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THE PSEUDO-ALCUINIAN 'DE SEPTEM SIGILLIS':
'AN EARLY LATIN APOCALYPSE EXEGESIS

By E. ANN MATTER

Tucked away among the *dubia* of Migne's second volume of the writings of Alcuin is a short exposition of the seven seals of the Apocalypse.¹ Here the seven seals first are related to seven events in the life of Christ: his nativity, baptism, crucifixion, burial, resurrection, ascension, and judgment. These in turn are shown to be analogous to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit: wisdom, (*sapientia*), for Christ was miraculously born of a virgin; understanding (*intellectus*), because in baptism all sins are forgiven; counsel (*consilium*), for, as Caiphias the high-priest said of the crucifixion, 'it is better for one man to die than for a whole people to perish' (John 11:50); fortitude (*fortitudo*), in analogy to the burial, as Christ descended into hell and overcame it; knowledge (*scientia*), for the resurrection, through which Christ makes us believe; piety (*pietas*), for the ascension, since the souls of the faithful wish to follow Christ to heaven; and fear of the Lord (*timor*), in anticipation of the Last Judgment. Finally, the text portrays these virtues as exemplified by seven patriarchs: wisdom in Adam, understanding in Noah, counsel in Abraham, fortitude in Isaac, knowledge in Jacob, piety in Moses, and fear of the Lord in David.

From the perspective of dissemination and influence, this is not a very important text. Yet the structure of its allegorical exposition is carefully crafted, and the variety of sources which inform it is nothing short of tantalizing. This little and little-studied treatment of the seven seals is worthy of our attention because of the valuable insights which it gives us into early medieval exegetical commonplaces and into liturgical uses of what is surely the most perplexing of the New Testament writings.

This study will begin by examining the MS evidence for *De septem sigillis* and providing a critical edition of the two forms in which it was circulating in the ninth century; and then, through analysis of the sources and inquiry into the literary form and exegetical method of the treatise, will sketch a compatible

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¹ PL 101.1169-1170.

intellectual and cultural context. Alcuin's authorship, deemed dubious by Migne, will be even more seriously questioned here, and some other possibilities for provenance, and therefore for interpretation, will be suggested.

I

MANUSCRIPT TRADITIONS

The four extant MSS of *De septem sigillis* are clearly divided into two groups, each represented by two examples.

Family A, which preserves pre-Vulgate Biblical readings, and so testifies to an older version of the text, is made up of MSS K and R.

K = Karlsruhe, L. B. Aug. CXI (from Reichenau), copied in the beginning of the ninth century.² The first 53 lines of our text appear without attribution on fol. 18^v; a widely differing conclusion is filled in by a fourteenth-century scribe (designated as K²) in the bottom margins of this folio and the present fol. 19^r.³ The original fol. 19 is missing. K is made up of two sections: fols. 1-75, including selections from Isidore, Evagrius, pseudo-Augustine, Eucherius, and Junilius Africanus (Primasius); and fols. 76-98, a miscellany which begins with the Old High German alphabetical gloss known as the 'Glossar Ra,'⁴ and which is not related to our discussion.

R = Munich, B. S. Clm 14423 (from St. Emmeram, Regensburg), fols. 1-28^v of which are a ninth-century copy of the first section of MS K. Our text appears here on fol. 8^r in a small Irish hand also found in Clm 14429 and 14459 — all of which, Bischoff suggests, may have been copied at Reichenau.⁵ The treatise is attributed to Augustine by the title: 'Ag Incipit de septem sigillis,' perhaps a reflection of the short homily on the giving of alms (pseudo-Augustine *Sermo* 78; Caesarius *Sermo* 39, PL 39.1897-1899) which follows the Evagrius selections in MS K, but is omitted in R. Since the text of MS K is incomplete in the original hand, R is the most important testimony to the pre-Vulgate version of *De septem sigillis* from line 53 to the end of the work.

Family B, consisting of MSS F and V, gives a longer version of the text, padded and smoothed out, with long quotations from the Vulgate.

² A. Holder, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe I: Die Reichenauer Handschriften* (Leipzig 1906/Wiesbaden 1970) 286-288.

³ A transcription is printed in E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen IV* (Berlin 1898) 401-402.

⁴ *Ibid.* 402-403.

⁵ B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit I* (Leipzig 1940) 243-244, esp. n. 1 for a comparison of the contents of MSS K and R.

F = Munich, B. S. Clm 6407, copied about 800 in the cathedral scriptorium at Verona, but sent to Freising immediately upon completion.⁶ It contains a number of catechetical works, chiefly of Augustine and Alcuin. Our text appears without attribution on fols. 108^v-109^v, immediately following a letter of Alcuin to Odvinus the presbyter and a short anonymous commentary on the Creed.

V = Vatican, B. A. lat. 5096, from eleventh-century Italy. The copy of *De septem sigillis* which appears on fol. 3^v varies in a few readings from MS F, but is obviously related to the archetype from which F was copied in Verona, rather than to the A MSS. The proximity of Alcuinian wrtings in MS F, and perhaps, therefore, in the Verona exemplar, may explain why the treatise is attributed to 'Albinus' in MS V alone. In spite of its close relationship to MS F, V ends with an additional passage which appears in none of the other MSS, a discussion of poverty of spirit which has little relationship to the rest of the treatise. The text printed by Migne in PL 101 is taken from MS V.

II

THE TEXT

A

INCIPIT DE VII SIGILLIS

- 1 Legimus in apocalypsin septem sigillis librum esse signatum que nullus potuit aperire. nec soluere signacula eius. Nullus in celo neque
5 angeli. Nemo in terra neque homo. nemo sub terra neque spiritus nisi leo de tribu iuda radix david. idest christus.
Primus sigillum est natiuitas domini. Secundus baptismum. Tertius crucificatio. Quartus sepultura. Quintus resurrectio. Sex-

B

SEPTEM SIGILLIS IN
APOCALYPSIN

Primum sigillum natiuitas. Secundum baptismum. Tertium crux. Quartum sepulchrum. Quintum resurrectio. Sextum ascen-

INCIPIT: A^g Incipit R 2 que: quem
R 12 quintus: + sepultura (exp.) K

SEPTEM . . . APOCALYPSIN: Albinus
De Septem Sigillis V

⁶ *Ibid.* 149-150. See also *Catalogus manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis* 3.106-107.

A

tus ascensio. Septimus iudicium.
Et hoc sunt septem dona spiritus
15 sancti:

I spiritus sapientie fuit ut christus
de uirgine nasceretur sine uirili
semine. II spiritus intellectus fuit
ut per tres undas baptismatis di-
20 mittere omnium peccata:

III spiritus consilii ut caifas dixit
melius est ut unus homo pereat
quam tota gens: IIII spiritus forti-
tudinis quando corpus in sepul-
25 chro fuit. et christus allagauit
diabulum. et illas animas que
ibidem tenebantur reduxit ab in-
feris. ut dicitur momordit infer-
num: V spiritus scientie quando
30 christus resurrexit a mortuis et
nos fecit credere et resurgere: VI
spiritus pietatis. quando christus
ascendit celos. et ascendunt ad eum
anime iustorum:

35

40

B

sio. Septimum iudicium. haec
sunt septem dona spiritus sancti:

Primum sapientia fuit ut christus
de uirgine nasceretur sine uirili
semine, Secundum spiritus intel-
lectus fuit ut in baptismo per illas
tres undas dimittantur peccata ut
dicitur. expoliantes ueterem homi-
nem induentes nouum, Tertium
consilii fuit ut Caifas dixit. melius
est ut unus moriatur homo quam
tota gens pereat, Quartum spiritus
fortitudinis fuit quia corpus in
sepulchro fuit. et christus alligauit
diabulum in infernum et illas ani-
mas quae ibidem iniuste detene-
bantur reduxit ad regnum. ut deus
momordit infernum, Quintum spi-
ritus scientie fuit quia cum resur-
rexisset a mortuis nos fecit credere
et resurgere quia omnes resurga-
mus ut dicitur exsurge domine tu
et archa sanctificationes tue, Sex-
tum spiritus pietatis fuit ut dici-
tur. quia cum christus ascendit ad
celum et anime iustorum ascen-
dunt ad eum ut paulus dicit, op-
tabam dissolui et cum christo esse.

14 hoc: haec R 16 I: primum R
sapientie: sapientientie K 16/18 (ut ...
semine): *super rasuram* K 18 II: se-
cundum R 19/20 dimitteret bap-
tismatis R 20 omnium: omniorum K
21 III: tertium R 23 IIII: quartum R
25 allagauit: alligauit R 29 V: quin-
tum R 31 VI: sextum R 33 a-
scendunt: ascenderunt R 34 anime:
acni K

16 fuit sapientia V 20 dimittantur:
dimitterentur V 23 dixit: ait V
27 et: — V 28 infernum: inferno V
29 ibidem: ibi V 30 deus: dominus V
34/35 resurgamus: resurgemus V 37/38
ut dicitur: — V

A

VII spiritus timoris domini. quando uenturus erit christus ad iudicandum grandis timor ibidem erit
45 peccatoribus:

Ista VII dona spiritus sancti VII patriarche habuerunt: Spiritus sapientie fuit in adam qui inposuit nomina omni creature. que sub celo est: Spiritus intellectus in noe qui meruit audire a domino fac tu archam de lignis quadratis: Spiritus consilii in abraham qui nihil fecit preter consilium domini: Spiritus fortitudinis in isaac qui sustinuit iniurias gentium cum quibus habitabat:
60

Spiritus scientie cum iacob qui cum domino locutus est in ualle nabuthe: Spiritus pietatis in moy-
65 sen quando dixit dimitte domine

B

Septimum spiritus timoris quia quando uenturus erit christus ad iudicium et remuneraturus iustis. grandis timor peccatoribus erit ut dicitur. discedite a me maledicti. et reliquam.

Ista septem dona spiritus sancti fuerunt in septem patriarchas; Sapientia in adam quia ad omnes feras uel bestias et uolatilia celi et pisces maris posuit nomina. et primus propheta fuit ut dixit. Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea; Intellectus in noe qui arcam fabricauit. in diluuiio. et gubernauit, Consilium in abraham ut dicitur exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui; Fortitudo in isaac quia inimicos dilexit,

Scientia in iacob quia benedixit eum angelus domini et dixit ei. Non uocaberis ultra iacob sed israel, Pietas in moysen quia dixit

42 VII: septim R domini: dominus K
48 VII dona: septem dona R 53 fac tu: fact' K 54 quadratis: *finis* K 55/56 (in . . . domini): fuit in abraham quia dictum fuit ei ut de terra exiret in qua fuit. et iret in terram chanaan K² 57 fortitudinis: + fuit K² 57/59 (qui . . . habitabat): quia terras chanaan manu (idest animo K³) forti inhabitabat K² 62 cum: in K² iacob: iacop K² 62/64 (qui . . . nabuthe): unde uersus iacob luctanti datur astra scientia ueri. conflictus contra qui dicitur israel. ultra K² 64/69 (pietatis . . . tua): pietatis fuit in moyse. unde uersus. at moyses mitis donum tenuit pietatis. qui dixit domine populi peccati remitte K²

42 timoris: + fuit V 43 quando: + christus V christus:—V 44 iustis: iustos V 46 maledicti: + in ignem aeternum V 47 reliquam: reliqua V 49 patriarchas: patriarchis V

A

peccata populi tui dimitte. Et
 si non dimittas peccata populi tui
 dele me de libro quem scripsit dex-
 tera tua: Spiritus timoris domini
 70 in dauid quando tradidit dominus
 saul in manus eius et dixit dauid.
 non continguat mihi hoc ut mittam
 manus meas in sanctum domini
 mei: finit amen:

75

80

85

B

dele me de libro uiuentium ubi me
 scripsisti. si non dimittis noxam
 populi huius. Timor in dauid quia
 timuit deum quando saul in spe-
 luncam intrauit uentrem purgare
 et ipse dixit. Absit ut mittam ma-
 num meam in unctum domini.
 esaias in contemplatione erat quan-
 do de sapientia incipit. Salomon
 de timore ad paruulos per gradus
 ascendere coepit ut propheta di-
 cit. Initium sapientie timor domi-
 ni. Ergo primus gradus timor do-
 mini prima beatitudo. beati pau-
 peres spiritum quoniam ipsorum
 est regnum celorum. Multi sunt
 pauperes sed non beati. Sed pro-
 pea addidit spiritum. Idem qui
 uoluntari erunt pauperes propter
 deum ut dicitur. uade uende om-
 nia que habes et da pauperibus et
 ueni sequere me.

III

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Lines 1-8

The introduction, a paraphrase of Apoc. 5.1-5, is a particular feature of Family A. Although this tradition also draws on other Latin Bible versions, the text here clearly reflects a knowledge of the Vulgate, preferring the word

69/74 (domini . . . domini mei): in dauid.
 unde uersus. precipue dauid in rege ti-
 mor requieuit. perderet quem potuit
 qui saulo sponte pepercit. K² 74 (finit
 amen.): — K²

67 noxam: noxia V 70 intrauit: in-
 troiuit V 73/87 (esaias . . . me): — V

'sigillis,' for example, to 'signis,' the African/Spanish Vetus Latina text testified to by Primasius,⁷ and the tenth-century Antiphoner of León.⁸

Lines 4-6

The gloss on Apoc. 5.3, 'in celo . . . in terra . . . subtus terra,' specifying those who could not open the seals as angels, men, and spirits (of the dead), appears in the earliest of the Latin Apocalypse exegetes, Victorinus: 'hoc dignus facere nemo est inuentus neque in angelis in caelo neque in hominibus in terra neque inter animas sanctorum in requie.'⁹ Jerome's recension of the Victorinus commentary, which preserves this explanation, was extremely influential in the early Middle Ages, and may be the vehicle through which the convention was communicated and became a commonplace in the medieval interpretation of this passage.

Lines 6-8: 'nisi leo de tribu iuda radix david'

Identification of the lion of the tribe of Judah with Christ is an obvious metaphor, also found in Victorinus and continued throughout the tradition. The verse plays an especially important part in the Mozarabic liturgies of the Easter Vigil and the Octave of Easter, in which the celebrant held a piece of the broken host over the chalice and repeated three times the phrase 'vicit leo de tribu Juda, radix David, alleluia,' and the congregation responded 'qui sedes super cherubim, radix David, alleluia.'¹⁰ The special place given to the Apocalypse in Visigothic lectionaries makes it evident that this is meant as a reference to Apoc. 5.5; the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 decreed that the book be read in church from Easter until Pentecost.¹¹ Specifically, Apoc. 5

⁷ The text of Primasius has been reconstructed by J. Haussleiter, *Die lateinische Apokalypse der alten afrikanischen Kirche* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur 4; Erlangen 1891). Apoc. 5.1 appears on p. 95.

⁸ L. Brou and J. Vives, *Antifonario visigótico mozárabe de la Catedral de León* (Madrid 1959) fol. 194v, p. 321.

⁹ Victorinus of Pettau, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (ed. J. Haussleiter, CSEL 49.60).

¹⁰ L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution* (5th ed., tr. M. L. McClure; London 1923) 221. M. Férotin, *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes* (Paris 1912) 257 n. 1, attributes this custom especially to his MS E (Toledo 35.5, written before 1100). Férotin also mentions in this note a sixth-century Spanish bronze plaque, now in the British Museum, which gives the verse VICIT LEO DE TRIBU IUDA, RADIS [sic] DAVID. ALLELUIA. around an empty cross, implying that the text had common association in the Visigothic church with the resurrection of Christ and, by extension, the Eucharist.

¹¹ 'Apocalypsum librum multorum conciliorum auctoritas et synodica sanctorum praesulum Romanorum decreta Joannis evangelistae esse praescribunt, et inter divinos libros recipiendum constituerunt: et quia plurimi sunt qui eius auctoritatem non recipiunt atque in ecclesia Dei praedicare contemnunt, si quis eum deinceps aut non receperit, aut a pascha

was assigned by the Antiphony of León to the mass of the Fourth Sunday of Easter.¹² This was also the place of Apoc. 5 in the Gallican church, as demonstrated by the seventh-century Lectionary of Luxeuil;¹³ but it is not the tradition of the Frankish church of Alcuin, which reserved the Apocalypse for feasts of martyrs and the dedication of churches.¹⁴

Lines 9-13

The seven seals as exemplifications of seven events in the life of Christ is a motif found neither in the commentary of Victorinus/Jerome nor in the mainstream Italian/Frankish exegetical tradition. It seems to have been originally a liturgical convention associated with the rite of the *fractio panis*. In many early liturgies, the fraction was a complicated ritual laden with symbolic importance. This was the case in the ancient Gallican rite, which remained the standard for Continental Christendom until the Frankish kings Pippin and Charlemagne replaced it with the Roman mass.¹⁵ The fraction of the consecrated host was a far more important part of the Gallican rite than of the Roman. The Second Council of Tours in 567 ruled that the fraction ceremony should be uniformly carried out, with the oblations placed on the altar in the shape of a cross rather than in the shape of 'an image,' perhaps a reference to vestigial paganism in Merovingian Frankland.¹⁶

An Old Irish treatise appended to the Stowe Missal sets forth a similar series of rules for the fraction: the host is to be broken into five pieces for daily masses, seven for feasts of virgins and saints, eight for feasts of martyrs, nine for Sundays, eleven for feasts of apostles, twelve for the feast of the Circumcision and Maundy Thursday, thirteen for Palm Sunday and Ascension, and the sum of all the above numbers — 65 parts — for the solemn celebrations of Christ-

usque ad pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non praedicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit.' IV Toledo cap. 17, ed. J. Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona-Madrid 1963) 198; Mansi 10.624 A-B.

¹² Brou and Vives, *Antifonario visigótico*, fol. 194^v, p. 321.

¹³ *Le Lectionnaire du Luxeuil* (Paris, ms. lat. 9427) ed. P. Salmon (Rome 1944) 124.

¹⁴ See *Le Lectionnaire d'Alcuin*, ed. A. Wilmart (Bibliotheca 'Ephemerides liturgicae' 2; Vatican City 1937) 151-168. R. Grégoire, *Les Homéliaires du moyen âge* (Rome 1966) 77-114, gives the readings set by the lectionary of Paul the Deacon.

¹⁵ 'Omni clero ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant, et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel gradale officium peragatur, secundum quod beatae memoriae genitor noster Pippinus rex decertavit ut fieret, quando Gallicanum tulit ob unanimitatem apostolicae sedis et sanctae Dei aeclesiae pacificam concordiam.' *Admonitio Generalis* (789) 80 (MGH *Legum* 2.1: *Cap. Regum Francorum* 1.61).

¹⁶ 'Ut corpus domini in altari non [in] imaginario ordine, sed [sub] crucis titulo comparatur.' II Tours, canon 3, *Concilia Galliae A.511-A.695* (ed. C. de Clercq, CCL 148A) 178. See also Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 218-22.

mas, Easter, and Pentecost.¹⁷ These elements were placed on the altar in the shape of a cross, and handed out in a prescribed order according to the importance of the communicants.

But the closest liturgical parallel to the *De septem sigillis* is found in the Eucharistic order of Visigothic Spain, the 'Mozarabic' or 'Arabized' liturgy which, Jungmann points out, was already standardized in the sixth century, and which showed 'to a high degree the influence of the battle against Arianism.'¹⁸ A priest of the Mozarabic rite went through an elaborate ceremony at the *fractio panis*: the host was first broken into two pieces, and then further divided, one half into four oblations, the other into five. As in the Gallican and Celtic liturgies, the resulting pieces were placed on the altar in the shape of a cross. But in the Mozarabic rite, each oblation was held symbolic of an event in the life of Christ. The vertical section of the cross was made up of symbolic representations of Christ's incarnation, birth, circumcision, apparition, and passion, while fragments representing Christ's death and resurrection made up the cross-bar, and oblations symbolizing Christ's glory and rule were placed alongside the cross.¹⁹ The chart below illustrates the arrangement of the consecrated oblations in the Mozarabic mass and in similar lists of seven events in the life of Christ which appear in Apocalypse glosses in a variety of exegetical and theological writings.

The most ancient example of this motif is found in the prologue to the *Tractatus super Psalmos* of Hilary of Poitiers. To stress the interdependence of the prophetic books and the Incarnation, Hilary quotes Apoc. 3.7, 'qui habet clavem David,' and continues:

clavem igitur David habet, quia ipse haec septem quaedam signacula, quae de corporalitate eius et passione et morte et resurrectione et gloria et regno et iudicio David de eo in psalmis prophetat, absolvit, aperiens, quod nemo claudet, et claudens, quod nemo aperiet.²⁰

¹⁷ *The Stowe Missal*, ed. G. F. Warner, I, *Facsimile Text* (HBS 31; London 1906) fols. 65^v-67^r; II, *The Printed Text* (HBS 32; London 1915) 37-39 (text), 40-42 (English translation). The Stowe Missal is dated to the late-eighth or early-ninth century.

¹⁸ J. A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, tr. F. A. Brunner (South Bend 1959) 229-230. See also *idem*, 'Die Abwehr des germanischen Arianismus und der Umbruch der religiösen Kultur im frühen Mittelalter,' *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 69 (1947) 36-99, esp. 65.

¹⁹ This is described in the Mozarabic rite known as the 'Liturgy of Isidore,' PL 85.117-118. See also Duchesne's discussion of the Gallican and Mozarabic fractions (*Christian Worship* 218-222).

²⁰ Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super Psalmos*, *Instructio Psalmorum* 6 (ed. A. Zingerle, CSEL 22.7).

THE SEVEN SEALS OF THE APOCALYPSE
AND THE LIFE OF CHRIST

	Beatus (ed. Sanders 1)	<i>De septem sigillis</i>	Mozarabic Liturgy (PL 85.118)	Hilary of Poitiers (CSEL 22.7-8)
Apringius (ed. Férotin 32-33)				
Ildefonsus (PL 96.120)				
CORPORATIO	NATIVITAS	NATIVITAS	CORPORATIO	CORPORALITAS
NATIVITAS	CORPORATIO	BAPTISMUM	MORS RESURRECTIO NATIVITAS	PASSIO
PASSIO	PASSIO	CRUCIFIXIO	CIRCUMCISIO GLORIA REGNUM	MORS
MORS	MORS	SEPULTURA	APPARITIO	RESURRECTIO
RESURRECTIO	RESURRECTIO	RESURRECTIO	PASSIO	GLORIA
GLORIA	REGNUM	ASCENSIO		REGNUM
REGNUM	IUDICIUM	IUDICIUM		IUDICIUM

The Apocalypse verse here serves a purpose of adamant anti-Arianism. Hilary explains that the Psalms must be read christologically, and that the Christ about whom David speaks is complete in both his humanity and his divinity. Underpinning the interpretation of the seven seals and adding another dimension to the argument is perhaps a veiled reference to the rite of fraction in the Gallican mass.

It is even more evident that the Mozarabic fraction lies behind a reference to Apoc. 5 in the *Liber de cognitione baptismi* of the seventh-century bishop Ildefonsus of Toledo. Ildefonsus ties baptism to the Eucharist, saying that the seven seals are opened (like the door of faith) by the victorious lion of the tribe of Judah, through his incarnation, birth, passion, death, resurrection, glory, and rule.²¹ As we might expect, this liturgical tradition also appears in Visigothic Apocalypse exegesis: the list of Ildefonsus is exactly that of Apringius of Béja, who wrote a Catholic Apocalypse commentary during the reign of the sixth-century Arian king Theudis;²² and a similar list is found in the prologue (although not in the exposition of Apoc. 5) of the *In Apocalypsin* of the eighth-century author Beatus of Liebana.²³ In the latter passage, Beatus is following the text of Apringius very closely, only to abandon this source suddenly just before the list. This may indicate that Beatus is drawing on Apringius alone, rather than on the Mozarabic liturgy, for the adapted list in his prologue.

The relationship between the liturgical and exegetical appearances of this list is open to question. De Lubac, for one, has doubted the connection between Apringius and the liturgy, pointing out that the nine pieces of the Mozarabic fraction include two additional categories, circumcision and apparition.²⁴ Yet one can see at a glance that the two oblations arranged by the Mozarabic priest

²¹ PL 96.120.

²² Apringius of Béja, *Tractatus in Apokalipsin*, ed. M. Férotin, *Apringius de Béja, son commentaire de l'Apocalypse écrit sous Theudis, roi des Wisigoths (531-548)* (Bibliothèque patrologique 1; Paris 1900) 32-33. Férotin's n. 1 on p. 32 points to the similarity between this list in Apringius and the liturgy of Isidore.

Férotin's edition of Apringius is still the best available. A more recent edition of this commentary by A. C. Vega, *Apringii Pacensis episcopi, Tractatus in Apocalypsin* (Scriptores ecclesiastici hispano-latini veteris et medii aevi 10-11; Escorial 1940) makes the mistake of selecting a composite manuscript of Apringius plus Victorinus/Jerome (from twelfth-century Barcelona, now Copenhagen Univ. Arn. 1927 AM 975) as the original text. See the review by B. Altaner, *Theologische Revue* 41 (1942) 119-120, and note in *Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 5 (1946) 15-16.

²³ Beatus of Liebana, *In Apocalypsin*, ed. H. A. Sanders, *Beati in Apocalypsin libri duodecim* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy of Rome 7; Rome 1930) 1. Compare the exegesis of 5.1, *ibid.* 305-324.

²⁴ H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale* I (Lyon 1959) 132, n. 10.

alongside the cross are meant to represent the heavenly events in the mission of Christ, while the earthly mysteries make up the body of the cross. Thus, it is not surprising to find that exegetical adaptations of this liturgical convention delete circumcision and apparition (the least important and symbolic events) to make the Christological mysteries fit the seven seals opened by the lion of the tribe of Judah.

Most compelling to this point is the fact that all the events in the lists, with the exception of *baptismum* in the *De septem sigillis*, can be related to the arrangement of the Mozarabic fraction. If it is true, as Duchesne suggests, that the church of medieval Spain, isolated and conservative, was the arena in which the Gallican liturgy maintained its hold the longest,²⁵ it would not be far-fetched to believe that the Mozarabic fraction testifies to the ancient Gallican *liturgical* exegesis of Apoc. 5. By this analysis, Hilary, Apringius, Ildefonsus, and perhaps Beatus are citing a tradition which would have been self-evident in its own context, a context which survived the turn of the ninth century only outside the Carolingian drive for standardization of the liturgy according to the Roman rite. The addition of *baptismum* in our *De septem sigillis* text may testify to the place of Apoc. 5 in the Gallican and Mozarabic Easter liturgies, reflecting, ultimately, an anti-Arian concern.

Lines 14–15 (A), 13–14 (B): 'Et hoc sunt septem dona spiritus sancti'

The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit derive ultimately from Is. 11.2–3, in the Vulgate: 'Requiescet super eum spiritus Domini, spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini.' This convenient list of virtues is liberally sprinkled throughout the pre-ninth-century Apocalypse commentary of pseudo-Jerome (pseudo-Isidore) studied by Hartung and Rapisarda.²⁶ In this treatise, every group of seven in the Apocalypse is likened to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit: the seven churches, the seven rolls of thunder, the seven heads of the dragon, and, not least, the seven seals.

Aside from the excesses of this treatise, the inviting allegory of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit is not generally applied to the seven seals, perhaps

²⁵ Duchesne, *Christian Worship* 96.

²⁶ One manuscript of this text was edited by K. Hartung, *Ein Traktat zur Apokalypse des Ap. Johannes in einer Pergamenthandschrift der K. Bibliothek in Bamberg* (Bamberg 1904); the MS history has been studied by G. Rapisarda, 'La Tradizione manoscritta di un Commentarius in Apocalypsin,' *Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica* 15 (1965) 119–140. Rapisarda is preparing a critical edition from thirteen manuscripts. B. Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter,' *Mittelalterliche Studien* I (Stuttgart 1966) 267–268, characterizes this treatise as primitive and loosely allegorical.

because it is not found in the commentary of Victorinus/Jerome. Of the major Apocalypse exegetes, only Ambrosius Autpertus takes up the Isaiah passage in regard to the seven seals, explaining that each of the gifts rests upon the believer and the church, but especially upon Christ.²⁷ A closer parallel is found in the *Liber de ordine baptismi* attributed to Theodulf of Orleans, where the seven gifts are shown to rest most perfectly in Christ: wisdom in his nativity, understanding in his conception, counsel in his passion, fortitude in his death, knowledge in his omniscience, piety in his judgment, and fear in his humility.²⁸ Theodulf is at pains to show that the seven gifts, which are given to the believer at baptism, come together and cannot be parceled out one at a time. This is exactly the point of the letter on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit attributed to Charlemagne;²⁹ but two short texts which follow this letter in the Karlsruhe MS from which both Mabillon and Dümmler printed it make a slightly different point. The first relates all the gifts of the Holy Spirit to the apostle Peter; the second distributes these virtues among the twelve apostles.³⁰ But they all show that in catechetical as well as exegetical texts, the seven gifts are attributed to Christ's life and ministry, and seem to have a connection with the sacrament of baptism.

²⁷ Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 3 (ed. R. Weber, CCL cont. med. 27.254): 'Est enim sapientia in nobis, sed numquid tam matura ut in Domino? Est intellectus, sed numquid tam perspicuus ut in Domino? Est consilium, sed numquid tam prouidum ut in Domino? Est fortitudo, sed numquid tam robusta ut in Domino? Est scientia, sed numquid tam acuta ut in Domino? Est pietas, sed numquid tam ampla ut in Domino? Est timor, sed numquid tam castus ut in Domino?'

²⁸ PL 105.237c-d: 'Et quomodo idem sermo Domini vocatur lux et vita et resurrectio, sic spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, et scientiae et pietatis ac timoris Domini nuncupatur; non quod diversus sit juxta differentias nominum, sed quod unus atque idem cunctarum virtutum fons sit atque principium'; *ibid.* 238d-239a: 'Sciendum sane quod hae donorum spiritalium distributiones in corpore Christi, quod est Ecclesia, his fulciantur adminiculis. In eo vero qui est fons luminis et origo bonitatis, plene atque perfecte incomparabiliter atque ineffabiliter regnent. Sapientia namque, quae et in Virginis utero sibi corpus, et in mundo Ecclesiam aedificavit, habet spiritum sapientiae quo omnia sapienter agit; intelligentiae, qua cuncta arcana secretorum rimatur; consilii, quo cuncta cum magna dispensatione gerit, quia est magni consilii Angelus; fortitudinis, quia attingit omnia a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et a nullo vinci potest: scientiae, quia nihil ignorat, exceptis his quibus dicturus est: "Nescio vos" [Matt. 25.12]; pietatis, quia hominem quem bonitate creavit, justitia damnavit, pietate redemit; timoris, propter eos qui timore Domini indigent quia parvuli sunt, quibus per Prophetam dicit, "Venite, filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos" [Ps. 33.12].' The order of events in the life of Christ given in this last passage is rather close to that in the list of Beatus.

²⁹ Ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Ep. 4 (Epistolae Karolini Aevi 2) 529-531. A close comparison can be made between the *Liber de ordine baptismi* of Theodulf, PL 105.238b-c, and pp. 529-531 of Dümmler's edition, indicating that one author may be responsible for both works.

³⁰ Dümmler, 531: 'Item de gratia septiformis Spiritus,' 'Item aliter'; also in J. Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta ... Nova Editio* (Paris 1723) 75 (1st ed. 4.317).

Lines 19-20

Baptism by triple immersion was common practice in the early church. In late-sixth-century Spain, however, a controversy developed around the fact that the Arians were using this rite to spread anti-Trinitarian propaganda. In response to an inquiry from Leander of Seville, Gregory the Great suggested that the Catholics in Spain adopt a single baptism in the name of the Trinity; this was made official church policy by the Fourth Council of Toledo.³¹ The Christological focus of *De septem sigillis* makes Arian authorship implausible; therefore this line indicates that the text was written either in Spain before 633 or in some area other than the Iberian Peninsula.

Lines 21-22

Family B adds here a quotation from Col. 3.9 in the Vulgate, the first of many such elaborations.

Lines 21-23 (A), 23-25 (B)

The reference to Caiphaz is an allusion to John 11.50, similar in both versions.

Lines 25-29 (A), 27-31 (B)

In some form, stories of Christ's descent into hell and conquering of the devil were known to patristic authors.³² One version of the Latin texts, generally entitled *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, was in circulation by the fifth century,³³ and at least one eighth-century and several ninth/tenth-century copies

³¹ Gregory the Great, Ep. 43 (PL 77.496-498); IV Toledo cap. 6 (Vives, *Concilios visigóticos* 192; Mansi 10 618E-620A, esp. 619C-D: 'Propter vitandum autem schismatis scandalum, vel haereticum dogmatis usum, simplam teneamus baptismi mersionem, ne videantur apud nos, qui tertio mergunt, haereticorum adprobare adsertionem, dum sequuntur et morem.'

³² The best discussion of the so-called *Acta Pilati*, known to Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Eusebius and Epiphanius, is that of E. von Dobschütz in his article on the Nicodemus narratives in *A Dictionary of the Bible*³ (ed. J. Hastings; New York 1900) 544-547. On the general subject of the patristic treatment of the *descensus ad inferos*, see A. Grillmeier, 'Der Gottessohn im Totenreich,' *Mit ihm und in ihm* (Freiburg 1975), 76-174.

³³ As testified by the Vienna palimpsest (Ö. N. B. lat. 563), which von Dobschütz (544B) dates to the seventh century, but which both G. Philippart, 'Fragments palimpsestes latins du Vindobonensis 563 (v^e siècle?),' *Analecta Bollandiana* 90 (1972) 399-403, and E. A. Lowe (*Codices Latini Antiquiores* X, Oxford 1963, no. 1485) assign to the fifth century. The hand is, in Lowe's words, 'a stately calligraphic uncial of the old type,' and is written over by another uncial hand which cannot be later than the eighth century (*ibid.* no. 1484). Thus, the claim of G. C. O'Ceallaigh ('Dating the Commentaries of Nicodemus,' *Harvard Theological Review* 56 [1963] 33-36) that the palimpsest belongs to a textual family which cannot predate the ninth century does not stand up on palaeographical grounds. A complete transcription of this palimpsest *Gospel of Nicodemus* is in the possession of Dr. Otto Mazal, curator of MSS at the Ö. N. B. In spite of the promises of both von Dobschütz and Philippart that the text would soon be printed, it has not yet appeared.

of the story are extant.³⁴ Whatever the untangling of MS evidence may eventually tell us about the Nicodemus narratives, it is clear that belief in the descent of Christ into the underworld was widely accepted by the mid-seventh century; both the Celtic Bangor Antiphonary and the Mozarabic Fourth Council of Toledo make use of the phrase 'descendit ad inferos.'³⁵

Our text's reference to this tradition is especially interesting since it seems to draw upon a version of *The Gospel of Nicodemus* which Tischendorf published separately under the title 'Latin B.'³⁶ Distinguishing features are the binding of Satan by Christ (instead of his merely handing him over to the jaws of hell, as in the A version) and the phrase 'momordit infernum.'³⁷ Tischendorf's version B was printed from three MSS which date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.³⁸ Only von Dobschütz has given attention to this particular version of *The Gospel of Nicodemus*. He designates it as 'redaction f' and,

³⁴ Von Dobschütz (545A) mentions London, B. L. Royal 5 E 13 of the eighth century; Berne 582 and Paris, B. N. nouv. acq. lat. 1605 (from Tours via Fleury) contain ninth-century copies of the text; Paris, B. N. lat. 5327A (from St. Amand), Munich B. S. Clm 19105 (from Tegernsee), and Einsiedeln, Stiftsbib. MS 326 all date from the tenth century. The Einsiedeln MS has been edited in a semi-diplomatic text by H. C. Kim, *The Gospel of Nicodemus* (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 2; Toronto 1973). The 'edition' of *The Gospel of Nicodemus* done by C. Tischendorf (*Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1876, 333-416) is an uncritical conglomeration of late MSS of varying textual traditions. In particular, it should be noted that the early Latin MSS do not distinguish, as Tischendorf does, between a Part I, 'Acta Pilati,' and a Part II, 'Descensus Christi ad inferos.' The text seems to have been transmitted as a whole in its fifth-century Latin redaction. More serious study of the Latin transmission of *The Gospel of Nicodemus* is sorely needed.

³⁵ Early medieval dissemination of this text is discussed by J. A. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh 1930) 71-74. See also D. N. Dumville, 'Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish: A Preliminary Investigation,' *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.* 73, Section C, No. 8 (Dublin 1973) 301-303, for its history in the Irish church. The Bangor Antiphonary is edited by F. E. Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor, An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan* (London 1893, 1895). See esp. I, fol. 19v; II 21. For the Fourth Council of Toledo, see cap. 1 (Vives, *Concilios visigóticos 187-188*; Mansi 10.616A): 'Descendit ad inferos, ut sanctos qui ibidem tenebantur erueret; devictoquo mortis imperio resurrexit.'

³⁶ Tischendorf, *Gospel of Nicodemus* 417-432.

³⁷ 'Et ecce dominus Iesus Christus veniens in claritate excelsi luminis mansuetus, magnus et humilis, catenam suis deportans manibus Satan cum collo ligavit,' Tischendorf, *Gospel of Nicodemus*, B 8 (24) 429; 'Tunc salvator perscrutans de omnibus momordit infernum,' *ibid.* 9 (25) 430. Compare the A version, cap. 22: 'Tunc Rex Glorie Dominus maiestate sua conculcans Mortem, comprehendens Satan principem, tradidit Inferi potestati,' Kim, *Gospel of Nicodemus* 43; Tischendorf, *Gospel of Nicodemus* 400.

³⁸ Tischendorf, *Gospel of Nicodemus*, lxxvii, described on p. lxxiv as A) Vaticanus 'nescio quo numero,' c. 13, B) Vaticanus 4363 c. 13, C) Venetto Marciano class. XIV cod. XLIII c. 15. It is an indication of Tischendorf's lack of critical method that he mixed these manuscripts with those of the A version for his text of Part I, 'Acta Pilati.'

noting its occasional use of the Vulgate Bible, claims that it is 'manifestly more recent' than the better known A text of the Vienna palimpsest and the Einsiedeln MS.³⁹ The quotation in *De septem sigillis* indicates that the B version was in circulation earlier than von Dobschütz may have suspected, certainly before 800. On the other hand, Nicodemus B must have been written in a period in which both the Vulgate and earlier Latin Bible versions were current, and, as von Dobschütz claims, as a later recension of the pre-Vulgate Nicodemus A. Since the prologue of Nicodemus A mentions Theodosius II, this version cannot have been written prior to 425;⁴⁰ therefore, a *terminus non ante quem* of 500 can be set for the composition of the later redaction upon which *De septem sigillis* draws, and, by extension, for our text.

Lines 29-31 (A), 31-36 (B)

Although the sense of both versions is much the same, Family B presents a more developed account of the connection between the spirit of knowledge and the resurrection of Christ, ending with a quotation from the Vulgate Ps. 131.8.

Lines 31-34 (A), 36-41 (B)

Again, Family B has a much fuller exposition, adding a reference to Phil. 1.23 in the Vulgate version.

Lines 42-45 (A), 42-47 (B)

Once more, Family B is more fully developed. The Vulgate quotation is Matt. 25.41.

Lines 48-52 (A), 48-55 (B)

With the discussion of the patriarchs, the differences between Family A and Family B become more marked. Although the patriarchs named and the order in which they appear remain the same, the virtues by which they are seen as exemplary of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit change notably, and the Vulgate quotations in Family B grow more numerous and longer. According to Family A, Adam has the spirit of wisdom because he gave names to all the creatures under heaven, while Family B tells us that he named all the wild and domestic beasts, the birds of heaven, and the fish of the sea, and was the first prophet. This version then adds a quotation from Gen. 2.23.

Lines 52-54 (A), 55-57 (B) 'spiritus intellectus in noe'

This is an interesting exception to the overall pattern of the two versions. Family B merely paraphrases the story of Noah's ark; but Family A tells the

³⁹ Von Dobschütz 545A. He also points out that this version seems to have an underlying Greek text, being 'most nearly allied to twelfth-century Greek manuscripts.'

⁴⁰ So von Dobschütz 545B. O'Ceallaigh's *terminus non ante quem* of the ninth century is contradicted by the proper dating of the Vienna palimpsest.

story through a biblical quotation. This quotation, however, is taken from the *Vetus Latina*, rather than the Vulgate Bible. In the Vulgate, God tells Noah to build an ark 'de lignis levigatis' (from smoothed or hewed wood); the *Vetus Latina* instead uses the words, 'de lignis quadratis'⁴¹ (from squared-off wood), cited in these lines. Two *Vetus Latina* traditions, which Fischer designates as I and S, preserve this reading.

Tradition I poses a difficult textual tangle with regard to the Noah quotation: none of the surviving manuscripts of this type includes Gen. 6 at all. The oldest, a fifth-century uncial palimpsest which was at Luxeuil in the eighth century and is now in Würzburg,⁴² begins with Gen. 36.2; another, liturgical, version copied in Wales between 817 and 835 also lacks the Noah story.⁴³ Several Bibles from tenth-century Spain include the *Vetus Latina* I versions of Tobit and Judith,⁴⁴ but their Genesis texts are of the Vulgate version. Fischer has reconstructed the Genesis readings of I from quotations of authors who used this version. I was the *Vetus Latina* text preferred by Augustine between 393 and 400; it is also cited by Ambrose, Lucifer of Calaris (Cagliari in Sardinia), and Rufinus, and possibly even by Jerome.⁴⁵

The extant representatives of S are a seventh-century liturgical Bible from Lyons, and a fifth-century MS currently in Naples, perhaps written in Italy.⁴⁶ Fischer argues that this version came from North Africa to Spain in the last quarter of the fourth century, and spread to South Gaul, and then to Italy, in the fifth and sixth centuries.⁴⁷ This African/Spanish *Vetus Latina* version was sometimes used by Rufinus and Ambrose, and appears in the anonymous *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, pseudo-Philo, and Gregory of Elvira (Illiberis, near Granada), all of the fourth century; in the writings of Quodvultdeus of Carthage and Cyprian of Gaul in the fifth century; and also in the late-eighth-century Apocalypse commentary of Beatus.⁴⁸ S is a *Vetus Latina* version which was

⁴¹ *Vetus Latina, Genesis*, ed. B. Fischer (Freiburg 1951-1954) 108.

⁴² *Vetus Latina*. 10*-12* for a description of Würzburg Univ., Mp. theol. fol. 64a, Fischer's no. 103.

⁴³ *Vetus Latina*. 13*-14*, for Oxford, Bodleian Auct. F.4.32. This manuscript once belonged to Dunstan, and was in the Glastonbury library until it became part of the collection of Thomas Allen in 1601.

⁴⁴ *Vetus Latina*. 1*-5*: Fischer's nos. 91-95.

⁴⁵ *Vetus Latina*. 18*-19*. Full references are given in the notes to Gen. 6.14, p. 108. Fischer warns that the seeming similarities to I in Jerome's writings may be simply his own on-the-spot translations. It is interesting to note that Jerome's redaction of the Apocalypse commentary of Victorinus says that Noah built the ark 'ex quadratis lignis,' words not in the original of Victorinus. See Haussleiter's edition 149 (Apoc. 21.1).

⁴⁶ *Vetus Latina*. 5*-7* for Lyons, B. M. 403 (329) and 1964 (1840), Fischer's no. 100; 7*-17* for Naples, B.N. lat. 1, Fischer's no. 101.

⁴⁷ *Vetus Latina*. 17*-18*.

⁴⁸ *Vetus Latina*. 108, notes.

somewhat influenced by the Vulgate, and which in turn was used to gloss Spanish Vulgate manuscripts.⁴⁹ It is a reflection of a time in which the Vulgate and older Bible versions were used in a supplementary fashion. MSS of this type were also known to later exegetes who worked primarily from the Vulgate: Bede, Claudius of Turin, and Angelomus of Luxeuil all mention 'de lignis quadratis' as a variant reading of Gen. 6.14.⁵⁰ But the un-self-conscious use of the phrase in *De septem sigillis* indicates that our text was written in a cultural context in which the Vulgate and older texts shared fairly equal authority. S is, therefore, the most logical source for the 'de lignis quadratis' quotation in *De septem sigillis*.

Lines 54-56 (A), 57-59 (B): 'spiritus consilii in abraham'

At this point, the original hand of MS K ends, and the fourteenth-century K² takes over. A clear progression of ideas can be traced from the original Family A (now represented by MS R alone), which praises Abraham for doing nothing but what God advised, to Family B, which gives instead a long quotation from Gen. 12.1, to the yet more elaborate Genesis quotation of K². The later the redaction, the more developed the version.

Lines 56-59 (A), 60-61 (B): 'spiritus fortitudinis in isaac'

None of the three versions has much to say about the spirit of fortitude which rests on Isaac. Family B agrees with MS R, however, in stressing his forbearance and long-suffering in a foreign land. K² instead remarks on the 'strong hand' with which Isaac lived in the land of Canaan, but a third hand (K³) has changed 'manu' to 'animo,' bringing the focus back to Isaac's lonely sojourn. It would seem from this that K² filled out the text without direct reference to Family B, although the scribe may have had some familiarity with that version.

Lines 62-64: 'spiritus scientie cum iacob'

Family B and K² agree in ascribing knowledge to Jacob because he wrestled with the angel and was named Israel (Gen. 32.27-30), although the readings are not very similar. MS R (Family A) has a very curious variant: Jacob has the spirit of knowledge because he spoke with God 'in ualle nabuthe.' Nabuthe is an Old Latin variant of Naboth, the name of the Israelite whose vineyard was so coveted by King Ahab that the latter had him killed to acquire it (1 Reg. 21). Ambrose has a treatise on this story entitled *De Nabu-*

⁴⁹ *Vetus Latina*. 17*, where Fischer speculates that this version lies behind the marginal glosses in MSS 91-95.

⁵⁰ Bede, PL 91. 87B; Claudius, PL 50.926D; Angelomus, PL 115.156B.

thae.⁵¹ But how this name becomes confused with Jaboc, the ford at which Jacob wrestled with the angel, is not at all clear. This is not a Vetus Latina variant,⁵² but may have a Septuagint reading of Gen. 32.23 underlying it. The Septuagint text for the ford of Jacob is τὴν δίαβασιν τοῦ ἰαβουκ; if the article τοῦ is dropped, δίαβασινιαβουκ could easily elide to form the word ναβουκ, that is, Naboth or Nabuthe.⁵³ We are very unfortunate to be missing MS R's exemplar at this point. If Nabuthe is not simply a scribal error occurring between the original hands of K and R, it may be evidence of a tradition of confusion between the names Jaboc and Naboth/Nabuthe which has not yet been documented.

Lines 69-74 (A), 68-72 (B): 'spiritus timoris domini in dauid'

Family A and Family B alike attribute to David the gift of fear of the Lord because he spared Saul's life rather than take justice into his own hands. Two stories of David's magnanimity toward Saul appear in 1 Kings. In chap. 24.4-7, Saul comes into a cave in which David and his men are hiding, 'to empty his belly.' David's men urge him to snatch the opportunity to kill the king, but David refuses to raise his hand against the Lord's anointed: 'ne faciam hanc rem domino meo, christo Domini, ut mittam manum meam in eum, quia christus Domini est' (1 Reg. 24.7, Vulgate). In chap. 26, David and Abisai come upon Saul asleep; Abisai offers to kill Saul for David, but again David demurs: 'Ne interficias eum: quis enim extendet manum suam in christum Domini, et innocens erit?' (1 Reg. 26.9, Vulgate). The Vulgate word *christum* for anointed one appears in neither version of *De septem sigillis*; instead, A reads *sanctum* and B reads *unctum*. The B version, characteristically, is clearer as to which Biblical reference is intended, specifying Saul's entrance into the cave as the occasion upon which David displayed the gift of *timor*. In Family A either story could be indicated, although perhaps 24.7 is to be preferred since David is speaking here in the first person. The verb put in David's mouth in this version is *continguat*, assuming *contingere* for *contingere*, a form cited by Du Cange as appearing in an eighth-century capitulary of Arechis, king of Benevento.⁵⁴ K² also relates the gift of fear of the Lord to David because of his relationship with Saul, but the reference is not clear.

⁵¹ Ambrose, *De Nabuthae* (ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32²) 468-516.

⁵² *Vetus Latina*. 348. The variants for Jaboc here are Jacob and Jordanis, either of which is more likely than Nabuthe. There is no reference to Nabuthe as a variant for Jaboc in F. C. Burkitt, 'Notes on Genesis in the Latin Vulgate,' *Revue Bénédictine* 39 (1927) 255, no. 8.

⁵³ I am grateful to Stanley Marrow, s.j., of the Weston School of Theology, for this suggestion.

⁵⁴ 'Omnino prohibemus nullo quolibet argumento, quod contingaverit, vel dici humana versutia potest, his donationem facere posse, qui hoc facinus contraxit.' Muratori 2.336, col. 1, cited by Du Cange.

Lines 73-87 (B)

A long digression, beginning with the theme 'the beginning of wisdom is fear of the Lord' and ending with a call to poverty of spirit, appears only in MS F. This passage may draw upon a meditation on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Beatitudes which precedes the exposition of the seven seals in the commentary of Primasius.⁵⁵ If so, it would seem that some versions of *De septem sigillis* were influenced by other Apocalypse commentaries as they were transmitted. Since this discussion does not appear in MS V, it may be an addition peculiar to F, perhaps an adaptation for homiletic purposes. But the beginning of this sermon, if we are to understand F in this way, is also missing, and the point to be made in reference to the seven seals is not clear. In short, this extraneous piece is yet another indication that Family B is a later redaction of *De septem sigillis*.

IV

THE FORM:
ALLEGORICAL LISTS

Now that we have examined the details of *De septem sigillis*, our attention should turn to the overall form of the treatise. From a structural standpoint, what we have here is a series of four lists of seven items each: seven seals, seven events in the life of Christ, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven patriarchs. Allegorical presuppositions link the lists to one another; the purpose of the whole is clearly to elaborate the meanings of the seven seals rather than to establish a metaphor for use in another theological discussion. Because of this, *De septem sigillis* gives an overwhelmingly expository and exegetical impression, and fits into a genre of short list-texts with roots in the patristic period.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ PL 68.829B-c, beginning, 'Beati pauperes spiritu, ubi timor Dei est . . .' The Beatitudes (counted here as seven) are listed from end to beginning, and matched up with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, listed from beginning to end. Francine Cardman, of the Weston School of Theology, has pointed out to me that the influence of Augustine may be at work here. See *De sermone Domini in monte*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCL 35.188, where the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are related to the Beatitudes (also counted by Augustine as seven). Mutzenbecher discusses Augustine's use of the number seven in his introduction, xi-xlii. For a broader consideration of the meanings attached to the number seven, see H. Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter* (Munich 1975) 133-139. Meyer discusses Bede's interpretation of the seven seals on p. 139, but does not seem to be aware of the influence of Tyconius, and therefore of a much broader tradition.

⁵⁶ On the patristic origin of lists of ecclesiastical grades, see R. E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7; Berlin 1978) 9-16.

The most striking parallels to our text are found in the series of short discussions of the ecclesiastical grades which flourished in the early Middle Ages. These have been recently studied, collectively and separately, by R. E. Reynolds. They include *De distantia graduum* (also known as *De officiis VII graduum*),⁵⁷ the pseudo-Isidorian *Epistula ad Leudefredum*,⁵⁸ *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae* of pseudo-Jerome,⁵⁹ *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and *Origines* of Isidore of Seville,⁶⁰ and the anonymous texts known as the Ordinals of Christ.⁶¹

Closest in form to the *De septem sigillis* are the Ordinals of Christ. Although all the examples of this genre describe and defend the dignity of the various positions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the Ordinals alone relate each of the grades specifically to an event in the life of Christ. This allegorical exposition reflects the recapitulation theory of Irenaeus, and perhaps Pauline theology as well.⁶² It was not originally based on the symbolism of the number seven (the earliest clear redaction, part of the fifth-century Greek sayings of the Desert Fathers known as the *Apophthegmata patrum*, lists five), but by the eighth century, Latin versions have the number set at seven.⁶³

Among the plethora of Ordinal variants, Reynolds has distinguished an Eastern and a Western version, which are intriguingly mixed in a number of eighth/ninth-century MSS spread in England and on the Continent by Irish scribes. The two traditions were brought together in Visigothic Spain, which 'provided in the sixth and seventh centuries a commercial and intellectual

⁵⁷ This text was composed ca. 700 in a Gallican/Celtic environment; cf. R. E. Reynolds, 'The *De Officiis VII Graduum*: Its Origins and Early Medieval Development,' *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972) 113-151.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 118-120.

⁵⁹ This work has been dated to the seventh-century Iberian Peninsula by R. E. Reynolds, 'The Pseudo-Hieronymian *De Septem Ordinibus Ecclesiae*,' *Revue Bénédictine* 80 (1970) 238-252 and 'The *De Officiis VII Graduum*,' 123-125.

⁶⁰ Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.1-15 (PL 83.777-794); *Origines (Etymologiae)* 7.12 (ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford 1911, I; PL 82.290-93); Reynolds, 'The *De Officiis VII Graduum*' 120-121. The *De ecclesiasticis officiis* was written between 598 and 615, and is heavily dependent on *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*: Reynolds, *Ordinals* 33.

⁶¹ Reynolds, *Ordinals*; A. Wilmart, 'Les ordres du Christ,' *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 3 (1923) 305-327; and J. Crehan, 'The Seven Orders of Christ,' *Theological Studies* 19 (1958) 81-93.

⁶² The influence of Irenaeus is discussed by Crehan, 'Seven Orders,' 82. For Paul, see Reynolds, *Ordinals* 9-11.

⁶³ Wilmart, 'Les ordres' 325-327; Reynolds, *Ordinals* 18-19, for Greek and Latin texts of the *Apophthegmata* ordinal. On pp. 166-191, Reynolds compares 72 versions of the Ordinals, ranging from five to ten hierarchical grades, including psalmist (cleric), gravedigger, door-keeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, bishop, and pontiff. The list was easily adjusted to the contemporary practice of the church of each transmitter.

way station along the route from the East to Ireland.⁶⁴ Certainly the Ordinals of Christ were well known in sixth-century Spain; selections from the *Apophthegmata patrum* were translated into Latin by both Martin of Braga and his pupil Paschasius of Dumium.⁶⁵ In the next century, the writings of Isidore of Seville, enormously popular and influential in Ireland, reinforced the trend toward an Irish style combining a 'classical' systematic character with a taste for elaborate allegory.⁶⁶ Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, used by Irish authors perhaps as early as the end of the seventh century, was an obvious model for such lists of ecclesiastical grades; it includes a passage in which each office is related to an Old Testament figure,⁶⁷ much like the final section of *De septem sigillis*, in which the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are related to seven patriarchs. As we might expect, the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* also continues to be read in Spain; Isidore's list finds its way into the long, ecclesiological prologue to Book II of the *In Apocalypsin* of Beatus of Liebana.⁶⁸

The weight of this evidence, then, could be thrown into either of two arguments for the dating and provenance of *De septem sigillis*. The treatise could be a product of the Visigothic church as early as the sixth century, when earlier, Eastern, short allegories tied to Old Testament figures or to the life of Christ were first translated and absorbed into the Latin tradition. On the other hand, it could have been written by one of the eighth-century Irish compilers who so eagerly took up this form and spread it throughout Conti-

⁶⁴ Reynolds, *Ordinals* 53. For a more general study of the connections between these cultures, see J. N. Hillgarth, 'Old Ireland and Visigothic Spain,' in *Old Ireland*, ed. R. McNally, s.j. (New York 1965) 200-227.

⁶⁵ Martin of Braga, *Sententiae patrum aegyptiorum*, ed. C. W. Barlow, *Martini episcopi Bracarensis opera omnia* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 12; New Haven 1950) 11-51; J. G. Freire, *A Versão Latina por Pascazio de Dume dos Apophthegmata patrum* (Coimbra 1971), reviewed by C. W. Barlow in *Classical Folia* 26 (1972) 153-160. Even though these sections of the *Apophthegmata* do not include the Ordinals of Christ, the translators must have been familiar with the tradition. For a comprehensive study of the Latin versions of the *Apophthegmata*, see C. M. Batlle, *Die 'Adhortationes sanctorum patrum' ('Verba sanctorum') im lateinischen Mittelalter* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 31; Münster/Westf. 1972.)

⁶⁶ Hillgarth, 'Old Ireland and Visigothic Spain' 208-209; Reynolds, *Ordinals* 54 n. 7.

⁶⁷ PL 83.779-794; cf. Reynolds, *Ordinals* 54 n. 7, and 'The *De Officiis VII Graduum*' 121, esp. n. 38.

⁶⁸ 'Generaliter autem clerici nuncupantur omnes qui in ecclesia Christi deserviunt. quorum gradus nomina haec sunt: ostiarius, psalmista, lector, exorcista, accolitus, subdiaconus, diaconus, presbyter, et episcopus. ordo episcoporum quadripartitus est: id est in patriarchis, archiepiscopis, metropolitanis, atque episcopis' (ed. Sanders, p. 118). Compare Isidore, PL 83.779-794.

mental Christendom.⁶⁹ The form itself, therefore, does not disprove Alcuinian authorship of *De septem sigillis*, but it does provide as a plausible alternative the world pointed to by much of the internal evidence of the text: Visigothic Spain.

V

De septem sigillis AND THE TRADITION OF APOCALYPSE EXEGESIS

The tradition of Latin commentaries on the Apocalypse got off to something of a troubled start. Victorinus of Pettau, martyred under Emperor Diocletian in 304, first explicated the book in its entirety, with a chiliastic zest which was an embarrassment to leaders of the less persecuted, more hierarchical Church of later generations. Toward the end of the fourth century, Jerome 'laundered' Victorinus' commentary, ridding it of suspiciously anti-institutional sentiments; the resulting composite treatise was widely circulated in the Latin West.⁷⁰

But this dramatic, chiliastic approach was not to determine the future of Latin interpretation of the Apocalypse. Instead, another line of interpretation, first advanced by the Donatist Tyconius, was to triumph. This reading centered in a schematic model of the earthly Church beset by constant dangers, which sees itself allegorically depicted in the heavenly struggles of the seven churches of the Apocalypse. Of course, the church of Tyconius was of Donatist rather than of Catholic persuasion, so his Apocalypse commentary, like that of Victorinus, presented difficulties for orthodox exegetes. Nevertheless, such leading figures as Augustine, Primasius, and Bede were strongly influenced by Tyconius' interpretation and passed it along to later generations, although with an appended warning about the heterodoxy of the author.⁷¹ Although

⁶⁹ A similar choice of authorship is plausible for the allegorical expositions of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit attributed to Theodulf and Charlemagne and discussed above in the notes to lines 14–15 of *De septem sigillis*. These might well be echoes of a Visigothic tradition passed on by Theodulf, or they may have been written by one of the Anglo-Saxon scholars of the early Carolingian period.

⁷⁰ Ed. Haussleiter: cf. n. 9 above. The introduction, 10–12, gives a list of MSS, the majority of which are of Jerome's recension of the text. However, one original version survives from the tenth/eleventh century, and was copied several times in the later Middle Ages. There are as well several mixed redactions, including one composite of Victorinus/Jerome and Apringius of Béja. The edition of Haussleiter was the first attempt to print the original text.

⁷¹ Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana* 3.30.42, where he describes the exegetical scheme of Tyconius's *Liber regularum* (ed. F. C. Burkitt, *The Rules of Tyconius: Texts and Studies* 3.1; Cambridge 1894), but points out that Tyconius does not follow them in his own Apocalypse commentary; and *De civitate Dei* 20.7–17 (CCL 48.708–729); Primasius, PL 68.793–936 and PLS 4.1208–1220; Bede, PL 93.129–206.

it seems that Tyconius' views of the Apocalypse were primarily disseminated through these figures, some version of his commentary, perhaps one revised with an eye to orthodoxy, also circulated in the Middle Ages, and was known at St. Gall in the ninth century and at Bobbio in the eleventh.⁷²

De septem sigillis is a part of the Tyconian tradition. It is difficult to determine how direct the influence may have been because the extant fragments of Tyconius' commentary do not include Apoc. 5.1. At any rate, there is nothing chiliastic about *De septem sigillis*; rather, it links the Old and New Testaments and the sustaining gifts of the Holy Spirit in an interpretation with a clear ecclesiological focus: as these gifts were foreshadowed by the patriarchs and exemplified in Christ, so they are maintained by the Church.

The same generalization holds for the Apocalypse commentaries which have been shown to have the most in common with our text: those of Apringius and Beatus. Both are ecclesiological allegories, dependent on Tyconius either directly or through the influential summary of Primasius.⁷³

Apringius, writing under the patronage of a benevolent, if Arian, prince, wrote a commentary permeated with anti-Arian sentiments. He explains the Apocalypse as an allegory of the triumph of the church of Nicaea over all political and doctrinal enemies.⁷⁴ Beatus shared Apringius' desire to use Apoc.

⁷² G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* I (Bonn 1885) 48 lists a copy of the Apocalypse commentary of Tyconius as part of the ninth-century library of St. Gall. Fragments of the text from the library at Bobbio (no. 62) are now in Turin, B. N. 882 (F.IV.I.18), fols. 1-22. These were published in *Spicilegium Casinense* 3.1 (Monte Cassino 1897) 263-331, and were re-edited by F. Lo Bue, *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation* (Texts and Studies n.s. 7; Cambridge 1963). Both editors dated the Turin manuscript to the thirteenth century. The hand is, however, a clear late minuscule, which should place the copy in the early eleventh century at the latest. See Table 3 in the Monte Cassino edition for a plate of fol. 9^v, and Lo Bue's plates I-IV at the front of his edition; compare the hand of Florence, Laurentianum Ashb. Libri 23 (Italy, tenth century) in G. Vitelli and C. Paoli, *Collezione Fiorentina di fascimili paleografici greci e latini* 3.2 (Florence 1888) plate 32. For a general study of the influence of Tyconius' Apocalypse commentary, see I. M. Gómez, 'El Perdido Comentario de Ticonio al Apocalypsis,' *Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach*, ed. R. M. Díaz (Montserrat 1953) 387-411.

⁷³ Primasius was a Catholic North African exegete who died ca. 553. His Apocalypse commentary openly acknowledges the influence of Tyconius: 'sed etiam a Ticonio Donastista quondam certa quae sano congruunt sensui, defloravi, et ex eis quae eligenda fuerant, exundantia reprimens, importuna resecans, et impolita componens, catholico moderamine temperavi.' PL 68.793c. His commentary is extant in several early medieval copies: Karlsruhe, B. L. Aug. CCXXII (Reichenau, eighth century); Madrid, Acad. Hist. Cortes 12.11.1 (Spain, ninth century); Paris, B. N. lat. 13390 (Corbie, ninth century); and Paris, B. N. lat. 2185 (ninth century).

⁷⁴ Apringius could not afford to be too openly critical of Arian Christianity, even though Theudis is portrayed by Isidore in his *Historia de regibus Gothorum* (PL 83.1068-1069) as one of the more tolerant of Arian rulers. Yet Apringius was careful to stress the incarnation

5 as a vehicle of orthodox Christology, although his opponent was the eighth-century Adoptionist party, whose Christology ran counter to the teachings of Chalcedon. The commentary of Beatus influenced contemporary anti-Adoptionist treatises, including his own work against Elipandus.⁷⁵

In short, the tradition of Apocalypse exegesis leads us to surmise that the Christology and ecclesiology of *De septem sigillis* reflect a church deeply concerned with maintaining Catholic orthodoxy in the face of a well-established heterodox alternative. Such a context could have been provided by the opposition to Arianism of the fourth-century church of Southern Gaul or the seventh-century Visigoths, or the late-eighth-century struggle against Adoptionism in the Iberian Peninsula.

VI

CONCLUSIONS

Having scrutinized this very short text at rather great length, we may make the following summary.

Two versions of *De septem sigillis* were in circulation by the year 800. What is designated here as Family A, a shorter version with some influence of the pre-Vulgate Bible, is the older. It is preserved in a collection of materials which were transmitted *in toto*, and which includes works by Spanish and North African authors. Italy may have played some part in the transmission of Family A; the unusual form *continguat* on line 72 shows possible Beneventan influence. Family B, on the other hand, has definite connections with Italy: both extant MSS were copied there. The attribution of *De septem sigillis* to Alcuin derives from this transmission, and is probably the result of the proximity of genuine Alcuinian treatises in these MSS.

With regard to the form of the treatise: *De septem sigillis* should be classified with certain allegorical list-texts, short and self-contained, which were

and divinity of Christ, and the place of the Son in the Trinity. A rather bold passage against 'heretics' is the commentary on Apoc. 2.6 (ed. Férotin p. 16), (fol. 39^r): 'quod de hereticis non imeriti [sic] dici sentitur; qui effusi ab hidria veritatis, in limum sunt mendacii proluti (. . .) Et manifeste est stulticia languentis Ecclesie hereticorum dogma perversum; quia non ad sanitatem adducunt populi cicatricem, sed maximis langoribus plebs afficiunt.' In *De viris illustribus* 30 (PL 83.1098-1099), Isidore lauds Apringius as a defender of orthodoxy.

⁷⁵ For the theology of Beatus, see M. del Alamo, 'Los Comentarios de Beato al Apocalypsis y Elipando,' *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* II: *Letteratura Medioevale* (Studi e Testi 122; Vatican City 1946) 16-33; and I. Christe, 'Beatus et la tradition latine des Commentaires sur l'Apocalypse,' *Actas del Simposio para el Estudio de los Codices del 'Comentario al Apocalypsis' de Beato de Liebana* (Madrid 1978).

especially popular among the Visigothic authors of the sixth and seventh centuries, and the Celtic authors of the eighth and ninth centuries. The Irish writers who employed this form borrowed it from Spain.

The exegesis of Apoc. 5 presented by *De septem sigillis* fits the ecclesiological mold of the Tyconian tradition. In its concern for proper Christology and Trinitarian teaching, *De septem sigillis* is most like the Apocalypse commentaries of Apringius of Béja and Beatus of Liebana. Treatment of the seven seals as exemplifications of seven events in the life of Christ is ultimately a liturgical motif which was part of the rite of fraction in the Gallican and Mozarabic masses. Apoc. 5 in general was tied to the Easter season in the Mozarabic church. In contrast, the liturgies and lectionaries associated with Alcuin and his circle relegate the Apocalypse to feasts of martyrs and the dedications of churches.

The author of *De septem sigillis* must have been acquainted with both the Vulgate and earlier Latin Bibles. A North African/Spanish *Vetus Latina* version of Gen. 6.14 is cited on line 54 of the A version.

Any claim for Alcuinian authorship of *De septem sigillis* can be dismissed on the basis of these last two points. Although Alcuin's role in leading the Carolingian reforms is no longer considered a singlehanded effort, his concern for the standardization of the Roman liturgy and the Vulgate Bible is beyond question.⁷⁶ Whether or not Alcuin was the author of any Apocalypse commentary is a question which deserves further investigation. The longer treatise attributed to him in PL 100⁷⁷ comes wholly from the *Expositio in Apocalypsin* of Ambrosius Autpert. Alcuin may have become acquainted with this treatise during his stay in Italy, and may even have popularized it in Frankland;⁷⁸ it is not, in other words, an impossible source for an Alcuinian work. But it would be very surprising if any exegetical treatment of the Apocalypse written

⁷⁶ For Alcuin and the liturgy, see H. Netzer, *L'Introduction de la messe romaine en France sous les Carolingiens* (Paris 1910) 30-48; and the article of W. Heil in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* II 266-276, esp. 271-273. For Alcuin and the Vulgate, see B. Fischer, *Die Alcuin-Bibel* (Freiburg 1957), and his revised estimation in 'Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen,' *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben* II *Das geistige Leben* (Düsseldorf 1965) 156-216, esp. 171-175.

⁷⁷ PL 100.1087-1156, published by Migne (and by Mai before him) from a tenth-century Italian codex attributed to Alcuin by a later hand: Vat. lat. 651; cf. Vattasso and Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini* I (Rome 1902).

⁷⁸ The oldest extant MS of Ambrosius Autpert on the Apocalypse is Oxford, Bodl. Laud. Misc. 464 (767), a copy of Books I-V only, made in central Italy at the end of the eighth century and taken to St. Denis in the ninth century. Other ninth-century copies were in the libraries of Corbie, Reichenau, and St. Gall: see R. Weber, 'Edition princeps et tradition manuscrite du commentaire d'Ambroise Autpert sur l'Apocalypse,' *Revue Bénédictine* 70 (1960) 526-539; and Weber's introduction to his critical edition, p. xiii.

by Alcuin did not show more direct influence of Bede than does the work ascribed to him in PL 100.⁷⁹

A compatible birthplace, if not a specific author, can be suggested for *De septem sigillis*. Visigothic Spain of the sixth and seventh centuries meets all the requirements presented by our study of the text: an intellectual context in which the Vulgate and the *Vetus Latina* flourished side by side, in which the seven seals of the Apocalypse were liturgically linked to the earthly and heavenly ministry of Christ, and in which short treatises of the list form were popular. No other location satisfies all these criteria. The only possible alternative, the Celtic church, does not share the Apocalypse imagery of the Mozarabic fraction during the Easter season. Further, unlike the Spanish connection of the MSS in Family A, there is no evidence for a Celtic transmission of *De septem sigillis*.

As to date: the quotation from Tischendorf's B version of *The Gospel of Nicodemus* on lines 25–29 gives a *terminus non ante quem* of 500 for *De septem sigillis*; while the triple-immersion baptism referred to in lines 19–20 sets a *terminus non post quem* of 633, the year in which the Fourth Council of Toledo decreed a single-immersion baptism for Catholics in Spain.

Determination of the place and time of composition allows us, finally, to interpret *De septem sigillis*. Proper reading of the text should be done in the framework of the Mozarabic liturgies of the Easter season. In this world, movement from the seven seals of the Apocalypse to the salvific mission of Christ to the sustaining seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, as demonstrated by seven Old Testament figures, is a profoundly logical allegory for that sacred time when each believer experiences a rebirth through the sacrament of baptism, and the church is likewise reborn and fulfilled through the resurrection of Christ.

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⁷⁹ A possible Alcuinian Apocalypse commentary is found in Munich, B.S. Clm 13581, fols. 3^r–31^r (St. Emmeram, Regensburg, ninth century). This is a question-and-answer text, with the questions drawn from the Apocalypse, and the answers from Bede's commentary, influenced by Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*. Another of Alcuin's exegetical works is in the same form, *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin*, PL 100.515–570. This text also appears in Clm 13581, fols. 105^v–118^r.