

# The Biblical Tradition of the Iberian Peninsula from the Eighth to the Twelfth Centuries seen from a Typological Standpoint\*

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In memoriam Nicolai Reinhardt (1935-2014)

**Abstract:** This paper gives an overview of the national and international research on the biblical tradition of the Iberian Peninsula between the eighth and twelfth centuries. It describes and analyzes the *status quaestionis* from various perspectives, seeking to broaden the dominant Spanish-centred research, which widely neglected the Hispanic peripheries, such as Catalonia or Portugal, and focused on single outstanding manuscripts without situating important features of Iberian Bible production within the wider European context. The paper crosses mental, geographic and scientific barriers to pioneer new methods of refining our understanding of the biblical landscape of the medieval Iberian Peninsula. It assesses the heuristic dimensions of research on underestimated or even neglected Bible fragments and highlights the role of Andalusian Arabic Bible translations within the panorama of the Iberian biblical tradition. In addition, it draws attention to the rich, but hitherto neglected study of glossed Bibles of the new French type, and finally underlines the historical, exegetical and transcultural evidence of non-biblical texts transmitted in the context of Iberian Bible manuscripts.

**Keywords:** Bible manuscripts, Glossed Bibles, Iberian Peninsula, Transcultural Studies.

## A tradição bíblica da Península Ibérica entre o séc. VIII e o séc. XII do ponto de vista tipológico

**Resumo:** Este artigo apresenta uma visão geral da investigação nacional e internacional sobre a tradição bíblica da Península Ibérica entre os séculos VIII e XII. Descreve-se e analisa-se sob várias perspetivas o *status quaestionis*, procurando-se ampliar

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a pesquisa dominante, centrada no espanhol, que descurou amplamente as periferias hispânicas, como a Catalunha ou Portugal, e se concentrou em manuscritos únicos, sem situar características importantes da produção da Bíblia Ibérica no contexto europeu. O documento atravessa barreiras mentais, geográficas e científicas para propor novos métodos que melhorem a nossa compreensão da paisagem bíblica da Península Ibérica medieval. O texto avalia ainda as dimensões heurísticas da pesquisa em fragmentos bíblicos subestimados ou até negligenciados e destaca o papel das traduções da Bíblia árabe andaluza no panorama da tradição bíblica ibérica. Além disso, chama a atenção para o estudo rico, mas até agora negligenciado, de Bíblias glosadas do novo tipo francês e, finalmente, sublinha a evidência histórica, exegética e transcultural dos textos não-bíblicos transmitidos no contexto dos manuscritos bíblicos ibéricos.

**Palavras-chave:** Manuscritos da Bíblia, Bíblias glosadas, Península Ibérica, Estudos transculturais.

## 1. State of Current International and Iberian Research

Traditional biblical studies from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to the present have laid the necessary foundations for this survey.<sup>1</sup> We have at our disposal, on the one hand, general studies on the canonical order of the books of the Old and New Testaments and a first typology of Bible manuscripts;<sup>2</sup> furthermore, studies, editions and repertories of the texts of the *Vetus Latina* (Beuron),<sup>3</sup> of the medieval Vulgate (San Girolamo, Rome)<sup>4</sup> and of the Catalan Bible (*Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum*, Barcelona)<sup>5</sup> and their paratexts (prologues, prothemata etc.) and exegesis.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, there are a number of comprehensive studies on the role of the Bible in specific areas of medieval Latin culture, not only in terms of exegesis and theology, but also in hagiography, historiography and canon law.<sup>7</sup>

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- 1 First orientation: Rainer Berndt and Matthias M. Tischler – Bibel. In *Enzyklopädie des Mittelalters*. Ed. Gert Melville and Martial Staub. Vol. 1. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008 [2013], p. 337-340. Succinct surveys: *The Cambridge history of the Bible*. Ed. Peter R. Ackroyd and Christopher F. Evans. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; *The Cambridge history of the Bible*. Ed. Geoffrey W. H. Lampe. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969; *The new Cambridge history of the Bible*. Ed. James C. Paget and Joachim Schaper. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; *The new Cambridge history of the Bible*. Ed. Richard Marsden and Edith A. Matter. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
  - 2 Samuel Berger – *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Hachette, 1893 [repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1976].
  - 3 <http://www.vetus-latina.de/>.
  - 4 [http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova\\_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata\\_index\\_lt.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_index_lt.html).
  - 5 <http://cbc.cat.abcat.cat/inici/php>.
  - 6 Samuel Berger (\*) – *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate* (Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France. 1<sup>er</sup> Série: Sujets divers d'éruditions 11, 2). Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1904; [Donatien de Bruyne] – *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la bible latine*. Namur: Godenne, 1914; [Donatien de Bruyne] – *Préfaces de la bible latine*. Namur: Godenne, 1920; Friedrich Stegmüller – *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*. Vols. 1-7. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950-1961; Friedrich Stegmüller and Klaus Reinhardt – *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*. Vols. 8-11. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1976-1980.
  - 7 Beryl Smalley – *The study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2<sup>a</sup> 1952 (etc.); *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo*. (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 10). Spoleto: Pr. La Sede del Centro, 1963; *Bible de tous les temps*. Ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon. Vol. 4. Paris: Beauchesne, 1984; *La Bibbia nel medioevo*. (La Bibbia nella storia 16). Ed. Giuseppe Cremonesi and Claudio Leonardi. Bologna: Ed. Dehoniane, 1996; *The study of the Bible in the Carolingian era*. (Medieval Church Studies 3). Ed. Celia M. Chazelle and Burton van Name Edwards. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003; Guy Lobrichon – *La Bible au Moyen Âge* (Les médiévistes français 3). Paris: Picard, 2003; *La Bibbia del xiii secolo. Storia*

More recently, scholars have begun to study systematically the codicology and palaeography of medieval Biblical manuscripts.<sup>8</sup>

In the study of the medieval biblical tradition in the Iberian Peninsula, both the international and some very specific trends can be noticed. Besides the traditional research on the quasi 'national' legacy of the Visigothic and Iberian biblical tradition, the manuscripts, their texts and illumination,<sup>9</sup> we can observe a strong interest in the non-Latin biblical tradition, especially in the Arabic translations of the Latin Bible and selected patristic writings in Mozarabic scholarly circles of al-Andalus from the late ninth century onwards;<sup>10</sup> in the manuscripts and texts of

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*del testo, storia dell'esegesi.* (Millennio medievale 49. Atti di convegni 14). Ed. Giuseppe Cremonesi and Francesco Santi. Firenze: SISMEL, Ed. del Galluzzo, 2004; *Biblical studies in the Early Middle Ages.* (Millennio medievale 52. Atti di convegni 16). Ed. Claudio Leonardi and Giovanni Orlandi. Firenze: SISMEL, Ed. del Galluzzo, 2005.

- 8 Christopher de Hamel – *Glossed books of the Bible and the origins of the Paris booktrade.* Woodbridge: Brewer, 1984; Christopher de Hamel – *The Book. A history of the Bible.* London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2001; *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia.* (Littera antiqua 13). Ed. Paolo Cherubini. Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2005; Matthias M. Tischler – *Die Bibel in Saint-Victor zu Paris. Das Buch der Bücher als Gradmesser für wissenschaftliche, soziale und ordnungsgeschichtliche Umbrüche im europäischen Hoch- und Spätmittelalter.* (Corpus Victorinum. Instrumenta 6), Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 2014.
- 9 Covering specimens of the Vetus Latina and Vulgate, especially Isidore of Seville's Bible edition: Samuel Berger – *Histoire de la Vulgate...*, p. 8-28, and the following studies and overviews: José María Bover [y Oliver] – *La Vulgata en Espagne. Estudios bíblicos.* II 1 (1941) 11-40 and 167-185; Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela – *La Vetus Latina hispana...* . Vols. 1, 2 and 5, 1-3. (CSIC. Textos y estudios del Seminario Filológico Cardenal Cisneros 1, 6 and 5). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953, 1967 and 1962; Florentino Pérez [Embid] – *La Biblia en España.* In *Verbum Dei. Comentario a la Sagrada Escritura.* (Biblioteca Herder 23). Ed. Bernard Orchard, et al. Vol. 1. Barcelona: Herder, 1956, p. 83-97; Pilar de Miguel – *La Biblia en los códices de España.* (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos). Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1970; [Teodoro Tomé Gutiérrez] – *La Vetus Latina Hispana. Un desafío en crítica textual bíblica. Cuadernos bíblicos.* 1 (1978) 30-53; Sebastián Bartina – *Biblia en España.* In *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España.* Suppl. 1. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1987, p. 83-91; José Manuel Sánchez Caro – *La Biblia en España.* In *Introducción al estudio de la Biblia.* Ed. Joaquín González Echegaray, et al. Vol. 1. Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1990, p. 553-574. On the illumination of Iberian Bibles: Wilhelm Neuss – *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei. Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte des Auslebens der altchristlichen Kunst in Spanien und zur frühmittelalterlichen Stilgeschichte.* (Veröffentlichungen des Romanischen Auslandsinstituts der Rheinischen Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität Bonn 3). Bonn and Leipzig: K. Schroeder, 1922; François Avril, et al. – *Manuscrits enluminés de la Péninsule ibérique.* (Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque Nationale [3]). Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1982, p. 26f., 31-43, 46-48, 177-182 Appendix I and plates Xlf., XIV-XXII, XXIVf., A and C; Walter Cahn – *Romanesque Bible illumination.* Ithaca (NY.): Cornell University Press, 1982, passim, p. 61-80 and 289-293; John W. Williams – *The Bible in Spain.* In *Imaging the early medieval Bible* (The Penn State Series in the History of the Book). Ed. John W. Williams. Park (Pa.): Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999, p. 179-218. Coloured diapositives of selected Spanish illuminated manuscripts, tenth to twelfth centuries, collected by Helmut Schlunk, can be consulted in the "Digitaler Katalog illuminierter spanischer Codices des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts" on the DAI webpage "Arachne": <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne>.
- 10 The latest overviews are given by Hanna E. Kassir – *The Mozarabs II.* In *The literature of al-Andalus.* (The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature). Ed. Maria Rosa Menocal, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 420-434, here p. 422-425; Cyrille Aillet – *Les mozarabes. Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (ix<sup>e</sup>-xii<sup>e</sup> siècle).* Préface de Gabriel Martínez-Gros. (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez 45). Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010, p. 185-213; Daniel Potthast – *Christen und Muslime im Andalus. Andalusische Christen und ihre Literatur nach religionspolemischen Texten des zehnten bis zwölften Jahrhunderts.* (Diskurse der Arabistik 19). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013, p. 61-105 and 487-526; Ronny Vollandt – *Arabic versions of the Pentateuch. A comparative study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim sources.* (Biblia Arabica. Texts and Studies 2). Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015, p. 70-72. See the detailed bibliographical data for every single translation below in n. 54-64.

the Hebrew Bible in the Iberian Peninsula;<sup>11</sup> and – from a national or even regional standpoint – in the different vernacular translations of the Bible in the Iberian Peninsula (Castilian, Portuguese and Catalan).<sup>12</sup> Access to ongoing research is offered by several recent handbooks, repertories, monographs and articles, which present the textual traditions and exegesis of the Bible in the Iberian Peninsula<sup>13</sup> and provide the first overviews of the specific regional and local profiles of its Latin biblical tradition.<sup>14</sup> Most notably, this more recent work has chosen to analyze

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- 11 *Biblias de Sefarad*. (Exhibition catalogue). Ed. Esperanza Alfonso [Caro], et al. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2012. Illuminated Hebrew Bible manuscripts: Katrin Kogman-Appel – *Jewish book art between Islam and Christianity. The decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain*. (The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 19). Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004; Katrin Kogman-Appel – *Illuminated Haggadot from medieval Spain. Biblical imagery and the Passover holiday*. Park (Pa.): Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- 12 Horacio Santiago-Otero and Klaus Reinhardt – *La Biblia en la península ibérica durante la edad media (siglos xii-xv). El texto y su interpretación*. Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 2001, p. 38-52 (rich bibliography); Gemma Avenzoa [Vera] – *La Biblia de Ajuda y la ‘Megil’lat Antiochus’ en romance*. (CSIC. Biblioteca de filología hispánica 25). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001 (Portuguese Bible); Gemma Avenzoa Vera – *Biblias castellanas medievales*. (Instituto Biblioteca Hispánica. Serie mayor 2). San Millán de la Cogolla: Centro Internacional de Investigación de la Lengua Española, 2011; Gemma Avenzoa [Vera] – *Manuscritos medievales de textos bíblicos castellanos*. In *Biblia y archivos de la Iglesia...*, p. 231-237 (Castilian Bibles). *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum* (Barcelona): as n. 5. CILENGUA – Centro Internacional de Investigación de la Lengua Española (San Millán de la Cogolla) is publishing the Series *La Biblia en la Literatura Española. Edad Media*: <http://www.cilengua.es>. *Biblia Medieval* provides a strong background for editorial, linguistic and philological projects on vernacular Bible manuscripts and versions: <http://www.bibliamedieval.es>. A further Spanish centre of biblical studies is the *Instituto Bíblico y Oriental* (León): <http://biblicoyoriental.es>.
- 13 Klaus Reinhardt – *Die biblischen Autoren Spaniens bis zum Konzil von Trient*. (Instituto de Historia de la Teología Española. Subsidia 7). Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia Salamanca, 1976; Klaus Reinhardt and Horacio Santiago Otero – *Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval*. (Medievalia et humanistica. Nomenclátor de autores medievales hispanos 1). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986; Horacio Santiago-Otero and Klaus Reinhardt – *La Biblia en la península ibérica...*
- 14 Kingdom of León: Luís Vázquez de Parga – *La Biblia en el reino astur-leonés*. In *La Bibbia nell’alto medioevo...*, p. 257-280 and 337f. (Discussion); Catalonia: Armand Puig i Tàrrach – *La Bíblia llatina en els països de llengua catalana fins al segle xiii*. *Revista catalana de teologia*. 28 (2003) 103-134; Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – *Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae*. Códices, fragmentos, membra disiecta y referencias literarias. Una primera aproximación. In *Biblia y archivos de la Iglesia...*, p. 69-114. Chipiona: Bernardino Ocerinjáuregui y Uría – *Las Biblias medievales de Chipiona*. *Revista española de teología*. 37 (1977) 137-146; Oviedo: Paolo Cherubini – *La Bibbia di Danila*. Un monumento ‘trionfale’ per Alfonso II di Asturie. *Scrittura e civiltà*. 23 (1999) 75-131; *Codex Biblicus Legionensis. Veinte estudios*. Ed. Antonio Viñayo González. León: Ed. Lancia, 1999; *La Biblia de Danila (Codex Biblicus Cavensis, Ms. 1 de la Abadía de la Santísima Trinidad de Cava dei Tirreni)*. Vols. 1-2. Oviedo: Gobierno del Principado de Asturias, 2010; Paolo Cherubini – *Le glosse latine antiche alla ‘Bibbia’ di Cava*. Considerazioni preliminari. In *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno*. (Littera antiqua 19). Ed. Paolo Cherubini and Giovanna Nicolaj, Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2012, p. 133-149; Pamplona: François Bucher – *The Pamplona Bibles. A facsimile compiled from two picture Bibles with martyrologies commissioned by king Sancho el Fuerte of Navarra (1194-1234)*. *Amiens manuscript Latin 108 and Harburg MS. 1, 2 Lat. 4°*, 15. Vols. 1-2. New Haven (Ct.)/London: Yale University Press, 1970; Ripoll (and Rodes): Anscari Manuel Mundó [i Marcet] – *Les Biblias de Ripoll. Estudi dels Mss. Vaticà, Lat. 5729 i París, BnF, Lat. 6*. (Studi e testi 408). Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2002; Anscari Manuel Mundó [i Marcet] – *Les Biblias de Ripoll*. Vol. 1: Vaticà, lat. 5729, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. (Codices e Vaticanis selecti. Series Maior 86), Città del Vaticano/Vic: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and Bisbat de Vic, 2002; ... Vol. 2: París, BnF, lat. 6-I-IV, Bíblia de Rodes, Vic: Bisbat de Vic, 2010; San Isidoro de León: John W. Williams – *A Castilian tradition of Bible illustration*. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. 28 (1965) 66-85; John W. Williams – *A model for the León Bibles*. *Madrider Mitteilungen*. 8 (1967) 281-286 and plates 69-72; Raymond McCluskey – *The library and scriptorium of San Isidoro de León*. In *Santo Martino de León. Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII Centenario de su obra literaria (1185-1985)*. (Isidoriana 1). León: Isidoriana Ed., 1987, p. 231-247 and 248 (discussion); Toledo: Klaus Reinhardt and Ramon González [Ruiz] – *Catálogo de*

these texts from an intracultural perspective, regarding solely Christian (and only rarely Christian-Jewish) perspectives on the Bible. In stark contrast to this research agenda, the perspective on crossing the biblical borders between Christians, Jews and Muslims is a much less studied field of research.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. Bible Manuscripts as Modes of Perception and Transformation of the World of the Other

In other words, much remains to be done when we change our perspective and try to assess the role of biblical models for the formation of identity and difference, and for the perception of ethnicity and ‘otherness’. Of course, medieval historians have studied the Latin-Christian imaginary of God, world and men in the early and central Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup> Yet, how was Christianity as a ‘universal’ religion related to particular communities and identities, and to other religions? Much needs to be done to compare concepts of time and space, of God’s word and sacred text,<sup>17</sup> or to compare views of the rest of the world offered by Jewish, Christian, and Muslim scriptures, and by texts building on them.<sup>18</sup> These texts’ transcultural entanglements, specifically in exegesis, liturgy or historiography and their medial and material representations, need to be assessed.<sup>19</sup> In Iberian frontier societies, the transcendentally grounded normative visions of the respective ‘sacred texts’ competed against each other and had to confront foreign perceptions of time, space, nature and history. Even though Jews, Christians and Muslims all recognize God’s plan for the salvation of humankind as the primary driving force of history,

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*códices bíblicos de la Catedral de Toledo*. (Monumenta Ecclesiae Toletanae historica. Series 1: Regesta et inventaria historica 2). Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1990; Ángel Fernández Collado, et al. – La colección de manuscritos e impresos bíblicos de la Biblioteca Capitulare de Toledo. In *Biblia y archivos de la Iglesia...*, p. 287-447.

15 E. g. John V. Tolan – ‘Ipsius gladio occidere’. The use and abuse of Scripture in Iberian religious polemics. In *Christlicher Norden – Muslimischer Süden. Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*. (Erudiri Sapientia. Studien zum Mittelalter und zu seiner Rezeptionsgeschichte 7). Ed. Matthias M. Tischler and Alexander Fidora. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 2011, p. 201-214.

16 Hans-Werner Goetz – *Gott und die Welt. Religiöse Vorstellungen des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*. Vols. 1, 1-3. (Orbis mediaevalis. Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 13, 1-2 and 16). Berlin: Akademie, 2011-2012 and Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2016.

17 Rainer Berndt – Das Wort – Symbol religiöser Kommunikation. In *Religiosità e civiltà. Le comunicazioni simboliche (secoli ix-xiii)*. *Atti del convegno internazionale, Domodossola, Sacro Monte e Castello di Mattarella, 20-23 settembre 2007*. (Le settimane internazionali della Mendola. N. S. 2007/2011: Storia, ricerca). Ed. Giancarlo Andenna. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2009, p. 109-126.

18 For the general historical and cultural context: *WBG Weltgeschichte. Eine globale Geschichte von den Anfängen bis ins 21. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Johannes Fried and Ernst-Dieter Hehl. Vol. 3. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010.

19 One such privileged exception is the comparative study of eschatological and apocalyptic literature in the three monotheistic religious traditions: *Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*. (Millennium-Studien 16). Ed. Wolfram Brandes and Felicitas Schmieder. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2008.

their strategies of how to portray this history differ remarkably.<sup>20</sup> This had an impact on the respective historiographies; and the consequences of different conceptions of time, space and history in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam can be detected in their exegetical, polemical and historiographical practices. However, that does not exclude mutual influences and transcultural exchanges between these modes of perceiving and transforming foreign histories. Yet, we do not adequately understand the exact role of the different religious frameworks in the respective systems of knowledge. My current work seeks to follow this line of research by studying the transcultural setting of the Iberian Peninsula's biblical tradition in the early and central Middle Ages.

My work intends to change the dominant perspective on the biblical tradition of Christian communities in the transcultural societies of the Iberian Peninsula. The biblical manuscripts will not only be seen as testimonies of texts or textual traditions alone, but as bearers of canons.<sup>21</sup> In other words, these biblical manuscripts will be understood as both theoretical and practical presentations of history and of the perception of religious alterities in Iberian transcultural societies. My work, therefore, will recontextualize these perceptions of the world of the other, reconstructed most recently from edited texts,<sup>22</sup> in two wider contexts: first, in that of the typological thinking of the preserved Iberian biblical manuscripts, their materiality and mediality; and second, in the narrative frame of the Iberian historiographical production of the period. This new approach requires closer study of the Bible manuscripts in their social, religious and cultural contexts, in their own

20 A first, but inadequate attempt of writing a comparative history of historiographies are the volumes of *The Oxford history of historical writing: The Oxford history of historical writing*. Ed. Andrew Feldherr, et al. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011; *The Oxford history of historical writing*. Ed. Sarah Foot, et al. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

21 On canon, canonization and canonicity as phenomena of cultural memory: *Kanon und Zensur. Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation II*. (Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation 2). Ed. Aleida Assmann and Jan Assmann. München: Fink, 1987. On the canon of the Bible in theory and praxis: Peter Brandt – *Endgestalten des Kanons. Das Arrangement der Schriften Israels in der jüdischen und christlichen Bibel*. (Bonner biblische Beiträge 131). Berlin and Wien: Philo, 2001; *Die Einheit der Schrift und die Vielfalt des Kanons/The unity of Scripture and the diversity of the canon*. (Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Beihefte 118). Ed. John Barton and Michael Wolter. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2003. New comparative research on the canonization of normative secular and religious literature: *Kanon in Konstruktion und Dekonstruktion. Kanonisierungsprozesse religiöser Texte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Ein Handbuch*. Ed. Eve-Marie Becker and Stefan Scholz. Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2012.

22 *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen im früheren Mittelalter. Terminologische Probleme und methodische Ansätze*. (Hamburger geisteswissenschaftliche Studien zu Religion und Gesellschaft 1). Ed. Anna Aurast and Hans-Werner Goetz: Berlin: Lit, 2012; *Von Sarazenen und Juden, Heiden und Häretikern. Die christlich-abendländischen Vorstellungen von Andersgläubigen im Früh- und Hochmittelalter in vergleichender Perspektive*. Ed. Norman Bade and Beate Freudenberg. Bochum: Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2013; Hans-Werner Goetz – *Die christlich-abendländische Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Methodische und vergleichende Aspekte*. (Wolfgang Stammerl Gastprofessur für Germanische Philologie. Vorträge 23). Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2013; Hans-Werner Goetz – *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen und christlich-abendländisches Selbstverständnis im frühen und hohen Mittelalter (5.-12. Jahrhundert)*. Vols. 1-2. Berlin: Akademie, 2013; Hans-Werner Goetz, et al. – *Christian perception and knowledge of other religions in the Early Middle Ages* [= *Millennium*. 10 (2013) 275-384], Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2013.

right as materialized media of perception of religious alterity in concrete historical contexts and as keystones and beacons of the new religious memory of the Crusader- and Reconquest-societies in the Mediterranean world. My work, therefore, intends to focus on the transcultural role of the biblical tradition of and in the Iberian world, a tradition that paradoxically did not really participate in the antique Mediterranean translation movements of the Hebrew and Greek Bibles into Latin,<sup>23</sup> but all the more played an eminent role in the dissemination of its own and of foreign Latin Bible editions during the Reconquista in the “Hispania“.

### 3. Excellence and Weakness of Research on the Iberian Biblical Tradition

A modern history of the Bible in the Iberian world up to the central Middle Ages is still missing.<sup>24</sup> This is more than a lamentable situation, as the fundamental codicological and philological research on the most important Iberian Bible manuscripts, conducted especially by Samuel Berger,<sup>25</sup> Donatien de Bruyne,<sup>26</sup> Bonifatius Fischer,<sup>27</sup> Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela,<sup>28</sup> Ana Suárez González<sup>29</sup> and Paolo Cherubini,<sup>30</sup> had already begun to map the landscape of production and reception of a renewed biblical tradition but without assessing the new transreligious and transcultural setting of these activities. We know much – but not really in detail – about the production of the great Visigothic and Carolingian Bibles (i.e. preserved pandects, fragments, and witnessed, but now lost manuscripts), and where it took place, as well as the role played by the Bible editions of Peregrinus, Isidore of Seville, Theodulf of Orléans and Alcuin of Tours within the general history of the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate. Moreover, the aforementioned scholars have demonstrated the import of western Frankish and Septimanian Bible texts into the northern and

23 *La Bíblia i el Mediterrani...* (Scripta biblica 1-2). Ed. Agustí Borrell, et al. Vols. 1-2. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997.

24 Matthias M. Tischler – Klaus Reinhardt (1935-2014), in memoriam. *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*. 24 (2015) 510-512, here 511. The short monograph Horacio Santiago-Otero and Klaus Reinhardt – *La Biblia en la península ibérica...* begins with the thirteenth century.

25 Samuel Berger – *Histoire de la Vulgate...*, p. 8-28.

26 Donatien de Bruyne – Études sur les origines de la Vulgate en Espagne. *Revue bénédictine*. 31 (1914-1919) 373-401.

27 Bonifatius Fischer – *Verzeichnis der Sigel für Handschriften und Kirchenschriftsteller*. (Vetus Latina 1). Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1949, p. 11-42; Bonifatius Fischer – *Genesis*. (Vetus Latina 2). Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1951-1954, p. 1\*-5\*; Bonifatius Fischer – Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters. In *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo...*, p. 519-600 [repr. in Bonifatius Fischer – *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*. (Vetus Latina 11). Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1985, p. 35-100] and 685-704 (Discussion), here p. 561-575; Bonifatius Fischer – *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter...*, passim; Bonifatius Fischer – *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte*. (Vetus Latina 12). Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1986, passim.

28 Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela – *La Vetus Latina hispana...* Vol. 1, p. 347-370 n° 1-98 (a summary of older Spanish research).

29 Ana Suárez González – Una lectura arqueológica de nuestras biblias medievales (siglos x-xiii in.). In *Biblia y archivos de la Iglesia...*, p. 163-214 [with 13 plates].

30 Paolo Cherubini – Le Bibbie spagnole in visigotica. In *Forme e modelli...*, p. 109-173 and plates 13-15.

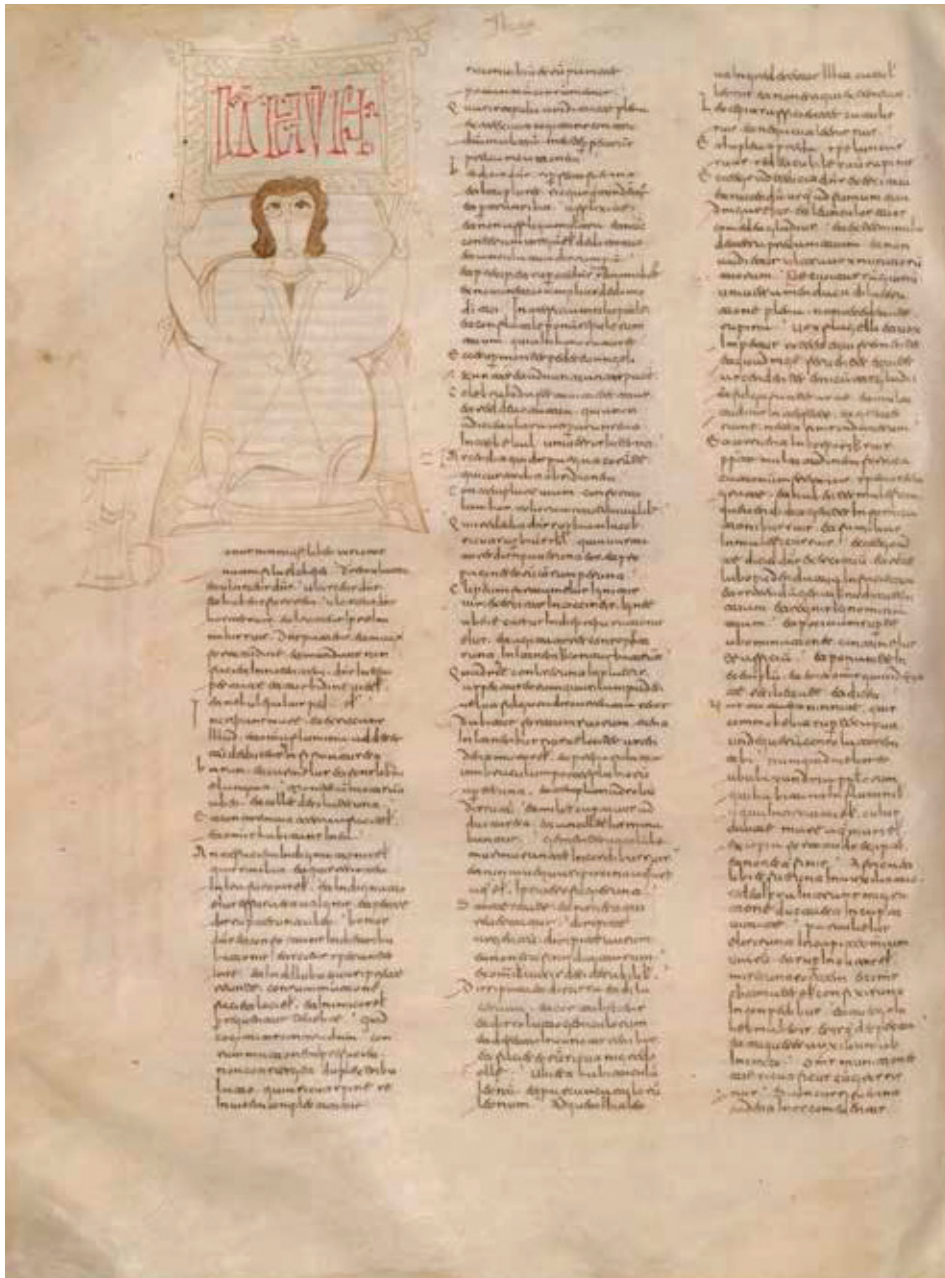


Figure 1 – Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Vitr. 13-1, fol. 162v



northeastern parts of the Iberian Peninsula. This process continued until the new type of glossed French Bible manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries started to predominate, with its characteristic multivolume sets both in the centres and on the peripheries of scholastic biblical studies. More research in detail has also singled out several outstanding Latin Bibles transported from Mozarabic Andalusian communities to the Christian northern regions of the Peninsula. This phenomenon has further helped us to characterize these and other top-quality specimens of Latin-Christian book production as cultural beacons in the resurgent societies of a territorial, religious, cultural and intellectual Reconquista. Samples like the *Biblia Hispalensis* of Córdoba (Figure 1), later given to Seville, have thus been interpreted as testimonies of Christian resistance against Muslim authority and as the central medium of Christian propaganda putting forward their specific perception of the world's place in space and time.<sup>31</sup> Yet, what we lack is a reconstruction of the mental map of Christian religious and intellectual resistance in relation to the whole Iberian landscape of biblical production and the rhythms of production and perception of Bible manuscripts in single- or multivolume editions.

I want to analyze this landscape now from multiple perspectives with the purpose of opening new ways of understanding the Iberian biblical tradition up to the twelfth (if not thirteenth) century:

a. Previous research was marked by an almost maniacal focus on single outstanding beacons of biblical text history instead of a comparative approach to the multifaceted European biblical tradition. We know today that the Visigothic, Carolingian, Romanesque and Gothic pandect was, up to the central Middle Ages – despite Alcuin and the Giant Bibles of the eleventh century –, the great exception in medieval book collections and libraries. This fact raises again the fundamental question of what ‘editing’ a Bible, i.e. the “bibliotheca”, in the early and central Middle Ages really was? How many volumes had an edition and which models were used for it? If we recall the groundbreaking insights of Bonifatius Fischer, we must account for several new campaigns of editing the Bible (already in Carolingian times), despite prominent names such as Theodulf of Orléans and Alcuin of Tours.<sup>32</sup> Besides this, I want also to recall Fischer’s recurring critical assessment of research presented by his Spanish colleague Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela.

31 Otto Karl Werckmeister – Die Bilder der drei Propheten in der ‘Biblia Hispalense’. *Madridrer Mitteilungen*. 4 (1963) 141-188, colour plates 1-2 and plates 63-86; Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz – *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península. Ensayo de distribución regional*. (Historia y geografía 11). Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1995, p. 94 and 101.

32 Bonifatius Fischer – *Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters...*; Bonifatius Fischer – *Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Großen*. In *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*. Ed. Bernhard Bischoff. Vol. 2. Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1965 (etc.), p. 156-216.

b. Previous research on the Bible in the Iberian world was further characterized by a focus on single outstanding regions, such as León, Castile and Catalonia,<sup>33</sup> or even prominent places of learning and manuscript production such as Toledo and Vic.<sup>34</sup> Yet, this focus sometimes did not consider the necessity of establishing a comparative European perspective with the purpose of understanding commonalities and differences between the Iberian and non-Iberian biblical tradition. My experiences of more than 15 years of research on the biblical tradition of Saint-Victor in Paris,<sup>35</sup> prompts me to refine and revise the identification of texts, illustrations and their combination offered by Robert Branner in his posthumously published study of French professional book production in the thirteenth century;<sup>36</sup> by Luba Eleen on the illumination of the Pauline Epistles;<sup>37</sup> or by Susanne Wittekind<sup>38</sup> and Ursula Nilgen<sup>39</sup> on the different types of manuscripts of Peter Lombard's commentaries on the Psalter and the Pauline Epistles. Yet, the Iberian biblical tradition is not taken into account in all these studies. For a better artistic and conceptual understanding of the Bible's architecture up to this period, we need new lists and synopses of biblical canons (and their aberrations), of biblical paratexts such as chapter lists (in their different redactions), and sequences of prothemata and prologues in both full and glossed Bibles before and after the edition of the so-called Parisian Vulgate of the thirteenth century.

c. Our typological perspective on the Iberian biblical tradition underlines the methodological need of an extensive and intensive research on all new biblical items. The Iberian biblical tradition has very often survived only in fragments and has therefore not yet really been integrated into a new master narrative of the history

33 Luís Vázquez de Parga – La Biblia...; Armand Puig i Tàrrach – La Bíblia llatina...; Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae... .

34 Toledo: Klaus Reinhardt and Ramon González [Ruiz] – *Catálogo de códices bíblicos...*; Ángel Fernández Collado, et al. – La colección de manuscritos...; Vic: Miquel dels Sants Gros [i] Pujol] – Fragments de bibliés llatines del Museu Episcopal de Vic. *Revista catalana de teologia*. 3 (1978) 153-171.

35 Matthias M. Tischler – *Die Bibel in Saint-Victor zu Paris...* .

36 Robert Branner (†) – *Manuscript painting in Paris during the reign of St. Louis. A study of styles*. (California Studies in the History of Art 18). Berkeley (Ca.) – Los Angeles (Ca.): California University Press, 1977.

37 Luba Eleen – *The illustration of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the twelfth and thirteenth century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

38 Susanne Wittekind – *Kommentar mit Bildern. Zur Ausstattung mittelalterlicher Psalmenkommentare und Verwendung der Davidgeschichte in Texten und Bildern am Beispiel des Psalmenkommentars des Petrus Lombardus (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 59)*. (Europäische Hochschulschriften XXVIII. 212). Frankfurt am Main, et al.: Lang, 1994; Susanne Wittekind – 'Verum etiam sub alia forma depingere'. Illuminierte Psalmenkommentare und ihr Gebrauch. In *The illuminated Psalter. Studies in the content, purpose and placement of its images*. Ed. Frank Olaf Büttner. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, p. 271-280 and 527-530 figures 252-267.

39 Ursula Nilgen – Die frühen illuminierten Lombardus-Kommentare zum Psalter und zu den Paulusbriefen. In *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris. Form und Funktion eines Grundtextes im europäischen Rahmen*. (Corpus Victorinum. Instrumenta 3), Ed. Rainer Berndt. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 2009, p. 391-419 [with 15 colour plates and 17 figures].

of the Bible in the Peninsula; every new piece not only sharpens or even changes our view of the single, fragmentary manuscript tradition, but also the whole landscape of Iberian and foreign production of biblical manuscripts and their reception.<sup>40</sup> My research, focused on recently discovered items and on Catalan manuscript collections, has unearthed hitherto unknown fragmentary items from our period up to the late twelfth century.<sup>41</sup> We have not only new Visigothic Bibles identified in Santa Marina de Valdeón,<sup>42</sup> San Zoilo de Carrión<sup>43</sup> and Burgos,<sup>44</sup> all from the tenth century; and a further Visigothic Bible in Zamora<sup>45</sup> from the late eleventh or early twelfth century. We also have Carolingian Bibles in Vic from the ninth century (Figure 2), in Urgell from the first half of the tenth century (Figure 3),<sup>46</sup> two obviously Cluniac Bibles in Vic and a Portuguese church from the late tenth or early eleventh century,<sup>47</sup> and a new Catalan Giant Bible in Solsona from the late eleventh century (Figure 4)<sup>48</sup>. Moreover, we can now say that the famous Ripoll scriptorium

40 On manuscript fragments from Spain and Catalonia, see Ancari Manuel Mundó [i Marçet] – Les col·leccions de fragments de manuscrits a Catalunya. *Faventia*. 2, 2 (1980) 115-123; Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – Els estudis sobre fragments i ‘membra disiecta’ de còdexs a Catalunya. Breu estat de la qüestió. *Revista catalana de teologia*. 13 (1988) 431-450 [Spanish version: Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho] – Los estudios sobre fragmentos y membra disiecta de códices en Cataluña. Breve estado de la cuestión. In *Los archivos de la Iglesia. Presente y futuro. Actas del Cursillo (Madrid, 12 al 15 de septiembre de 1988) y elenco de los Archiveros de la Iglesia en España*. (Memoria Ecclesiae 1). Ed. Josep Maria Martí [i] Bonet and Matías Vicario Santamaría, Barcelona: Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia en España, 1990, p. 33-52; Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho] – Les études sur les fragments de manuscrits en Espagne. Bilan et considerations diverses. *Revista de història da sociedade e da cultura*. 12 (2012) 79-112.

41 Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae..., p. 101-105 offers a first, but sketchy catalogue of Bible fragments in Catalonia, eleventh to twelfth centuries, often without exact verification of date and content.

42 León, Archivo diocesano, s. n., second half of the tenth century: María Josefa Sanz Fuentes and Elena E. Rodríguez Díaz – Un nuevo fragmento de Biblia visigótica a tres columnas. Estudio paleográfico y codicológico. In *Actas del VIII Coloquio del Comité Internacional de Paleografía Latina. Estudios y ensayos, joyas bibliográficas*, Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1990, p. 211-221 [with 2 plates].

43 Salamanca, Biblioteca del Colegio de San Estanislao, Ms. 10, second half of the tenth century: Irene Ruiz Albi – Dos fragmentos de biblias visigóticas (San Zoilo de Carrión y Catedral de Zamora), In *Escritos dedicados a José María Fernández Catón*. (Fuentes y estudios de historia Leonesa 100). Ed. Manuela Domínguez García, et al. Vol. 2. León: Centro de estudios e investigación ‘San Isidoro’, 2004, p. 1291-1316 [with 8 figures], here p. 1294-1307.

44 Burgos, Archivo Parroquial de las Quintanillas, sig. 7 (Libro de Bautizados n. 1), tenth/eleventh century: José Luis Esteban Vallejo – Presencia documental-libraria de la Biblia en el Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Burgos (= A.D.B.) y en su Biblioteca Auxiliar. In *Biblia y archivos de la Iglesia...*, p. 255-285 [with 10 figures], here p. 256f. and p. 275 Doc. n.º 1.

45 Zamora, Archivo de la Cathedral, Fragmentos, núm. 1: Irene Ruiz Albi – Dos fragmentos de biblias visigóticas..., p. 1308-1316.

46 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 255, I: Miquel dels Sants Gros [i Pujol] – Fragments de bíblies llatines..., p. 154f.; Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae..., p. 98; Bernhard Bischoff – *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. Vol. 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014, p. 470 n.º 7076; La Seu d’Urgell, Biblioteca Capitular, Ms. 180. 1: Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae..., p. 98.

47 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 255, II: Miquel dels Sants Gros [i Pujol] – Fragments de bíblies llatines..., p. 154f. (“datada a mitjan segle x. Segurament ja és obra de l’escriptori ausetà”); Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae..., p. 99 (“mediados del siglo x y con mucha probabilidad de origen ausonense”); Ceuta, Archivo municipal, Santa y Real Casa de la Misericordia, cajas 25-26, 32-33 and 21: [María] Carmen del Camino [Martínez] – Fragmentos bíblicos en escritura carolina. *Boletín Millares Carlo*. 13 (1994) 85-94 and 7 plates.

48 Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà, Còdex 82: Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae..., p. 101 (without any further qualification).

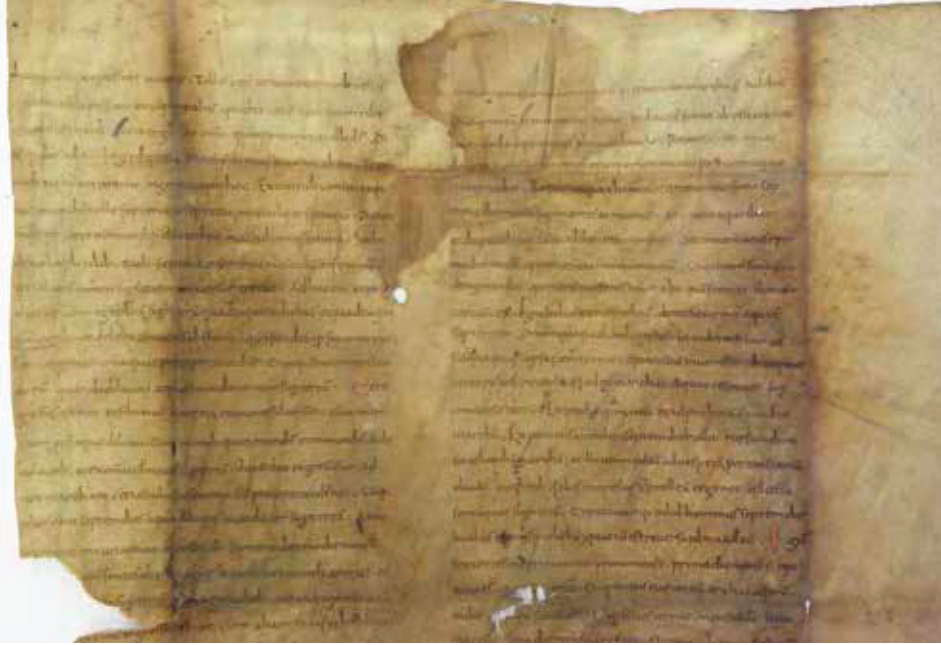


Figure 2 – Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 255, I, fol. 1r

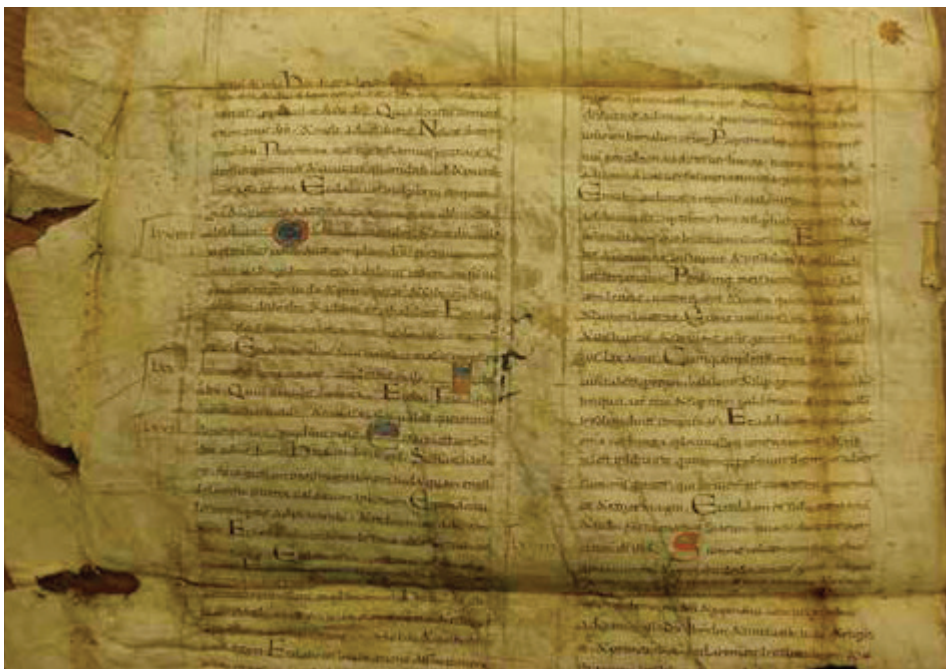


Figure 3 – La Seu d'Urgell, Biblioteca Capitular, Ms. 180. I, fol. 1v



Figure 4 – Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà, Còdex 82, fol. 1v



Figure 5a – Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. Fragg. XXII/5, fol. 1v

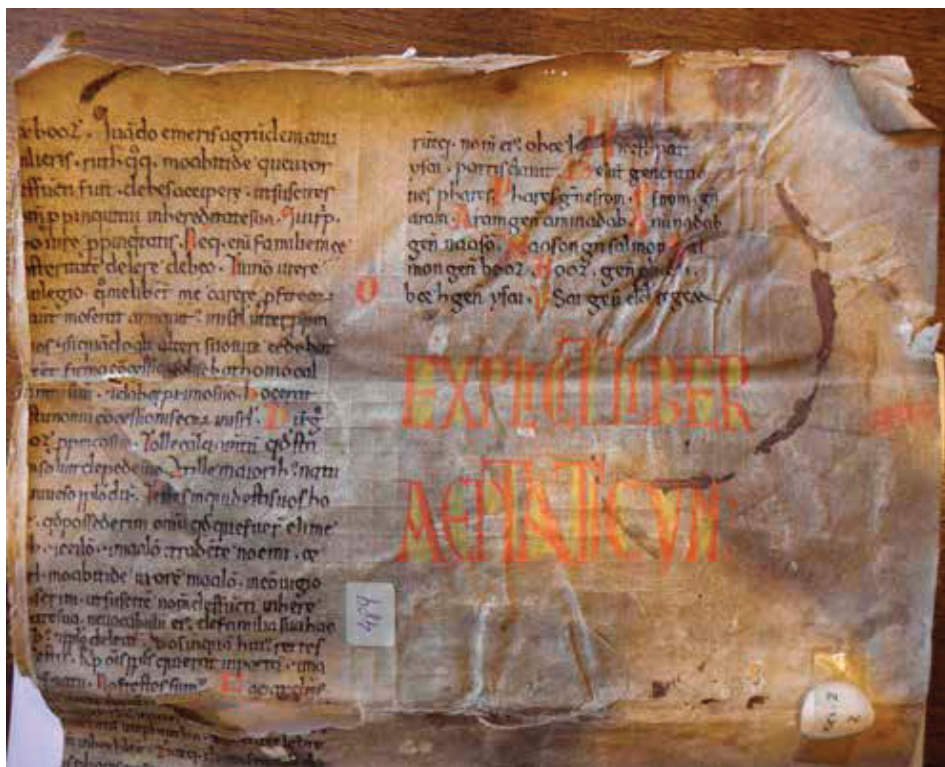


Figure 5b – Cardona, Arxiu Històric Municipal, Ms. 489, fol. 1r

continued producing large-size Bibles in the late eleventh or early twelfth century thanks to fragments found in Vic, Cardona and Ripoll that belong together (Figure Sa–c).<sup>49</sup>

d. This already dense picture of the Iberian biblical world nevertheless is one-sided, as it exclusively focuses on the Latin transmission. I suggest a more intercultural, comparative perspective, which takes into consideration the Arabic glossing of Latin Bibles and the already identified pieces of Arabic Bible translations, i.e. the biblical world of the so-called Mozarabs. Although we do not have multilingual Iberian Bibles like the trilingual Psalter manuscripts from twelfth-

49 Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. Fragm. XXII/5: Miquel dels Sants Gros [i Pujol] – Fragments de bíblies llatines..., p. 166 n° 22; Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae..., p. 102 (without any further qualification); Cardona, Arxiu Històric Municipal, Ms. 489: *ibid.*, p. 102 (without any further qualification); Ripoll, Arxiu Comarcal del Ripollès, Fons Santa Maria de Ripoll, Ms. 1: Miquel dels Sants Gros [i Pujol] – Manuscrits de l'Arxiu-Museu folclòric de Ripoll. In *Mil·lenari de la Basílica de Santa Maria de Ripoll 977\*1977* [= *Revista de Girona*. 24 (1978)]. Girona: Diputació, 1978, p. 191–193 [with 3 figures], here p. 191f. and fig. 1 (from fol. 5r); Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae..., p. 104 (without any further qualification).

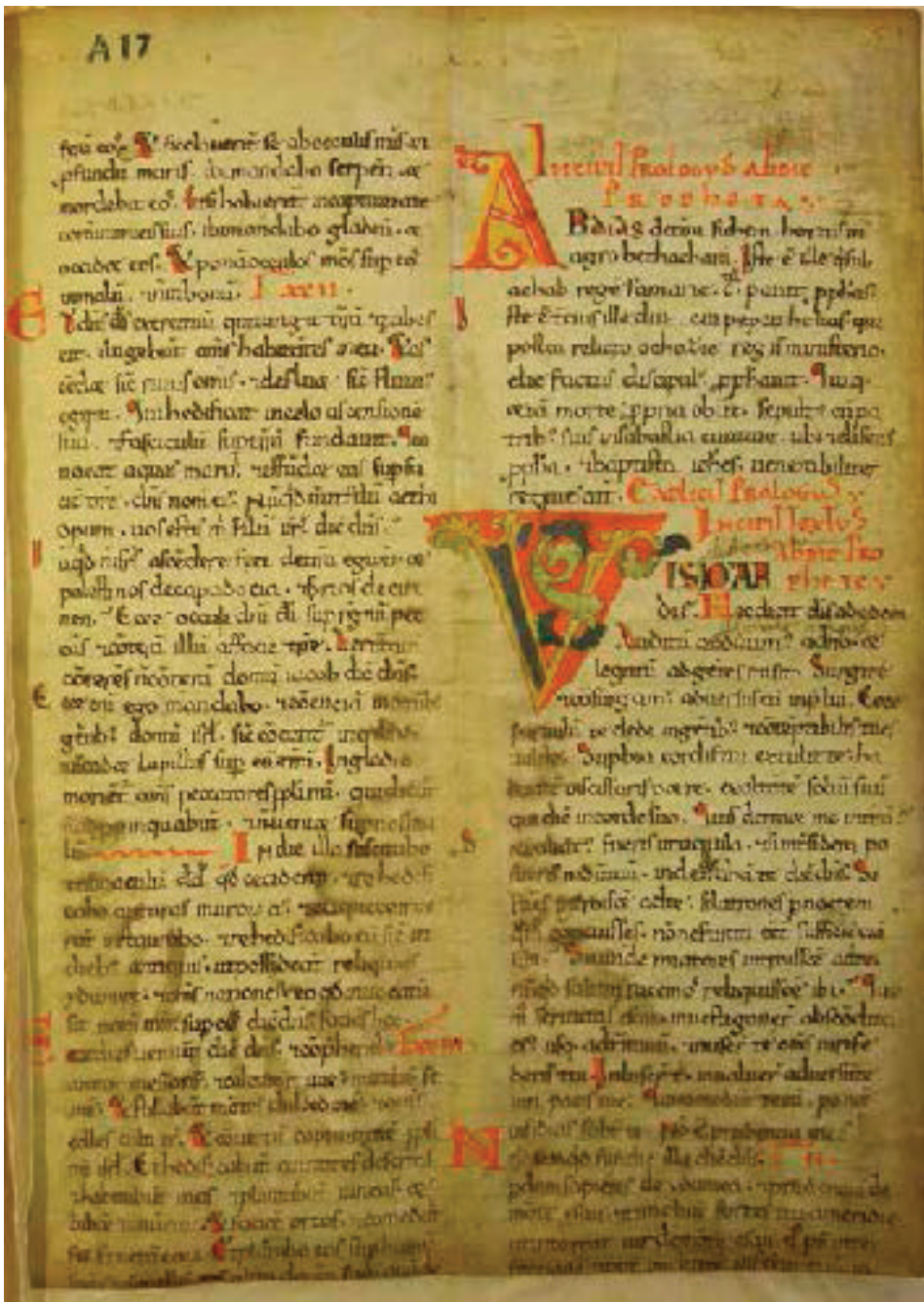


Figure 5c – Ripoll, Arxiu Comarcal del Ripollès, Fons Santa Maria de Ripoll, Ms. 1, fol. 5r



century Sicily,<sup>50</sup> the phenomenon of Latin Bible manuscripts with Arabic glosses and short commentaries, written by Mozarabic Christians,<sup>51</sup> and the early production of Arabic Bible translations from the ninth century onwards are excellent means of evaluating the transcultural and textual perspectives of the different Christian communities of the Iberian Peninsula. Studying such communities from this perspective will help us to uncover facets of a Western Mediterranean World that have only been glanced at by Sidney H. Griffith in his new monograph on the Arabic Bible.<sup>52</sup> And only recently has Juan Gabriel López Guix begun to illustrate the importance of this topic for the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>53</sup> However, precisely which biblical books, passages and words interested the glossators and translators? Were these examples of literal exegesis of difficult biblical passages and translations for consumption by other Christian communities? Alternatively, should we rather read these manuscripts as written testimonies of religious encounters and conflicts with neighbouring Jews and Muslims? As we already know, the rare availability of Andalusian Arabic translations of Old Testament books (with the exception of the liturgical Psalter) is a consequence of codicological transmission, not of conscious non-translation of certain books of the Bible.<sup>54</sup> We currently know of manuscripts of Andalusian Arabic translations of the following books of the Bible: Psalms,<sup>55</sup>

50 On these Greco-Latino-Arabic Psalter manuscripts: Alex Metcalfe – *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily. Arabic speakers and the end of Islam*. (Culture and Civilisation in the Middle East). London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, p. 135f.

51 José María Casciaro Ramirez – Las glosas marginales árabes del Codex Visigothicus Legionensis de la Vulgata. *Scripta theologica*. 2 (1970) 303-339; Klaus Reinhardt and Ramon González [Ruiz] – *Catálogo de códices bíblicos...*, p. 81-84 n° 31; Ángel Custodio López y López – Las glosas marginales árabes del 'Codex Visigothicus Legionensis'. In *Codex Biblicus Legionensis...*, p. 303-318. In December 2016, Geoffrey K. Martin has finished his PhD thesis on "Mozarab readers of the Bible, from the Cordoban martyrs to the Glossa ordinaria" (under the direction of Prof. Dr. Thomas E. Burman, Knoxville, Tn.) which will be submitted to Brill Press under the title *The Mozarabs' Bibles*.

52 Sidney H. Griffith – *The Bible in Arabic. The Scriptures of the 'people of the book' in the language of Islam*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World). Princeton (NJ.): Princeton University Press, 2013, who explicitly excuses himself for not presenting his own research on al-Andalus beyond the ninth and tenth centuries, relying instead on the results of other scholars. See also Sidney H. Griffith – When did the Bible become an Arabic scripture? In *The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*. (Intellectual History of the Islamicate World 1). Ed. Camilla Adang, et al. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 7-23. There is no specific article dealing with the Andalusian and Maghreb world in *The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims...*

53 Juan Gabriel López Guix – Las primeras traducciones bíblicas en la Península ibérica. 1611. *Revista de historia de la traducción*. 7 (2013) [http://www.traduccionliteraria.org/1611/art/lopezguix3.htm].

54 The dating of the first complete Andalusian Arabic translation of the Bible before Ibn Ḥazm (eleventh century) is still a hotly debated question: Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala – De nuevo sobre Iohannes Hispalensis y la primera versión árabe de las 'Sagradas Escrituras' realizada en al-Andalus. *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*. 31 (1999) 77-105. With the exception of the famous ninth-century Psalter translation, the Andalusian Arabic renderings mentioned in the following are virtually missing in the most recent monograph on the Arabic Bible: Sidney H. Griffith – *The Bible in Arabic...* . They are more or less overlooked in the German-Israeli Project 'Biblia Arabica. The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians, and Muslims', directed by Sabine Schmidtke (Princeton), Camilla Adang and Meira Polliack (both Tel Aviv), 2013-2017, which is focused on Arabic translation activities in the Middle East: *The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims...* .

55 Córdoba, 889, by Ḥaf ṣ ibn-Albār al-Qūṭī, a verse translation replacing an older, inelegant local Arabic prose version of the Psalms: Marie-Thérèse Urvoy – Influence islamique sur le vocabulaire d'un psautier arabe d'al-Andalus. *al-Qanṭara*. 15 (1994) 509-517; Marie-Thérèse Urvoy (ed./trad.) – *Le Psautier mozarabe de Ḥaf ṣ le Goth*. (Textes). Toulouse: Presses

Gospels,<sup>56</sup> and Pauline Epistles, especially the Epistles to the Romans<sup>57</sup> and to the Galatians,<sup>58</sup> and the non-canonical Epistle to the Laodiceans.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore belonging to the Christian patristic legacy, we have Andalusian Arabic translations of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical history*,<sup>60</sup> Jerome's *Chronicle*,<sup>61</sup> Orosius' *History against the pagans*,<sup>62</sup> Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*,<sup>63</sup> and a unique recension of the

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Universitaires du Mirail, 1994. There are two rarely studied Arabic prose versions of the Psalter: Daniel Potthast – *Christen und Muslime im Andalus...*, p. 63f.

- 56 Córdoba, 946, by Iṣḥāq ibn Balāṣḥ al-Qurṭubī: Eugène Tisserant – Sur un manuscrit mozarabe de Fès. In *Miscellanea biblica B. Ubach*. (Scripta et documenta 1). Ed. Romuald Maria Díaz [i Carbonell]. Montserrat: Abbatia Montiserrati, 1953, p. 15-26 and 1 plate; Ángel Custodio López y López – La traducción de los evangelios al árabe por Isaac ben Velasco de Córdoba en el siglo x a. D. *Boletín Millares Carlo*. 13 (1994) 79-84; Philippe Roisse – Los Evangelios traducidos del latín al árabe por Iṣḥāq b. Balāṣḥ al-Qurṭubī en 946 d. C. In *Estudios árabes dedicados a D. Luis Seco de Lucena (en el XXV aniversario de su muerte)*. (al-Madun 3). Ed. Concepción Castillo Castillo, et al. Granada: Universidad de Granada, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Departamento de Estudios Semíticos, 1999, p. 147-164; Philippe Roisse – Célébrait-on les offices liturgiques en arabe dans l'Occident musulman? Étude, édition et traduction d'un 'Capitulare Evangeliorum' arabe (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Aumer 238). In *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos ix-xii)*. (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 101). Ed. Cyrille Aillet, et al. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008, p. 211-253, here p. 216-219. For another translation of the Gospels: Heinrich Goussen – *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber*. (Beiträge zur christlich-arabischen Literaturgeschichte 4). Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1909, p. 10.
- 57 Daniel Potthast – Die andalusische Übersetzung des Römerbriefs. *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*. 8 (2011) 65-108.
- 58 Late ninth century: Donatien de Bruyne and Eugène Tisserant – Une feuille arabo-latine de l'Épître aux Galates. *Revue biblique internationale*. N. S. 7 (1910) 321-343 [with 1 plate]; Arianna D'Ottone [Rambach] – 'Al-ḥaṭṭ al-maḡribī' et le fragment bilingue latin-arabe Vat. lat. 12900. Quelques observations. In *Les écritures des manuscrits de l'Occident musulman. Journée d'études tenue à Rabat le 29 novembre 2012*. (Le rencontres du Centre Jacques Berque 5). Ed. Mustapha Jaouhari. Rabat: Centre Jacques Berque, 2013, p. 7-18 [with 20 figures].
- 59 It already existed in the times of Ibn Ḥazm and is perhaps already from tenth-century Córdoba: Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala and Philippe Roisse – Una versión árabe andalusí de la 'Epistola apócrifa a los Laodicensis'. *Qurṭuba. Estudios andalusíes*. 3 (1998) 113-151.
- 60 Unknown date: Marie-Thérèse Urvoy – La culture et la littérature arabe des chrétiens d'al-Andalus. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*. 92 (1991) 259-275, here 269; Philippe Roisse – Los Evangelios traducidos del latín al árabe, p. 156 with n. 52; Philippe Roisse – Célébrait-on les offices liturgiques en arabe..., p. 220 n. 34.
- 61 As late as 987: Hanna E. Kassis – The Mozarabs II..., p. 428.
- 62 Córdoba, early tenth century up to 948/949: Hans Daiber – Orosius' 'Historiae adversus paganos' in arabischer Überlieferung. In *Tradition and re-interpretation in Jewish and early Christian literature. Essays in honour of Jürgen C. H. Lebram*. (Studia post-biblica 36). Ed. Jan Willem van Henten, et al. Leiden: Brill, 1986, p. 202-249; Mayte Penelas (ed.) – *Kitāb Hurūṣiyūs. Traducción árabe de las 'Historiae adversus paganos' de Orosio*. (Fuentes árabe-hispanas 26). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001, p. 15-124; Mayte Penelas – El historiador árabe ante las fuentes cristianas. Las 'Historias de Orosio'. In *La verdad tamizada. Cronistas, reporteros e historiadores ante su público*. (Mediterránea 8). Ed. Aurelio Pérez Jiménez and Gonzalo Cruz Andreotti. Madrid: Ed. Clásicas, 2001, p. 179-200; Mayte Penelas – A possible author of the Arabic translation of Orosius' 'Historiae'. *al-Masāq*. 13 (2001) 113-135; Mayte Penelas – Del latín al árabe. Una traducción mozárabe del siglo ix-x. In *Actas del III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval*. Ed. Maurilio Pérez González. Vol. 1. León: Universidad de León, Secretariado de Publicaciones y Medios Audiovisuales, 2002, p. 423-432; Mayte Penelas – ¿Hubo dos traducciones árabes independientes de las 'Historias contra los paganos' de Orosio?. *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*. 6 (2009) 223-251; Hans Daiber – Weltgeschichte als Unheilsgeschichte. Die arabische Übersetzung von Orosius' 'Historiae adversus paganos' als Warnung an die Muslime Spaniens. In *Christlicher Norden – Muslimischer Süden...*, p. 191-199; Christian C. Sahner – From Augustine to Islam. Translation and history in the Arabic Orosius. *Speculum*. 88 (2013) 905-931.
- 63 As late as 987: Marie-Thérèse Urvoy – La culture et la littérature arabe..., 269; Charles Burnett – The translating activity in medieval Spain. In *The legacy of Muslim Spain*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik I: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 12). Ed. Salma K. Jayyusi. Leiden, et al.: Brill, 1992, p. 1036-1058 [repr. in Charles Burnett – *Magic and divination in the Middle Ages. Texts and techniques in the Islamic and Christian worlds*. (Collected Studies Series 557). Aldershot: Variorum, 1996 (etc.), n° IV], here p. 1037.

canons of the Hispanic church councils up to the end of the seventh century.<sup>64</sup> We are thus compelled to wonder whether Griffith's recent statements on the role of the earliest Arabic Bible translations from the Near East may not also be used to attain a much better appreciation of the cultural and religious upheavals of the Muslim-dominated Andalusian society as well. Following this approach, the creation of the Arabic Bible would have been the Christian community's conceptual, theological and codicological response to the now written Arabic Qur'ān in the evermore Arabic and Islamic society of al-Andalus. Thus, we should revise our understanding of the Arabic Bible, which is likely to have been a firm reaction to the Muslims' reproaching the Jews and Christians of having falsified God's only authentic book in heaven ("taḥrīf"), which is an Arabic one. The Christian Arabic Bible, then, would have served as the countermodel to the Arabic Qur'ān, offering Muslims the possibility of becoming acquainted with the Judeo-Christian biblical tradition and history, which otherwise would have been inaccessible to them in its conventional Latin form. If our hypotheses prove to be correct, we would better understand why in Córdoba a tenth-century Arabic translation of Orosius' biblical-based Christian world history was produced as well.

e. This rich, multi-layered picture becomes even more complex from the twelfth century onwards if we take into account the new type of the professional glossed Bible book of northern French origin. The enduring change of the Iberian biblical landscape from the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries through these new Bibles is almost unknown up to the present. After the groundbreaking work of Beryl Smalley, more recent monographs on the glossed Bibles,<sup>65</sup> special studies

64 As late as 1049/1050: Jareer Abu-Haidar – A document of cultural symbiosis. Arabic ms. 1623 of the Escorial Library. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*. 119 N. S. 2 (1987) 223-235; Dominique Urvoý – *Pensers d'al-Andalus. La vie intellectuelle à Cordoue et Séville au temps des empires berbères. Fin xi<sup>e</sup> siècle-début xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris and Toulouse: Editions du CNRS and Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1990, p. 27f.; Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld – La literatura cristiano-árabe de la España medieval y el significado de la transmisión textual en árabe de la 'Collectio conciliorum'. In *Concilio III de Toledo. XIV centenario 589-1989*. Toledo: Arzobispado de Toledo, 1991, p. 695-710, here p. 704-706; Marie-Thérèse Urvoý – La culture et la littérature arabe..., 263 and 268; Hanna [E.] Kassis – Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an age of turmoil (fifth/eleventh century until A.H. 478/A.D. 1085). *al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994) 401-422, here 412-422; Hanna E. Kassis – The Mozarabs II..., p. 423 and 425-428; Ana Echevarría Arsuaga – Los marcos legales de la islamización. El procedimiento judicial entre cristianos arabizados y mozárabes. In *Los Mozárabes. Entre la cristiandad y el islam [= Studia historica. Historia medieval*. 27 (2009) 17-124]. Ed. Iñaki Martín Viso and Ana Echevarría Arsuaga. Salamanca: Ed. Universidad de Salamanca, 2009, 37-52; Ana Echevarría [Arsuaga] – La jurisdicción eclesiástica mozárabe a través de la Colección Canónica Hispana en árabe. In *Von Mozarabern zu Mozarabismen. Zur Vielfalt kultureller Ordnungen auf der mittelalterlichen Iberischen Halbinsel*. (Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 41). Ed. Matthias Maser, et al. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 2014, p. 131-144.

65 Christopher de Hamel – *Glossed books of the Bible...*; Guy Lobrichon – Une nouveauté. Les gloses de la bible. In *Bible de tous les temps...*, p. 95-114 [with 1 figure] [repr. in Guy Lobrichon – *La Bible au Moyen Âge...*, p. 158-172]; Lesley [J.] Smith – *The 'Glossa ordinaria': The making of a medieval Bible commentary*. (Commentaria. Sacred Texts and Their Commentaries. Jewish, Christian and Islamic 3). Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009.

and editions of individual glossed Bible books,<sup>66</sup> and my own overview of the earliest European collections of glossed Bibles all have neglected the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>67</sup> We can explain this state of affairs as researchers' decisions to focus their energy on the seemingly oldest copies of this new scholastic type of Bible stemming first and foremost from the regions of their invention and earliest use, i.e. northern France, Normandy and southern England. Only later did scholars widen their purview to the further transmission of Bible manuscripts in other European regions and even peripheries. In addition to that, scientifically and linguistically isolated Iberian research also impeded an earlier (international) reception of the Iberian biblical tradition in this unexplored field. In the meantime, we know that the distribution of glossed Bibles was a Europe-wide phenomenon, which demonstrates the high mobility of clerks coming from all regions of Europe to the schools in northern France (and Paris) and that reveals the stunning swiftness of dissemination of their scholastic training in the form of these new Bibles.<sup>68</sup> It is the merit of the late professor Klaus Reinhardt to have published in 2014 an article on the already known glossed Bible manuscripts of Toledo, where he also presented a first overview of collections of glossed Bibles in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>69</sup> This overview, which was not based on intensive, personal research

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- 66 Dn: Mark A. Zier – The manuscript tradition of the 'glossa ordinaria' for Daniel, and hints at a method for a critical edition. *Scriptorium*. 47 (1993) 3-25 and plates 1-8; Ct: Mary Dove (ed.) – *Glossa ordinaria* 22: In Canticum canticorum (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalia 170). Turnhout: Brepols, 1997; Lam: Alexander André (ed.) – *Gilbertus Universalis, Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie prophete. Prothemata et Liber I. A critical edition with an introduction and a translation*. (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 52). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2005; Io: Alexander André – The 'Glossa ordinaria' on the Gospel of John. A preliminary survey of the manuscripts with a presentation of the text and its sources. *Revue bénédictine*. 118 (2008) 109-134 and 289-333; Alexander André – Anselm of Laon unveiled. The 'Glosae super Iohannem' and the origins of the 'Glossa ordinaria' on the Bible". *Mediaeval Studies*. 73 (2011) 217-260 [with 2 figures]; Alexander André (ed.) – *Anselmi Laudunensis Glosae super Iohannem*. (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalia 267). Turnhout: Brepols, 2014, p. ix-cx.
- 67 I mentioned Matthias M. Tischler – Dekonstruktion eines Mythos. Saint-Victor und die ältesten Sammlungen glossierter Bibelhandschriften im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert. In *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris...*, p. 35-68 [with 4 figures], here p. 51f. with n. 86 a collection of glossed Bible manuscripts in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 31-47 that originally stems from Messina Cathedral.
- 68 I showed this for twelfth-century Saxony: Matthias M. Tischler – Zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie. Die Umgestaltung der Bildungslandschaft im Bistum Hildesheim durch fröhscholastische Bücher aus Nordfrankreich im 12. Jahrhundert. In *Schätze im Himmel, Bücher auf Erden. Mittelalterliche Handschriften aus Hildesheim*. (Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek 93). Ed. Monika E. Müller. Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2010, p. 237-252 [with 8 figures]; Matthias M. Tischler – *Zwischen Früh- und Hochscholastik. Bildungsgeschichtliche Umbrüche im nord- und mitteldeutschen Raum während des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*. (Denkschriften der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften). Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (in preparation for the print).
- 69 Klaus Reinhardt (†) – La presencia de la 'Glossa Ordinaria' ('In Bibliam') en la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo. In *Créer y entender. Homenaje a Ramón González Ruiz*. (Homenajes 4). Vol. 1. Toledo: Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo, 2014, p. 65-74, here p. 68-71. This article revises the dates of transmission given in Klaus Reinhardt and Ramon González [Ruiz] – *Catálogo de códices bíblicos...* See now also Ángel Fernández Collado, *et al.* – *La colección de manuscritos...*, p. 312f., 322-333, 348-368, 375f. and 416-422. My critical revision: Matthias M. Tischler – Dekonstruktion eines Mythos..., p. 50 with n. 81 has not been taken into consideration in these publications.

and investigation,<sup>70</sup> is per se inconsistent and sketchy. My current research in Catalonia and Aragón has uncovered some little known detailed studies, as well as more detailed information on important medieval collections of glossed Bible books in Vic, Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Tortosa, Tarazona and other outstanding places of scholastic learning:

Vic, Cathedral<sup>71</sup>

Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. Fragm. XIII/31: Gn; Ms. Fragm. XIII/44: II Par; Ms. 8 (LXXXI): Iob; Ms. Fragm. XIII/36: Iob; Ms. Fragm. XIII/40: Iob; Ms. 9 (LXII): Ps; Ms. 10 (XXXIX): Ps (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. Fragm. XIII/45: Ps (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. Fragm. XIII/33: Ps (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. 13 (LIV): Sap \* Eccl \* Ct \* Prv; Ms. 14 (XCI): Is; Ms. 16 (XC): Mt; Ms. Fragm. XIII/43: Lc; Ms. 17 (XCIX): Io; Ms. Fragm. XIII/41: Io; Ms. Fragm. XIII/30: Rm ... Hbr (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. 18 (XL): Rm ... Hbr (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. Fragm. XIII/32: Rm ... Hbr (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. Fragm. XIII/34: Rm ... Hbr (Petrus Lombardus)

Girona, Cathedral<sup>72</sup>

Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 491 (olim 7-1-3): Gn \* Ex; Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Fragm. 5: Lv; Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 492 (olim 7-1-4): Nm \* Dt; Ms. 493 (olim 7-1-5): Ios \* Idc; Ms. 494 (olim 7-1-6): I Sm ... IV Rg; Ms. 495 (olim 7-1-7): I-II Par; Ms. 496 (olim 7-1-8): Tb \* Idt \* Est \* Rt \* I-II Esr; Ms. 497 (olim 7-1-9): Ms. 829 (olim vi-1-1): Prv \* Eccl; Ms. 498 (olim 7-1-10): Is \* Dn; Ms. 499 (olim 7-1-11): Os ... Mal; Ms. 500 (olim 7-1-12): I-II Mcc; Ms. 1754 (olim vii-1-2): Mt; Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 51: Io; Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 501 (olim 7-1-13): Mt ... Io

70 Klaus Reinhardt (†) – La presencia de la ‘Glossa Ordinaria’..., p. 68: “Dado que esta comparación se basa en gran parte en los catálogos, queda claro que se trata de un primer y muy imperfecto intento.”

71 On this early Iberian collection of glossed Bibles (with lacunae): Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol – A propòsit de la biblioteca particular de Guillem de Tavertet, bisbe de Vic. *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*. 22 (2003) 103-136 [with 21 figures]; Jesús Alturo [i Perucho] – Les études sur les fragments..., p. 98. Among this collection, only the glossed Gospel of John has received international attention in former times, because of its original Parisian Romanesque book binding: Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 17 (XCIX): Matthias M. Tischler – *Die Bibel in Saint-Victor zu Paris...*, p. 41f.

72 Luí Batlle y Prats – *La Biblioteca de la Catedral de Gerona desde su origen hasta la imprenta*. (Colección de monografías del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses 1). Gerona: Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses, 1947, p. 83 nº 73 and p. 85f. nº 99-113 [= Luí Batlle i Prats – *La cultura a Girona de l’Edat Mitjana al Renaixement*. (Col·lecció de monografies de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins 7). Girona: Institut d’Estudis Gironins, 1979, p. 87-231, here p. 187 nº 73 and p. 188f. nº 99-113]; Francisco [Javier] Miquel Rosell – *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona*. Vol. 1. (Junta técnica de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos. Ediciones conmemorativas del Centenario del Cuerpo Facultativo 1858-1958. 5). Madrid: Direcciones Generales de Enseñanza Universitaria y de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1958, p. 623-632; ... Vol. 2. Madrid: Direcciones Generales de Enseñanza Universitaria y de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1958, p. 7f. and p. 362 with plate (fol. 2r); ... Vol. 4. Madrid: Direcciones Generales de Enseñanza Universitaria y de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1969, p. 247; Josefina Mateu Ibars – Los manuscritos de los siglos x a xiv de la Biblioteca Provincial y Universitaria de Barcelona. *Biblioteconomía*. 26 (1969) 83-123, here 89f. nº 14-21, 91 nº 24 and 92 nº 30; Klaus Reinhardt (†) – La presencia de la ‘Glossa Ordinaria’..., p. 70 (with lacunae).

Girona, Sant Feliu<sup>73</sup>

Girona, Biblioteca Diocesana del Seminari, Fons de Manuscrits de Sant Feliu de Girona, Ms. 1 (olim Ms. 129): Dn \* Os ... Mal

Barcelona, Cathedral<sup>74</sup>

Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Còdex 3: Ex; Còdex 94: Ps (Petrus Lombardus); Còdex 183.2: Eccl; Còdex 183.1: Mt; Còdex 8: Rm ... Hbr (Petrus Lombardus)

Tarragona, archbishop John of Aragón (1327-1334)<sup>75</sup>

Tarragona, Biblioteca del Seminari Pontifici, Ms. 430: Gn \* Ex; Ms. 427: Lv \* Nm \* Dt; Ms. 431: Ios \* Idc \* Rt \* I-II Esr \* Tb \* Idt \* Est \* I-II Mcc; Ms. 435: I Sm ... IV Rg \* I-II Par; Ms. 425: Ps (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. 428: Iob \* Prv ... Sir; Ms. 429: Is \* Ier \* Lam; Ms. 437: Ez \* Dn \* Os ... Mal; Ms. 439: Mt ... Io; Ms. 426: Rm ... Hbr (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. 433: Act \* Iac ... Iud \* Apc

Tortosa, Cathedral<sup>76</sup>

Tortosa, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 67: Lv \* Nm \* Dt; Ms. 2: Ios \* Idc \* Rt \* I-II Esr \* Idt \* Est \* Tb \* I-II Mcc; Ms. 204: I Sm ... IV Rg \* I-II Par; Ms. 51: Ps; Ms. 61: Ier \* Lam \* Is; Ms. 175: Is; Ms. 28: Ez \* Dn; Ms. 225: Mt; Ms. 23: Lc \* Io; Ms. 123: Io; Ms. 12: Rm ... Hbr (Petrus Lombardus)

73 José Janini [Cuesta] and José María Marquès [Planagumà] – Manuscritos de la Colegiata de San Félix de Gerona. *Hispania sacra*. 15 (1962) 401-437, here 402 and 404.

74 José Oliveras Caminal – *El problema de la divisibilidad del continuo con el apéndice Codicum in Sanctae Barconinensis Ecclesiae segregatis asservatorum tabulae. Oración inaugural del curso académico 1949-1950*, Barcelona: Impr. Altès, 1949, p. 90, 97, 99 and 101; Jesús Alturo i Perucho – *El llibre manuscrit a Catalunya. Orígens i esplendor*. (Generalitat de Catalunya. Editorial 92. Col·lecció Som i Serem 14). Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2001, p. 231 (with figure of Còdex 3, fol. 6r); Àngel Fàbrega i Grau and Josep Baucells i Reig – *Catàleg – Inventari general de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral de Barcelona 4: Còdexs*, Barcelona: Arxiu Capitular, 2005 [typescript], p. 4 and 37, 10 and 186, 16 and 537, 16 and 537, and 4 and 50f.; Jesús Alturo [i] Perucho – *Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae...*, p. 101 (Còdex 3 with the wrong datation “siglo xi” and the unprecise content “Biblia Sacra”) and 103 (Còdex 183.1 with the unprecise content “Textus euangeliorum cum glossis”). This collection is missing in Klaus Reinhardt (+) – La presencia de la ‘Glossa Ordinaria’..., p. 70.

75 José María Bover [y Oliver] – Tres códices tarraconenses de la Vulgata. *Estudios eclesiásticos*. 16 (1925) 382-391; Isabel Escandell Proust – Manuscritos de la cartuja Scala Dei. Noticia de una biblia inédita. In *Boletín del Museo e Instituto ‘Camón Aznar’*. 57 (1994) 67-91 [with 15 figures], here 69, 71-76, 78 and 80-85. This collection is missing in Klaus Reinhardt (+) – La presencia de la ‘Glossa Ordinaria’..., p. 71.

76 Enrique Bayerri Bertomeu – *Los códices medievales de la Catedral de Tortosa. Novísimo inventario descriptivo*. Barcelona: Porter-Libros, 1962, p. 125-128, plate 1 (Ms. 2, fol. 167r and 150r) and plate 2 (fol. 91r), p. 147f. and plate 3 (fol. 132v), p. 160f., p. 171 and plate 5b (fol. 129r), p. 207, 211, 214f., 281f., 337, 359f. and 379; Alfonso Sánchez Mairena – *La Biblia...*, p. 45 (erroneously “cuatro ejemplares”). This collection is missing in Klaus Reinhardt (+) – La presencia de la ‘Glossa Ordinaria’..., p. 71.

Tarazona, Cathedral<sup>77</sup>

Tarazona, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 82: Nm; Ms. 132: Ps (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. 147: Ps (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. 6: Sap \* Sir; Ms. 1: Is \* Ier \* Ez \* Dn \* Os ... Mal; Ms. 144: Mt \* Mc; Ms. 145: Lc \* Io; Ms. 142: Act \* Iac ... Iud \* Apc; Ms. 143: Act \* Iac ... Iud \* Apc; Ms. 146: Rm ... Hbr

Yet, an exclusive perspective on such collections in cathedrals, collegiate churches and monasteries of regular canons, that is, places of Augustinian spirituality under the reforming influence of Saint-Victor de Paris and Saint-Ruf d'Avignon, does not do full justice to the medieval reality, which also included the glossed Bibles of the old Benedictine abbeys, such as Ripoll and Sant Cugat del Vallès, or the new abbeys of the Cistercian Order, such as Poblet and Santes Creus, to name only some important monastic centres in Catalonia:

Ripoll<sup>78</sup>

Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. Fragm. XIII/33: Ps (Petrus Lombardus); Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Ripoll, Ms. 44: Ps (Petrus Lombardus)

Sant Cugat del Vallès<sup>79</sup>

Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Sant Cugat, Ms. 27: Tb \* Idt \* Est \* I-II Esr; Sant Cugat, Ms. 74: Mt; Sant Cugat, Ms. 57: Lc \* Io; Sant Cugat, Ms. 15: Rm Hbr

77 Julián Ruiz Izquierdo, et al. – *Biblioteca de la Iglesia Catedral de Tarazona. Catálogo de libros manuscritos, incunables y de música*. (Fuentes históricas aragonesas 12). Zaragoza: Institución 'Fernando el Católico', 1984, p. 7f., 22, 32 and 34f.; María Pilar Falcón Pérez – Estudio histórico-artístico de los manuscritos iluminados de La Seo de Tarazona (Zaragoza). Aportación a su análisis y catalogación. *Artigrama*. 10 (1993) 575-581, here 581; María Pilar Falcón Pérez – *Estudio artístico de los manuscritos iluminados de la catedral de Tarazona. Análisis y catalogación*. (Estudios y monografías 22). Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1995, p. 195-205 and p. 448 plate VI (Ms. 1, fol. 3r and 83v), p. 218f., 224-229, p. 449 plate VII (Ms. 132, fol. 42r and 87r) and p. 450 plate VIII (Ms. 132, fol. 164r), p. 205-208 and p. 448 plate VI (Ms. 142, fol. 108r), p. 208-213 and p. 449 plate VII (Ms. 144, fol. 2r), p. 213-218 and 230f. This collection is missing in Klaus Reinhardt (+) – La presencia de la 'Glossa Ordinaria'..., p. 71.

78 Rudolf Beer – *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll II* (Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 158, n° 2), Wien: Hölder, 1908, p. 44; Fernando Valls y Taberner – Códices manuscritos de Ripoll. *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*. 52 (1931) 5-52 [repr. Fernando Valls Taberner – *Códices manuscritos de Ripoll. El inventario de 1823 de Próspero de Bofarull*. Barcelona, 1991], here 7; Jesús Alturo i Perucho – *El llibre manuscrit a Catalunya...*, p. 135 (with figure of Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Ripoll, Ms. 44, fol. 2r).

79 Francesc Xavier Miquel Rosell – Catàleg dels llibres manuscrits de la Biblioteca del Monestir de Sant Cugat del Vallès existents al'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*. 8 (1928-1932) 143-240, here 170f., 184f. with figure 16 (fol. 22v) and 236f.; Francesc Xavier Miquel Rosell – *Catàleg dels llibres manuscrits de la Biblioteca del Monestir de Sant Cugat del Vallès existents al'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó*. Barcelona: Imp. de la Casa de Caritat, 1937, p. 123f.; Klaus Reinhardt (+) – La presencia de la 'Glossa Ordinaria'..., p. 70 (with lacunae).

Poblet<sup>80</sup>

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, Ms. S. I. 4.: Nm \* Dt; Poblet, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Cod. 13 + Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà, Ms. 18-6: Ps (Petrus Lombardus)

Santes Creus<sup>81</sup>

Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, Ms. 160: Ps; Ms. 116: Ps; Ms. 75: Prv ... Sir; Ms. 91, II: Lam; Ms. 58: Os ... Mal \* Ct; Ms. 91, I: Mt; Ms. 77: Lc; Ms. 158: Rm ... Hbr; Ms. 146: Rm ... Hbr (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. 150: Rm ... Hbr (Petrus Lombardus); Ms. 54: Iac ... Iud

This and further ongoing comparative research will gradually change the Iberian landscape of scholastic biblical studies. Needless to say, nothing is more obvious than that in the Iberian Peninsula the earliest sizable collections of glossed Bibles (and accompanying scholastic manuscripts) belonged to clerics who had once studied in Paris and other places of scholastic learning and then donated their books to their Iberian home institutions: Toledo in Castile and Vic in Catalonia are currently the two oldest known instances of this practice of endowing larger collections of glossed Bibles. Even accounting for the uneven survival of manuscripts, I assume a slight time lag in the import of early glossed Bibles in Catalonia and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula in comparison to other peripheries of Latin Europe. Although we do have interesting old copies of glossed Bibles in Iberian collections, the majority do not belong to the decades around the middle of the twelfth century, but to the end of it and especially to the following thirteenth century. This picture coincides with the Peninsula's general political and ecclesiastical climate, which experienced only then the rapid reconquest of former Christian territories and the firm establishment of the Latin Church and Christian societies in southwestern Europe.

f. Our raising awareness of the transcultural context of the production and reception of the Iberian biblical tradition also bears consequences for the

80 Guillermo Antolín [y Pajares] – *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*. Vol. 4. Madrid: Impr. Helénica, 1916, p. 4; José Janini [Cuesta] and [Francesco] Javier Ricomá [Vendrell] – *Manuscritos latinos existentes en Poblet*. In *Miscellanea Populeti*. (Scriptorium Populeti 1). Poblet: Abadía de Poblet, 1966, p. 209-228, here p. 218.

81 Jesús Domínguez Bordona – *El escritorio y la primitiva biblioteca de Santes Creus. Noticia para su estudio y catálogo de los manuscritos que de dicha procedencia se conservan*. (Instituto de Estudios Tarraconenses 'Ramón Berenguer IV'. Publicación 1). Tarragona: Sugrañes, 1952, p. 56, 60, 71f., 79, 93f., 111, 113, p. 116 with plate V (Ms. 158, fol. 162v) and p. 117; Jesús Domínguez Bordona – *Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Pública de Tarragona, Inventario general. Boletín arqueológico*. IV 53-54 (1953-1954) 50-75, here 55-59 [= Jesús Domínguez Bordona – *Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Pública de Tarragona*. (Instituto de Estudios Tarraconenses 'Ramón Berenguer IV'. Sección de arqueología e historia 6). Tarragona: Excma. Diputación provincial de Tarragona, 1954, p. 10-14].



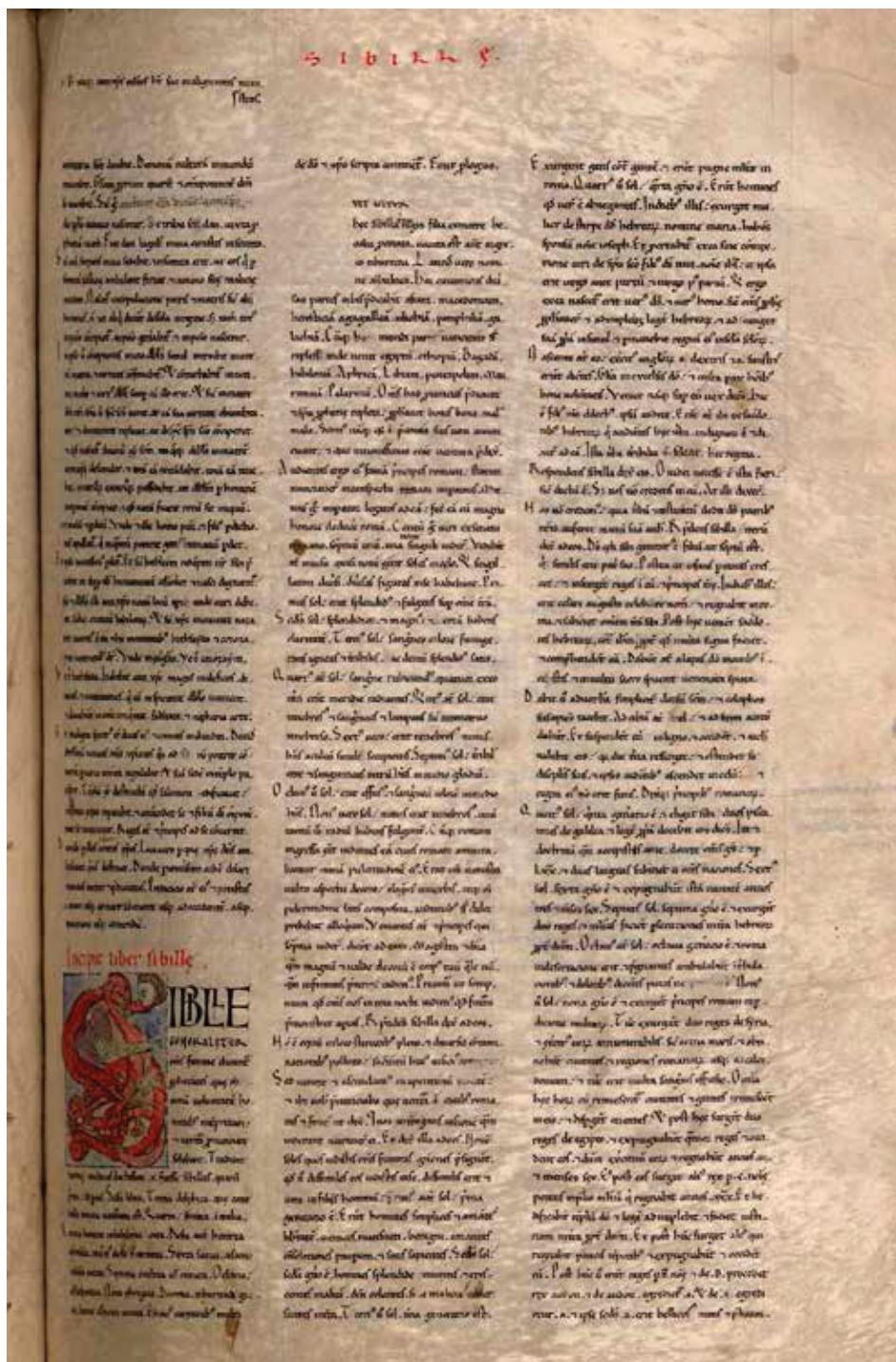


Figure 6 – Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, LC.0061, fol. 270r

interpretation of specific features not found in this density in the rest of Europe. My growing impression is that, more than other integral parts of Europe, the Iberian Peninsula has favoured another perception of the Bible, and this because of its specific societal circumstances. The investigation of many manuscripts has demonstrated that rich and largely unstudied evidence is to be expected in this field. I do not stress here the individual positioning of whole book groups and single books within the Bible canon, their illumination and their frequent use (revealed by marginal notes, commentaries, stains of ink etc.), which can uncover the anthropological, social, religious and theological interests of their contemporary and later sponsors, readers and owners. What I am more interested in are biblical paratexts such as prologues, arguments and capitulations, the so-called ‘apocrypha’ and extra-biblical texts such as the astonishingly rich computistic, chronological, genealogical, prophetic and Sybilline text material.<sup>82</sup> Here we get rich new insights into the entanglement of biblical and non-biblical texts not yet evaluated, because we can determine the authentic perception of Bibles in the contexts of their production and use. An interesting case, for example, is the transmission of the *Sybilla Tiburtina* in the Bibles of Calahorra (?), Lleida, San Millan de la Cogolla and Vic (Figure 6).<sup>83</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion and Perspectives

This overview of the Iberian biblical tradition has shown that a typological perspective on the Iberian and European levels will open new horizons and a deeper understanding of the rhythms of various types of Bible editions and their historical contexts. The systematic reconstruction and comparison of

82 On non-biblical texts in thirteenth-century Bibles that show their use in liturgy, preaching and study, but not their historical dimension: Laura Light – Non-biblical texts in thirteenth-century Bibles. In *Medieval manuscripts, their makers and users. A special issue of Viator in honor of Richard and Mary Rouse*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, p. 169-183. On chronological, historical and biographical texts in medieval Bible manuscripts: Matthias M. Tischler and Patrick Marschner – The Bible in historical perception and writing of the transcultural Iberian societies, eighth to twelfth centuries. *Medieval Worlds*. 5 (2017) 195-220 [with 9 figures], here 196-202. Besides this, we have the phenomenon of quasi ‘portable scholarly reference manuals’, such as Theodulf of Orléans’ Bible, which includes inter alia Isidore of Seville’s *Chronica minor* and the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum de scriptura sua*: Léopold Delisle – Les Bibles de Théodulfe. *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes*. 40 (1879) 5-47, here 6, 24f. and 43-47; Bonifatius Fischer – Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters..., p. 593f.; Elisabeth Dahlhaus-Berg – *Nova antiquitas et antiqua novitas. Typologische Exegese und isidorianisches Geschichtsbild bei Theodulf von Orléans*. (Kölner Historische Abhandlungen 23). Köln and Wien: Böhlau, 1975, p. 35, p. 39 with n. 3, p. 40, p. 41 n. 12, p. 50, 70 and 86-90; Richard Marsden – *The text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*. (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 15). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 20.

83 The last three mentioned Bibles transmit the *Sybilla Tiburtina*: Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, LC.0061, fol. 270ra-270vb; Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Ms. 3, fol. 345rb-348ra; London, British Library, Add. 50003, fol. 220v-222v. Anke Holdenried – *The Sibyl and her scribes. Manuscripts and interpretation of the Latin ‘Sybilla Tiburtina’ c. 1050-1500*. (Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West). Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, p. 184 knows only the last mentioned copy, which is the youngest one.

the production of new Visigothic *and* Carolingian Bibles from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, especially on the basis of newly uncovered fragments, of the Romanesque Bibles of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and of collections of glossed Bible manuscripts in religious communities of all Iberian regions, will certainly provide surprises and new insights. Yet, this more complex master narrative of the Iberian biblical tradition would not be truly complete if we do not also integrate the philological, theological and polemical Arabic glosses and translations of Latin Bible manuscripts on the one hand and the transcultural entanglement of biblical and non-biblical text traditions inside and outside of Bible manuscripts on the other.