Restle (Byzantium)), Munich, 1989, p. 87. Other scholars, when faced with instrumenta scribendi unknown to them, have not always offered an exemplary or laudable presentation of the information; see, for example, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts; an Iconographical Catalogue c. A.D. 625 to 1100*, ed. Thomas H. Ohlgren, New York, 1986, p. 5.

10 See note 2 supra and the survey of works in Rosenfeld, 'Mediaeval Depictions,' 1991, A.I. and II. et seqq.

11 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS vat. lat. 3867, ff. 3v (before Eclogue II), 9r (before Eclogue IV), 14r (before Eclogue VI), saec.$V^{med.}$, Syria? On this manuscript see *Vergilius Romanus codex vaticanis latinus 3867* (Codices e vaticanis selecti. . . , vol. LXVI), commentary by Carlo Bertelli et al., Zurich, 1986.

12 Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Martin Classical Lectures, vol. XVI), Harvard, 1959, p. 121. Weitzmann's interpretation is questioned at points by Carlo Bertelli, 'Die Illustrationen des Vergilius Romanus im historischen und künstlerischen Kontext' in *Vergilius Romanus*, 1986, p. 141, note 2, and by Rosenfeld, 'Mediaeval Depictions,' 1991, A.II.a).

13 A.M. Friend, jr., 'The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscri-

pts' in *Art Studies* 5 (1927), 141; Weitzmann, *Ancient Book*, 1959, p. 155; Hugo Buchthal, 'A Byzantine Miniature of the Fourth Evangelist and Its Relatives' in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 15 (1961), 132; Hunger, 'Evangelisten,' 1971, col. 457; Robert S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (Monographs in Archaeology and the Fine Arts XXXVI), New York, 1980, p. 12, note 29. Nelson's book is a first class study.

14 For all questions associated with medieval scribal images, modern authorities are in agreement that depictions of the evangelists as scribes have priority in time and number to any other medieval depictions of writers. All others, be they of Church Fathers, Dominicans, or vernacular authors, are based on the evangelist depictions. See Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen*, 1989, p. 86, and Mazuga, 'Observations,' 1990, 126.

15 See for instance, the examples in Friend, 'Portraits,' 1927, pl. XVI, ills. 154, 155, 157–160, 162, 163.

16 Discussion and classification of these materials since Friend has considered, for the most part, only clothes, background, general posture, and aspect, with the first three charateristics being given priority. See, for example, Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making. Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd–7th Century*, Cambridge, 1980, pp. 35–36, or Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York, 1977, pp. 96, 100, 126.

17 It should be noted that there are Roman iconographic traditions of writing which did not make it down to the Middle Ages. The frescoes of Pompeii provide some examples, apparently seven and mostly showing female 'writers,' but only two are well known and widely reproduced: Naples, Museo Nationale, acc. no. 9058, c. A.D. 60–79, and acc. no. 9084, c. A.D. 40–50 (William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 263, and note 459), but there are some much less well known traditions of the iconography of writing, which are found on funerary monuments; see Dela von Boeselager, 'Funde und Darstellungen römischer Schreibzeugfutterale zur Deutung einer Beigabe in kölner Gräben' in *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989), 221–239. Harris could, unfortunately, not make use of von Boeselager's report in his fine study of ancient literacy.

It is an open question to what extent the Greek material such as is collected in F.A.G. Beck, *Album of Greek Education. The Greeks at School and at Play*, Sydney, 1975, pls. 8, 10, 13, and 71, could have directly influenced Byzantine depictions.

18 The disciples of the works of the votaries of Polyhymnia and Calliope, and indeed the muses themselves do appear to be shown writing, yet the scholars who have published this material acknowledge its relative rarity and difficulty of interpretation. Theodor Birt in his *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst. . .*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 207, 'laments the meagreness of the tradition' ("Hier muss ich . . . die Karglichkeit der Überlieferung beklagen"), and, two pages later, the 'poor list of artefacts' ("Dies lehrten uns unsere durftigen Zusammenstellungen") he

has managed to assemble. In a like vein Henri-Irénée Marrou comments in his *MOYCIKOC ANHEP. Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains*, Rome, 1964[2], p. 148, that 'scenes of writing are not numerous, and they are for the most part difficult to interpret, or are without significance for the object of our study' ("Elles sont peu nombreuses et pour la plupart difficiles à interpréter ou sans rapport avec l'object de notre étude . . ."). Indeed, half of the examples from Marrou's list with an identifiable context show figures writing within a record-keeping (administrative or business) context (nos. 187, 189, and 191). And some of the figures Birt and Marrou took to be scenes of writing have since been reinterpreted; Marrou no. 193 has been read by Beck, *Album*, pl. 71, fig. 359, as a scene of reading and not of writing, and Birt's fig. 137 could just as well be a picture of a muse untying a roll, or reading, as of writing. Birt, p. 198, advances a possible cultural reason for the iconographic rarity of Antique images of writers who are not record keepers, 'that for the Greeks and Romans the copying of written documents had sunk to the level of manual work fit for servants' (". . . das Schreiben auf der Charta . . . war . . . bei den Griechen und Römern vielmehr zur Sache der Dienerschaft und des Handwerks herabgesunken."). This would require a thorough study to prove or disprove.

Many of these problems are illustrated in the Pompeian material mentioned in note 17 supra, where, for example, there is ongoing difficulty in identifying the subjects portrayed in Naples, Museo Nationale, acc. nos. 9058 and 9084, and even in determining the 'social' level of those depicted; see George M.A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art: A Modern Survey of the Art of Imperial Rome*, New York, 1975, no. XLIII (Naples 9058) and XLI (Naples 9084) for a succinct report; Harris, *Literacy*, p. 263 note 459. Discussion is hampered by the lack of comparanda with inscriptions, and the dearth of this material from archaeological contexts with more definite implications of social status.

19 Antonio Giuliano, *Arco di Costantino*, Milan, 1956; *Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann, New York, 1979, no. 58, pp. 67–69; Richard Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312–1308*, Princeton, 1980, pp. 28–29 (for the imperial and civic contexts of the monument). The instrumenta shown are a stylus or calamus (reed or bronze), and tabulae.

20 Berlin, Staatbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS theol. lat. f. 323, c. A.D. 400, Rome. See *Age of Spirituality*, 1979, no. 53, pp. 55–56.

21 As in the example discussed immediately above, or the law court scribe shown in Rossano, Museo dell'Arcivescovado, s.n., f. 8v, saec. VI$^{ex.}$–VII$^{in.}$, Syria? On this MS see *Codex purpureus Rossanensis. Museo dell'Arcivescovado, Rossano Calabria* (Codices selecti. . . , vol. LXXXI), eds. Guglielmo Cavallo, Jean Gribomont, and William C. Loerke, Rome, 1987, and the important review of Anthony Cutler 'The End of Antiquity in Two Illuminated Manuscripts' in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2 (1989), 401–409.

22 For the symbol in Christianity see Henri Leclercq, 'Pasteur (bon)' in *Dictio-*

nnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, eds. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, vol. 13, pt. 2, Paris, 1938, cols. 2272–2390; Klaus Wessel, 'Christussymbole' in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. Klaus Wessel, vol. I, Stuttgart, 1966, col. 1051. For some examples which are believed most likely to be non-Christian, see *Age of Spirituality*, 1979, nos. 462–464, 466.

23 This may be in step with the complicated changes, ironically, mostly simplifications of culture, which Peter Brown observes in the sixth century, and which he chronicles in, among other works, *The World of Late Antiquity A.D. 150–750*, London, 1989^2, pp. 174–175.

24 Brown, *World*, p. 32; Frank Daniel Gilliard, 'The Social Origins of Bishops in the Fourth Century' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley), University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1966. Gilliard notes (pp. 135–137), commenting on his massed prosographical data: ". . . that the bishops of the fourth century were well-educated men from families of some distinction. . . ." It should be noted that Gregory's career course was actually from prefect of Rome to monk, and from monk as apocrisiarius in Constantinople back to Rome and an abbacy on his own land, and thence to the chair of St Peter. For Gregory the Great see the venerable, outdated but not superseded work by F. Homes Dudden, *Gregory the Great. His Place in History and Thought*, vol. I, London, 1905, pp. 3–15 (family), 99–106 (pre-monastic career), 215ff. (episcopal elevation and career); for Ambrose see Angelo Paredi, *S. Ambrogio e la sua età*, Milan, 1960^2, pp. 1–16 (family and youth), 95–126 (pre-episcopal career), 157–182 (episcopal career); and for Sidonius see C.E. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 1–18 (education), 88–107 (pre-episcopal career), 108–129 (episcopal career).

25 That is, the earliest extant certain depictions of the evangelists as scribes. The earliest possible depictions are Ancona, sarcophagus, fourth century A.D.?, and Vatican City, Museo S. Callisto, sarcophagus, fourth century A.D.?; see Giuseppe Wilpert, *I sarcophagi christiani antichi* (Monumenti dell' antichità christiana), vol. I, plates, Rome, 1929, pl. XIV, fig. 1, and vol. II, plates, Rome, 1932, pl. CCLVIII, figs. 3–4.

26 Paris, Louvre, A.O. Section islamique, Inv. 41, terracotta pilgrim's flask, sixth century A.D., Asia Minor?; see Catherine Metzger, *Les ampoules à eulogie du Musée du Louvre* (Notes et documents des Musées de France 3), Paris, 1981, figs. 97a and b.

27 Ravenna, San Vitale, south wall of chancel, Matthew panel, mosaic, c. A.D. 540–547; see Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Wiesbaden, 1958^2, pls. 312, 332 (close-up). For the other evangelists as scribes see pls. 312 (St Mark), 313 (St John), 334 (close-up of St Mark), and 335 (close-up of St John). On Ravenna as capital city of the West see ibid., *Ravenna Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*. vol. I. *Geschichte und Monumente*, Wiesbaden, 1969, pp. 1–9. On San Vitale, see ibid., *Ravenna Hauptsadt*, 1969, pp. 226–256, and ibid., vol. II. *Kommentar, 2. Teil*, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 47–230.

28 One dramatic piece of redating has removed an important image from the formative period here under discussion. The Rossano codex St Mark, Rossano, Museo dell'Arcivescovado, s.n., f. 121r, is a tip-in redated to saec. XI–XII from saec. VI$^{ex.}$–VII$^{in.}$, on codicological and stylistic grounds; see Otto Kresten and Giancarlo Prato, 'Die Miniatur des Evangelisten Markus in Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: eine spätere Einfügung' in *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 27 (1985), 381–399.

29 The terracotta ampullae cited in notes 1 and 26 supra.

30 Sheila D. Campbell, 'Armchair Pilgrims: Ampullae from Aphrodisias in Caria' in *Mediaeval Studies* L (1988), 539–545; *Saints and Their Cults. Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 9–11; a general, popular presentation is found in Marie Madeleine Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith. Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela*, trs. J.A. Underwood, Secaucus, 1986, pp. 17–18.

31 Recently, and unsuccessfully identified as a penna in Michael Finlay, *Western Writing Implements in the Age of the Quill Pen*, Wetheral, Carlisle, 1990, p. 88, monochrome pl. I.

32 Lichfield, Cathedral Treasury, s.n., p. 142, saec. VIII^{1}, Wales?, St Chad Gospels. See Carl Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting. Book Illumination in the British Isles 600–800*, New York, 1977, pp. 29, 79, pl. 24; Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, 1978, no. 21, pp. 48–50. This MS, like many which were produced in divers parts of the British Isles throughout the early Middle Ages, has been the object of the Northumbrian fantasy, a methodological weakness latterly prevalent in some parts (to their credit, both Nordenfalk and Alexander are innocent of this charge). The facts concerning the St Chad Gospels are set straight in Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels. Part I' in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 5 (1983), 41–48 (the section on 'The Date and Origin of the Lichfield Gospels').

33 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, f. Vr, c. 689–pre 716, Northumbria. See Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 7, pp. 32–35.

34 Nordenfalk, *Celtic*, p. 79, advances the second suggestion, and in support of his interpretation one can cite the depiction of St John on f. 170v of MacDurnan's Gospel (see note 3 supra), where the evangelist appears to be dipping a pen into a very similar object.

35 The essentials regarding this MS are well summarized and presented by Alexander; see note 33 supra.

36 The chief statement against the Amiatinus being a direct copy of one of the Cassiodorean bibles is put by Karen Corsano, 'The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus' in *Scriptorium* XLI (1987), I, 3–34. Corsano's argument is tightly constructed and detailed, as it would have to be. The traditional view has been restated by Fabio Troncarelli, 'I codici di Cassiodoro: le testimonianze più antiche' in *Scrittura e civiltà* 12 (1988), 52, and note 7, who cites Guglielmo Cavallo, "'Dallo 'scriptorium' senza

biblioteca alla biblioteca senza 'scriptorium' " in *Dall' eremo al cenobio. La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, Milan, 1987, pp. 336–337. One could wish the answer to Corsano had been constructed with as much care as went into her argument, for Troncarelli's view is most probably the correct one.

37 Sometimes given the unlikely interpretation of a vas and its umbra; see the final reference in note 9 supra.

38 See the first two references in note 9 supra, and Rosenfeld, 'Mediaeval Depictions,' 1991, A.III.c).

39 Cf. the general approach of Mazuga in the works cited in note 2 supra.

40 I) Mount Athos, Stauronikita Monastery, MS 53, f. 253v, saec. XIII?; see Hugo Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century* (Byzantina Vindobonensia . . . vol. XII), Vienna, 1979, pl. XLI, fig. 60; II) Princeton, Princeton University Libarary, MS Garrett 2, f. 44r, saec. XIII^{1}, Latin Patriarchate?; see Buchthal, *"Musterbuch"*, pl. XXVIII, fig. 41; *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. Gary Vikan, Princeton, 1973, no. 50, pp. 176–179; III) Smyrna, Church of St John (olim), s.n., f. 7v, saec. XIII?; see Buhthal, *"Musterbuch"*, pl. XLIV, fig. 63.

41 Early examples are: I) Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf, MS A 14, f. 119v, saec. IX$^{in.}$; see David Ganz, 'The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule' in *Viator* 18 (1987), 44, fig. 1; II) Munich, Bayerische Staatabibliothek, MS clm. 14000, cover, c. A.D. 870, Rheims or St Denis?; see Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art. The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, Chicago, 1972^{2}, pl. 10, fig. 20, and note 5 supra; III) and possibly the picture of John in MacDurnan's Gospel, for which see note 3 supra.

42 Épernay, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1, f. 18v, c. A.D. 816–835, Rheims; see Mütherich and Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, 1976, pp. 25, 58, pl. 14.

43 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 257, ff. 147v–148r, saec. IX^{2}, St Amand; see Mütherich and Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, 1976, pp. 26–27, 93, pls. 30–31.

44 In the Massys in Rome, Palazzo Barberini (olim Galleria Corsini), however, note the presence of scissors (not a regular feature of western medieval depictions), and in both this oil and Dürer's 1526 engraving (Bartsch no. 107), Erasmus is using a calamus. For the Massys see Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*. vol. II. *Quentin Massys*, comments and notes by H. Pauwells, trs. Heinz Norden, Leyden-Brussles, 1971, no. 36, p. 64, pl. 40. For the Dürer see *The Complete Engravings, Etchings and Drypoints of Albrecht Dürer*, ed. Walter L. Strauss, New York, 1973, p. 220, pl. 105.

45 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalsbibliothek, MS 1856, f. 32v, c. 1466–1476; see John Harthan, *The Book of Hours*, New York, 1982, pp. 106, 108–109.

46 Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character* (The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures 1947–1948), New York, pp. 141; 140–

144.

47 Horae (Use of Paris), c. 1430, Ghent?, f. 22v ; see *Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, Tuesday, 20th June 1989, no. 68, pp. 118–122.

48 *Augustini De civitate dei*, c. 1430–1450, Milan, f. 1r; see *Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, Tuesday, 18 June, 1991, no. 107, pp. 149–151. This scribal portrait has points of comparison with some other Italian depictions from the end of the Middle Ages. Some of the idiosyncracies in the Augustine portrayal commented on below are to be found in the scribes shown in a manuscript of the *Extravagantes Bonifatii VIII*, British Library, MS add. 23923, f. 2r, saec. XIV^{2}, Northern Italy?; see Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, Toronto, 1990, no. 47, pp. 122–23, pl. 47. All of these contrast in their turn with a depiction such as the portrait of Francesco Petrarch found in an Italian translation of his *De viris illustribus*, Darmstadt, Hessischen Landes-und Hofschulbibliothek, MS 101, f. IVr, saec. XIV$^{ex.}$, Padua, with its thorough-going naturalism, and different approach to symbolism, some of which may be due at this stage to the differences in the figures portrayed; for a reproduction of the drawing of Petrarch see De Hamel, *History*, 1986, p. 216, pl. 221.

49 Examples are Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Art, Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus?, 'St Jerome in His Study,' A.D. 1441–1442?, Bruges; and Washington, National Gallery of Art, acc. no. B–22,920, saec. XII$^{ex.}$, Tuscany. For the panel painting see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*. vol. I. *The van Eycks—Petrus Christus*, preface by Erwin Panofsky, comments and notes by Nicole Veronee-Verhagen, trs. Heinz Norden, Leyden-Brussels, 1967, p. 104, pl. 103. For the Tuscan illumination see *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art*, compiled by Carra Ferguson, David S. Stevens Schaff, and Gary Vikan, under the direction of Carl Nordenfalk, ed. Gary Vikan, Washington, 1975, no. 2, pp. 6–11, figs. 2a and 2c; and, in some respects, the portrait of Petrarch mentioned in note 48 supra.

50 Nicolas of Lyra (c. 1270–1349) in his gloss ad litteram, for instance, as in his commentary on Mt 13,52; see *Bibliorum sacrorum tomus quintus, cum glossa ordinaria, et Nicolai Lyrani expositionibus, literali et morali. . .*, Lyons (Antonius Vincentius), 1545, f. 46v.

51 *Cassiodori Senatoris institutiones*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1937; *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings by Cassiodorus Senator*, tr. L.W. Jones, New York, 1976. Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, c. 485– c. 580.

52 "verba caelestia multiplicat homo, et quadam significatione contropabili, si fas est dicere, tribus digitis scribitur quod virtus sanctae Trinitatis effatur." Mynors, *Institutiones*, p. 75; Jones, *Introduction*, p. 133. The Jones translation is cited above.

53 "accidit etiam laudibus eorum, quod factum Domini aliquo modo videntur emitari, qui legem suam, licet figuraliter sit dictum, omnipotentis digiti operatione conscripsit." Mynors, *Institutiones*, p. 76; Jones, *Introduction*, p. 133.

54 See Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradox-*

ical History, Madison, 1985.

55 Reames, *Legenda*, pp. 197ff.

56 "Matheus binomius [late form of classical 'binominis'] . . . vel a manus [sic.] et theos [sic.] quasi manus dei . . . manus dei per evangelij conscriptionem." Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, Lyons, 1493, f. CLXVIIv.

57 ". . . eius evangelium autenticatur multorum autoritate. Multorum quippe autoritate autenticatum fuit. Quoniam e patre fuit preordinatum . . . a spiritu sancto inspiratum. Unde dicit hieronymus in prologo super lucam: Sancto instigante spiritu in achaie partibus hoc scripsit evangelium." Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda*, f. CLXXXVIIIr. The passage of Jerome is probably pseudo-Hieronymus, *Expositio quattuor euangeliorum* (recensio I), in *Patrologia latina*. vol. XXX. *S. Eusebii Hieronymi . . . opera omnia. . . .*, Paris, 1846, col. 567 ('In evangelium secundum Lucam').

58 Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1984^3, pp. 52–66; J. Gribomont and L. Hödl, 'Bibel glossen' (B.I.1.b), cols. 41–42, and H. Riedlinger, 'Das 12.Jh.' (B.I.2.c), cols. 50–52 in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, eds. Robert-Henri Bautier et al., vol. II, Munich and Zurich, 1983.

59 Mt 13,52: "ait illis
ideo omnis scriba doctus in regno caelorum
similis est homini patri familias
qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera."
Biblia sacra iuxta vulgata versionem, eds. Robert Weber, Boniface Fischer et al., Stuttgart, 1983^3, p. 1547.

60 "Apostoli sunt scribae et notarij Christi verba eius signantes in tabulis cordis et pollent opibus patrisfamilias, eijcientes de thesauro doctrinarum suarum nova et vetera, quia quidquid in evangelio praedicatur legis et prophetarum vocibus comprobant." *Bibliorum sacrorum tomus quintus, cum glossa ordinaria, et Nicolai Lyrani expositionibus, literali et morali. . .*, Lyons, 1545, f. 46v.

61 "Nuncii ergo voluntatis dei scriptores sunt, qui hanc nobis per litteras tradiderunt." Johannes Trithemius, *Johannes Trithemius In Praise of Scribes De laude scriptorum*, ed. Klaus Arnold, tr. Roland Behrendt, Lawrence, 1974, pp. 58–59. Behrendt's translation is cited above.

62 The image of Ex 31,18 is used by the glossators quite differently. The gloss on II Cor 3,3 contrasts eternal things engraved on the tablets of the heart to temporal things written with pen and ink, or the Old Law written on stone to the New Law written on mens' hearts; *Bibliorum sacrorum cum glossa ordinaria . . . Tomus sextus. . . .*, Paris, 1590, cols. 374–375. This becomes more distant still, as the gloss to II Io 12 refers to the writing fluid and text carrier as 'the voice of death'; ibid., cols. 1425–1426. This last sentiment is, as far as I know, not reflected in medieval scribal portraits.

63 "Intus enim satur propheta laudem eructat, licet quidam magis superstitiose quam vere, non considerantes textum, ex persona patris haec arbitrantur intelligi, sic: Eructavit, ex plenitudine mea et secreta essentia genui verbum, per

quem notus dico id est dispono omnia, et per cum loquor, et hoc est lingua mea, et hic est calamus mei scribae, ut scriba nil sine calamo, et calamus sine scriba, sic cooperantur pater et filius." *Bibliorum sacrorum cum glossa ordinaria . . . Tomus tertius*, Paris, 1590, col. 741.

64 Garnier, in the portion of his important and encyclopedic study of medieval gesture which deals with scrolls ('phylactère'), states a similar conclusion, though the presentation is thoroughly unsystemmatic and undocumented; see François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge*. vol. II. *Grammaire des gestes*, Paris, 1989, pp. 238, 401 (explication of pl. 178), 402 (explication of pls. 179 and 181). Garnier does not examine the act of writing as a gesture in this work, but he would put the scholarly world further in his debt if undertook the project at some time.

65 "Sed quis haec scripserit, ualde superuacue quaeritur, cum tamen auctor libri Spiritus sanctus fideliter credatur . . . Cum ergo rem cognoscimus, eiusque rei Spiritum sanctum auctorem tememus quia scriptorem quaerimus, quid aliud agimus, nisi legentes litteras, de calamo percontamur?" *S. Gregorii magni moralia in Iob libri I–X* (Corpvs christianorvm, series latina CXLIII), ed. Marc Adriaen, Turnholt, 1979, praefatio I, 2, pp. 8–9.

FIGURE 1 **DETAIL OF VERGILIUS ROMANUS**: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS vat. lat. 3867, f.3v, saec.V$^{med.}$, after Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York, 1977, fig.III.
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Fig.3 detail, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS theol. lat. f. 323, c. A.D. 400, ivory

Figures 2-4, 8-10, and 13 were drawn by the author.

Fig. 4a, Paris, Louvre, A.O. Section islamique, Inv. 41, sixth century A.D. terracotta

Fig. 2 detail, Rome, Arch of Constantine, 315 A.D., marble

Fig. 4b, Paris, Louvre, A.O. Section islamique, Inv. 41, sixth century A.D., terracotta

FIGURE 5 **MATTHEW PANEL**: Ravenna, San Vitale, south wall of chancel, c.A.D. 540-547, mosaic, after Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Stuttgart, 1958[2], pl.332.

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FIGURE 6 **ST. CHAD GOSPELS**: Lichfield, Cathedral Treasury, s.n., p. 142, saec.VIII[1], Wales?, after Karl Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*, New York, 1977, pl. 24.
Reproduced by permission of George Braziller, Inc.

FIGURE 7 **CODEX AMIATINUS**: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Amatiano 1, f.Vr, c. 689-pre-716, after Kurt Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York, 1977, pl. 48. *Reproduced by permission of George Braziller, Inc.*

Fig. 8 detail, Mount Athos, Stauronikita Monastery, MS 53, f. 253 v, saec. XIII ?

Fig. 10 detail, Smyrna, Church of St. John (olim), s.n., f. 7v, saec. XIII ?

Fig. 9 detail, Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 2, f. 44r, saec. XIII^{1} ?

FIGURE 11 **EBO GOSPELS**: Epernay, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1, f.18v, c.A.D. 816-835, Rheims, after Florentine Mütherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, pl. 14.
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FIGURE 12A **DETAIL OF 'GOSPEL BOOK OF FRANCIS II'**: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 257, ff.147v.-148r, saec.IX^2, St Amand, after Florentine Mütherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, pls.30-31.
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FIGURE 12B **DETAIL OF 'GOSPEL BOOK OF FRANCIS II'**: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 257, ff.147v.-148r, saec.IX^2, St Amand, after Florentine Mütherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting*, New York, 1976, pls.30-31.
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Fig. 13 detail, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalsbibliothek, MS 1856, f. 32v, c. 1466–1476

FIGURE 14 **DETAIL OF HORAE**: f.22v, c.1430, Ghent?, after *Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, Tuesday, 20 June 1989, no.68, p.122. *Reproduced by permission of Soyheby's London.*

FIGURE 15 **DETAIL OF AUGUSTINI DE CIVITATE DEI**: f.9r, c.1430-1450, Milan, after *Sotheby's Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, Tuesday, 18 June 1991, no.107, p.149.
Reproduced by permission of Sotheby's London.

Timothy J. McGee

Music Notation and Its Influence on Music in the Middle Ages

As with so many subjects, our understanding of the details surrounding the development of early notation is unclear owing both to the paucity of surviving documents and to the absence of clear statements of purpose in the earliest extant sources of information. There is sufficient material to make it possible to roughly trace the various systems from the earliest stages, but what is not clear is the motivation for some of the innovations and alterations in the earliest forms, or indeed the very reason for the earliest notation. It is generally assumed that the purpose for writing something down is to transmit information from one person to others. In many cases this is true, but not in all, and may not be the principal motive behind some of the earliest forms of musical notation. Since it is comparatively straight-forward to trace the gradual evolution of Western notation from its earliest forms up to the one in common use, I shall present that first, leaving until later the more speculative attempt to understand the motivation behind the changes and to chart the effect that developments in notation had on the art of music.

Notation

In order to accurately communicate the simple basics of a musical phrase it is generally understood today that a notation must indicate both pitch and duration. Other, more sophisticated elements, such as voice inflection, ornaments, and additional subtleties can also be included or omitted, but without a clear indication of the relative pitch of each note and its duration the music cannot be reproduced by someone who does not already know it. It is perhaps surprising then, that most of the oldest examples we have of a system of notation omit at least one of these basic elements, and that once an accurate system was developed it was not immediately adopted.[1]

The earliest surviving documents with musical notation are from the ninth century, the earliest being a single example from some time

in the first third of that century.[2] There are ambiguous statements in earlier documents that may indicate that ome system may have been in use as early as the seventh century, but no firm evidence of this has yet come to light. There is some variation in the earliest extant examples, but they roughly agree in the kind and amount of information transmitted. As can be seen in Plate 1, taken from what is believed to be the earliest source (first third of the 9th century), the neumes are fairly simple; they consist mainly of dashes and strokes, with a few other small shapes. In contrast to later developments, this notation does not pretend to be a graphic representation of relative pitch—the neumes are all on the same plane, rather than displaying relative pitch by placement higher or lower on a graph. The neumes also do not indicate duration, at least not by their shapes, but it is currently thought that rhythm is indicated in another way. Although there is no complete agreement about rhythm in early chant, a theory that appears to have gained some support in recent years is based on the idea that proportional rhythm can be found in the grouping of the neumes, and that a relative value of a note is determined by its position within the grouping.[3]

The neumes in Plate 1, therefore, may represent an accurate reproduction of the rhythm of the chant but not of its melody. The strokes and dashes in this system indicate higher, lower, or the same pitch, but do not specify exactly how high or low a note must be from its neighbour and therefore cannot convey to a reader the exact melody. The exact interval is not marked—a skip up or down of a full octave or a single step is indicated the same way. Plate 2 shows neume shapes from several other manuscripts, demonstrating the kind of variation found in different geographical areas within Europe between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

Manuscripts from different areas vary somewhat in the complexity of neume forms, with some including signs for various vocal inflection.[4] But regardless of the amount of performance detail present in the forms, none of these notation systems indicated precise melodic intervals. It has been concluded therefore, that the earliest surviving notation in Western sources would have been useful only to assist someone who already knew the music and simply needed a reminder—an *aide mémoire*.[5] Statements that this was indeed the usual practice can be found in a least two theoretical treatises: that

of Hucbald from ca. 900: "You cannot even vaguely detect how this was prescribed by the composer unless you get it by ear from someone."[6] and that of Guido of Arezzo from ca. 1030, who developed a new system for teaching and notating chant:

> In our times, of all men, singers are the most foolish . . . though they sing every day for a hundred years, [they] will never sing one antiphon, not even a short one, of themselves, without a master.[7]

These quotes tend to support the conclusion that until a more exact pitch notation was developed in the eleventh century, all members of religious orders were required to memorize a staggering quantity of chants taught to them by rote. The only help available was in the form of memory aides for some of the repertory originating sometime in the early ninth century, although manuscripts with neumes were neither plentiful nor widespread until several centuries later. In addition, both rote teaching and the memory aids were open to problems in accuracy of transmission, as attested to by the late eleventh century St. Gall writer John, who, in the course of advocating Guido's new system, pointed out what he believed to be a serious weakness in both earlier teaching methods:

> Since in the ordinary neumes [i.e. unheighted] the intervals cannot be ascertained, and the chants that are learned from them cannot be securely committed to memory, many inaccuracies creep into them . . . It can easily be seen how neumes without lines promote error rather than knowledge . . . The result is that everyone makes such neumes go up or down as he himself pleases.[8]

John goes on to observe that there was little agreement among the masters who were responsible for teaching others. It was only gradually that Guido's teaching system and the eventual adoption and extension of his staff system added speed, accuracy and uniformity to the transmission of the chant repertory.

During the early centuries several systems of notation other than neumes were developed, including alphabet (descending from a Greek model found in the treatise of Boethius), or other symbols connected to scale types. Most of these systems were the reverse of the unheighted neumes described above in that they indicated exact pitch but not rhythm or vocal inflection, although at least one, that advocated by Hucbald, consisted of a cumbersome combination of letters

for pitch and neumes for rhythm and voice inflection.[9] It can be concluded from context that these were principally intended for theoretical discussion of scale and modal types, rather than a vehicle for transmitting repertory for performance; none appears to have been adopted for any purpose other than to illustrate a theoretical discussion intervals in a treatise.[10]

The now-famous practical system advocated by Guido of Arezzo for the speedy teaching of chant was not notation but a system of identifying various degrees of the scale with positions on the human hand, thus allowing a teacher to indicate exact rise and fall of a melody by pointing to various joints of the fingers. But it was neumes along with later refinements of Guido's idea of lines and spaces that eventually evolved to the present system of notation.

The logical middle step between unheighted neumes and staff notation was the heighting of neumes, a system found for the first time in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, many of the earliest of them from the monasteries affiliated with abbeys of St. Martial in Limoges and St. Gall. To allow accurate relative placement of the neumes, two or more dry lines were made on the page above each line of text, and the neumes organized in proximity to them. Guido of Arezzo is credited with the use of two coloured lines (yellow and red), to mark the positions of the two half-steps in the scale, thus further facilitating accurate neume reading.[11] Shortly thereafter the presently used system of lines and spaces was developed, although liturgical books notated with staffless neumes were still produced in some areas as late as the fifteenth century. By the end of the thirteenth century most varieties of neume shapes were simplified into so-called "square notation," which became the basis of all further developments in note shapes; the present-day oval note shapes being simply a stylization of the diamond headed notes of the 'square notation' system.

It would be possible to continue to trace minor variations and refinements in the development of notation through the next several centuries, but for the purposes of this essay it is sufficient to note that once the staff and square note shapes were generally adopted, all further major developments in notation were in the area of rhythm. The three basic note formations, long, breve, semibreve, were further refined and subdivided in order to allow for the notation of

sophisticated rhythmic patterns.[12]

One eventual result of the developments in rhythmic notation was to free the music from its dependence on groupings as a method of determining relative duration. Each note shape was imbued with a more or less absolute value which could transcend the limits of any of the exterior organizations used as pacing units of time measure, which also allowed a particular rhythmic grouping to extend well beyond one or more units of measure in a way in which the unit itself need not be acknowledged. In effect, the changes separated the two temporal functions of the notation—pacing of the composition, and measuring the individual notes within the phrases.

The development of a notational system that accurately indicated both pitch and duration aided in the development of one of the more interesting musical inventions in the Western world, and one that sets it quite apart from almost all other cultures: polyphony, music in more than one part. Polyphony, in its most rudimentary form consisted of the practice of singing the same song at different pitches, a technique known as parallel organum. This practice is so simple that it did not need to be notated. But if the added voice part is to have a contour and a rhythm of its own that is different from that of the original melody, the need to notate becomes imperative. At least this is what is generally believed about the development of singing in parts, and it is also believed that the stimulus for an accurate pitch and rhythmic notation system was caused at least in part by interest in the composition of this new repertory of simultaneously sounding contrasting parts. There is no doubt that in order to compose and transmit to others a complicated relationship of several composed parts, each with its own rhythmic and melodic content, the written form would be the most efficient, but it was not absolutely necessary for the creation of polyphony. A practice of improvising polyphony is known to stem from approximately the same time as the written variety and continued on at least into the seventeenth century.

Once the first interest in sophisticated polyphony developed in the Western world in the late eleventh century it is possible to trace an inexorable march as it replaced monophony as the principle musical form for serious composers and listeners. Little by little over the centuries of the late Middle Ages polyphony, both sacred and secular, became the favoured music of the upper classes. At first it was a

special effect saved for unusual occasions; later, perhaps as early as the mid-fourteenth century, it became a regular fixture along with the monophonic repertory for both secular and sacred occasions; and by the end of the fifteenth century it had almost completely supplanted monophonic secular music in the courts and held the dominant role in all churches of any size or importance, to the point of replacing much, although not all, of the chant, especially on festive occasions.

By incorporating the new rhythmic developments into polyphonic compositions, composers were able to extend rhythmic interest on more than a single level. Each voice part in the polyphonic composition could be given an interesting and sophisticated rhythmic shape, and a new dimension of rhythmic relationship between the parts could be explored. When combined with harmonic concerns this produced a multi-dimensional composition that was new and exclusively Western; one in which there was interest in horizontal rhythmic patterns in each voice individually, and at the same time on both rhythmic and harmonic vertical relationships among the parts. The amount of new area for experimentation that was opened up by the new rhythmic notational developments was so great that for four hundred years nearly all experimentation and style changes related principally to rhythm; the harmonies of the early fifteenth century were little changed from those of the twelfth. It was not until the mid-fifteenth century—the end of the Middle Ages—that the attention of composers was once again drawn towards experimentation with the harmonic aspects of the music, a development that also was marked by a lessening in the intricacies of the rhythms.

In many of the stages of the development of rhythmic notation in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries it is not possible to say how much influence the notation had on the kinds of music that was being written. It is a truism to say that the new rhythmic systems were developed in answer to a need—but I am unable to pinpoint exactly what was that need or even for whom the system was changed. Was it the scribes who wished to notate more accurately those things that actually were being sung by the performers? Was it the performers who wished to have their ornamentation practices accurately notated? Or was it the composers who wished to be able to notate new musical concepts?

If any or all of the above were the reasons for the development,

then one can safely state that form followed function. But it undoubtedly did not stop there; once developed, the notation system suggested ideas to the composers who then took it to its limits, thus feeding a continuous cycle in which developments and refinements made to serve one purpose, suggest new ideas which in turn make new demands for further refinements. It is possible to actually see this cross fertilization in some cases. The most extreme example of experimentation with the limits of the notation practice is found in the repertory known to musicologists as the 'ars subtilior,' an isolated practice in Southern France and Northern Italy at the end of the fourteenth century that produced music that is so rhythmically complex that even the finest modern ensembles have difficulty performing it, example 1.

There are two possible explanations for the existence of these compositions: that they were actually experiments or didactic works intended to explore the limits of rhythmic notation but were never intended to be performed; or that this was an attempt to notate exactly the various rhythmic subtleties that were extemporized into compositions of the time by performers. The latter of these two explanations is not as absurd as it may seem if one thinks of how the members of a 1950s 'big band' actually played a written composition. Music written for that ensemble was quite simply notated, but the convention of the time called for minute anticipation or delay of many of the notes which resulted in a rhythmic complexity of such a degree that any attempt to accurately notate the practice would undoubtedly result in notation as complicated and difficult to read as that of the 'ars subtilior.' Whatever its purpose, the practitioners of 'ars subtilior' notation pushed to the very limits the ability of the notation to express subtle variations in rhythmic organizations, adding to the existing system a method of indicating ratio and diminution of the note values by changing colour (red outline, red interior, white and black interior). Some of these techniques were incorporated into the notational developments in the fifteenth century, but not until experiments in the mid-twentieth century was their any further attempt to notate music in such a complex manner.

Two other late-medieval compositional developments can be explained unequivocally as inspired by the notation itself: mensural canons and isorhythm. The mensural canons are clever experiments

demonstrating the flexibility of the notation system, especially the aspect of changing the speed and subdivision of various levels of notes. They consist of a single line of music which is changed into a polyphonic composition for two or more voices by requiring the performers to apply different systems of subdivision, Plate 3 and Example 2.

The other notationally inspired technique, isorhythm, is a process of applying a lengthy rhythmic pattern numerous times to a continuing melody so that, although the notes of the melody continue to change, the rhythm repeats over an extended period. The technique served as a composer's device for the organization of a composition and is not always audible. By the early fifteenth century this technique was occasionally extended and applied to more than one part of a polyphonic composition, resulting at its most extended use in compositions such as John Dunstaple's motet 'Veni sancte spiritus/ Veni Creator,' in which isorhythm is applied to all four voices in combination with changes of speed through note ratio.[13] The result is a composition in which the melody continues to change while the rhythm of all parts repeats in four large sections, each section employing different subdivisions of the major counting unit and proceeding at a different pace. The composition is a dazzling demonstration of Dunstaple's control of the techniques of notation; an exploration of the refinements which allow the employment of a sophisticated combination of the repetition of rhythmic and melodic elements with proportional variants.

The examples given above illustrate the influence of developments in the notational system on written music once an accurate system had been established for notating both pitch and rhythm. It is usually not possible to know the sequence or motivation behind most of the changes, whether they resulted from demands on the existing system or from experimentation with the limits of new developments. This is a 'chicken or egg' question and, in fact, the cause of any one change in the notation need not have been limited to just a single motive. The question probably has no answer nor need it be asked in most cases in order to trace the development of notation. To me, however, the most interesting questions arising from this study relate to motivation at the very beginning of notation practices: what was the reason to develop a notation system at all when obviously it had

been considered unnecessary for so many centuries, and why, after the decision was made to notate, exact pitch was considered to be optional for so long.

The most often repeated reason for the invention of a notation system is that the quantity of chants had grown too large to commit faithfully to memory. It would seem logical that as the corpus of chant grew, there was need at first for memory aids until the quantity finally grew beyond the capacity of the memory. But perhaps this was not the sole reason or even the principle cause of the development of notation, in spite of the testimony given by the ninth- and tenth-century theorists quoted above. A preliminary investigation suggests that a more plausible motive might be found by pursuing the change of influences on the early Roman Church, its organization, and its changing orientation from Eastern to Western aesthetics during the early centuries of the Middle Ages. That topic is far beyond the scope of the present essay, but the question opens up entirely new possibilities for an understanding of how changes within the Church may have had significant influence on the style of its music, resulting in the desire and the need to write it down.

Investigations of influences on the Roman liturgy of the Late Middle Ages have demonstrated at least two separate strains coming from the opposing directions of the Eastern Mediterranean and Northern Europe. It has always been acknowledged that earlier liturgies from the Eastern Mediterranean would have been the logical source of much of the background for the Roman liturgy, and a connection between Byzantine chant formulas and Roman chant has been investigated by numerous scholars. Recent work by several scholars, among them Terrence Bailey, Jrgen Raasted, and Michel Huglo, have established a clear relationship between early Greek melodic formulas and melodic outlines used in Western chant, thus providing a possible long-term tradition for the patterning of new chant melodies along general outlines determined by their modal (scale) assignment.[14] Technical details are far too involved for this essay, but in general what is suggested is that for each mode there was established a characteristic melodic outline, allowing a singer who was trained in these outlines to correctly invent a chant for a new text. This would result in not identical melodies from different singers, but melodies that agreed at the all important places.

Looking at the North of Europe for possible influences, Richard Crocker has recently pointed to strong changes on the chant stemming from the Franks as they received the traditional repertory from Rome,[15] and Leo Treitler connects this with the beginning of notation, stating that "The trend toward more informative notations must have been motivated by the need to represent non-traditional matter, and also by the need to represent even traditional matter for singers who were not as well versed in the tradition."[16] That the Northern singers were following a different melodic tradition is attested to by the ninth-century theorist Aurelian of Réomé who, while discussing one of the modes states:

> At this point, the custom of the old singers must be considered, especially of those living in Gaul, who, not following any authority of Tone, changed the verses of the responses into a procedure different in one way or another from what the sonority of the Tone is, the great number of syllables ensnaring them.[17]

What may well be at least a partial solution to the riddle of motivation for musical notation, therefore, may be tied up in this changing influence and orientation from East to North. As the Roman church expanded northward it was forced to contend with the musical traditions of its newest members. The older traditions inherited from the East were foreign to these northerners and they did not or could not adopt the traditional Eastern musical system, thus requiring both graphic instruction and at the same time significantly influencing the nature of the musical product. In other words, it may not have been the quantity of chant that caused the development of its written form, but the lack of familiarity with the traditional system of improvising the melodies, together with the Northern European changes to the basic musical concepts. The hybrid musical product that gradually resulted apparently required a new system of transmission, and we can witness this evolution in the Northern manuscripts as a system of notation began to emerge in the early ninth century.

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NOTES

1 For the purpose of this paper I am referring only to notation that appears to be intended for practical performance use and that enters into a continuous

tradition of notation. I omit notations such as those found in early theoretical accounts that were developed in order to discuss intervals but were not intended for performance.

2 The earliest example is the prosula, 'Psalle modulamina' in Munich, Bayer. St. Bibl., clm. 9543, folio 199v, from St. Emmeram, Regensburg, written between 817 and 834. In this essay I deal exclusively with Western notation. Other parts of the world developed separate systems, some of them earlier, but there is presently no known connection between that which developed in the West and any other system. See *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. London, 1980, vol. 5, p. 335.

3 See E. Cardine *Semiologia gregoriana*, Rome 1968, Fr. transl. *Etudes grégoriennes*, 11 (1970), 1–158; J.W.A. Vollaerts, *Rhythmic Proportions in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Chant*, Leiden, 1958, rev. 1960; and G. Murray, *Gregorian Chant according to the Manuscripts*, London, 1963.

4 On the possible relationship of the various neume styles see E. Jammers, "Die paläofränkische Neumenschrift," *Scriptorium* 7 (1953); and M. Huglo, "Le domaine de la notation bretonne," *Acta Musicologica* 35 (1963), 54–84.

5 On the theory of the evolution of these notation signs from grammar see *Paleographie Musicale*, Series 1, vol. 1, Solesmes, 1889; and G.M. Sunol, *Introducció a la paleografia musical gregoriana*, Montserrat, 1925.

6 *De harmonica*, in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, transl. Warren Babb, ed. with introductions by Claude V. Palisca, New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1978, 36.

7 "Prologus antiphonarii sui," transl. O. Strunk, in *Source Readings in Music History; Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, New York: Norton, 1965, 117–20.

8 *De Musica*, in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, 147.

9 See Hucbald, *De harmonica*, in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*.

10 As for example in the works of Boethius, Hucbald, and the *Musica enchiriadis*.

11 For details of Guido's system see Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "The Musical Notation of Guido of Arezzo," *Musica Disciplina* 5 (1951), 15–63.

12 For a detailed history of the development of western notation see the bibliography following the article 'notation' in *The New Grove*, vol. 5, 344–54.

13 Published in *John Dunstable, Complete Works* ed. Manfred F. Bukofzer, 2nd revised ed., Margaret Bent, Ian Bent and Brian Trowell, *Musica Britannica* vol. 8, London: Stainer and Bell, 1970, 88–91.

14 Terrence Bailey, *The Intonation Formulas of Western Chant*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, 28, Toronto, 1974; Jrgen Raasted, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia VII, Copenhagen 1966; Raasted, "The 'Laetantis adverbia' of Aurelian's Greek informant," *Aspects de la Musique Liturgique au Moyen Age*, ed. Christian Meyer, Paris, 1991,55–66; Michel Huglo, "L' introduction en Occident des formules Byzantines d'intonation," in *Studies in Eastern Chant*, Vol. 2, ed. Egon Wellesz and Milos Velimirovi, London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973, 81–90; Huglo, *Les*

Tonaries: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison, Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1971; Huglo, "Les formules d'intonations 'noeane noeagis' en Orient et en Occident," *Aspects de la Musique Liturgique au Moyen Age*, 43–53.

15 Richard Crocker, in *New Oxford History of Music*, Oxford Univ. Press, vol. 2, 112–14.

16 Leo Treitler, "The Early History of Music Writing in the West," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 261.

17 Aurelian of Réomé, *The Discipline of Music* (Musica Disciplina), English transl. Joseph Ponte, Colorado Springs, 1968, 37.

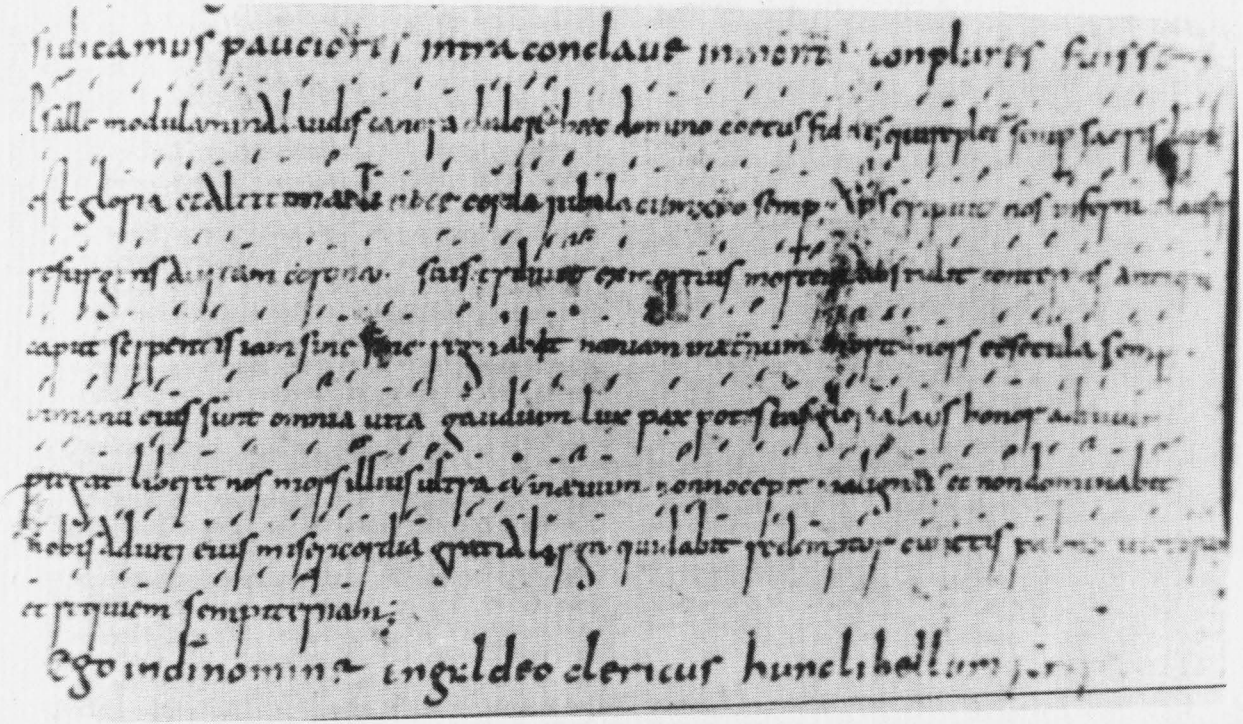


PLATE 1 FOL. 199v from Munich, Bayer. St.Bibl. clm 9543

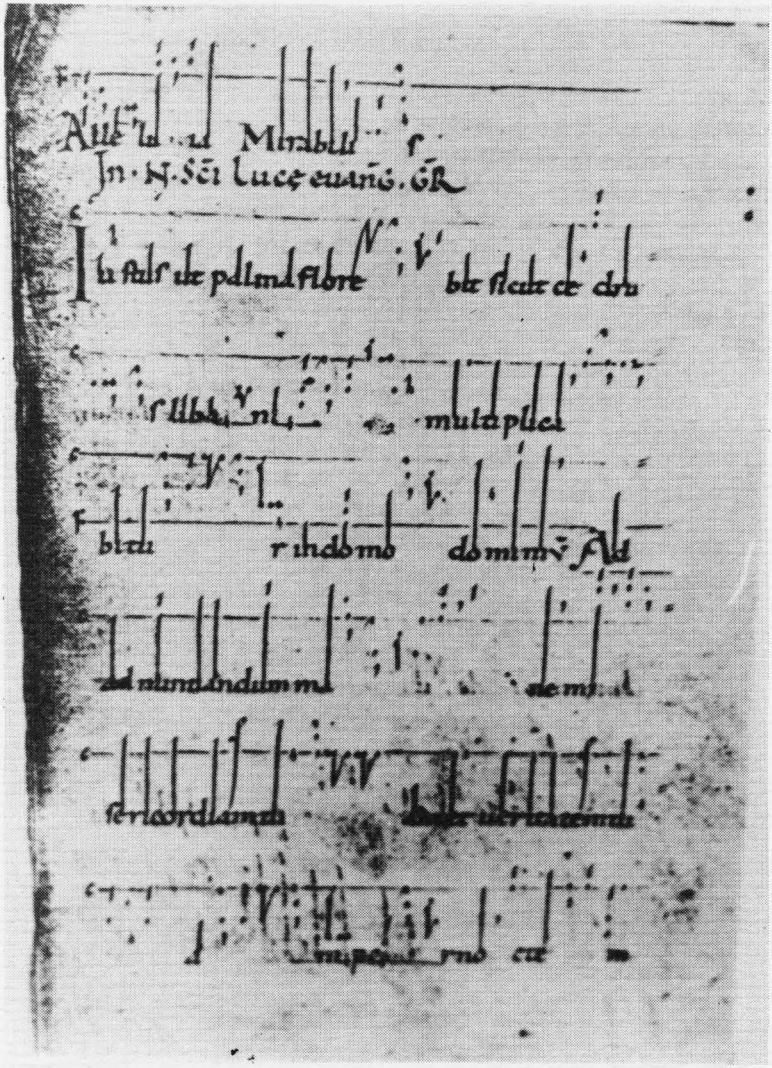


PLATE 2A NONANTULA, North Italian

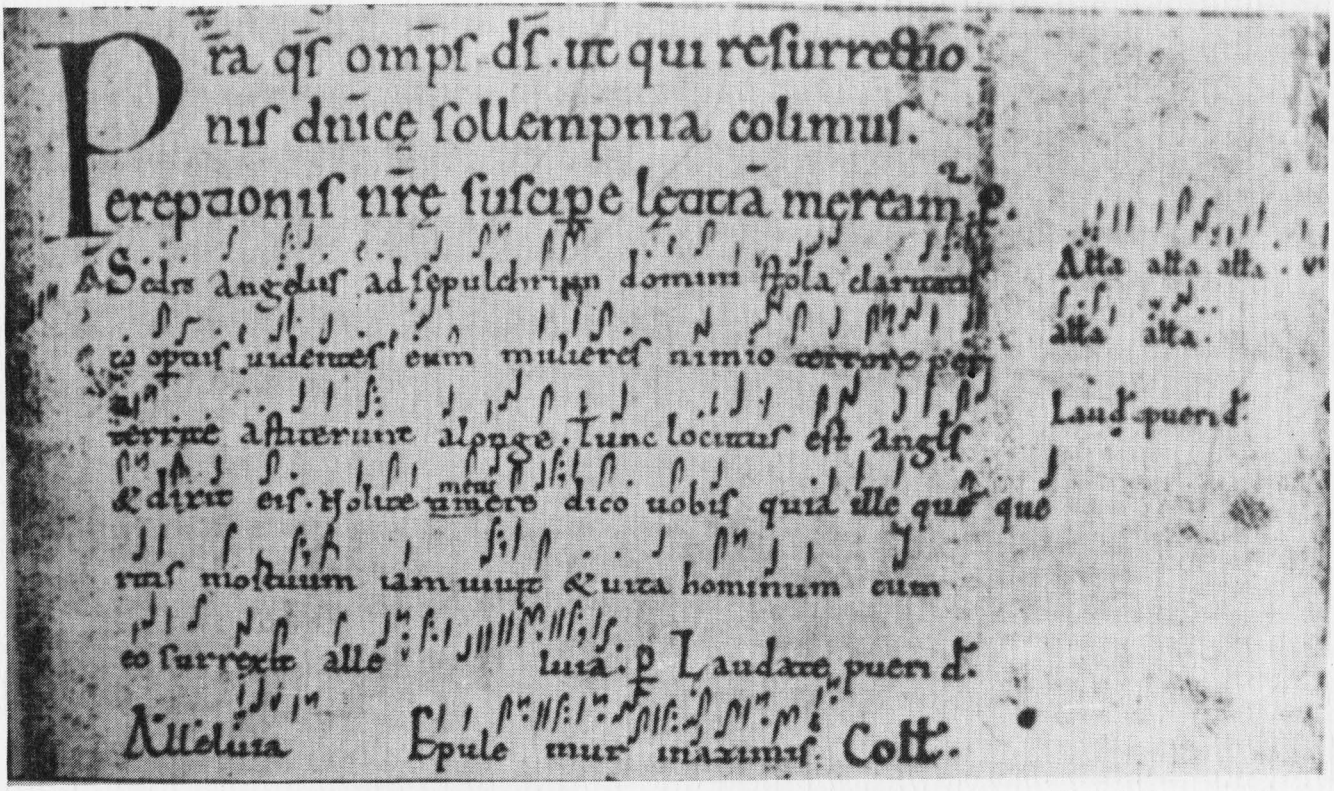


PLATE 2B LONDON, BL Harl. 2961. Anglo-Norman

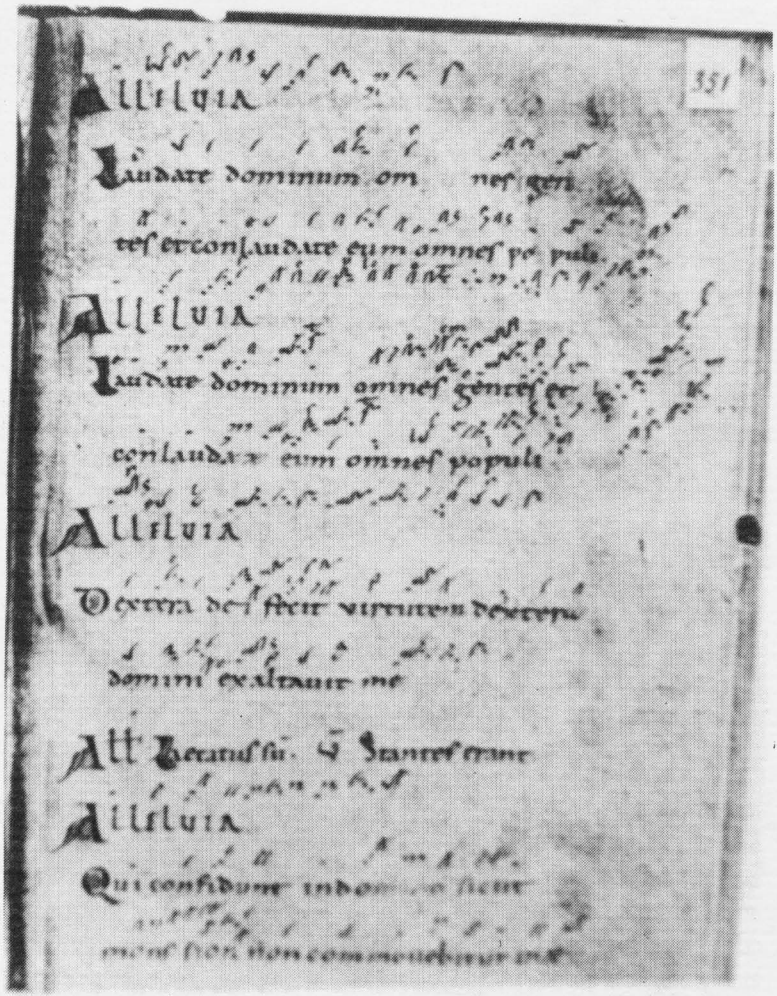


PLATE 2C EINSIEDELN, Stiftsbibl. 121. St. Gall

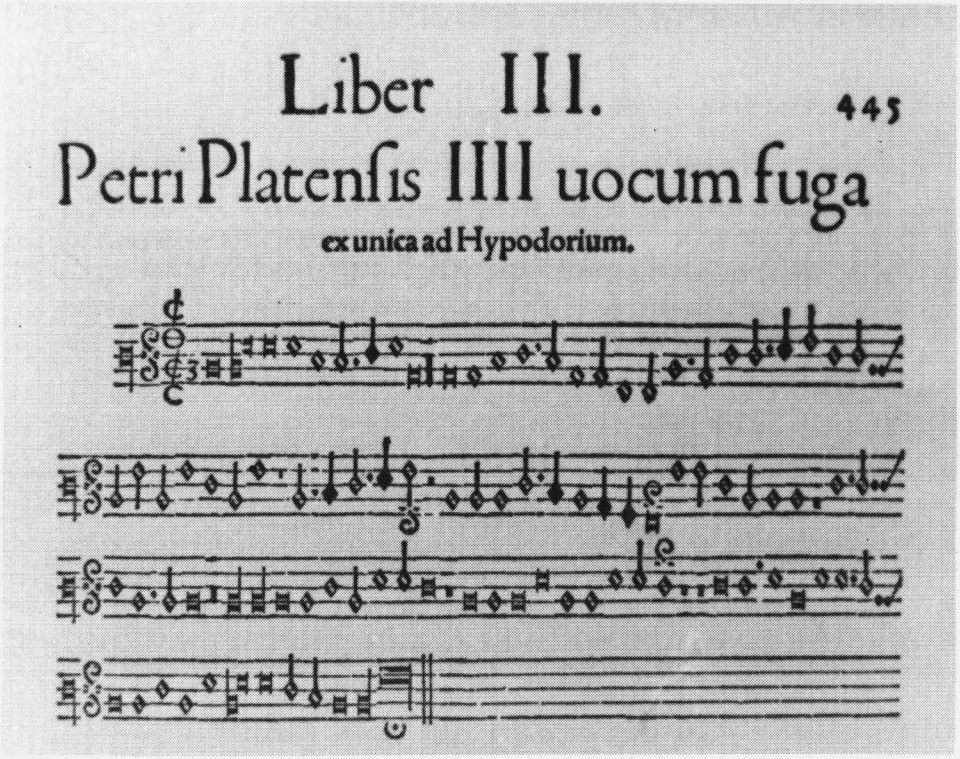
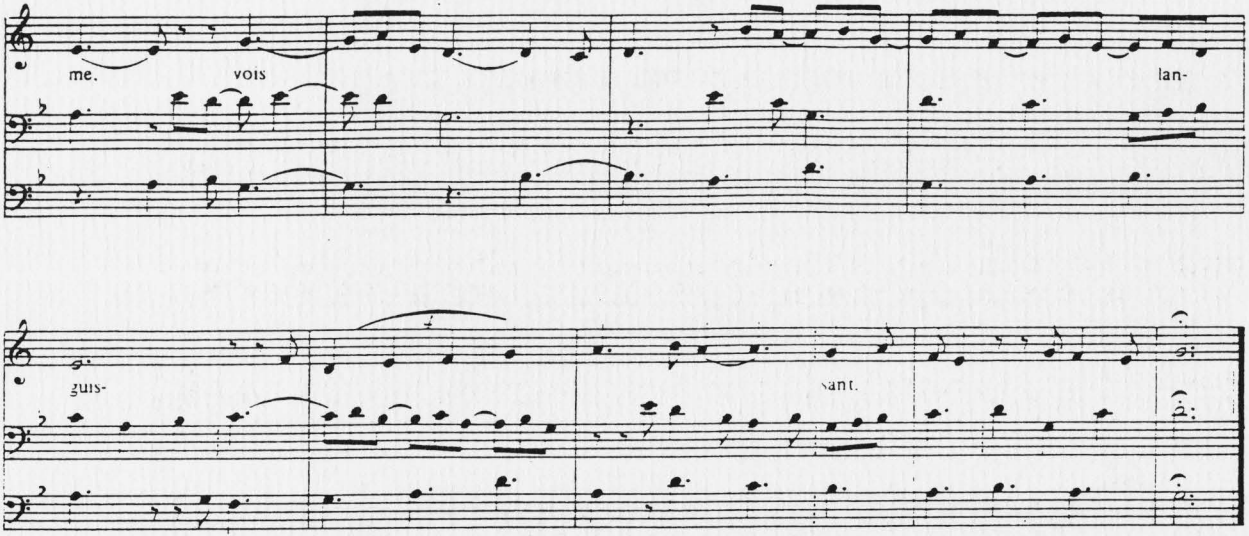
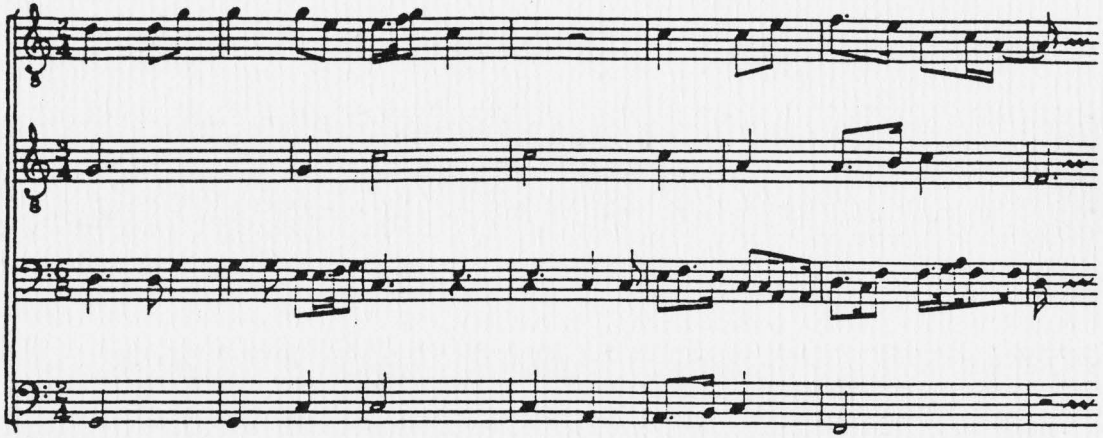


PLATE 3 **HENRICUS GLAREANUS**, *Dodecachordon*, Basel, 1547, p.445



EXAMPLE 1 **PHILIPOCTUS DE CASERTA**, 'Enremirant'



EXAMPLE 2 **PIERRE DE LA RUE**. Realizartion of opening section of mensural canon.

Libby Garshowitz

"And He Shall *Write* Her Divorce Papers": Deuteronomy 24:1–4 Re-examined

One of the most poignant, dramatic and controversial pieces of legislation pertaining to marital relationships is found in Deuteronomy 24:1-4:

When a man marries (*yiqaḥ*)) a woman, cohabits with her and, in time, discovers that she no longer pleases him due to some marital indiscretion (*'ervat davar*) on her part, he must write her divorce papers, hand them to her, and send her out of his home. Upon her release, if she becomes another man's (*'aḥer*) wife, and the latter (*'aḥaron*) also develops an hatred for her, he too must write her divorce papers, hand them to her and send her out of his house. Now, should her last husband (*aḥaron*) whom she married subsequent to her divorce, die, her former husband who had previously divorced her, is forbidden to remarry her; she has become tainted and in God's sight she is taboo. You must not contaminate the land which your Lord God is giving you as your possession (*naḥalah*).[1]

There are several separate as well as conseqential issues discussed in this passage:

(1) A hushand's displeasure with his wife because of some sexual indiscretion on her part may lead to divorce.[2]

(2) The *husband* initiates the termination of their marriage by a written divorce and gives his wife her freedom.[3]

(3) The divorcée is permitted to remarry and does so; every failed marital relationship requires her husband to deliver her a written divorce and to give her her freedom.

(4) If death severs the relationship between the remarried woman and her last husband she is forbidden to remarry her first husband.

(5) Biblical law forbids remarriage to a first husband because the land, as does the twice-divorced woman, becomes contaminated; the holiness of the land and the people whom it represents metaphorically—since both are God's possession (*naḥalah*)[4] — must be protected.

Scripta Mediterranea Volumes XII–XIII, 1991–92

The legal ramifications of this passage are far-reaching and have been a focal point of considerable *halakhic* discussions and decisions throughout Jewish history; therefore some brief remarks on some of its technical aspects are in order.[5] A valid divorce between husband and wife must be properly written and executed in accordance with strict *halakhic* practices regarding writing instruments and materials, the recording of the names of the divorcing parties, and the inclusion of correct formulae in the divorce document; the divorce must be signed, properly witnessed and delivered to the wife. If the husband is unable to deliver the divorce personally, his duly authorized agent(s) must carry out his wishes. His absence, or even death, while the divorce was being written, threatened future legal hardships for his wife since she would be considered an *'agunah*, a woman "anchored" in an unworkable marriage, unable to remarry according to Jewish rite because she did not have a properly executed divorce (get).[6]

Instead of focussing on the technicalities and legalities encountered during the writing of a divorce document I would like to re-examine Deuteronomy 24:1–4 as it took on a metaphorical metamorphosis for the marriage relationship between God and Israel, with God's pronouncement that He will honour His covenant with their ancestral patriarchs and "I will take (*ve-laqaḥti*) Israel as my people and I will become your God."[7]

The marital covenant between God and Israel as it evolved figuratively in the course of Jewish history will be examined as follows:

1. Courtship and Creation
2. Infidelity and Miscreance
3. Re-creation of the Marital Covenant
4. Reconciliation

I. Courtship and Creation

God created the ideal couple which was to serve as a role model for all future marriages. Following Adam and Eve's creation, and Adam's remarkable statement that Eve was the product of his own "flesh and bones," scripture declares:

> Therefore, man must leave his father and his mother's (household) and bond with his wife and become one.[8]

Almost as an aside, we are told that the couple, man and wife,

were naked, devoid of shame.[9] The physical bond between Adam and Eve linked them directly with God their bridegroom[10] and prefigured the future marital bond between God and Israel. With Adam and Eve's violation of God's prohibition not to eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil[11] they set in motion the recurring pattern of "apostasy and restoration"[12] which marked the eventual break in this unique bond, a break which culminated in the dispersion of the Israelites first from the northern kingdom in the eighth century B.C.E. and the Judeans from the southern kingdom a century later.[13]

II. Infidelity and Miscreance

Prophetic literature is replete with the most profound thoughts on the God-Israel relationship; prophets warned the northern and southern kingdoms of the consequences of courting foreign powers instead of heeding God's teachings as taught by his representatives. The prophet Isaiah who had witnessed the downfall of the northern kingdom of Israel in 721 B.C.E. and its mass deportations is silent on the subject of the restoration of the covenantal bond. Deutero-Isaiah, however, a prophet who lived about 550 B.C.E. and who had probably witnessed the return of the Judean exiles,[14] denied that there had ever been a legal bill of divorce:

> Thus says the Lord: "Where is your mother's bill of divorce with which I expelled her or where are my creditors to whom I have sold you? You were sold into slavery for your sins; for your crimes was your mother driven out."[15]

If it was God and not the Babylonians who had expelled Israel from its land and had sent them into captivity without a legal or symbolic bill of divorce,[16] was there a remote possibility that there would ever be an eventual reconciliation between God and his people?

The prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel were present at the destruction of the southern kingdom of Judaea and the First Temple in 597–586 B.C.E. and were themselves deported.[17] Jeremiah, who was intimately involved in preaching God's word to his fellow Judeans both before and after the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile to Babylonia, reminded them of their special relationship with God:[18]

> Go proclaim this message to
> everyone in Jerusalem: Thus says

the Lord: "I remember so well your
youthful devotion,
Your marital love,
How you followed me in the
wilderness, in an unsown land."
Israel was God's sacred possession,
His very first love,
All those who devour you God will
punish.

Jeremiah echoed the divine promise to punish Israel's violators and then asked Judea rhetorically:[19]

The Lord asks: "If a man divorces his wife and she leaves him and she becomes another man's wife, can he take her back? Would not the land become completely corrupt? You have been promiscuous with many partners, yet you return to me! [ṣ] Because of her persistent promiscuity, and as a warning to her southern sister Judea, I have divorced [northern] Israel and have given her her divorce papers so that she would not influence her [southern] sister Judea. But [Judea] too went whoring."

According to Jeremiah northern Israel is cut off from God, never to return, just as a written divorce (*geṭ*) is cut to symbolize the severance of the marital relationship.[20] Nevertheless, God, an omnipotent Father-Husband, allows himself to be manipulated by his unfaithful daughter-wife, Judea:

Do you not still call me "Father, the beloved of my youth? Will He harbor a grudge forever, maintain [it] eternally?"

The mutual nostalgia for a once-tender relationship, now strained by infidelity and disintegration, is remarkably touching and human; more remarkable, however, is the probability that God is far more forgiving than we mortals and, therefore, concedes the possibility of future reconciliation between God and His people.

Although the vast body of prophetic literature frequently depicts Israel as a constantly errant wife, it would be wrong to portray only *her* as sexually undisciplined, uncontrollable and unfaithful. The fifth century B.C.E. prophet Malakhi chastised the priest-husbands, God's consecrated representatives in the temple cult, collectively and individually, who have also broken their contract with Him:[21]

This is another thing you do. You drown the Lord's altar with tears,[22]

weeping and wailing because He no longer willingly accepts the offerings you bring him. You ask "why?": it is because [God] has personally witnessed your betrayal of the wife you married in your youth. She is your friend and your covenantal partner;[23] you promised before God that you would be faithful to her. Did not God make you one body and spirit with her? What was His purpose? To produce children who are truly God's people. Therefore, make sure that none of you breaks his promise to his wife. "I hate divorce," says the Lord God of Israel. "I hate it when one of you does such a cruel thing to his wife. Make sure that you do not act treacherously but be faithful to your wife."

Other prophets consistently condemned ancient Israel's flirtatious and faithless behaviour with foreign powers and religions. Hosea's hypothetical marriages to two unfaithful women, symbolically northern and southern Israel, graphically describe Israel's perversion of their intimate relation with God through marital infidelity.[24] His statement, "Your mother is no longer my wife and I am no longer her husband," although not a legal divorce formula, points to the eventual evolution of the legally signed, sealed and delivered *get*: "You are expelled, you are divorced, you are independent, you are free to marry any man." What a stark contrast to the marriage formula between man and woman, "You are sanctified to me," and to the sacred marital relationship described in scripture.[25]

Divorce, however, is and was a constant reality.[26] As marriage breakdown and divorce became more prevalent in Jewish society, the rabbis of the talmudic and medieval periods sought to sever the marital relationship as humanely and compassionately as possible, to minimize the pain that already existed. For the most part, they gave *halakhah* as wide a latitude as possible in order to avoid the problems an eventual remarriage might entail which ultimately would impact either spouse or their children. The meaning of the much-debated phrase "marital impropriety" (*'ervat davar*) in Deuteronomy 24:2 and debated by the first century schools of Shammai and Hillel, may leave the erroneous impression that the rabbis approached the subject of marriage break-up lightly and even facetiously. Nothing could be further from the truth! The phrase *'ervat davar* most likely is connected to some sexual or marital impropriety that triggers mistrust and heartbreak, not to a wife's bad cooking or to her husband's attraction to a younger, more beautiful and vibrant woman, as Rabbi Akiva is quoted as saying. Love, harmony, and commitment no

longer exist; the break, therefore, must be final, the relationship severed and a divorce (*sefer keritut*) issued.[27]

Deuteronomy :1-4 underwent a complete metamorphosis in qabbalistic literature. In the *Zohar, The Book of Splendour*, one of medieval Spanish Jewry's most enduring legacies, this passage was transformed into a lengthy excursus on the soul's destiny after the physical demise of the body.[28] According to the qabbalists, the soul underwent many transmigrations (*gilgul*) and metamorphoses until it united with the soul of another human, plant, animal or bird. The qabbalists believed that souls (*neshamah*) from the upper world unite with spirits (*ruaḥ*) from below and are clothed in a supernal light. The spirit of the man who has died without children undersoes constant transmigration and finds no rest until his *levir*[29] comes forth to redeem his spirit and rebuild him into a new creation, "a new spirit in new body," which can now perfect itself and keep the commandments. Of course, if the dead man's widow remarries there is a strong possibility that the spirit Or the deceased husband and that of the second may unite in her body and "prick her [.] and writhe within her like a serpent [ṣ]. Divorce causes a defect in the stone of the heavenly altar [ṣ] and the woman who stood formerly in the likeness of the supernal form has now become attached to the low form, 'another' ('*aḥer*) and 'last' (*aḥaron*)."[30] Hopefully this second husband will be the "last" and not undermine the entire new "building." Therefore, "the former husband who sent her away cannot again take her to be his wife, after that she is defiled [.]. Once she has united herself with a lower grade, the first husband, who belongs to the grade of 'good,' may not associate himself with her any longer." God does not want the "first" husband to demean himself in such a remarriage since he would become "a laughing stock."

The terminology of marriage and divorce in Deuteronomy 24:1–4 entered another of Spanish Jewry's finest literary legacies – poetry and prose. During the so-called "Golden Age" of Jewry's lengthy sojourn in Spain Jewish poets-laureate infused their literary creations with the despair of exile and persecutions, the longing for a return to Zion, and the desire to return and serve God whom they worshiped as their sole hope and refuge.

Samuel Ibn Nagrela (993, Cordova–1056, Granada),[31] the fabled

vizier of the Muslim caliph whom later Spanish historians credited for the flowering of Hebrew *belles-lettres* in Spain, had witnessed the Almoravide destruction of his birthplace in 1013 and was among the many expellees. In an expiatory hymn for the High Holydays he pleaded to God in the language of the prophets on behalf of his people:[32]

> The bereft divorcée / without a
> bill of divorce–
> Betrothe her faithfully again /
> Her marriage contract endorse.

Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1021/1022, Malaga-Valencia, 1053–1058),[33] born in Malaga, a city famed for its wine, women and song, lived and wrote in Saragossa. Plagued by physical pain because of a severe skin disease, handicapped by severe emotional trauma suffered by the early death of his mother and father, lonely perhaps because of lack of siblings, filled with the need to write as much as he could during the brief life allotted him, dependent on a wealthy patron who was later executed,[34] Ibn Gabirol poured out his heart in poetry. He began writing at a very early age, both in Hebrew and Arabic, and displayed remarkable virtuosity in biblical exegesis, grammar, philosophy and ethics; in the eyes of his detractors he was without parallel.[35]

Despite his turbulent life and loneliness[36] Ibn Gabirol's religious, secular and love poetry is suffused with eloquent accounts of nature and God's sublime creation. He too pleads for God's restoration of the Jews to Zion:[37]

> Restore the divorcée /
> to her proprietary estate /
> Remember the severely pained /
> Afflicted by adversarial fate.

In spite of lack of wife or family, he could express his tender feelings and yearning towards women:[38]

> My wife is the most praiseworthy of
> women,

she is a queen, majestic in the
skies,
The sun's sister and the moon's
mother

In one of his many ballads in which he seeks God's intervention to redeem his people (*Knesset Yisra'el*) God echoes Isaiah's words:[39]

To whom then have I sold you?
Let your adversary appear!
Whoever gave you a bill of divorce?
Like a fiery, walled tower I'll
enfold you.
Why do you weep,
Why are you sorely grieved?

Ibn Gabirol, like so many of his contemporaries, was pressured to study and engage in intellectual quests. And, like them, so many external and internal anxieties prevented him from achieving all that he demanded of himself. He is chastened by the figure of "wisdom" for neglecting her. In his despair he describes her hold on him and how he wanted to write her a bill of divorce:[40]

You were like a fiendish vulture
You resembled the eye of a desert
jackdaw
Divorce insight
Release the noose of intellect and
its claw

The prophet Isaiah's description of God's abandonment and exile of Israel was fleshed out centuries later by the well-known poet and philosopher, Judah ha-levi (1025, Tudela-1141, Egypt). In his poetry, which longed for an end to his and his people's lengthy exile and a return to Zion, he depicted expelled Israel as "an abandoned and sadly distressed woman":[41]

How neglected am I /
When can I expect relief;
I reside in a brackish land /[42]

Called, dismissed, without a legal
brief!

But not all medieval Jewish poetry was devoted to Israel's "lachrymose history" or to the poets' anguish at being divorced from God and their land. Their prolific output in parody and satire which drew on the many literary traditions which surrounded them, display lore of wine, women, song, travels and adventure.

Judah Al-Harizi (1170–1235), vagabond Spanish troubadour, philosopher, translator and satirist, was the author of the *Taḥkemoni*, a multi-chaptered, many- splendoured book written in ryhmed prose and poetry.[43] In lofty language and sublime style Al-Harizi praises and satirizes Jewish mores, customs, culture, religious figures, institutions, unhappy marriages and the men and women he had encountered in the different "holy communities" and countries where he had travelled. In describing his travels to Toledo, Calatayud, Lerida, Barcelona in Spain, the cities of Provence, Cairo, Jerusalem, Acre, Damascus, and Homs, he remarked on their physical beauty, their luminous scholars, their "knaves and nobles," their wisdom, philanthropy, superb culture and courtliness.[44] Any reservations Al-Harizi might have had in his lavish praise of the Barcelona philanthropists were limited only to a certain Rabbi Jacob of Barcelona who wore the diadem (*nezer*) of greatness and the crown (*keter*) of praise but who had rejected philanthropy and refused to come into its council. Rabbi Jacob had symbolically divorced philanthropy and delivered into her hand a bill of divorce. Is it possible that Rabbi Jacob was fed up with endless fundraising meetings and had refused to have anything more to do with them?

Another favourite subject of satire among Jewish, and non-Jewish, poets was the perfidious, unfaithful, and shameless wives, whose husbands were continually testing their loyalty and fidelity. Joseph Ben Meir Zabara,[45] born in Barcelona in about 1140, was another master parodist. In his *Book of Delight*, a collection of folk-tales in which fabled animals speak in the language of bible, talmud and midrash in order to elucidate, teach, clarify, and above all, to entertain,[46] he tells many tales about unfaithful wives and cunning women and how they can be detected.[47] Now, Zabara found that there are women who are loyal and faithful but that would not have suited the literary genre which he was imitating.[48]

It would be remiss to neglect one of one of Spain's greatest luminaries, Moses Ibn Ezra, (ca. 1055–after 113S),[49] poet and philosopher, a native of Granada, and a student of Isaac ibn Ghayyat in Lucena, "the city of poetry."[50] Ibn Ezra had witnessed the Almoravide capture of Granada in 1090 and the subsequent destruction of its Jewish community. A brilliant theoretician as well as practitioner of sacred and secular poetry, he mourned in rhymed dirges and laments the deaths of Spanish Jews, the destruction of Jewish communities as well as immediate family members. In many wars he too had led a sad and distressing life, complicated by conflicts with family members, contemporaries and authorities. Nevertheless, on the death of his brother Isaac he wrote:

Mourn, My Soul[51]
Mourn, my soul, don mourning garb
Secure your sack with rope
Seclude yourself, mope!
Arise and lament; expose your robe.
Sell your joy forever; have neither
redeemer nor jubilee,
Divorce glee!
Take up wailing instruments, not
harp
Fear neither time nor space
What further harm can they do you?
[. . .] After my brother's departure
to destruction
I understand full well creature's
oblivion.

For Moses Ibn Ezra, who also wrote songs about love, wine and wisdom, the foolish woman is a metaphor for this world of oblivion and emptiness, to be given short shrift:[52]

The world is like a foolish woman[53]
Empty is her majestic glory;[54]
She whispers sweet words,
But beneath her tongue is a
quandary.[55]
Thwart her advice, wise brother,
Change her honour into shame

Hurry up! deliver her a permanent
bill of divorce.

III. Re-creation

Life for Jews in the Iberian Peninsula ended tragically with their expulsion from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497. The Iberian society in which Jews had lived for a millenium and to which they had contributed so richly culturally and socially, had frequently turned against them in the past. Previous violent outbreaks which had resulted in massacres or forced conversions — to Christianity or Islam — for many of the survivors, paled in comparison with the savage outbreaks in 1391; the Jews' inability to regroup and recover successfully hurtled them into social, cultural, economic, political and religious oblivion and culminated in their expulsion a century later. But the mass conversions after 1391 differed from previous ones: they created a new category of converts, *conversos* or crypto-Jews, who continued to practise Judaism secretly, in the presumed safety and secrecy of their homes, or in their new lands where they had fled in great numbers.[56]

One of the many problems these crypto-Jews faced when they wanted to reintegrate as professing Jews into their new communities concerned their changed marital status. *Conversas*[57] especially faced particular problems: if their husbands had fled Spain following their conversion without writing and delivering them a valid Jewish divorce as required by Jewish law, their future remarriage according to Jewish rites was impossible since the children of their new marriage would be considered *manzerim*, offspring of an adulterous union.[58] Childless widows also required a brother-in-law who was a valid *levir* before they could remarry.[59]

After 1391 there were virtually no rabbis left in Spain to deal with these issues since most had fled to North Africa and elsewhere. From the comparative safety of their new homes they resumed their interrupted lives and once again were able to counsel their correspondents.[60] To their lasting credit these rabbis showed great leniency to crypto-Jews who wanted to reenter the Jewish fold. For coorersas who had married prior to 1391 but did not have valid divorce decrees because their husbands had vanished, the rabbis accepted the evidence of the witnesses to their Jewish marriage who

were now *conversos*: since they continued to practise Judaism faithfully in secret, their testimony could still be relied upon. Furthermore, if *conversos* continued to take proper precautions to obtain reliable witnesses to their marriage after 1391—and *conversos* usually married within their own group—these true crypto-Jews could be regarded as valid witnesses in cases of marriage and divorce.[61] Civil marriages or *converso* marriages in a Catholic church by Catholic clergy were not considered valid; therefore, no divorce was necessary, the *conversa* was free to marry whomever she wanted and her children from her new marriage would not be considered *mamzerim*, the offspring of an adulterous marriage. The subject of Jewish marriage and divorce became only academic after 1492 since all professing Jews had supposedly left the Iberian Peninsula and all active Jewish life had ceased. The Jews of the Iberian Peninsula who had survived attempts to annihilate or convert them, took their talents elsewhere and recreated their broken lives in different worlds.

IV. Reconciliation

To return to the passage in Deuteronomy 24:1–3 with which we began our study: can a divorced wife remarry her first husband if she has married another man in the interim? Halakhically, the answer must be an unqualified, resounding "no"! When a couple divorces, the consequences for the nuclear and extended family can often be tragic; divorce, however, may be a necessary stage in the maturation and liberation of an individual and, by extension, of the family. When we look beyond the personal and familial implications of a severed relationship and focus on those of a people or nation, we return to the question as to whether ancient Israel, God's bride, pride and possession, divorced, exiled, battered and bruised, could ever be reconciled with God in her promised land, as prophets and poets had pleaded. Arguably, the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, and its ongoing ingathering of hundreds of thousands of exiles from many lands over four and a half decades, attest to the renewal of the covenantal relationship between God and the purported descendants of ancient Israel. We return to the prophet Jeremiah:

> Return, you unfaithful children, says the Lord, because I am intimately committed to you; I have married you[62] and I shall bring you to Zion. [ṣ] Then shall Jerusalem be called "The Throne of God" and all nations will

gather there in Jerusalem in God's name. [ṣ] At that time the House of Judea will join with the House of Israel and will come together from the northern country to the land which I have bequeathed to your ancestors.[63]

And, in the words of the prophet Hosea:[64]

I will betrothe you forever; I will betrothe you in righteousness and in justice and in loving kindness and with compassion. I shall betrothe you faithfully; you shall know the Lord intimately.

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NOTES

1 All trarslations, unless otherwise indicated, are mine.
2 For the rabbinic discussions on the meaning of the term *'ervat davar* see M. Giṭṭin 9:10; B.T. Giṭṭin 90a.
3 For differing points of view on whether the husband can divorce his wife without her consent or whether she must consent to be divorced see Judith Romney Wegner, *Chattel or Person* (Oxford University Press, 1988), 45–50.
4 The term *naḥalah* is used for Israel the people (e.g., Ex 34:9; Dt 4:20; Jer 3:18) and for Israel the land which God had bequeathed them (e.g., Dt 15:4). It also signifies property inheritance within the family (e.g., Gn 48:7). God is also referred to as the Levites' inheritance (*naḥalah*) since they were not to receive a portion of Israel as their inheritance (Num 18:20).
5 On some of the legal discussions see Simon Greenberg, "And He Writes Her A Bill of Divorcement," *Conservative Judaism* (1968): 75–141. On some of the emerging feminist literature on divorce see Wegner, *Chattel and Person*, 40–113 and *passim*.
6 See the brief discussion below; Wegner, *Chattel or Person*, 63–64. The laws regarding the *'agunah* are extensive and discussed in the literature of the rabbinic, medieval and contemporary periods.
7 Ex 6:7. The verb *laqaḥ* is one of the technical terms for marriage. See, for example, Gn 25:20; Dt 20:7.
8 Gn 2:21-24. The verb, *davaq*, "to bond," describes the relationship between God and Israel also. See Dt 4:4; 10:20; 11:22; 30:20; Josh 22:5; 23:8; Ps 101:3 and many other examples in Hebrew scriptures.
9 The term for nakedness, *'arom*, is most likely derived from the same root as the term *'ervat davar*. See below.
10 See *Midrash Bereshit Rabba*, ed. J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck (Jerusalem, 1965) 18:3.
11 See Gn 2:6.
12 The term used by Northrop Frye. See *The Great Code* (Toronto, 1982), 169.

13 2Kgs 15:29; 25:1–12.

14 The Persian king, Cyrus, God's "anointed" (Is 45:1), had allowed those exiles who wanted to return to Judea, to do so. See Ezr 1:1–8.

15 Is 50:1.

16 The medieval bible commentators, Abraham Ibn Ezra and David Kimbi, agree at Is 50:1 with Jeremiah's view that northern Israel and the "ten tribes" expelled by the Assyrians in 721 B.C.E. were formally divorced from God, never to return; in their opinion, however, Judea, who was destined to fulfil the messianic destiny in the person of King David's descendant, was to return to its land.

17 See Jer 42–43; Ez 1:1-3. 18. Jer 2:2.

18 Ibid., 3:1–10 (ca 626–622 B.C.E.). On the condemnation of Judea's "promiscuity" see also Ez 16, 23.

19 See Joseph Karo, *Shulkhan 'Arukh, 'Even ha-'ezer*, 154 (*Seder ha-get*), par. 86: *va-yiqre'enu sheti va-'erev.*

20 Jer 3:4.

21 Mal 2:13–16.

22 See *Sefer ha-zohar*, (*Zohar*) 3 vols. (reprinted Jerusalem, 1970), 2:102b.

23 On taking oaths in covenantal relationships concerning land or marriage see also Gn 21:23, 32; 31:44–53; Ez 16:8. On the wife's abandonment of her husband who was "the champion of her youth" and the disregard of her covenant with God see Prv 2:17. On the special consideration due to be given "the wife of your youth" see also Prv 5:18–19; *B.T. Yevamot* 63b.

24 Hosea, the northern prophet, lived before the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C.E. His warnings against the northern kingdom (1:2, 1:7, 2:7 and *passim*), were probably written ca. 783–743 B.C.E., before and during the massive invasions of the Assyrians. As a prophet of conciliation he concluded that ultimately God will have compassion on his children. The prophet Ezekiel (chap. 16, 23) also denounced both kingdoms' "promiscuity."

25 Lev 19:1. On the marriage and divorce formulae see Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot 'Ishut* 3:1; *Hilkhot Gerushin* 1:4.

26 See for e.g. Lv 21:7, 14; 22:13; Num 30:10.

27 In *M. Gittin* 9:10, the school of Shammai states that the phrase *'ervat davar* has sexual implications whereas the school of Hillel interprets this phrase as any annoyance a wife might cause her husband. Rabbi Akiva's marriage to Rachel, his devoted wife who had encouraged him to study in the learning academies for over twelve years, was exemplary. An examination of the root *'araj* throughout scripture conveys some type of physical or or inappropriate trait, whether it is incest, nakedness, cunning or bodily function, in opposition to "holiness." Cf. Dt 23:15 where both concepts are opposed: "[ṣ] therefore shall your camp be holy (*qadosh*) and [God] will not witness any indecency (*'ervat davar*) among you."

28 The following discussion is based upon the *Zohar, Mishpatim* 2:99b–103a (for the purposes of this paper I have used the English translation, 3 vols., 1931–

1934, 3:314–16) and is only a very brief summary of a very complex topic with which many of the citations in this paper are concerned and upon which I hope to expand elsewhere. On the possible connection of the transmigration of souls and the fate of a man who died without a child see also Jacob Katz, "Halakhic Statements in the *Zohar* (Hebrew), *Tarbits* 50 (1980–81): 405–22; idem, "Levirate Marriage (*Yibbum*) and *Haliẓah* in Post-Talmudic Times," (Hebrew), *Tarbits* 51 (1981–82): 59–106; idem, "Post-Zoharic Relations between Halakhah and Kabbalah," (Hebrew), *Daat* 4(1980): 57–74, esp. 69–70 and nn. 58–60; Isaiah Tishby, *Mishnat ha-zohar*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1961), 2:31–42; Joseph Hacker, "The Connection of Spanish Jewry with Eretz-Israel Between 1391 and 1492" (Hebrew), *Shalem* 1 (1974): 105–56. The halakhic debates in the Middle Ages turn on certain ceremonies that the surviving brother of a childless man was supposed to undertake with respect to his dead brother's childless widow. See discussion below.

29 Dt 25:5–9 obligates the brother of a childless man who dies to marry his brother's widow in order to perpetuate his dead brother's name when the first child is born. This marriage ceremony was designed to bind the family relationsip even closer. Should her brother-in-law refuse to marry her, then she must perform the "unshoeing" ceremony which permitted the childless widow to remarry outside the husband's family. This ceremony was usually required to take place within three months following the death of the widow's husband to ensure that the wife was not pregnant; during this time she was entitled to enjoy the benefits of her late husband's estate. If her brother-in-law agreed to marry her, he too was entitled to a share of his late brother's estate. If he did not agree to marry his childless sister-in-law or if the "unshoeing" ceremony took place, he did not share in the inheritance (Lv 18:16). See also Wegner, *Chattel or Person* 104–113.

30 Dt 24: 2–4; trans. *Zohar*, 3:103a–315.

31 See Schirmann, *Hebrew Poetry in Spain and in Provence (Ha-shirah ha-'ivrit)*, 4 vols. (Tel Aviv, 1961), 1:74-78.

32 See Schirmann, ibid., 143–145.

33 Ibid., 176–285; *Selected Religious Poems of Salomon Ibn Gabirol*, , trans. Israel Zangwill (Zangwill, *Ibn Gabirol*) (Philadelphia, 1923), xvii–xl.

34 Schirmann, ibid.; Zangwill, *Ibn Gabirol*, xviii, xxiv–xxvi.

35 His philosophical works included *The Fountain of Life* (*Meqor Ḥayyim*) and *The Royal Crown* (*Keter Malkhut*); his ethical works were *Remedying the Soul* (*Tiqqun Middot ha-nefesh*) and *The Choicest Pearls* (*Mivḥar Peninim*).

36 Ibn Gabirol probably never married. His inclination to asceticism, discerned in much of his poetry, may have been due to the bitterness at his all-consuming illness.

37 Zangwill, *Ibn Cabirol*, 20–1.

38 See Schirmann, *Ha-shirah ha-'ivrit*, 214. Cf. his poem, ibid., 231, in which he despises the acquisition of property and of children.

39 Schirmann, ibid., 246. Compare Zangwill, *Ibn Gabirol*, 28.

40 See Solomon Ibn Gabirol, *Secular Poems* (Hebrew), ed. H. Brody and J. Schirmann (Jerusalem, 1974), 85–6.

41 Is 54:6-7. On this poem see *Maḥzor 'Aram ẓova'* (Venice, 1527), *Seliḥot le-shabbat shofeṭim*, 355.

42 See Jer 17:6.

43 *The Tahkemoni of Judah Al-Harizi*, trans. Victor Reichert, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1965), was written to show that the linguistic wealth, prowess and treasures of the Hebrew languaae were equal to those of Arabic, the language commonly used by Jewish *literati* of this period.

44 *Tahkemoni*, 296–328.

45 See Schirmann,*Ha-shirah ha-'ivrit*, 3:11–55; Joseph Ben Meir Zabara, The Book of Delight, tr. Moses Hadas (New York, 1932), 149–61.

46 See Schirmann, ibid., 19–24. Folk tales were transmitted from India through to the Muslims and then to the Christians through the medium of the Jews. On their transmission see *Book of Delight*, 11–41.

47 *Book of Delight*, 9; 152–60.

48 On the literary genre of perfidy and infidelity see Talya Fishman, "A Medieval Parody of Misogyny: Judah ibn Shabbetai's 'Minbat Yehudah sone hanashim' " *Prooftexts* 8 (1988): 89–111; Norman Roth, "The Wiles of Women Motif in Medieval Hebrew Literature of Spain," *Hebrew Annual Review* 2 (1978): 145–65. On many similar works by Spanish Jewish writers see Isaac ben Shelomo Ibn Sahula (1244–after 1291) who, in his *Ancient Parable* (*Mashal ha-qadmoni*), elaborated on the theme of the unfaithful wife (Schirmann, *Hashirah ha-'ivrit*, 4:349–52). On "The Pious Man and His Adulterous Wife" see ibid., 367–77. On "Judah the Misogynist" (Judah ibn Shabbetai, Toledo, 1168–Saragossa, 1225) see Schirmann, ibid., 3:70–86. Judah seemingly parodied women as wily and wicked, thus negating completely the requisites of a youthful married woman. Common to all these women in satirical writing was their beauty, ostensible virtue and above all, their zest and lust towards men not their husbands despite the latters' claim to fame, prestige, wealth, piety, knowledge and wisdom.

49 On his life see Schirmann, *Ha-shirah ha-'ivrit*, 2:362–67.

50 On Isaac ibn Ghiyyat, see Schirmann, ibid., 2:301.

51 See *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, , trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia, 1934), xx–xxv; *Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature*,, an Anthology, trans. B. Halper (Philadelphia, 1921), 100-01; Moses Ibn Ezra, *Shirei ha-ḥol* [*Diwan*], 2 vols. (Berlin, 1935), 1:31–32.

52 *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, 47.

53 Prv 9:13.

54 Ps 45:4.

55 Eccl 7:26.

56 On crypto-Jews see Haim Beinart, "The Conversos and their Fate," in, *Spain and the Jews*, ed. Elie Kedourie (London, 1992), 92–122; Henry Kamen, "The Expulsion: Purpose and Consequence," ibid., 74–91; Yitzhak Fritz Baer, *A*

History of the Jews in Christian Spain, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1960–1966), 2:95–169; 244–99; 433–43; Benzion Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain from the Late 14th to the Early 16th Century* (New York, 1966), 6–22 and passim.

57 On the plight of these women see Renée Levine Melammed, "The Ultimate Challenge: Safeguarding the Crypto-Judaic Heritage," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 53 (1986): 91–109.

58 See the discussion on adultery and *Manzerut* in Louis M. Epstein, *Marriage Laws in the Bible and Talmud* (Cambridge, 1942), 195–97. For discussions as to what constituted valid divorce proceedings in Jewish law see Zeev Ealk, *Jewish Matrimonial Law* (Oxford, 1966), 113–143

59 See n. 30 above.

60 The leading rabbis of the period were Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet (Valencia, 1327–Algiers, 1408), and Rabbi Simon ben Ṣemab Duran (Majorca, 1361–North Africa, 1444) and his descendants. Their advice is contained in the *responsa* literature, a vast body of rabbinic literature containing responses to legal questions which were asked by individuals and communities throughout the Jewish world. See Solomon R. Freehof, *The Responsa Literature and A Treasury of Responsa* (New York, 1973), 21–41; 210–16; Epstein, *Marriage Laws in the Bible*, 104–30; 139–42.

61 The rabbis were operating on the talmudic principle in *B.T. Sanhedrin* 44a: A Jew, even if has sinned, is still a Jew. See also Isaac ben Sheshet, *She'elot u-Teshuvot Bar Sheshet* (reprinted Jerusalem, 1974) (Ribash, *Responsa*), no. 4. The following discussion encapsulates only briefly what became a subject for much discussion in many *converso* communities for at least the next two centuries.

62 *ve-laqaḥti 'etkhem.* See also Dt 24:1; Ex 6:7.

63 Jer 3:14-18: *hinḥalti 'et 'avoteikhem*

64 Hos 2:21–2. This passage reiterates God's characteristics: righteousness, justice (Gn 18:19), loving kindness and compassion (Dt 7:12; 13:18). For a midrashic interpretation of this passage see also *Deuteronomy Rabbah* 3:9.

Enrico Vicentini

Scribal Culture and Theory of Authorship: The Case of the Marco Polo Manuscript Tradition

From its legendary inception in a Genoa prison cell to the 1928 critical edition by Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, Marco Polo's account of his travels has had a convoluted and complex history. According to Benedetto, Polo's work can rightly be considered a "lost book," of which modern editions are mere conjectural 'approximations' or 'reconstructions' of extant corrupt manuscripts, no two of which are exactly alike. The procession of copyists and translators who disseminated Polo's travel account justifiably free to alter and embellish the text to their own ends. Influenced by their own immediate interests, the interests of their patrons, and the cultural climate in which they worked, these scribes are thus responsible for the often radical divergences and digressions from the text that exist from one manuscript to another.

The absence of the original text and the proliferation of competing manuscripts raise significant questions—questions of authorial voice and intention, historical authenticity versus fictional embellishment, generic convention, and canon acceptance—questions which have been continually posed, tentatively answered, and endlessly debated by modern commentators. Hoping to reconstitute the integrity of the lost original, modern literary and historical scholars are left to disentangle and reassemble the traces from the pieces which remain. Ultimately the text we are familiar with today cannot be genuinely ascribed to a single, historical author, but to a collective of chroniclers, scribes, and editors.

This essay will concentrate primarily on the cultural and historical aspects of Marco Polo's travel account and its manuscript tradition, under the following headings: (I) the background and implications of the state of scribal culture up to the fifteenth century and the problems arising out of the copyists' habits of reading, writing and thinking; (II) the issue of co-responsibility of the text as demonstrated in the

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prologue to the work; and (III) the oral and written environment as exemplified in the prologue and scribal additions to key manuscript editions of Marco Polo's work.

When one speaks about Marco Polo's text, the role of the copyists is often disregarded or underestimated. The scribes of that period were not only artists and artisans in their own right, but *readers* who, in their work, continually took into account their *own* expectations of the text in addition to those of contemporary and future reading publics. These scribes then, must also be considered responsible, with Rustichello da Pisa, Marco Polo's 'first' transcriber, for the continuity of the text not only in its physical transmission, but also in its editing. Fourteenth century copyists no longer managed their work as their scribal predecessors, who had convened in *scriptoria* found in monasteries. Monastic regulations stipulated that monks were to devote a number of hours to intellectual work, which meant mostly the copying of manuscripts.[1] In monasteries, the ancient system of *pronunciatio* was still practised, meaning that the text was dictated to the assembly of scribes. This demonstrates, in Zumthor's words, that *pronunciatio* "fonctionnait donc, en un premier temps, come réceptrice en situation orale-auditive."[2] Monastic scribes were also forbidden to make any changes to the text and, even though at times the text that was being copied had ortographic or transcriptive errors, it was expected that the scribe repeated them exactly as they were. By doing so, the transcriber was considered a true master of his craft since he was copying letter by letter. Only later were marginal glosses included to clarify difficult words or passages. As far as falsifying, altering or rewriting were concerned, such actions remained extremely rare.[3]

Manuscripts acquired further notoriety in the thirteenth century and became more widely used for they were part of the education and the culture of the more affluent order of society. Armando Petrucci writes that the production of manuscripts:

> si accrebbe notevolmente in termini numerici rispetto al ruolo precedente, pur se ci è impossibile rendere tale rapporto in precisi dati percentuali; ma anche soltanto il fatto che nelle attuali biblioteche il numero di codici del secolo XII sia incomparabilmente maggiore rispetto a quelli attribuibili al secolo XI può costituire un probante indizio della giustezza della nostra affermazione.[4]

Brian Stock has pointed out that up to the thirteenth century, the act of writing belonged exclusively to higher culture but with the appearance of vernacular languages in textual form, there began an editing of experience and those individuals who had previously been relegated in the background, the "voiceless," had their words fixed in a textual form. This was caused by the emergence of more commercial occasions, and society then became more and more oriented towards the scribe. The placing of spoken testimony and the recording of oral transactions through the process of sifting, classifying and encoding, led to an interaction of language, text and society. Those elements incorporated into the textual framework the oral and the written.[5] For the increasing number of emerging interests in the thirteenth century, manuscript production was also established in cities, and institutions made ample usage of these products, utilized for the preparation of future professionals.[6]

The *clericus*—a role that demonstrates the close connection between the scribe and the Church—had to have an excellent knowledge of Latin and of the vernacular. It is then correct to designate him as a man of letters, since by this time he had reached a position of importance in the workings of the medieval city. The scribal workplaces were transformed in true scriptorial laboratories similar to commercial enterprises,[7] workshops with people compiling material and adapting texts, and editorial structures.[8] The various *mechanical* operations led to assembly line copying, which meant that many manuscripts were no longer transcribed by one person but by a series of scribes.

In studying the manuscript tradition connected with Boccaccio, Vittore Branca has given us a portrait of the copyists which he distinguished in two groups: the professional and the *part-time* amateurs. This second group is particularly interesting because it included people from different backgrounds and interests, people who practised the art of embellishment which Gerald L. Bruns has described as "an art of disclosure as well as an art of amplification: [meaning that] the act of adding to a text is also the act of eliciting from it that which remains unspoken."[9] Branca explains that:

> Di fronte al *Decameron* i lettori non erano raccolti in un atteggiamento di ammirazione e di rispetto come di fronte ai capolavori di evidente e consacrata dignità letteraria[10]

as was the case with the classics or, better still, the text *par excellence*, the Bible. The *Decameron* was continually rewritten and some of its passages were omitted because the *part-time* amateur transcriber, or reader, "tagliava il libro più suo . . . sui suoi gusti, sulle sue necessità, sulle sue preferenze,"[11] and what remained were transcriptions

> ispirate a grande libertà e guidate da gusti personali assolutamente ignoti ai copisti di professione o ai letterati di stretta osservanza . . . La personalità dei trascrittori, il loro lavorare «en amateurs» lascia più facilmente margine a scelte personali, a ricerche e a tentativi di ricostruzione, a interventi di gusto più o meno notevoli, fino all'estremo di ritocchi o di rifacimenti.[12]

The basic text became then a pretext that permitted transcribers to shape the text, to disassemble it and reassemble a new text.

Paul Zumthor has pointed out, following Marshall McLuhan, the abysmal difference that distinguishes the scribal being from the typographic one, in that manuscript cultures remained tactile-oral and that writing was not as common as it is in our world.[13] Walter J. Ong also believes that manuscript culture was a continuation of oral culture and he writes that "manuscript cultures remained largely oral-aural even in retrieval of material preserved in texts,"[14] Franz Baüml writes that

> form and content of a written narrative can be manipulated by the writing author or scribe and the reciting reader to a much greater extent than a traditional oral poem by a performing oral poet.[15]

It is true that in manuscript culture, intertextuality pervades and proved to be interdependent on oral tradition: texts were *created* from other texts by "borrowing, adapting, sharing the common, originally oral, formulas and themes"[16] and new literary forms were then produced.

In oral tradition, *jongleurs* repeated texts set by the *trouvères*,[17] but at the same time they changed the language and the content, to create the best text possible for their public. The "illiterate oral epic singer" mentioned by Ong, was also without a written text but he did not need one since his thematic memory was filled with formulas that acted as texts.[18] We cannot give at this point, a history of this tradition but *jongleurs* had in practical terms the same role as the "part-time" scribe, who can be rightly considered one of their

descendants. Unlike the *jongleur*, the copyist did have a written text but he did not feel forced to be faithful to its author's wishes, for two well-known reasons: (1) literature in the vernacular was not thought of in terms of literary and creative *ownership* (only with print culture will this factor be taken more into consideration[19]); and, (2) copyists of the time did not feel obliged to stick to the letter (or to the spirit, for that matter) of the original text, since they actually considered themselves as colleagues of the author[20] , fully authorized to bring whatever changes and revisions they thought best suited the text (Zumthor calls them "auteurs successifs"[21]), and elevated their work to the same level of importance as that of the author. Ultimately whoever knew how to write would transcribe and authors such as Bacon, Petrarch, Leonardo Bruni, Chaucer and Reginald Peacock, complained in their writings about the carelessness shown by a number of scribes.[22]

Cesare Segre has investigated the *Chanson de Roland* manuscript tradition and has described the scribes' insistent contribution to the transmission of the text, as an incessant creative activity.[23] The *Chanson* was reworked a number of times and each transcription has proven to be a new version and each copyist another rewriter,[24] Segre has concluded that such reworkings were not mere acts of improvisation but they were the product of "attività di aggiornamento dei testi al gusto via via predominante."[25] The issue at hand was to amend the texts according to the "bon usage"[26] that prevailed in a certain period, a process then of normalization and modernization.[27] The *chansons de geste* whose first models date back to approximately the year 1100, constituted a "special variety of lofty style,"[28] or, as Ramon Menéndez Pidal writes, "una poesía que vive variando" since

> los que la cantan, alteran a veces algún detalle de la narración, y como estas raras variaciones de contexto se producen en fechas diversas y en diversos lugares donde el poema es cantado, el episodio o detalle de la fabulación que un refunditor varía en una versión dada, propagación seguirá caminos muy distintos de la propagación que logre otro episodio o detalle modificado en fecha y en lugar diferentes.[29]

The constancy of genetic-compositive relations between the manuscripts shows the freedom and the creativity that romance scribes enjoyed which tended to reinvigorate the original exemplar. Menéndez Pidal asserts that "el trabajo poético de varias generaciones rean-

ima el texto tradicional, prolongando su extraordinaria vitalidad."[30] In spite of this, the lofty style mentioned by Auerbach did not live for long, and as far as the subject matter was concerned, it merged in courtly literature[31] and hence was trasmitted to other genres.

The consumption of the text is proven not only by the circulation of single manuscripts but by the propagation that followed which points out, to use Zumthor's words, "une mobilité essentielle du texte médiéval"[32] that has allowed for a textual consumption. Copyists felt free to modify the text, for this reason "chaque version, chaque «état du texte» doit en principe être considéré, plutôt que comme le résultat d'une émendation, comme un ré-emploi, une ré-creation."[33] The literary work is then in a continuous state of flux "elle n'a pas de fin proprement dite: elle se contente, à un certain moment, pour des raisons quelconques, de cesser d'exister."[34] At this point Giorgio Manganelli's words regarding Marco Polo's book come to mind. The Italian writer and critic wrote that Polo's text, a work that refused to exist in the original, was, nevertheless, "un libro perduto da sempre e da sempre con noi."[35] For its incessant reproduction and reelaboration the book is in itself a fantastic object made for the reader, the copyist, the translator. Zumthor concludes that

> L'oeuvre, ainsi conçue, est par définition dynamique. Elle croît, se transforme et décline. La multiplicité et la diversité des textes qui la manifestent constituent comme son bruitage interne. Ce que nous percevons, en chacun des énoncés écrits en quoi se décompose pour nous cette poésie et qui s'offrent a nous comme unité d'analyse, c'est moins un achèvement qu'un texte en train de se faire; plutôt qu'une essence, une production; plutôt qu'un sens accompli, une pratique constamment renouvelée, de signification; plutôt qu'une structure, une phase dans un procès de structuration.[36]

There is a continuation of oral cultural characteristics, since manuscripts appear in a *quasi* independent transcription and fixity of different and successive moments of an oral transformation of the text brought about by evolutionary processes foreign to the very text. Paolo Merci has stated that *chansons de geste* resemble theatrical texts filled with

> spazio per l'improvvisazione dell'esecutore; cooperazione, dentro ogni nuova 'rappresentazione', tra testo di partenza, o testo tràdito, e insieme delle esperienze esecutive, tra tradizione di un testo (orale o scritta che sia) e tradizione della sua rappresentazione; valore convenzionale del testo

verbale come richiamo e fissazione di una parte, forse la più importance, ma non esclusiva, dello spettacolo, ecc.[37]

The scribe—a reader-colleague and reproducer—is above all an interpreter and a commentator who, in the process of placing the material through different cultural filters, aims at reaching the ideal *summa* of all possible readings to the point of building a *new* text, as Zumthor has stated, almost paradoxically superior to the archetype.[38]

In the case of courtly poetry, Maria Luisa Meneghetti has discussed the dialectic rapport between reception and recreation, and has stated that readers and whoever dealt with the text made "un uso diretto ed esplicito del testo o dell'insieme di testi recepiti."[39] The original esthetic object is disassembled so that medieval readers and users may transform it and rebuild a text that will possibly be taken and transformed again by future readers-adapters for the production of further esthetic objects.

In manuscript culture the scribe, a descendant of that tradition not yet conscious of such terms as originality, imitation, translation and plagiarism, found himself in front of a series of possibilities set by his situational needs or by those of his readers and/or patrons. In the reading and re-writing of the text, the scribe is equipped with the meaning set by encyclopedias, bestiaries and lapidaries of the day, those texts that with the Bible constituted "una base di decodifica" and functioned as guarantors to spark a whole new series of further readings.[40] Marco Polo's text has proven to be a dynamic structure in the way it has been continuously changed and renovated by reader-copyists to emphasize its multiplicity of aspects. With the disappearance of the original, there was the removal of the fixity that would not have permitted any permutability, which would have arrested the mechanism of dynamism. Despite the numerous translations, omissions, extensions, embellishments, Marco Polo's text always belongs to its author who seems to have asked for the cooperation of members of scribal culture, who were as Bruns has written, "in the periphery of letters and [strived] to attain the privileged center where Virgil dwells."[41]

Print culture fixed the work onto the page, where such notions as originality and creativity were clearly set,[42] whereas in the Middle Ages, a work had been considered a container of

more than what it says, or what its letters contain, which is why we are

privileged to read between the lines, and not to read between them only but to write between them as well, because the text is simply not complete—not fully what it could be, as in the case of the dark story that requires an illuminating retelling . . . an art of disclosure as well as an art of amplification: the act of adding to a text is also the act of eliciting from it that which remains unspoken.[43]

With the transcribing of manuscripts, scribes gave their own input to the text which changed with the passing of time and with the individual experience of each copyist.

The question of authorial voice and intention has been frequently posed in regards to Polo's text. The scribal role in the transmission of the text itself has been discussed from a historical and literary perspective. In his seminal work on medieval theory of authorship, Alastair Minnis suggests that a different set of medieval writings in which to find historically and theoretically valid material is provided particularly by the prologues on authoritative Latin writers, or *auctores* studied in the later Middle Ages. Those prologues are "valuable repositories of medieval theory of authorship, i.e. the literary theory centred on the concepts of *auctor* and *auctoritas*."[44] Minnis proceeds to delineate the composition of prologues employed to give information which would fill the text with *auctoritas*. In commentaries on *auctores*, a series of headings was employed to include:

the title of the work, the name of the author, the intention of the author, the material or subject matter of the work, its mode of literary procedure, its order or arrangement, its usefulness, and the branch of learning to which it belonged.[45]

Following the thirteenth century successor to the type C prologue, the Aristotelian prologue, Minnis writes that "a series of terms came to be employed in theological commentaries which indicates a wish to define more precisely the literary activity characteristic of an *auctor*,"[46] namely those of the *scriptor* (scribe), *compilator* (compiler) and *commentator* (commentator). Minnis adds the following schema:

The *auctor* contributes most, the *scriptor* contributes nothing, of his own. The scribe is subject to materials composed by other men which he should copy as carefully as possible, *nihil mutando*. The *compilator* adds together or arranges the statements of other men, adding no opinion of his own (*addendo, sed non de suo*). The *commentator* strives to explain the views

of others, adding something of his own by way of explanations. Finally and most importantly, the *auctor* writes *de suo* but draws on the statements of other men to support his own views.[47]

Despite the application of such a schema in a discussion involving scholastic literary attitudes in the Middle Ages, one must nevertheless remember that in the thinking of the period it was understood that for a text "to be good" it had to be old since it was widely thought that "the best writers were the more ancient,"[48] so it was only natural for a medieval "author" of a text to justify and ennoble his own text by repeating a schema previously proven to be reliable and tenable. In the Polo manuscript tradition, the issue of co-responsiblity of the text, as well as the oral and written environment where the text was produced, come to the surface in a closer look at the prologue.

The vast and varied manuscript tradition of Marco Polo's travel account is strikingly illustrated in the employment of titles chosen for the work: from the most authoritative *Divisament dou monde*, to redactions entitled either *Livre des merveills du monde* or *De mirabilibus mundi*, to the title most commonly used in the Italian tradition *Milione* (taken from the familiar form attributed to the Polo family, an apheresis of *Emilione*).

Little more than what the reader is actually told in the preface is known about Marco Polo. In 1298, in a Genoa prison, two very diverse personalities met in what later turned out to be a most fortunate encounter: Marco Polo, a tireless Venetian traveller just back from a series of expeditions that had taken him from one end of Asia to the other, and Rustichello da Pisa, a humble writer of romances who transcribed from dictation. In the large family of Marco Polo manuscripts, the French-Italian group is the oldest and generally begins with a "lobrique" bearing the *incipit* "Ci comancent le lobrique de cest livre qui est appelé le divis[a]ment dou monde"[49] and certain elements of prologue-paradigms soon follow. The title illuminating the book is given and it is an obvious reminder of the literary genre of the *forma tractatus*, which also included such works as the *Chronica Libri Imaginis Mundi*, the *Image du monde*, the *Semeiança do mundo*, and medieval texts of a historical and geographic nature. The book is solemnly addressed to "Seignors enperaor et rois, dux et marquois, cuens, chevaliers et b[o]rgio[i]s, et toutes gens que volés savoir," a frequently used phrase that "indicate[d] the author's in-

tention that his work shall be read alound, shall be heard,"[50] further stressed with the inclusion of "si prennés cestui livre et le feites lire" which could either mean: to have the book read in general or to have the book read to other people. A few lines below, there is another reference to the reader ("chascuns que cest livre liroie ou oiront") which emphasizes the acts of reading or of listening of the text.

The *materia libri* and the *intentio auctoris* are in a sense, amalgamated since the didactic purpose of the author in producing the text in question, as well as the objective, are given. This important passage consists of

> les deverses jenerasions des homes et les deversités des deverses region dou monde . . . toutes les grandismes mervoilles et les grant diversités de la grande Harminie et de Persie et des Tartars et ‹de› Indie, et de maintes autres provinces

and in its entirety, the initial exposition of the subject matter resembles the information given on the jacket of a twentieth century publication, meant to entice the purchase and consumption of the work. The scribe-commentator then names the author and proceeds to discuss the method in which his information was gathered, thus indicating the text's authenticity and trustworthiness. The author is "meisser Marc Pol, sajes et noble citaiens de Venece," a man who

> raconte por ce que a seç iaus meisme il le voit. Mes auques hi n'i a qu'il ne vit pas, mes il l'entendi da homes citables et de verité, et por ce metreron les chouses veue por veue et l'entendue por entandue, por ce que notre livre soit droit et vertables sanç nulle ma‹n›songe . . . por ce que toutes sunt chouses vertables.

A brief biographical sketch is then included, with recurrent references to the author's veracity:

> je voç fais savoir que, puis que notre Sire Dieu pasme de seç mainç Adam notre primer pere jusque a cestui point, ne fu cristienç, ne paiens, ne tartar, ne yndiens, ne nulç homes de nulle generasion, que tant seust ne cherchast de les deverses partie dou monde et de les grant mervoilles come cestuui messire Marc en cherche et soi. Et por ce dit il a soi meisme que tropo seroit grant maus se il ne feist metre en ecriture toutes les granç mervoilles qu'il vit et qu'il oi por verités, por ce que les autres jens que ne le virent ne ‹ne› sevent, le sachent por cest livre. Et si voç di qu'il demora a ce savoir en celles deverses parties et provences bien XXVI anç.

The subject pronouns *je* and *il* are repeated to increase the degree of truthfulness to assign to the information in the text,[51] they vouch for its reliability. The *je* and *notre* also introduce the reader to "Rust[i]ciaus de Pise," who carries out the action of "metre en ecriture," the scribe to whom the Venetian "fist retraire toutes cestes chouses" when they were both in the "meisme chartre. . . , au tens qu'il avoit MCCXCVIII anç que Jesucrit nesqui." After having also referred to the stylistic method of procedure and to the order of the book ("notre libre voç contera por ordre apertemant"), the initial prologue comes to an end. The specific reference to the year in which the book was dictated and transcribed, is further proof of a "volonté de 'crédibilité'" which, as Raymond Jean writes, "s'affirme dans la référence à une date précise, historiquement répérable, remplissant la même fonction qu'une référence à un document d'état civil."[52] In the "lobrique" to the French-Italian edition, the basis for a comprehensive and informative prologue was then provided. The stock-schema of prologues to authoritative scholastic and classical texts was supplemented to signify a more literary dimension to texts in the vernacular.

At the end of the nineteenth chapter, we read:"Or puis que je voç ai conteç tot le fat dou prolegue, ensi com vos avés oi, adonc come‹n›cerau le livre." In the previous chapters, the adventures of the Venetian's direct predecessors, his father and his uncle, and Marco's arrival at the Court of the Great Khan and his departure were told. This "prolegue" is much more extensive than prologues found in vernacular texts, and acts as a type of testament, demonstrating the reliability of the author. Its form is that of an itinerary since the various human and geographic stages are listed: the first voyage by Marco's father and uncle, their return to Venice, their second voyage with Marco and their final return to Venice. In the semi-autobiographical prologue-itinerary, the narrator does not go into many details but mentions that the text to follow is where everything will be better explained.

The French group of Polo manuscripts is best remembered under the title of *Livre des merveilles du monde*, and it is the most elegant group since most manuscripts were provided with miniatures and arabesques. The components of the second set of manuscripts are based on a lost exemplar of the French-Italian redaction, brought to

France in the early fourteenth century, and re-written in French by a certain Grégoire who also modified it to reflect the literary trends of the period.[53] A number of manuscripts belonging to this group have survived, the most important one being the French 2810 which exists at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This is the famous *Livre des Merveilles*, also renowned for its exquisite 84 miniatures. On the first folio we find the *incipit*: "Ci commence le livre de Marc Paul et des merveilles," which refers simultaneously to the title of the text, its author and the subject matter of the book. A second more typical *incipit* follows:

> Cy après commence le livre de Marc Paule des Merveilles d'Aise la grant et d'Inde la maiour et minour et des diverses regions du monde. Pour savoir la pure verité des diverses regions du monde si prenés ce livre et le faites lire.[54]

Here too the marvellous and its diversity are emphasized, and both reader and listener are addressed to indicate that the work may be both read and heard. The author and title appear again ("Messire Marc Pol son livre de la Division du Monde et des merveilles d'icellny"), and for a third time in the comment by Jean Flamel, the secretary of the Duke of Berry who had been given the manuscript by the Duke of Bourgogne. Flamel wrote: "Ce livre est des merveilles du monde, c'est assavoir de la Terre Saincte, du Grant Kaan empereur des Tartars et du pays d'Ynde." It is interesting to note that Marco Polo's book is here inserted in a manuscript which is a collection of authors recounting tales of the marvellous, such as Odorico da Pordenone, William of Boldensele, Jean de Mandeville, Hayton and Ricoldo da Montecroce. We can then conclude that the Venetian's text was not yet considered a pioneer of scientific geography but rather an informative and entertaining collection of marvellous facts and observations that struck the readers' and listeners' imagination.

In manuscript 125 of the Berne Civic Library, there is a note entitled "Préface de la copie donnée par Marco Polo à Thibaud de Cépoy." In this important manuscript edition there is one of the few references found regarding one of Polo's contemporaries. Thibaut de Chépoy was an envoy of Charles of Valois, and while he was on a visit to Venice in 1307, he procured a copy of Polo's book. In the "préface" the copyist writes that Thibault

eust la coppie a messir Marc Pol bourgeois et habitant en la cité de Venise. Et le dit sire Marc Pol, comme treshonnourable et bien acoustumé en pluseurs regions et bien moriginé, et lui desirans que ce qu'il avoit veu fust sceu par l'univers monde . . . donna au dessus det seigneur de Cepoy la premiere coppie de son dit livre puis qu'il l'eust fait, et moult lui estoit agreables quant par si preudomme estoit avanciez et portez es nobles parties de France.[55]

Monseigneur de Valois was then given the copy and "depuis en a il donné coppie a sez amis qui l'en ont requis." This declaration should not be taken literally since, with the passing of time, it could likely have been altered as much as Polo's book. Nevertheless, there are some common points with the "lobrique" of the French-Italian. The noble spirit of the Venetian and his extraordinary knowledge of unknown regions are mentioned, as is his wish "que ce qu'il avoit veu fust sceu par l'univers monde."

The French-Italian and the French groups of manuscripts are filled with those *effets de littérature* so typical of romance, such as the introductory passages, the descriptions of duels and battles, and the overall characterization of figures such as the Great Khan. This example of literary production also consists of the principal forms of medieval Latin and romance narrative that evolved around the exposition of material of a practical nature. The two groups point at the fascination raised by a remote and legendary reality which persisted in the texture of historical and romance compilations, texts which were at times mere literary *divertissements*.

The fourteenth century Tuscan edition of Marco Polo's travels is best known as the *Milione*. This edition is connected with the reality of the fourteenth century and the interest for merchant literature closely linked with the marvellous, the fantastic and the fabulous of epic literature. The Tuscan version of Polo's book was shaped to include the most popular texts of the period and other texts that had been traditionally written in Latin, or that had been intended for a limited number of readers. The mixture of genres found in the *Milione* exemplifies the tastes of an emerging merchant class mixed with those of the *old* class and reformulated to meet the expectations of the readership of the day.

The *Milione* is subdivided into 209 chapters, 15 of which bear no *incipit*. The initial chapter essentially repeats what is found in the "lobrique" to the *Divisament dou monde* except for some revaling

divergences and omissions. Except for the reference to the *libro*, no title is given here. In the French-Italian edition, the reading/listening public is told to have the book read to them ("le feites lire") whereas in the Tuscan, they are told to read it ("leggete questo libro"[56]). The following lines in the French-Italian are omitted from the Tuscan: "Et chascuns que cest livre liroie ou oiront le doient croire, por ce que toutes sunt chouses vertables," to perhaps indicate the credibility that Polo's travel account has won in the Tuscan context and the higher prestige of a reading rather than a listening public. In the French-Italian edition, the reader is told that Polo lived and travelled in those far off lands for twenty-six years (according to the information in the book, it should be twenty-four), but in the Tuscan there is a translation error ("trentasei anni"). In manuscript II ii 61 (ancient Magliabechiano class XIII, No. 44) of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence, the copyist added information referring to the title ("Qui incomincia il libro di messer marcho polo da Vinegia che si chiama melione") and despite the fact that "non crediamo che mai fosse niuno che tanto ciercasse il mondo quanto fecie messer marco figliuolo di messer nicholo polo nobile e gran cittadino della città di Vinegia," Amelio Bonaguisi, the podesta of Ciereto who copied the book "per passare tempo e malinconia," concludes:

> E bene potrebbe essere vero quello di che ragiona ma io non lo credo, tuttavia per lo mondo si truovano assai isvariate cose d'uno paese a un altro. Ma queso mi pare ch'io lo rasenprasse a mio diletto cose da no credere ne di farvi fede, io dico quanto a me.[57]

This is an instance where we have the copyist's name, a podesta who was an amateur and could not come to terms with the "cose incredibili" and "miracoli" he had transcribed, so he chose to dissociate himself from his transcription and excuse his labour as a mere exercise.

Examples of previous prose are characterized by the author's wish to *contare* and *devisare* which correspond in Achille Tartaro's terms to "le inclinazioni di un pubblico medio, identificabile con il ceto artigiano, mercantile e finanziario intorno al quale gravitava la vita dei Comuni italiani."[58] This class was attracted by these very popular historical, encyclopedic, esoteric and fascinating works of curiosity since they were filled with a reality foreign to their world. The first exemplars of prose in the vernacular met the needs of a practical

nature and "costituiscono un primo avvio sulla corrente spesso impetuosa della letteratura divulgativa."[59] Nevertheless, thirteenth century prose in the vernacular "consiste nello sforzo di dare anche al volgare prosastico una dignità formale, una tradizione."[60] At this point, one can see the degree of mixing of diverse material, a process that will clearly lead the way to the *Milione* which Tartaro has called "un'opera per molti aspetti eccentrica,"[61] since in it there is a balance of didactic and pleasurable material.

The various transcriptions of Marco Polo's book have brought about a number of texts that reflect the period in which they were edited. In the case of the *Milione*, it is clear that the Tuscan edition could have been the only possible edition for the context in which it appeared and the readers that were to make use of it. Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso writes that the *Milione*

> rappresenta la lettura che del libro poliano dette il ceto borghese mercantile, nell'ambito del quale, come indicano elementi esterni e interni, fu eseguita e diffusa. Orientata sui dati commerciali e sugli aspetti novellistici, essa collima perfettamente con gli interessi e i gusti che di questa classe, proprio allora in grande espansione, ci sono ormai noti.[62]

The cultural climate at the very beginning of the fourteenth century was not far removed from the previous century in which there were few texts that dealt with the concrete. There is no doubt that in the *Milione* there is a pervasive merchant patina but in the text there are traits previously found in minor genres of narrative. One can postulate the influence of the encyclopedic genre but with the *Milione* we have an account of a true authorial experience and the inclusion of information from people who were trustworthy. Polo's text is to be considered exemplary since it is not a *mélange* of information borrowed from other works, so typical of medieval encyclopedias. The *Milione* exemplifies the fields of didactic and scientific literature: its chapters are geographic (typical of travel or geographic treatises); commercial-economic (such as those found in merchant manuals or navigation books); scientific (material found in lapidaries, bestiaries, herbals and scientific treatises); hagiographic; historical-ethnographic (for social, cultural and political material); literary (for the epic-chivalric aspects and the novellas). In the *Milione* there is a conglomerate of material and mixture of genres that elevates the encyclopedia from the stagnant and closed genre it had become,

to the more modern meaning of the encyclopedia: an authoritative source of reference in general. The composite format of the text and the multiplicity of readings it encourages reveal an embarassing complexity, resistant to any generic reductionist framing.[63] There is then the meeting point between late medieval latin literature and humanistic culture which was then emerging. The experimentation and the heightened level of observation that pervade the entire work, remove it from the more medieval meaning of encyclopedia which reinforced, as Vittorio Cian wrote, that "istinto della conservazione intellettuale," to hand down the "avanzi della scienza,"[64] and was the outcome of a process of reproduction, repetition and assimilation.

The amateur nature of transcribers is raised again in the case of the redaction of Polo's book in the Veneto dialect which, nevertheless, proved to be a successful editorial source for the translations that ensued. Of the manuscripts belonging to the Veneto group, the CM 211 of the Biblioteca Civica of Padua essentially repeats the initial heading of the French-Italian ("Signori Re duchi marchexi chonti chavalieri prinzipi et baroni et tuta zente a chui dileta de saver le diversse zenerazion de zente e de I regniami del mondo") and readers/listeners are urged to take the book and have it read aloud ("tolè questo libro e fatelo lezer") whereas, in manuscript 557 of the Berne Civic Library, the public is simply told: "tollete questo libro." [65]

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Francesco Pipino da Bologna translated Polo's book into Latin. This proved to be a great success since a great number of manuscripts, scattered all over Europe, exist to this very day. The Pipino *edition* was also the source for re-translations into French, Irish, Bohemian, and Venetian. In the premise, Pipino wrote that the translation had been commissioned by the Dominican Order, whose interest for the lands described by Polo, for the propagation of the Christian faith was renowned. Pipino begins by stressing the faithfulness and veracity of his translation ("veridica et fideli translatione"[66]) but in the course of the translation, he nonchalantly ignores those passages he considers amusing and not useful for the members of his Order who were to consult the book before setting off for those lands described by Polo. Pipino's anti-heretical fervour is evident whenever Mohammed's name is mentioned, with epithets such as: *pessimus*, *miserabilis* and *abhominabilis*.[67] Pipino's translation entitled *De condi-*

tionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum was read, consulted and commented by another great traveller, Christopher Columbus, whose copy bears 366 annotations in his own writing.

Following Marco Polo's death, most likely in 1324, his work lent itself to readings dependent on the particular interests of its various audiences and the edition-translation chosen. In France, long passages are to be found in various compilations whose content is both geographic-scientific and fantastic, such as the *Chronicon monasterii S. Bertini* by Jean le Long d'Ypres, the *Image du monde* by Jean Beauvau, the *Historia aurea* by Jean Tynemouth, the *Voyage d'outre mer* by *Jean de Mandeville* and the *Baudouin de Sebourc*. Excerpts of Polo's work are also found in Italy, for instance in the *Liber de introductione loquendi* by Fra Filippo, in the *Libro di varie storie* by Antonio Pucci and in the *Fons memorabilium universi* by Domenico Bandino d'Arezzo. Here too we have the recognition of the *Milione* as an encyclopedic work of great didactic and scientific value, but also as a text that, precisely because of its factual content, would add credibility to the compilations themselves. In summary, Polo's text reveals that it does not belong to any one tradition or conventional genre. Its copyists' individual habits of reading, writing and thinking were incorporated into every single and unique version. Like the world Polo's book describes, it too is infinite and open to a myriad of interpetations. It has fostered a multiplicity of acts of writing, re-writing and translating, and in the process, nurtured the growth of culture beyond any circumscribed topographies of thought.

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NOTES

1 Cf. Lülfing, p. 176, and Febvre, p. 20.
2 Zumthor, 1987, p. 114.
3 Cf. Madan, pp. 35–39, and Dain, p. 17.
4 Petrucci, p. 499.
5 Cf. Stock, pp. 3–36.
6 Armando Petrucci mentions that churches and monasteries needed "enciclopedie di trattati utili per lo studio e la preparazione professionale dell'ecclesiastico mediamente colto," p. 500.
7 Cf. Lülfing, pp. 188–191, and Esposito, p. 43.
8 Cesare Segre, 1974, p. 85.
9 Bruns, p. 126.

10 Branca, p. 73.
11 Branca, p. 73.
12 Branca, p. 73.
13 Zumthor, 1987, p. 110.
14 Ong, 1982, p. 119.
15 Baüml, p. 250.
16 Ong, 1982, p. 133.
17 Cf. Crosby, p. 91.
18 Ong, 1967, p. 24.
19 Cf. Chaytor, p. 1.
20 Cf. Camesasca, p. 22.
21 Zumthor, 1972, p. 73.
22 Bühler, p. 40.
23 Segre, 1974, p. 87.
24 Segre, 1974, p.vii.
25 Segre, 1974, p. 87.
26 Jorn Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobars. Untersuchungen zur Struktur und Entwicklung des occitanische* (Tübingen: N. Niemeyer, 1983), pp. 28–29, quoted in Zumthor, 1987, p. 115.
27 Zumthor, 1987, p. 115.
28 Auerbach, p. 201.
29 Menéndez Pidal, p. 85.
30 Menéndez Pidal, p. 128.
31 Cf. Auerbach, p. 203.
32 Zumthor, 1972, p. 71.
33 Zumthor, 1972, p. 72.
34 Zumthor, 1972, p. 73.
35 Manganelli, p. 173.
36 Zumthor, 1972, p. 73.
37 Merci, p. 199.
38 Zumthor, 1987, pp. 114–115.
39 Meneghetti, p. 355.
40 Eco, p. 12.
41 Bruns, p. 124.
42 Ong, 1982, p. 133.
43 Bruns, pp. 125–126.
44 Minnis, p. 1.
45 Minnis, p. 4, also see pp. 41–72.
46 Minnis, p. 94.
47 Minnis, pp. 94–95.
48 Minnis, p. 9.
49 Unless otherwise mentioned, the quotations from the French-Italian will be taken from Marco Polo, *Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, ed. Gabriella Ronchi pp. 305–306.

50 Cf. Crosby, pp. 98–99.
51 Cf. Segre, 1983, pp. 16–17.
52 Jean, p. 424.
53 Cf. Benedetto, pp. xxxiv–lxxix.
54 The quotations are from Benedetto, p. xxxvi.
55 This final notice is reproduced in *I viaggi di Marco Polo veneziano*, ed. Lodovico Pasini, p. 438.
56 This prologue is quoted from the following edition: Marco Polo. *Milione*, ed. Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, pp. 3–4.
57 From the manuscript quoted in Benedetto, p. lxxxiv.
58 Tartaro, p. 624.
59 Segre, 1963, p. 19.
60 Segre, 1963, p. 19.
61 Tartaro, p. 627.
62 Bertolucci Pizzorusso, 1975, p. xv.
63 Cf. Bertolucci Pizzorusso, 1977, p. 5.
64 Cian, p. 33.
65 This manuscript is quoted from Benedetto, p. ci. *Part-time* amateur transcribers and/or translators made a number of errors of interpretation, included a few comments, new endings and glosses, which have been quickly discarded by filologists, cf. Benedetto, pp. cix–cxiii.
66 Pipino's edition is quoted from Benedetto, p. cliv.
67 For the manuscripts in Latin, cf. Benedetto, pp. cxxxiii–cxliv.

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Olga Zorzi Pugliese

The Power of the Text in Humanist Culture: Valla and the Donation of Constantine

The humanist movement of the Renaissance has been interpreted by historians in contrasting ways as being scientifically regressive or progressive, religiously reformist or secularly classicizing, predominantly literary and educational or broadly philosophical. Whatever the assessment, however, there can be little doubt that humanist culture was founded on the revival of ancient learning, and especially on a renewed reading and adaptation of written texts.[1]

The literary humanists, all could perhaps agree, were explorers who sought to recover and understand texts from the past: they restored lost works, discovered new ones, integrated fragmentary texts, and emended those that were already known. And all this through procedures that involved transcribing, collecting, collating, translating and interpreting texts. In so doing Renaissance scholars acquired a greater familiarity with ancient writing and thus increased the existing body of knowledge quantitatively. But their contribution did not end there: it embraced a qualitative change too, for, by developing a new critical methodology, they freed themselves from medieval commentaries and scholastic approaches and began to study authors and texts in a fresh manner. They historicized them and evaluated them more objectively, showing a greater appreciation of the differences and distances among them as well as between the works analyzed and themselves.[2]

In these endeavours the humanists fashioned new tools for analysis and exegesis, and laid the foundations for the discipline of modern philology. Moreover, as they concerned themselves not only with the question of reading but also with that of writing, they revived rhetorical forms of expression with a view to presenting their own ideas more effectively according to the classical rules of composition.[3] Their pursuits involving texts were, therefore, analytical and hermeneutic on the one hand, constructive and creative, on

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the other. And the text had an important role for them both as an inwardly directed vehicle for the reception and comprehension of knowledge and as an active and outward moving means of forceful persuasion. It should be noted that, as they looked to the past, humanists did not turn their backs on the present, nor did they analyze texts exclusively for the sake of erudition in its own right; rather, their scholarly activities were often tied to important issues of the day, as were their original writings.

The text, adaptable to philological and rhetorical applications, and seen by the humanists both as a source for the transmission of learning and as an instrument for influencing reality, found its essence in the word, its basic component part. The philological process focussed on the examination of words and the rhetorical exercise involved the utilization of words; in both cases the point of departure was the *verbum*. In fact the cult of the word is one of the chief characteristics of humanist thought. Speech was singled out by Poggio Bracciolini in the early fifteenth century, for example, as the main distinguishing feature of the human species, and human discourse as the necessary medium through which ideas take shape.[4] Hence the high esteem for Cicero's teachings on rhetoric and the great excitement experienced by Bracciolini upon discovering a complete manuscript of Quintilian whose treatise taught in great detail the possibilities for realizing all the potentialities of language.

This heightened sense of the importance of words, and of the power of the text which they create, is evident in the thought and writings of one of the leading Italian humanists, namely Lorenzo Valla.

A proud Roman, who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century (1407–57), Valla studied the classics, partly on his own, but also with distinguished teachers, some of whom were colleagues of his family members who worked in the papal chancery. Unable to secure employment there himself as he wished, he travelled to Northern Italy where, among other activities, he taught rhetoric at the University of Pavia for a brief period from 1431 to 1433 until he became embroiled in one of his frequent polemics and was forced to resign. He obtained a more stable appointment as counsellor, historian, secretary to the king of Naples, Alfonso V of Aragon, and from 1435 to 1448 he followed the monarch even on his military campaigns. During this

period Valla composed some of his most controversial works and, suspected of heresy, was interrogated by the Inquisition in Naples (1444), but released after Alfonso intervened. He succeeded finally in overcoming opposition from his rivals in Rome and was allowed to return to his native city. Engaged first as letter writer to Pope Nicholas V in 1448 and then as full-fledged apostolic Secretary to Callixtus III in 1455, he also spent the last seven years of his life teaching rhetoric at the University of Rome.

Valla is the author of a number of important works, all written in Latin and mostly of a polemical nature. They treat a host of subjects ranging from Latin Erammar and stylistics to the ethical concept of the true good, and cover topics relating to law, religion, theology, dialectic and philosophy. The *Annotations on the New Testament* represents an innovative contribution to Biblical philology. First published by Erasmus in 1505, it, together with other works by Valla, had significant repercussions among the Northern humanists and Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century.

Valla's belief in the importance of language and the power of the text manifests itself both in his theoretical pronouncements and in his writing style. Echoing other humanists before him (Coluccio Salutati, for example[5]), Valla, in the prefaces to his treatise on *The Elegance of the Latin Language* (1441–48), stressed that grammar, that is the study of language, is the first step along the road to knowledge; it is indeed the basis for the pursuit of such disciplines as law and theology. A similar notion is expressed in the versified *Art of Grammar* (1442–43) attributed to him: "all disciplines," it is written, "need grammar, but Erammar needs no other, and those who are ignorant of this art feed on polenta mush."[6] In other words, one must grasp the meaning of words separately and in combination before hoping to be able to proceed to an understanding of the overall message of any text. Valla found the Latin language particularly enriching: he called it sacramental since it had enabled the Romans to spread their highly evolved civilization to many peoples (*Eleg.*, preface to Book I).

He held equally strong positions on the subject of composition and repeatedly streased the need to make use of rhetorical strategies in order to produce the most effective writing. In typical Renaissance fashion, rhetoric was not conceived in the pejorative sense as

mere superficial ornamentation nor was it restricted to the field of public orations. Originally intended not only to teach and delight, but also to move, it involved verbal persuasion through an appeal to emotions and imagination—a goal humanists sought in all manner of literary genres. Valla was highly critical of mediaeval dialectic that appealed solely to the intellect and relied on cold and exceedingly abstruse syllogistic reasoning. In his *Disputations on Dialectic* (first redacted in 1439 and revised in 1443–44) he praises the methods of the orators over those of the scholastic philosophers. The rhetorical method, he argues, is more valid since it is based on probability and makes use of ordinary language rather than abstract terminology or distinctions. In his work on *Profession of the Religious* he recommends that even works on religion and ethics be compoaed "in the style of oratory, according to ancient custom, rather than that of philosophy."[7] In proposing as a model the language of ancient theologians, he also singles out those who followed in the Pauline tradition. According to the assessment he provides in his sermon *In Praise of St. Thomas Aquinas* (1457), St. Paul had used a forceful style filled with utterances that, as Valla phrases it, "do battle."[8]

The grammatical and rhetorical emphasis on concrete and dynamic language and the scorn for metaphysical subtleties, advocated in many of Valla's writings, are essential aspects of the methodology on which his treatise *On the Donation of Constantine* (1440) is founded. A provocative text, as most of those in his repertoire are, it is perhaps the most controversial of all. In it he applies his philological and oratorical skills to the resolution of the textual problem and to the clarification of the hotly debated political and religious question of the donation: he analyzes historical documents and presents the results of his research in a strongly worded tract which aims to demonstrate the falsity of the legend.[9]

It was an age-old belief that the Emperor Constantine the Great (d. 337) had donated temporal power to Sylvester I, Bishop of Rome (314–335), after converting to Christianity and recovering from leprosy. This gift, supposedly granted back in the fourth century, was the justification many popes of the late Middle Ages had cited, either sincerely or through guile, for their intervention in political affairs and their claim to the right to investiture. However, the document reporting the alleged donation, that is the *Constitutum Constantini*

charter, was actually drawn up in the eighth century, and an abridged version of it was incorporated into Church law, through Paucapalea's interpolations, four hundred years later in the mid-twelfth century. The document consisted of a series of declarations which Constantine supposedly made in the year 313; in them he announced the primacy of the Church of Rome and of its head, declared the power of the pope to be superior to that of the emperor, and granted land and other privileges to Sylvester. Although scholars before Valla had questioned the legality of the donation or had denounced its disastrous effects on the spiritual role of the Church, it was Valla who provided definitive and exhaustive proof that the document was indeed spurious and that the donation had never taken place. Some brief evidence of its apocryphal nature had been presented earlier by Nicholas of Cusa, for one, but it was buried within an accommodating work (*On Catholic Harmony* of 1433) which advocated the reconciliation between emperor and pope and had little impact on the resolution of the problem.

Valla, on the other hand, gathers together some old arguments and many new ones, and provides a thorough discussion of the issue, even though he does not deal with the identity of the author or the geographical origin of the forgery—questions which modern scholars have debated. In spite of these limitations, he presents all his data in a treatise which is structured in such a way as to exploit to the maximum the perlocutionary potential of the text. He admits at the very beginning of his treatise that he is being altogether revolutionary in attacking current beliefs upheld by papal authority. Nevertheless, claiming the right to dissent, he speaks out courageously and explains: "My purpose is not to speak ill of any person. . . . Rather, I seek to eradicate error from men's minds" (I, 2: 63). In his usual search for truth, he states that he has carried out a careful examination of ancient sources and of various manuscripts of the *Decretum*, only to discover that contemporary accounts of the period had recorded no donation and that the oldest compilations of Church law did not contain the charter in question.

In addition to the conclusions reached, what is of utmost significance in Valla's work is the method—philological and at the same time rhetorical—by means of which he argues his case. By carefully analyzing the text of the donation document almost word by word,

he detects a number of cultural anachronisms, linguistic discrepancies, and geographical oddities in it. Among the references made to the customs and attire of the protagonists involved in the alleged transfer of power, the text refers to the pope's bejewelled diadem when, in fact, silk caps were still worn by pontiffs at the time. The word *datum* appears in a closing phrase of the charter, when such practice was followed only in the drafting of letters which were to be delivered to a specific addressee. The mention of Constantinople is an obvious blunder, since the city had not yet been founded and the site was known at that time as Byzantium. Along with examples of grammatical barbarisms, Valla detected implausible linguistic usage in words like *satraps* which was foreign to fourth-century vocabulary describing the political organization of the Empire. Valla uses similar philological evidence to support other arguments too: through the analysis of the history, etymology, and usage of key words, he is able to demonstrate, for example, that since the term *clergy* in its Greek etymology means 'lot' or 'portion,' in the sense of destiny, Sylvester, whose lot as bishop of Rome was a supremely celestial one, could not have accepted Constantine's gift. So even the use of this term, let alone the idea of the transaction itself, undermines the forger's credibility.

As for the general structure of the charter's narrative content, Valla finds that the tale of the donation smacks of a rewriting of the Biblical story of Naaman the Syrian who, cured, by Elisha, offered him gifts. This similarity, along with the fact that the story of Constantine's conversion recalls parts of the early legend of Sylvester, points to the inherently mythical quality of the charter.

Besides the internal evidence provided by the language and form of the text, Valla offers arguments relating to external matters: from a legal standpoint, it would have been contrary to earthly law for the emperor to have carried out such a transfer of power, and contrary to divine law for the pope to have accepted. Moreover, had it occurred, the Papacy could no longer expect to reclaim its lost power by law. From the point of view of verisimilitude, then, the notion of a donation is highly unlikely. Valla's analysis, based on the rhetorical criterion of common-sense plausibility and on that of human experience and behaviour, as De Caprio has observed,[10] takes psychological factors into account too. It is part of human nature to

be acquisitive, and rulers invariably aim at enlarging their territory, not at giving it away. "How can you believe such things which go beyond [the limits of] men's opinions?", Valla asks, at one point in his discussion (VIII, 28).

In addition to the vast number of improbabilities and anacronistic elements present in the text, Valla discovers that there is a lack of external documentation which could support the view that the donation had taken place: not only did historical works written at the time of the donation make no mention of the event, but neither had any coins commemorating it come down.

The cogency of Valla's arguments is evident. But what makes his treatise uniquely convincing is the presence of verbal strategies, true speech acts, with which he elects to do battle against the credulous. Utilizing the rhetorical devices that had become essential writing instruments for the humanists, he structures his work as an "oration" (III, 7: p. 65), as he calls it, one to be inscribed more precisely under the rubric of judicial oratory, as De Caprio has pointed out.[11] As to its specific nature, Valla stated in one of his letters that his work on the donation was one long dispute.[12]

Indeed rather than a straightforward third-person discussion it takes the shape of an inquiry during the course of which the prosecutor-narrator calls a group of witnesses, dead and alive, to testify in the case or *causa*, as he terms it (XXII, 70). As a rhetorically structured transcript of the court proceedings addressed to the kings and princes of his time, the treatise reports a series of fictitious speeches delivered, in two instances, by the sorrowful members of the Emperor's family, who plead with the Emperor not to deprive them of their inheritance, and by representatives of the government of Rome who come forward to voice their anger over the loss of power and territory. These impersonations serve to explain, in human terms, the feelings and motives of the various actors who would have been involved in this living drama. The interrogation focusses on the imagined testimony of those who uphold the truthfulness of the donation and of the forger himself who, it is said, should be dragged into court (XI, 37). With a great deal of moral indignation the investigator subjects them to rigid questioning with such vehemence that the interrogatives he formulates, blended at certain moments with imperatives urging them to speak up (VIII, 30), are not the usual,

sometimes bland kind of rhetorical questions; they take on, instead, the force of real verbal abuse. The prosecutor stresses how wrong and improbable it would have been for the donation to have taken place, and, furthermore, how utterly absurd it was for anyone to believe it had. In a particularly vituperative tone, he accuses the forger of being dishonest, an evil villain, and a stupid ass, and his credulous contemporaries, of being mad, ridiculous, ignorant fools. He hurls these insults like lethal weapons in his attempt, as he explains, "to deal the fatal blow to [his] adversaries' cause, which has already been beaten and torn to bits, and to slit its throat with a single slash" (X, 34: p. 68). As scholars have observed,[13] Valla uses a remarkable number of such military images throughout the treatise, in the tradition of Quintilian and Saint Paul. Making words his verbal weapons, he attacks the gullible with irony too, as in the punning passage: "Oh, what an astonishing event! The Roman Empire was both acquired and lost by Christian priests so calmly and quietly. . . . You would think that *Sylvester* had reigned in *sylvan* places amid trees, rather than in Rome among men" [emphasis mine] (VIII, 30: p. 67).

Interestingly enough, all these forms of verbal aggression are used in a context which is presented literally as an act of self-defence. At the outset the narrator-lawyer depicts himself as a victim who finds himself in a situation similar to that of the Biblical heroes Jeremiah and St. Paul, forced to defend the truth against evil aggressors (I, 2). Using what we might call the rhetoric of deviation he veils with a defensive surface cover what is in effect a violent attack of his own. Other instances might include the figure of preterition used to attenuate the criticism of priests (XXVI, 85) and the high praise of the holy pope towards the end which recalls, by contrast, his sharp criticism of contemporary counterparts (XXVIII, 93–XXIX, 94).

Resorting to other tactics as well, Valla has his protagonist-narrator-champion clinch one round of the courtroom battle with a passionate apostrophe to none other than Christ who, he prays, will "hurl avenging thunderbolts" against the perpetrator of the horrendous falsification (XV, 49: p. 70). By fashioning his work as a series of such addresses to specific individuals (popes, kings, Constantine, the credulous, the forger and so on) Valla creates a sense of immediate orality and direct communication. Dramatic scenes are recited too, as when Sylvester speaks directly to Constantine and turns down his

gift, quoting the words of Christ and Paul from the Bible in support of his refusal (VI, 20–21). In another instance, the lawyer asks the person responsible for the charter proclamations, if he is indeed Conatantine, to explain his strange statements (XIX, 62). The stress on speech is evident, furthermore, in the fact that the entire treatise, which is one long oration, organized into clearly discernible parts extending from exordium to peroration, according to the traditional scheme, includes the other briefer discourses of the characters already described. These, in turn, often contain quotations from other texts, as we have seen. And, of course, the spoken declarations of the charter are cited phrase by phrase by the prosecutor in his interrogation of the forger. What emerges from this speech-within-a-speech-within-a-speech formation is a multilayered dialogue, which not only presents a multitude of argumentative approaches, but also highlights textuality and discourse in its very design.

Each segment, moreover, is directed literally to one specifically named person or group of persons, addressed as "you," yet the second-person pronoun, even as it is continually displaced from character to character, inevitably impacts on the implied audience outside the text. The reader, though addressed indirectly, is thus engaged in the debate. Furthermore, as the discourse alternates between the second and third persons, when the prosecutor refers to the forger as "you" and then shifts suddenly to "he" (e.g., XII, 38–40), clearly directing his remarks to the general audience, it is evident that the audience is being called upon to pass judgment in the trial. What the result will be is no mystery: the receiver of the text cannot help but share the scorn heaped by the narrator on the foolish forger and also wish to distance itself from the ingenuous believers repeatedly and sarcastically held up to ridicule for their stupidity.

On the basis of these features the text clearly achieves the goal of effective persuasion. The sheer number of the arguments, and the forcefulness of each, together with the high emotional charge created by the various discursive strategies, make the total effect quite overwhelming.

However Valla himself had stated that rhetoric is to be employed, not simply to win debates, but mainly in order to reach truth.[14] The orator must be a moral individual, as the rhetoricians of antiquity had taught, so that rhetoric would not be made to serve dishonest ends.

Some readers have doubted Valla's own sincerity in this rhetorical composition of his and have pointed out that his polemical stance on the issues treated, and the degree of sharpness in his attacks on the Church in particular, may be due to personal and historical circumstances. Valla had, of course, been denied a position in the curia by Eugene IV, a pope whom he pitilessly accuses of cowardice and incompetence here (XXVIII, 91). Moreover, at the time he penned his treatise, he was in the service of King Alfonso, precisely during the period in which the king, struggling with the pope for control of Naples, lent his support to the conciliar movement which opposed absolute papal authority. In light of this, Valla's work has sometimes been dismissed as mere pro-Aragonese propaganda.[15]

Yet the views on religion expressed here—evangelical, reformist, orthodox and characteristic of the age of humanism—are perfectly consistent with those Valla presented in other works both of the same period, *The Profession of the Religious*, for instance. Even later, towards the end of his life when he had attained personal independence and security, he praises Pauline spirituality and indicts scholastic culture, in his sermon on St. Thomas. In typical fashion, the *Donation of Constantine* severely chastises the corrupt popes of the day, but without rejecting the Church or the Pope's authority. References to papal "dignity" and "majesty," found toward the beginning of the discussion (II, 5: p. 64) and in the closing phrase (XXX, 99: p. 72), frame the treatise in orthodoxy. In denouncing corruption, Valla simply exhorts the Pontiff to return to the more spiritual ways of his early predecessors and of the origins of Christianity. He includes glowing praise of Sylvester, for example, calls him "a most holy man" (XXX, 98: p. 71; cf. "holy man," VII, 27: p. 67), and, in the drama performed before us, gives him a most noble role to play and lines filled with devotion to declaim. It is worthy of note, moreover, that in his *Apology* addressed to the pope in defence of his writings in 1444, when Valla was not yet free from the threat of the Inquisition and the opposition to him in Rome, he offers no compliant retraction of his treatise. Similarly, in a letter of 1443 written to appeal his ban from Rome, although he makes some attempt to justify his writing the donation tract, saying he was forced to do so, he also explains that he wrote it out of love for truth and religion, and not to offend the pope.[16] Of course, the treatise did create a furor not only while it

circulated in manuscript form, and during the author's lifetime, but also in the early sixteenth century when it was first published and translated into the vernacular languages, and, made widely available, shocked reformers like Luther.

Valla always considered himself a soldier fighting for his religion and viewed his activities (including those of a literary nature) as battles directed against error and corruption for the sake of "truth," "justice," and "God," as he proclaims at the beginning of the oration (I, 2: p. 63). And he certainly made good use of written texts to expound his deeply felt personal convictions. The treatise on *The Donation of Constantine*, in particular, demonstrates just how forceful that exposition could be for, in addition to providing an unabashed expression of his religious views, a skilful solution to a textual puzzle, and the debunking of the most famous forgery in history, it also shows in a concrete way the power that the text has to attack and interrogate, insult and humiliate, indeed to overcome and conquer. And although it may carry out these actions only through perlocution, in a verbal, quasi-fictional manner, and in order to defeat an earlier text, it ultimately achieves its humanist goal of affecting man's perception of truth and altering his way of thinking.

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NOTES

1 For a recent defence of the scientific nature of humanist textual scholarship, see the introduction to Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991.

2 Eugenio Garin, *Italian Humanism: Philosophy and Civic Life in the Renaissance*, tr. Peter Munz. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965, esp. pp. 11, 14.

3 Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979; Ernesto Grassi, *Rhetoric as Philosophy: The Humanist Tradition*. Univ. Park: Pennsylvania Univ. Press, 1980.

4 Poggio Bracciolini, Letter to Guarino Veronese, in Phyllis Walter Goodhart Gordan (ed. & tr.), *Two Renaissance Book Hunters*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1974, pp. 193–196. Cf. Quintilian, II, xvi, 12–13.

5 Coluccio Salutati, in his letter to Ciovanni Dominici on liberal studies (1406), defines grammar as "the gateway to all the liberal arts and to all learning, human and divine." (Ephraim Emerton, [*Humanism and Tyranny: Studies in the Italian Trecento*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smitth, 1925; rpt. 1964, p. 351.)

6 Lorenzo Valla, *L'arte della grammatica*, ed. Paola Casciano. Nilano: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla & Arnoldo Mondadori editore, 1990, vv. 21–22: "indiga grammatice queque ars est, nullius illa, / quam qui non norunt vescuntur pulte profecto" (p. 6).

7 Lorenzo Valla, *"The Profession of the Religious" and the Principal Arguments from "The Falsely-Believed and Forged Donation of Constantine,"* tr. & ed. Olga Zorzi Pusliese (Renaissance and Reformation Texts in Translation 1). Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance 5tudies, Victoria University in the University of Toronto, 1985, p. 54. Subsequent page references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the paper. A complete English translation of the *Donation* is that by Christopher B. Coleman, published in New Haven by Yale Univ. Press in 1922.

8 Lorenzo Valla, "In Praise of Saint Thomas Aquinas," in Leonard A. Kennedy (ed.), *Renaissance Philosophy: New Translations*. The Hague: Mouton, 1973, p. 24.

9 The analysis of Valla's work which follows is based on the introduction and notes that I have included in an Italian edition of the *Donation*, with Latin text facing, to be published soon.

10 Vincenzo De Caprio, "Retorica e ideologia nella *Declamatio* di Lorenzo Valla sulla donazione di Costantino," *Paragone* 338 (1978), 36–56, provides an excellent study of the norms of behaviour which constitute the fundamental criterion on which Valla bases his arguments.

11 De Caprio, p. 45.

12 Lorenzo Valla, Letter to Guarino Veronese (1443), in *Epistole*, ed. Ottavio Besomi & Mariangela Regoliosi. Padova: Antenore, 1984: "prope tota in contentione versatur" (p. 245).

13 Mario Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel 20 quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*. Roma: Libreria Editrice dell'Università Gregoriana, 1969, p. 481.

14 Lorenzo Valla, *On Pleasure*, tr. Maristella Lorch & A. Kent Hieatt. New York: Abaris Books, 1977, p. 87.

15 e.g., Fois, pp. 319–324.

16 Valla, Letter to cardinal Ludovico Trevisan (1443), in *Epistole*, pp. 247–248.

Richard Landon

Galileo and Scientific Epistolography in the Late Renaissance

Galileo was one of the most prolific correspondents of his age: well over four thousand letters, by, to and about him survive and comprise volumes 10 to 18 of the National Edition of his *Works*, edited by Antonio Favaro and published from 1890 to 1909. Letters from other sources unknown to Favaro, emerge occasionally and are published and translated but Galileo letters are decidedly rare in the marketplace: there are only five holographs recorded in North America (two in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, one at the University of Michigan, one in the Smithsonian and one (perhaps) at Toronto). The substance and form of Galileo's letters range from short, personal notes to extended treatises on scientific subjects. The purely personal ones retain a revealing charm and polished style which helps form our image of Galileo's character, for instance, one of the Philadelphia letters is concerned entirely with wine which was sent to him in 1636, possibly by the Holy Roman Emperor. In fact, more of Galileo's surviving letters relate to wine than to copernicanism. The longer discussions of scientific and philosophical matters are crucial to any understanding of his accomplishments and must be read together with his books and pamphlets which were published in the normal manner.

'Epistolography,' which in English may be defined literally as 'letter writing,' has, through usage, developed a distinct meaning (apart from its specialized use to denote a particular form of ancient Egyptian writing) and thus the difference between a letter and an epistle may be likened to the difference between a private conversation and a Platonic dialogue. A letter is private, personal, ephemeral and non-literary; an epistle is a literary form, written with an audience in mind and has some pretense to permanence. Obviously these distinctions are not categorical but are important with reference to the correspondence of scientists during the 16th and 17th centuries.

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Epistles were used, in lieu of printed books and pamphlets, to communicate information to a select audience for limited dissemination; if the information was e specially sensitive, or merely tentative, the level of control was important to the writer. Conversely, it could be argued that for certain kinds of technical information the audience was so small that an epistle that could be copied and passed on was all that was required; a pamphlet would not have paid for the cost of printing it. The letter that Galileo sent to Claude de Peirenc on May 12th 1635 concerning a magnetic clock was immediately sent on to another interested party; a copy was supposed to have been made for Pieresc's files but did not survive and the original wandered in a sort of intellectual limbo until it was published in 1967. The obvious danger of circulating opinions in manuscripts was that each time an epistle was copied it could be altered, either inadvertent or deliberately and a deliberate excision in one of Galileo's had serious consequences.

From the great mass of epistles and letters written by Galileo one connected of 1613 to 1615 series holds particular interest as it culminated in his classic discussion regarding the relationship between the new science and the teachings of the Catholic Church: the so-called *Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina.* All of these documents have been published and translated into English, most recently by Maurice A. Finocchiaro in his *The Galileo Affair* (1989). They provide an extended and coherent example of the use of epistolography (and incidentally, letter-writing) by Galileo and some of his colleagues and opponents.

On December 14th, 1613 Benedetto Castelli, a Benedictine monk, former student and collaborator of Galileo, and, at this date, professor of mathematics at Pisa, wrote to Galileo: "Very Illustrious and Most Excellent Sir: / Thursday morning I had breakfast with our Lordships, and, when asked about school by the Grand Duke I gave him a detailed account" (the Grand Duke was Cosimo de Medici II, the ruler of Tuscany). Castelli then discussed the Medicean planets and his telescope and Galileo's name was thus drawn into the conversation. As Castelli was leaving he was called back at the request of the Grand Duchess, Christina of Lorraine,the mother of Cosimo II, for further discussion. She had been explicitly told by Prof. Boscaglia, a philosopher of Pisa, that despite the truths of what he referred to as

Galileo's 'celestial novelties,' the earth could not move since it was clearly contrary to Holy Scripture. Castelli then found himself being questioned closely by the formidable Grand Duchess in the company of her relatives and advisors. He was aware of the delicacy with which any views that could be construed as Copernican had to be presented and also aware of the anti-Galilean factions at both Florence and Pisa. According to his account Castelli acquitted himself nobly, for, as he expressed it, he "began to play the theologian with such finesse and authority that you would have been especially pleased to hear." He ends by saying that Niccolo Arrighetti (a friend of Galileo) will fill in all the details of this optimistic meeting; but this letter / more a letter than an epistle: Favaro records only one copy) clearly contains a warning about the nature of the questions being asked and their implications for Galileo.

Galileo responded quickly (on Deccember 21st)[1] with a long letter on the impropriety of mixing science and religion; but also refuting Biblical objections to the motion of the earth with special reference to the miracle of Joshua, a Biblical passage cited by the Grand Duchess in her conversation with Castelli. This epistle was copied and widely circulated: (Favaro records 13 manuscripts), known as the "Letter to Castelli" and forms the basis of the "Letter to Christina." Galileo begins with several compliments to Castelli: "what greater fortune can you wish than to see their Highnesses themselves enjoying discussing with you, putting forth doubts, listening to your solutions, and finally remaining satisfied with your answers?" He then tackles the Scriptural questions: "In regard to the first general point of the Most Serene Ladyship, it seems to me very prudent of her to propose and of you to concede and to agree that the Holy Scripture can never lie or err, and that its declarations are absolutely and inviolably true. I should here added only that, though the Scripture cannot err, nevertheless some of its interpreters and expositors can sometimes err in various ways." This is the nub of Galileo's argument; natural phenomena can be reconciled with scriptural teaching or, as he put it: "the task of wise interpreters is to strive to find the true meanings of scriptural passages agreeing with those physical conclusions of which we are already certain and sure from clear sensory experience or from necessary demonstrations." He then takes up the problem of Joshua, chapter 10 verses 12–13, where the Sun stood still so

that the Israelites could defeat the Amorites, a question to Castelli by the Grand Duchess as reported by Arrighetti. Galileo's ingenious argument is that, for anyone who understands astronomy, stopping the sun according to the system of Ptolemy and Aristotle would actually shorten the day, not lengthen it, while "if in conformity with Copernicus's position the diurnal motion is attributed to the earth, anyone can see that it sufficed stopping the sum to stop the whole system, and thus to lengthen the period of the diurnal illumination without altering in any way the rest of the mutual relationships of the planets; and that is exactly how the words of the sacred text sound." This explanation no doubt satisfied Castelli and he no doubt repeated all the arguments; it would take a good deal more to satisfy the Aristotelian philosophers and the theologians.

No further correspondence is documented for about a year, but then the Dominicans swung into action. In December 1614 Tommaso Caccini preached a sermon in Florence against mathematicians and Galileo in particular and on February 7th 1615 Niccolo Lomini, another Dominican, filed an official complaint against Galileo with the Inquisition in Rome saying that "there is a limitless obligation that binds all Dominican friars, since they were designated by the Holy Father the black and white hounds of the Holy Office"[2] (hence Domines Canes). He enclosed a "faithful copy" of the "Letter to Castelli"; how faithful it was can still be seen as it survives in the Vatican Archives. It was, of course, considerably altered: for example the phrase "somewhat concealing" is changed to the word "perverting" and it began the paper trail of evidence that ended with the trial of Galileo in 1633. Only nine days later, on February 16th 1615, Galileo wrote to Monsignor Piero Dini, a Florentine intellectual who, at this time, held a minor Vatican appointment and was living in Rome.[3] Galileo had heard of the attacks from the pulpit and that Lonini had a copy of the letter to Castelli. He suspected that the copy had been altered and thus enclosed a true copy to be shown to Father Grienberger, a Jessuit Professor of mathematics, suggesting that it might also be read by Cardinal Bellarmine, the most influential churchman of his time and a consultant to the Inquisition. Galileo cautions against reading his letter to Castelli literally, as it had been written "with a quick pen," but said that he is working on a very long essay which had not yet been "polished." This reference is to

the *Letter to Christina*. He then goes on to defend Copernicus as a Catholic and a clergyman whose book was dedicated to the Pope of the day and states again "that the author of this doctrine is not a living Florentine but a dead German" (Copernicus was actually Polish). Dini apparently did have both letters copied as at least five copies of the letter to him survive.

In his reply of March 7th 1615 Dini[4] reports that he has made the copies and has had them distributed; even to "the Most Illustrious Bellarmine, with whom I spoke at length about the things you mention." Bellarmine apparently assured Dini that he had heard nothing against Galileo and did not see any real problems with Copernicus's book. He was probably dissembling and did warn Dini that one ought "not to jump hurriedly into condemning anyone of these opinions." Dini's letter is recorded by Favaro only from the original autograph.

On March 23rd Galileo wrote again to Dini[5] a long letter that is really an epistle and of which at least nine copies survive. He says that he will reply only briefly because of his poor health but the letter, in fact, is quite long. He considers in detail the suggestion (made by Bellarmine) that the way around the doctrinal difficulties of Copernicus's book was to add a commentary indicating that Copernicus wrote "to save the appearances." This phrase seems to have meant the explanation of observed natural phenomena by means of assumptions made for the convenience of calculation but not believed to be true; analogous to the use by others of eccentrics and epicycles for calculation. Galileo was having none of this: "to claim that Copernicus did not consider the earth's motion to be true could be accepted perhaps only by those who have not read him." His arguments continue, clearly and concisely stating what now seems obvious, and this real purpose, in this context, emerges: "I am in the process of collecting all of Copernicus's reasons and making them clearly intelligible to many people, for in his works they are very difficult; and I am adding to them many more considerations, always based on celestial observations, on sensory experiences, and on the support of physical effects. Then I would offer them at the feet of the Supreme Pastor for the infallible decision by the Holy Church, to be used as their supreme prudence sees fit." The references are to Galileo's essay "Considerations the Copernican Opinion" (also 1615) to the "Letter to Christina" and, perhaps, to the beginnings of the

Dialogue of 1632. The warning is clear: the Church will find itself in an untenable and embarrassing position if it confirms its official belief in a system of the universe that can be demonstrated to be false: and so it proved today Galileo is considered by some to have been a better theologian than the theologians. Bellarmine had also mentioned Psalm 18 (19 in the King James version), the comparison of the sun to a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, as an explicit reference to the motion of the sun. Galileo counters with scriptural interpretation, specifically his reading of Psalm 73:16: "Thine is the day, and thine is the night: thou hast made the morning light and the sun" and Psalm 18:6: "God hath set his tabernacle in the sun."[6] Thus the bridegroom becomes the light, which moves, not the sun, which is the bride-chamber, the great receptacle, the most noble seat of the sensible world. To mitigate his "excessive audacity" in attempting to comment on Holy Writ he then quotes Psalm 18:8: "the testimony of the Lord is faithful, giving wisdom to little ones" (many can play the game of scriptural quotation) but concludes this epistle, obviously meant for eyes other than Dini's, with the warning "I beg you not to let it come into the hands of any person who would use the hard and sharp tooth of a beast rather than the delicate tongue of a mother, and so would completely mangle and tear it to pieces instead of polishing it." Sharp teeth were waiting.

Galileo's attitude towards his philosophical and theological opponents remained sanguine, especially as support for his position came from an unexpected source. In late February or early March 1615 Paolo Foscaridi, a Carmelite Provincial and Professor of Theology from Messina published a book called "Letter on the Pythagorean and Copernican Opinion of the Earth's Motion and the Sun's Rest and on the New Rythagorean World System, in which are Harmonized and Reconciled those Passages of the Holy Scripture and those Theological Propositions which could ever be Addued against this Opinion."[7] The title says it all and it seems to have influenced Galileo, against the advice of his friends, to prosecute his case more forcefully. Bellarmine was also sent a copy of Foscanini's pamphlet and wrote to him on April 12th: "Your Paternity and Mr. Galileo are proceeding prudently by limiting yourselves to speaking suppositionally and not absolutely, as I have always believed that Copernicus spoke." He also invokes Solomon ("the sun also riseth and the sun goeth

down") as a man "above all others wise and learned in the human sciences." Foscanni died in 1616 and his "Letter" proved to be of no help to Galileo when the Inquisition consultants came to consider the question of heresy.

Also in 1615 Galileo wrote and circulated an essay called "Considerations on the Copernican Opinion" which attempted to answer the epistemological and philosophical objections to Copernicus. None of the several extant manuscripts contains an explicit indication of authorship or a date but internal evidence and references to letters give conclusive confirmation of both. He proceeds to argue negatively against what he calls the "two ideas" commonly held by his opponents. The first is "that no one has any reason to fear that the outcome might be scandalous, for the earth's stability and the sun's motion are so well demonstrated in philosophy . . ." and the second that "although the contrary assumption has been used by Copernicus and other astronomers, they did this in a suppositional manner . . ." His demonstrations of the fallaciousness of these positions will be "suitable to be understood without much effort and labour even by someone who is not well versed in the natural and astronomical sciences." The many pages which follow elucidate and expand the familiar arguments. Ancient and modern writers are cited, from Pythagoras and Plato to William Gilbert and Kepler, to demonstrate that although most people accept the interpretations of the theologians and peripattic philosophers the minority opinions are significant and can be proven without compromising received doctrine. "The motion of the earth and the stability of the sun could never be against Faith or Holy Scripture, if this proposition were correctly proved to be physically true by philosophers, astronomers and mathematicians, with the help of some experiences, accurate observations, and necessary demonstrations. However, in this case, if some passages of scripture were to sound contrary we would have to say that this is due to the weakness of our mind, which is unable to grasp the true meaning of scripture in this particular case: "He concludes with a point-by-point reply to Bellarmine's opinion (indicating that he had a copy of it) perhaps intended for use by Foscarini.

Galileo's "Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina," an epistle of some 40 pages, was completed by mid 1615. It is an ex expansion and elaboration of the "Letter to Castelli" of 1613 which had dealt

specifically with questions raised by Christina in conversation. In this form it became Galileo's full, considered opinion on the relationship between religion and science or, as one sub-title puts it: "concerning the use of Biblical quotations in matters of science."[14] It was widely circulated (Favaro located 34 copies) but was not published until 1636, and then in Protestant Strassburg in a parallel Latin/Italian edition without, of course, authorization. It first appeared in English in 1661, translated by Thomas Salusbury with the explicit and appealing title: "The Ancient and Modern Doctrine of Holy Fathers, and Judicious Divines, concerning the Rash Citation of the Testimony of Sacred Scripture, in Conclusions meerly Natural, and that may be Proved by Sensible Experiments, and Necessary Demonstrations." "As Your Most Serene Highness knows very well" Galileo begins, "a few years ago I discovered in the heavens many particulars which had been invisible until our time. Because of their novelty, and because of some consequences deriving from them which contradict certain physical propositions commonly accepted in philosophical schools, they roused against me no small number of such professors, as if I had placed these things in heaven with my hands in order to confound nature and the sciences." He then recaptulates and expands all the points and issues raised in the previous two years' correspondence, considered from a general, philosophical view. His intention is clearly stated: "For my purpose is nothing but the following: if these reflections, which are far from my own profession, should contain (besides errors) anything that may lead someone to advance a useful caution for the Holy Church in her deliberations about the Copernican system, then let if be accepted with whatever profit superiors will deem appropriate; if not, let my essay be torn up and burned . . ." The "Letter to Christina" is a sustained and convincing, if somewhat repetitious, performance, but although it may have convinced Christina and Galileo's supporters it did not convince the Holy officials as the central proposition of Copernican theory was declared heretical.

The several manuscripts of the "Letter to Christina" differ somewhat textually, which is not surprising considering the different kinds of audiences they were copied for. As an illustration, this contemporary copy (not in Galileo's hand) from the Stillman Drake Galileo Collection in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library,[15] contains on

its first page the phrase "si e fatto palesare," which does not appear in the standard text as printed by Favaro. It is, however, in the Italian portion of the 1636 edition, although the conjectural reading "palesare" is given as "palese." No attempt, as far as I know, has been made to produce a scholarly, conflated version of the different manuscripts.

In December 1615 Galileo went to Rome personally to attempt to clear his own name and to prevent the official condemnation of Copernicanism. Essentially he urged that no official church action be taken. His failure to achieve this objective is revealed through the Inquisition's documents. An assessor (or consultant) who looked at the "Letter to Castelli" concluded that although some of the words and phrases "sounded bad" (he saw a corrupted copy of the letter) it did not "diverge from the pathways of Catholic expression."[16] Two witnesses who testified were dismissed because of heresay evidence. However, on February 24th 1616 a committee of eleven consultants reported that Copernicanism was philosophically and scientifically untenable and theologically heretical. Even then there was no formal condemnation; instead Galileo was privately warned by Cardinal Bellarmine to stop defending Copernicus and not to teach geokinetic theories. The exact nature of the warning is complex and confused and it became the central controversy of the 1633 trial. The Congregation of the Index also suspended circulation of *De Revolutionibus*, pending correction and revision. Thus Galileo left Rome neither tried nor condemned: that was left for the future.

This series of seven connected documents, all of them letters or epistles (or combinations thereof) and, with the exception of the "Letter to Christina," none of them published until the late 19th century, illustrate something of how the epistolary form was used by Galilee and his contemporaries to communicate quickly and efficiently. The epistolography of Galilee, both the letters he sent and the letters he received, constitute a significant part of the corpus of his work.

Another letter of Galilee, also from the Stillman Drake Collection, was mentioned earlier, in a slightly enigmatic way, and it presents different problems. The text covers five pages, in Italian, and concerns astronomical matters, specifically the Tychonic system and Kepler's elliptics, and mentions the Copernicaus. The letter is undated and unsigned but internal evidence indicates, with reasonable cer-

tainty, that it was written by Galilee. It is, in fact, possible to establish its date as March or April 1633, when Galilee was living in the Tuscan embassy in Rome awaiting his trial by the Inquisition, as the watermarks on the two sheets of paper (a duck on three mounds with the initial "D") correspond to four dated letters of this period. The letter is inscribed, on its final black page, in a different hand "P. re Abbate Lanci." This letter has been twice published; in 1966 as "possibly by Galilee"[17] and again in 1986 as "a neglected Galilean letter."[18] Its odd from is explained in the commentary to the second publication. The letter begins "Most Illustrious Sir: The question which you propose to me for another is curious." The addressee is Raffaello Magalotti, a Florentine friend of Galileo living in Rome, who proposed the question on behalf of Giovanni Maria Lanci, the Procurator General of the Oratorio order. Galileo was awaiting trial, so any signed and dated letter mentioning Copernicus that might be copied by his enemies would have been very dangerous. His opinion, however, could easily be conveyed anonymously and, indeed, no other copy of this letter is known. The hand is conjectured to be Galileo's, which also fits in with the circumstances, and thus another important Galilean text has been added to the canon. There are, no doubt, more to be discovered, published and translated; and argued over and interpreted by historians and philosophers of science. It is likely that they will appear in an "epistolographical" form.

University of Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

NOTES

1 This paper is based on Maurice A. Finocchiaro's *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989), Stillman Drake's *Galileo At Work: His Scientific Biography* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1978), Stillman Drake's *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo* (Garden City, Anchor Books, 1957) and other papers cited in subsequent notes.

2 Translated and published by Stillman Drake in *Isis*, vol. 53, p. 210–211, 1962 (Galileo Gleanings No. XII). Republished with full notes and a facsimile in *A Letter From Galileo*, by Bern Dibner and Stillman Drake. Norwalk, Burndy Library, 1967. The original is now in the Smithsonian Institution.

3 Finocchiaro p. 47–8.

4 Finocchiaro p. 49–54.

5 Finocchiaro p. 134.
6 Finocchiaro p. 55–8.
7 Finocchiaro p. 58–9.
8 Finocchiaro p. 60–7.
9 All Biblical quotations are from the King James Version.
10 Published in Italian in Naples in 1615, it was translated into English by Thomas Salusbury and published in his *Mathematical Collections and Translations* (London, 1661–1665)
11 Finocchiaro p. 67–9.
12 Finocchiaro p. 70–86. This essay was accepted as Galileo's by Antonio Favaro and published by him in *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei*. 20 volumes (Florence, 1890–1909) cf. vol. 5, p. 277.
13 Finocchiaro p. 87–118. Also translated by Stillman Drake in his *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo*, p. 173–216.
14 Drake *Discoveries* p. 173.
15 Galileo Collection, MS. no. 10.
16 Finocchiaro p. 136
17 S. Drake "An Unpublished Letter, Possibly by Galileo," *Physis*, vii (1966), p. 247–52
18 S. Drake. "A Neglected Galilean Letter," *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, xvii (1986) p. 99–108

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