

NOTES

MEDIEVAL EXEGESIS

In the past one hundred years Catholic theology has been exceptionally enriched by the distinguished research which has been devoted to discovering its historical origins and genetic development. Since the age of Melchior Cano, Erasmus, and the theologians of the post-Tridentine period, when the need for scientific, critical method in historical theology was first formulated, the growth has been admirable. The study of the Fathers of the Church has become an independent science, and in the last century the attention of scholars, probably under the strong influence of the romantic movement, began to be attracted to Scholasticism and its contribution to the Christian tradition. Certainly both streams of thought, patristic and medieval, are recognized as basic to the structure of modern theology, which in so many respects is characterized by a profound inclination to history and historical method.

But in reviewing the vast contribution which historical scholarship has made to the science of theology, it becomes clear that two important aspects of religious thought have been somewhat overlooked: (1) pre-Scholastic theology, from the death of St. Isidore of Seville (d. 636) to the age of Abelard (*ca.* 1100), and (2) pre-Tridentine exegesis, from the late Merovingian period to the eve of the Reformation. The history of modern thought tends to show that the neglect of these areas as a field of concentration may be rooted in an unwarranted prejudice favoring the value of patristic and Scholastic theology to the exclusion of medieval biblical theology.

In his most recent work, *Exégèse médiévale*,¹ Père Henri de Lubac, S.J., has successfully transcended this prejudice and has presented us with the most brilliant synthesis of medieval exegesis that has yet been made.² We have here a historical and documentary study of the four senses of Holy Scripture as pursued in the medieval biblical schools and expressed in their commentaries. The work, actually "much less a contribution to the history

¹ H. de Lubac, S.J., *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture* 1/1-2 (Paris: Aubier, 1959; pp. 772). At a later date the second volume, of which the first part has just appeared, will be reviewed.

² M. de Certeau, S.J. ("Exégèse, théologie, et spiritualité," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 36 [1960] 357), describes de Lubac's work as a "monument élevé par une érudition aussi subtile qu'étendue," and R. Roques, in his review in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 158 (1960) 217, says of it: "... une somme extrêmement érudite—j'allais écrire: désespérément érudite!—sur l'un des sujets les plus importants et les plus négligés de la pensée médiévale."

of exegesis in the proper sense of the word than to the history of theology, or rather of Christian thought and spirituality in general,"³ forms a continuation of his earlier work, *Histoire et esprit*, with the center of interest shifting from Origen and the Fathers to the ecclesiastical writers of the medieval period, who prolonged for centuries the patristic tradition of biblical exegesis.

A reading of the more than seven hundred pages which make up the two parts of this first volume impresses one with the extensive, overwhelming source material on which the whole study rests, and which Père de Lubac has so successfully controlled. The work is neither a continuous history nor a scientific handbook, but rather a synthesis, structured on a variety of essential themes,⁴ which converge in the accumulated witness which they present to the four senses of Holy Scripture, the deep concern of all biblical exegetes of both the patristic and medieval ages. "This work," observes de Lubac, "in its totality belongs more to the sociology of thought than to its history."⁵

The author faces the historical fact, well supported by the sources, that the Christian Church almost from its very beginning interpreted Holy Scripture in light of the manifold sense which it contains. In his critical study of this important chapter in the history of Catholic ideas, de Lubac shows himself a sincere scientist penetrating to the depth of things with a controlled enthusiasm.⁶ Despite his admiration and reverence for medieval intellectualism, in his own mental attitude, which is neither archaic nor antique, there is no question of equating the medieval system with the modern, much less of transcending it in favor of something long past. Here we stand on two different planes of thought and comprehension. But neither is negated or despised. "We admire the immense effort, expended on biblical exegesis in the modern Church, and we are full of hope that it will increase even more."⁷ If, therefore, he is deeply inquisitive of the ethos and method inherent in the medieval concept of the Bible and its interpretation, he is not reactionary. It is rather his intent to introduce and familiarize us with medieval exegesis, to win our sympathetic understanding of the religious thought of the past, and to help prepare us to grasp the organic development of the efforts of Christianity to discover God's word as contained in Holy Scripture.⁸

³ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴ E.g., Theology, Scripture, Fourfold Sense; Patristic Origins; Latin Origen; the Two Testaments; History; Allegory; Anagoria and Eschatology. Cf. de Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17. Medieval exegesis organized "all revelation about a concrete centrum, marked in space and time by the cross of Jesus Christ."

The subject of this book, medieval exegesis, is a theme susceptible of misunderstanding, possibly even of irritation, to those out of touch with the intellectual problems involved here. The expression "medieval," for example, is still somewhat under the dark spell of Renaissance humanism and the Enlightenment;⁹ and the science of exegesis, in the course of the past century, has developed so considerably that it can scarcely recognize its medieval ancestor. The sympathetic study of this problem requires, therefore, that the unhistorical concept of the Middle Ages as a naive, dark, simplistic segment of Western history be corrected; that the general feeling of superiority which dominates so much modern scholarship be revised; and that the finalistic viewpoint, which tends to explain all synthesis of the past only by relation to the present—as if the intellectual efforts of the past have only a functional interest—be moderated.¹⁰ There is need here of the scholar's ability to live with these ancient thinkers, enter into their categories, speak their language.¹¹

Medieval exegesis, as it has come down to us, contains "a theology of history in connection with a theology of Scripture." "It is itself a dogmatic as well as a spirituality—complete and completely unified." In itself a great source book or mirror reflecting Christian thought, it can in a sense be called Christian thought itself, at least in the sense that it is the principal form which for centuries has molded the Christian synthesis. It is the woof, the very texture, of Christian literature, art, and life.¹² That Catholic scholars have allowed this valuable treasure to remain buried so long is almost a mystery.¹³

In accord with the subtitle, *Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, de Lubac's frame of reference is the well-known distich of the Dominican, Augustine of Dacia (d. 1282):

Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.¹⁴

In this couplet the author is professedly transmitting not merely some

⁹ Note the snobbish remark of Voltaire in his *Essai sur les moeurs*: "In the thirteenth century one passed from savage ignorance to Scholastic ignorance."

¹⁰ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹³ There seems no doubt that the fourfold sense started its decline after the first wave of the Reformation, after the Council of Trent. It is interesting to note that, parallel to the disappearance of the spiritual sense, allegory and symbol in Catholic art began to vanish.

¹⁴ *Rotulus pugillaris*, c. 1: *De introductoriiis scientiae theologiae*, ed. P. A. Walz, O.P., *Angelicum* 6 (1929) 256. Actually the couplet concludes "quid speres anagogia." Cf. de Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff.

personal theory of biblical exegesis or a more or less authorized "speculation," but a matter of faith, a comprehension of Holy Scripture which was held in honor not only by his illustrious master St. Thomas, but by almost every master of theology before him back to the Fathers. In fact, apart from the central dogmas of Christianity, it is hard to find a religious truth on which there is a clearer consensus among the Fathers and Scholastics. For in its history the doctrine of the four senses of Holy Scripture represented for the theologian "more than an idea from the time of the Fathers." It was something of divine tradition itself, a certain fundamentally Catholic attitude before the word of God, a question of the very doctrine of the Church.¹⁵ Since the Reformation, the doctrine expressed in this couplet has become almost a sign of contradiction to biblical exegesis. More often than not it has been misstated, misunderstood, forsaken in favor of a unilateral, literal, scientific hermeneutic which in many respects seems less theological and spiritual than its venerable ancestor. One notes too frequently nowadays an absence of concern for Holy Scripture as a spiritual book.

The importance of Scripture to medieval theology can be most accurately gauged from its unique relation to both revelation and theology.¹⁶ According to the medieval comprehension of the divine economy, there were not two sources of revelation parallel and radically distinct, but simply Holy Scripture as the sole deposit of revelation. The *depositum fidei* was indeed Scripture, but Scripture considered not as a closed system but as the word of God read and heard throughout the Church, and interpreted by tradition, "the tradition of the Apostles . . . that which is precisely reducible to the *evangelium* of Trent."¹⁷ For in the traditional concept there was always question of Scripture "in fide catholica tractata,"¹⁸ and the word *scriptura* in the expression *scriptura sola* was understood in an active, vital sense. "Legit et tenet ecclesia."¹⁹

Hence arose the persuasion, shared both by Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, that in the interpretation or exegesis of Holy Scripture is contained the science of theology.²⁰ It is part of this common Christian tradition that St. Thomas expresses when he writes: "Haec est theologia quae sacra

¹⁵ Francisco Toledo, S.J. (*In Summam theol. s. Thomae Aquinatis enarratio 1: In primam* [Rome, 1869] 53-54) taught that the doctrine of the four senses must be held *de fide*. Cf. de Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁶ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁸ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12, 37, 70 (PL 34, 484).

¹⁹ Hugh of Rouen, *Dialogi* 5, 12 (PL 192, 1206D).

²⁰ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

scriptura dicitur,"²¹ a statement matched by St. Bonaventure's "Sacra scriptura quae theologia dicitur."²² Once granted this coincidence between theology and exegesis, it is not difficult to see how a doctor of theology was a commentator on Holy Scripture,²³ a dogma of the faith an exegesis of the *sacra pagina*, doctrinal teaching an *expositio scripturarum*. "In the language of St. Gregory, the *divinae doctrinae eruditio* was the teaching contained in Scripture, and the saintly Pope did not conceive of any other theology than that which consists in *sacri eloquii erudiri mysteriis*."²⁴ Within the broad frame of this system of thought, the development of dogma was regarded as the constant process of exploring and opening up the almost infinite depths, the *innumeri intellectus*, the *mira profunditas*, of Holy Scripture.²⁵

The doctrine of the multiple sense of Scripture exemplifies the almost obvious truth that medieval exegesis is rooted in the patristic. Especially influential is Origen, whose theory of biblical exegesis was so decisive in determining the subsequent development of this science.²⁶ Père de Lubac diminishes the direct influence of both Clement of Alexandria²⁷ and Philo²⁸ on Origen's specifically Christian formulation of the doctrine of the literal (somatic) and spiritual (psychic and pneumatic) senses of the Bible. In the Latin West it was Augustine²⁹ and Gregory³⁰ who were most important for the formation and propagation of the fourfold sense of Scripture, which side by side with Origen's formula, known in Latin translations,³¹ prevailed throughout the Middle Ages and received its most classical expression at the hands of Augustine of Dacia.

It is well known that two of the most important factors in the formation of early medieval theology were the patristic and the monastic. The Middle

²¹ *In Libro Boetii de trinitate*, q. 5, a. 4; *S. Thomae Aquinatis Opera omnia* 17 (Parma, 1864) 388.

²² *Breviloquium: Prologus; S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia* 5 (Quaracchi, 1891) 201.

²³ Robert Courson declares in his *Summa* that he who lectures publicly on Holy Scripture has taken a way of greater perfection than a monk of Clairvaux. How times have changed!

²⁴ Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* 23, 25, 49 (PL 76, 281D). Cf. de Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²⁵ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-219.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-77. "Strictly speaking, it is not very probable that Clement of Alexandria is the ancestor of the hermeneutical doctrine under the precise form which this work is studying" (p. 176).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 207: "It is impossible to assimilate these two exegeses" (i.e., of Origen and Philo).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-87.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-98. Gregory is "one of the principal initiators and greatest patrons of the medieval doctrine of the fourfold sense" (p. 189).

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-38.

Ages were heir to the theological efforts of the Fathers, especially the great Latin tetrad, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory,³² who were fundamental to the Bible study and the Bible spirituality so characteristic of Western monastic culture.³³ It is impossible here to follow the full development, which de Lubac so admirably presents, of the medieval intellectual life, the transition from the early monastic *lectio* to the late Scholastic *lectio*, the transformation of *meditatio* and *oratio* into *quaestio* and *disputatio*, the displacement of the spiritual by the learned element, the sacred by the secular, the shift from the old monastic to the new cathedral schools.³⁴

This whole intellectual movement, extending over four centuries, is filled with the utmost significance for the history of biblical exegesis, but especially for the formation of theology, which grew in intimate dependence on medieval biblical exegesis. In the development of theology, as we know it today, the decisive phases are situated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the influence of dialectic in biblical studies gave rise to new *quaestiones* of a highly technical and scientific character, which were answered in accord with the new learning of the day.³⁵ The spirit of the traditional *quaestiones*, marked by a strong inclination to biblical theology, had been to seek the mystery of God by questioning the sacred text. The late twelfth century saw the waning of this distinctively Augustinian concept.³⁶ Theology became more rationalistic, more systematic. The *summae* appeared and dialectic entered more fully into that realm where theology is queen. The new mentality is in evidence on all sides and the sources of the period are filled with anguish over the new theology.³⁷ "In the course of the twelfth century dialecticians in their quest of the 'vera scripturarum scientia' changed the order of things. The *studium lectionis* decidedly surpassed the *humilitas cordis*, and the authority of the sacred text appears effaced in their eyes before human judgment."³⁸ By the end of the twelfth century, theology had commenced its drift away from Scripture. The *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard had begun to displace the Bible from the center of *studium*, and by the end of the following century Aristotle had already started to displace the Lombard. From this time on the divergence widens. Theology with dialectic,

³² The first attestation of these four Fathers as a unique tetrad is found in Bede, *Ep. dedic. ad Accam* (PL 92, 304D, 134A). Cf. de Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³³ Cf. J. Leclercq, O.S.B., *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York, 1961) pp. 31 ff., 87 ff.

³⁴ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 94 ff.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-4.

³⁷ In an irenic, reflective, receptive mood, Pierre de Celle dreamt of the blessed school of Christ wherein all *quaestiones* would receive their definitive answer without dispute; *Ep.* 73 (PL 202, 520A).

³⁸ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

and Scripture with the Fathers, tend to travel more and more on different levels.³⁹

*Littera gesta docet.*⁴⁰ History is the universal foundation of the biblical interpretation of both the Fathers and the Scholastics.⁴¹ It was the first obligation of their exegesis to discover the pure history of things.⁴² For divine revelation, the word of God, since it was spoken to men in time, in the course of history, has itself a historic form, and is in fact contained not only in the historical *res gestae* but also in the biblical *verba scripta*.⁴³ History and the literal sense are important to the exegesis of Scripture—not absolutized history, “one of the principal idols invented by our century,”⁴⁴ not the literal sense understood as the Jewish, non-Christian interpretation of Scripture,⁴⁵ but biblical history, that universal history in which Christ is the last final cause of all events. It is this sense of history, the theological sense, consubstantial to Christian thought, which interested the medieval exegete.⁴⁶

This study did not center in the *res gestae* as such, for they were past and the hagiographer dead, but rather in the *res gestae* as a revelation present to the exegete through the *sacra pagina*.⁴⁷ History, synonymous with *littera*, deals with the exterior, the sensible aspect of things. It is knowledge *in specie*. It is in itself *superficies et umbra*.⁴⁸ That Christ, for example, died on the cross is a *res gesta* whose primary sense, the historical, merely declares the event without piercing into its deepest significance, the *sacramenta gestorum*, the *magni sacramenti narratio*. History indeed preserves the memory of the event, but it does not express its fulness.⁴⁹

*Quid credas allegoria.*⁵⁰ When the exegete passed from the historical level to the theological, he passed from *littera* to *spiritus*, from history to allegory,

³⁹ While the division between patristics and Scripture continues to widen, dialectic has already begun to show its resentment against its traditional role as handmaid of theology, which, in fact, is now drawing closer to history.

⁴⁰ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 425–87.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 430. This is especially true of Origen.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 429. Note, for example, Augustine, *De vera religione* 7, 3: “huius religionis sectandae caput est historia.”

⁴⁴ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 439: “The letter which killeth’ . . . is not the historical reality; it is the regime ‘according to the outworn letter,’ and consequently, when applied to exegesis, the Judaic interpretation of the Scriptures.”

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 469–70.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 482, 486: “In history one is still in *species*, one has not entered into the *significatio*.”

⁴⁹ They realized that all things had been written that they might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; cf. Jn 20:31.

⁵⁰ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 489–548.

whose prime function is to detect, to search out, the mystery of Christ hidden in, yet expressed by, the historical event. "Factum audivimus. *Mysterium requiramus.*"⁵¹ "After reading, one must understand, one must enter into the *via comprehensionis.*"⁵² The allegory is not in the text, but in the realities of which the text speaks; not in history as narrative, but in history as event; or, one can say, allegory is in the narrative only inasmuch as this relates a real event.⁵³ "Opera loquuntur. . . Facta, si intelligas, verba sunt."⁵⁴ The text, as a go-between, leads to historical realities which in themselves are *figurae*, containing the mysteries which the exercise of allegory is designed to extract.⁵⁵

The words *Quid credas allegoria* are the exact equivalent of the Gregorian formula *Allegoria fidem aedificat.*⁵⁶ Since all that allegory discovers is "pertinens ad instructionem fidei," serving "ad aedificationem catholicae fidei," it is Christian allegorizing which opens up the mysteries of faith. In fact, allegory, as the doctrinal sense of Scripture, is peculiar to the medieval theologian seeking the true meaning of the Christian faith, which can be defined as *allegorica doctrina* or the Catholic sense of Scripture.⁵⁷ The Bible is a book of mysteries, essentially the *mysterium Christi absconditum*, which the exegete can only open, discover, declare through allegory, the keystone of the spiritual sense.

*Moralis quid agas.*⁵⁸ As Christian virtue only comes after the possession of Christian faith, so tropology only comes after allegory.⁵⁹ Whereas allegory is concerned with the *facta mystica*, the *mysterium fidei*, the *mystica fides*, tropology is concerned with the *facienda mysteria*, the *opera fidei*, the *moralis gratia*.⁶⁰ Origen and Gregory, the masters of the moral sense, make it clear that the tropological sense is filled with the breath and spirit of the gospel, for the Old Testament in its full allegorical sense, which governs tropology, is nothing more than the New Testament. There is no question here of a simple moralizing tropology, of a natural union of soul and spirit to produce the *opus bonum*. In medieval exegesis tropology was understood as a mystical or supernatural morality, depending on union with Christ by charity, for "tropology supposes not only the mystery of Christ but also the mystery of the Church."⁶¹ Apart from the Church, there is no soul regenerated by baptism, no truly just soul, no perfect soul, no soul united to the *Verbum*. Apart from the Church, Christian tropology is simply inoperative.⁶²

⁵¹ Augustine, *In Ioannis evang.* 50, 6 (*PL* 35, 1760).

⁵² De Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 492-93.

⁵³ Augustine, *Sermo* 95, 3 (*PL* 38, 582).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 530. ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 525. ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 549-620.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 556. ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 559. ⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 560.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 493.

⁵⁶ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 550.

*Quo tendas anagogia.*⁶³ The most noble of the four senses, the last and highest achievement of biblical exegesis, is the anagogic sense, searching *superiora, invisibilia, futura, ultima*, and raising us up from the realities of the earthly Jerusalem to the realities of the heavenly Jerusalem.⁶⁴ It is the sense which is involved in the *adventus Christi*, represented in three stages: (1) *occultus et humilis*: Christ, the Redeemer, comes; His redemption lasts in the Church and the sacraments; (2) *praesens quotidie*: Christ, the Sanctifier, comes to the just soul; (3) *terribilis*: Christ, the Judge, comes in glory. The first is allegory, the second tropology, the third anagogy.⁶⁵

In the medieval sources *anagogia* takes a double formula,⁶⁶ of which one represents the objective, doctrinal, speculative aspect, looking to the eschatology of the individual as well as the universe, the other the subjective, theoretic, contemplative aspect, looking to the *hic et nunc*, the mystic in the Church. The first (*altior sensus*) *futuri saeculi sacramenta declarat, de vita futura disputat*. The second (*altior theoria*) is ordered *ad mysteria futuri saeculi contuenda, ad contemplanda mysteria caelestia*. The one is defined by its object, the other by the manner of apprehending it. Both are equally part of the Christian mystery, constituting its summit or term.⁶⁷

These three spiritual senses, comprising the mystical order, involve a *conversio*, allegory from the past to the present Christ, tropology a reform of each life by the act of Christ, anagogy a reform of the present by the future. Allegory signifies a conversion of intellect, tropology of morals, anagogy of desires. Allegory builds up or edifies faith, tropology charity, anagogy hope. Allegory is the sense of dogma, tropology of moral, anagogy of mysticism.⁶⁸

Exégèse médiévale is from every viewpoint a work of lasting caliber. Certainly it will not be superseded in the near future. The author's scientific method,⁶⁹ control of sources, conception of the problem, and presentation of its solution are solid. The criticisms which thus far have been offered do not touch the essential conclusions of his study. The theme, the four senses of Scripture, which is handled here from the viewpoint of special categories, still requires further study in terms of the historical, genetic evolution of biblical exegesis in the ebb and flow of both religious and

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 621–81.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 622–30; St. Bonaventure, *op. cit.* (n. 22 supra) n. 4, p. 205.

⁶⁵ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, p. 621. Cf., e.g., Henry of Marcy, *De peregrinante civitate Dei tract. 1* (PL 204, 259C), on the *triplex adventus Christi*.

⁶⁶ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 624 ff. The double *anagogia* depends on the double (i.e., threefold and fourfold) division of the senses of Scripture.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 623. ⁶⁸ M. de Cerreau, *op. cit.*, p. 366. ⁶⁹ De Lubac, *op. cit.*, pp. 657–67.

secular ideas from the patristic to the Scholastic. Still, it must be admitted that the architecture, analysis-synthesis, which our author selected, is perfectly suited to the reconstruction of the origin and progress of medieval exegesis. His categorical divisions have been legitimately selected with due caution against falsely imposing an artificial modern structure on ancient ideas; and his philological analysis of many of the technical expressions current in medieval theology, exegesis, and spirituality is invariably accurate and thorough.⁷⁰ In fact, it is one of the chief excellences of the work.

Though Père de Lubac has worked almost exclusively from edited source material, it is safe to say that the future publication of the vast unedited biblical literature will scarcely alter the picture which he has painted. I note, however, that greater care might have been exercised in selecting the critical editions which are cited. In more than one case the texts which Migne published over a century ago have been replaced by scholarship. At least in one instance, a pseudepigraph, the so-called Isidorian *Liber de variis quaestionibus*, is cited as authentic; and the *Catechesis Celtica*, dated simply as ninth century,⁷¹ actually is a collectaneum from the early tenth century, though portions of it are doubtless as early as the eighth century. One wonders whether the interpretation of Hélinand's *mors* can be supported by the text of the sermon itself.⁷² Here and there small mechanical errors occur which should be corrected in the second edition.⁷³ Sometimes the references in the footnotes are abbreviated at the expense of clarity and facility. The author will make a valuable aid to research if he prepares a comprehensive list of the sources, bibliography, and especially the *termini technici* at the end of the last volume, or even as a separate volume.

When completed, *Exégèse médiévale* will form one of the most valuable modern contributions to the *Geistesgeschichte* of the Middle Ages, concretely to the birth of theology from the exegesis of Scripture.

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⁷⁰ E.g., *disciplina* (*ibid.*, pp. 46 ff.), *lectio* (pp. 83 ff.), *philosophia* (pp. 86 ff., 515-16), *disputatio* (pp. 88 ff.), *quaestio* (pp. 95-110), *historia* (pp. 425-29), *mysterium* (pp. 399-406), etc.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 624, n. 9.

⁷³ R. Roques, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-20, has listed most of these mechanical errors.