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THE VERBAL CONCORDANCE TO THE SCRIPTURES

BY

R. H. ROUSE AND M. A. ROUSE

Of the numerous technical aids to teaching and preaching produced in the thirteenth century, the verbal concordance to the scriptures is not only one of the earliest but probably the most important, because its system of reference, its method of compilation and its successful application of complete alphabetization were used by generations of later tool-makers. The concordance was a consciously created solution to the needs of Latin theologians for a device which would enable them to have in one place all the uses of a given word or phrase in the scriptures. Like the creation of a means by which texts could be published in multiple copies through the university stationers when the need for multiple copies of set texts arose, the biblical concordance was a specific response to an immediate need. It did not evolve over generations, but was invented and perfected through careful tinkering and adjustment in less than fifty years; and it spread widely and rapidly through Europe, because it was published by the stationers. While the major device it employs, complete alphabetization, was known to the Greeks as early as the second century B. C., the practical application of alphabetization to the creation of tools is an occidental achievement. It was the Latin verbal concordance which served as the model for the first concordances to the Greek Septuagint in 1300 and to the Hebrew Old Testament in 1438-1478¹. In mastering the task of extracting and alphabetizing the

¹ According to E. Mangenot, « Concordances de la Bible », *Dictionnaire de la Bible* 2 (1926) col. 901, a Basilian monk, one Euthalius of Rhodes, supposedly composed in 1300 a Greek concordance to the whole Bible; and (*ibid.* col. 899) a Provençal rabbi, Isaac Mardochoi Nathan, with many collaborators, composed the first Hebrew concordance from 1438 to 1448. The history of the Greek and the Hebrew concordances, however, needs more careful investigation.

some 100,000 appearances in the scriptures of roughly 10,000 words², the compilers of the verbal concordance rank with their direct descendants, the inventors of the digital computer, the tool through which most modern concordances are compiled.

The first serious study of the verbal concordances was that of Quétif and Echard published in the *Scriptores* in 1719³. They distinguish three medieval Latin concordances: The first was produced at St. Jacques under the direction of Hugh of St. Cher; this consisted of the alphabetical listing of thousands of words, each provided with a record of its appearances in the Bible cited in the briefest possible fashion-book, chapter, section of chapter. According to the *Scriptores*, the second, a revision of the first, was completed ca. 1252 by three English Dominicans working at St. Jacques, Richard of Stavensby, Hugh of Croydon and John of Darlington; in this, the *Concordantiae Anglicanae*, each biblical citation also included the lemma in a lengthy context. The third, which Quétif and Echard call a condensation of the second, they attribute to a single individual, probably Conrad of Halberstadt, supposedly writing ca. 1300-1310.

This classification is repeated by all basic reference works which deal with the concordance; and the story has not improved in the telling. The article by E. Mangenot in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible*⁴, the standard modern discussion of the concordance, arbitrarily dates Hugh of St. Cher's concordance at 1230 and emphasizes the importance of the second or English concordance, treating the third as a relatively negligible abridgement. Stegmüller's *Repertorium*⁵ merges all three versions into one. Glorieux⁶ ascribes to Hugh of St. Cher's concordance what is, in fact, the incipit of the third concordance.⁷ Other modern scholars,

² These figures are based upon a word-and-reference count of eight pages in Troyes MS. 931 (fols. 1-2^v, 500-501^v). If one takes these as typical pages, the actual estimate is 11,800 words, with 129,000 references; the margin of error in such a computation is unavoidably large.

³ J. Quétif and J. Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum...* 1 (Paris 1719) 203-209, 466-467, 610-611, 632.

⁴ Mangenot (n. 1 above) 895-899.

⁵ F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum medii aevi* 3 (Madrid 1951) nos. 3604, 3605.

⁶ P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des Maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, *Etudes de Philosophie médiévale* 17 (Paris 1933) no. 2 *av*.

⁷ See also J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research Special Suppl.* 3 (London 1936) 60-61, 121-122; C. Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge*

who have occasion to touch upon the subject only incidentally, have perforce relied upon and repeated these facts⁸. Quétif and Echard were both the first and the last to examine in any detail a manuscript of the medieval concordance. While formidable for its time, their account contains many statements that are questionable and some that are incorrect. The manuscripts, taken as a whole, reveal a rather different story.

The first verbal concordance to the scriptures is that which begins, "A, a, a. Je. I.c., XIII.d., Eze. III.f...." and ends, "Zorobabel... Luc. III.f." It was produced at the Dominican house of St. Jacques at Paris. This fact is attested to by the appearance of drafts of it in the fifteenth-century bindings of St. Jacques books; by the express statement of the prologue to the third version of the concordance; and by the manuscripts of this concordance itself⁹. Hugh of St. Cher's connection with the St. Jacques Concordance is less well documented. The earliest surviving record is that of Tholomaeus of Lucca, ca. 1315, who says that Hugh "primas concordantias super bibliam cum suis fratribus adinvenit"¹⁰. Whether he merely instigated the project or actively directed it, and whether or not he saw it through to completion, one cannot say. Hugh filled one of the two chairs of theology at St. Jacques during a six-year period, 1230-1235. During that time, in addition to his teaching he produced his postills on the whole Bible,

(Paris 1944) 172-175; New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967), which dates the third concordance 1290, and dates the first both ca. 1230 (vol. 2, s.v. "Biblical Concordances...") and 1240 (vol. 7, s.v. "Hugh of St. Cher"); and sundry other biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias.

⁸ See B. Jarrett, *The English Dominicans* (London 1921) 63; A. Kleinhans, *De Concordantiis Biblicis S. Antonio Patavino aliisque Fratribus Minoribus saeculi XIII attributis*, *Antonianum* 6 (1931) 273-326, esp. 318-322; W. A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome 1951) 298-299.

⁹ Not only does one find «*Expliciunt concordantie de Sancto Jacobo*» (e.g., Chantilly, Musée Condé MS. 20; B. N. MS. lat. 16279; Tours MS. 26, all three s. xiii), but in Arras MS. 634 (s. xiii) the name has been added to the quire signatures, thus: «*.vii. de sancto Jacobo..., .ix. sancti Jacobi...*», etc.

¹⁰ Tholomaeus of Lucca, *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, book 22 ch. 2; cited from Quétif and Echard (n. 3 above) 204. The *Historia* is dated ca. 1315-1316 by B. Schmeidler, *Die Annalen des Tholomeus von Lucca*, *MGH Scriptorum rerum germanicarum n.s.* 8 (Berlin 1950) p. xxxiii. In the earlier catalog of Bernard Gui (completed by 1304, revised until 1312 or 1313), Hugh of St. Cher is discussed without mention of the concordance; see Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. T. Kaepfeli (Rome 1949) 31, 48-49, 125, 180. Nor is the concordance associated with Hugh's

probably with the aid of his Dominican brothers¹¹. On the face of things, it seems unlikely that the first concordance could have been completed so early as 1230; and there is no evidence which would lead one to prefer that date over another. In fact, the earliest precise *terminus ad quem* is 1247; a copy of the St. Jacques Concordance was made at Jumièges at the behest of William of Rouen during his term as prior (ca. 1239-1247)¹², and another copy was bequeathed to Jumièges by Walter Cloel (d. 1249) who retired to the abbey at the end of his life, bringing his books with him¹³. One has to assume that the project must have been, if not completed, at least well under way by 1235 when Hugh's official connection with St. Jacques was ended. The concordance reference system for biblical quotations, discussed below, is employed occasionally in Hugh's postills¹⁴, which shows that the work had begun at least.

Bible scholars had been, perhaps unconsciously, working toward a verbal concordance for a number of years. Bible study at the schools placed great importance upon the meaning (whether literal or figurative) of the individual word, and one way to discern the meaning was to compare the usage of the word in its several appearances in the text of the scriptures. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Masters of the Sacred Page at Paris frequently included in their glosses a table of references to parallel passages. The lists in Langton's glosses were particularly long, and sometimes were labeled *concordantia*¹⁵. Inclusion in the gloss was a cumbersome substitute for works devoted to concurring alone, and before long specialized collections began to

name in later medieval Dominican catalogs — Lawrence Pignon's, the *Catalogus Stamsensis*, the *Catalogus Upsalensis*; see G. Meersseman, *Laurentii Pignon catalogi et chronica...*, *Monumenta OFP historica* 18 (Rome 1936), 6, 57, 70. It should be noted, however, that Quéatif and Echard 204 quote from Pignon a passage similar to that in Tholomaeus which does attribute the concordance to Hugh; this passage does not appear in Meersseman's edition.

¹¹ B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1952) 272. Certainly they had been completed by 1239, at which time John abbot of Fleury caused to be written eight volumes containing Hugh's postills (now Orléans Bibl. mun. MSS. 23-30).

¹² G. Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Caen 1966) 151; Rouen MS. 110.

¹³ *Ibid.* 152; Rouen MS. 109.

¹⁴ See for example the *Postille fr. Hugonis super epistolas Pauli* in B. N. MS. lat. 15604, ff. 141^{va-b}, 142^{ra}, 143^{va-b}, etc.

¹⁵ Smalley (n. 11 above) 241.

u. e. b. u. b. v. d.	San. xiii. d.	u. p. xii. f.	Scote Teuron
epi vi. e. f.	Scorp	Scotimat	u. p. xiii. g.
San. xiv. c. l. c.	San. xv. d. xlv. e.	u. xii. e. g.	Scote
u. xii. a.	xviii. g.	Scodere	u. p. x. c.
San. u. b. v. b.	San. u. a.	Scu. f. xv. b.	u. p. xii. f. g.
San. xii. c.	xviii. e.	Amos u. b.	u. p. x. v. g.
u. mach. vi. b. x. b.	Levi. vi. e. xii. f.	Scu. a.	San. u. c. e.
u. mach. v. a.	u. a. x. v. f.	Scudum	Scutem
u. x. f. x. v. b.	u. b. c. xii. f.	San. x. f.	Leu. x. g.
Leu. xv. e. x. g.	xviii. a.	Sc. ix. b. xii. a.	Job. vi. x. x. a.
u. cor. xv. e.	Joh. ix. f. x. g.	Sc. x. c.	Sc. xi. x. x. c.
Ap. xii. c.	Jud. xii. a. xv. u. a.	Jere. xv. u. a. x. f.	u. f.
Scola alu	u. p. xv. g.	xviii. c. x. g.	San. x. e.
epi. u. d.	u. p. x. b. f.	xviii. a.	San. x. g.
vi. e.	u. p. u. a. g.	xviii. a. c.	xviii. g.
Scola balli	u. p. v. a.	xviii. f.	xviii. b.
u. mach. xii. b.	San. xii. f.	xviii. e.	u. x. e. d. x. v. c.
Scola bittina	u. a. xii. a.	San. x. v. e.	Jer. xii. b.
San. xii. e.	xviii. f.	Scodera passina	San. v. a. x. v. d.
Scola ole	Jer. x. u. d.	Scoti. x. g.	San. v. g.
San. vi. f. x. v. c.	xviii. a.	Scodole age	u. mach. ix. b.
Scola hedrat	xviii. g.	u. p. x. f.	Ap. vi. c.
u. d. r. v. d. f.	San. x. a.	Scutera.	Scutera cololi.
u. mach. u. b.	Scorp. u. d.	Jude. x. f.	Or. x. u. d.
Scola sic	u. p. xii. c.	u. p. x. v. d.	Scotem. x. p. a.
u. d. r. u. g.	Scorp. x. v.	Job. x. v. c. v. g.	u. mach. vi. e.
Scola single	u. p. x. u. g.	Sc. v. g. u. g.	Scot. u.
San. x. f.	Scorp. ruben	xviii. f.	u. p. x. u. c. d.
Scotum	u. p. x. v. b.	xviii. e. x. v. d.	Scot. u.
Jude. x. v. b.	Scorp. euch.	xviii. b.	San. u. b. x. v. b.
u. p. x. u. e.	San. u. b.	xviii. a. x. u. d.	xviii. g.
Job. xv. a.	Joh. x. v. c.	xviii. c.	x. b. x. v. u. d.
u. d. r. v. g.	Scorp. leu. a.	xviii. g.	xviii. g.
Scot. x.	Joh. u. b.	xviii. e.	San. x. e.
San. x. u. b.	Scorp. e. b. e.	San. v. a. v. b. d. f.	u. p. x. f. x. f.

Plate I. Paris, Mazarine 249 f iiv

be made. Some of these may have been based upon extrapolation from the glosses; but others were new creations, like the collections of *distinctiones*—alphabetized lists of words with, for each, a selection of biblical passages illustrative of the word's figurative meanings. These were common by the early thirteenth century. Strictly personal collections, student notebooks, reflect the same desire for a tool to provide ready access to the scriptures. A good example is B. N. lat. MS. 393 (s. xiii¹; Bonport Abbey, near Evreux), which contains glosses, mostly Langton's, on ff. 32-266; interpretations of Hebrew names on ff. 1-7^v, and two types of biblical concordances — lists of parallel passages (ff. 8-22)¹⁶ and an allegorical concordance (ff. 22-31^v)¹⁷. A complete verbal concordance of the Bible, however, was a huge task, which required the manpower and the biblical concentration of the Dominicans for its completion. Despite the guiding hand of Hugh of St. Cher, the concordance was a corporate and essentially anonymous production for an unspecified audience — as another contemporary Dominican tool states, "quas ad utilitatem multorum fratres predicatorum compilaverunt"¹⁸.

The friars at St. Jacques managed to solve two crucial problems in producing the concordance, the question of a system of reference and the mechanical problem of collecting and arranging the words and references. The matter of the reference system they resolved partly by adaptation,

¹⁶ This serves the same purpose as the cross-reference apparatus found in most modern Bibles, save that this work does not accompany a text of the scriptures. An example, f. 8^v col. 3: «Exodus. .i. Hec sunt nomina fi., *Verbum*: Erant igitur omnes a. Gen. lxxiii, Deut. xlvii, Actus xiiii contra. *Verbum*: Filii Is. cr. Actus xiiii, ... » This is to say, in the Book of Exodus ch. 1, which begins *Hec sunt* etc., concerning the passage beginning *Erant igitur* etc., one will find the same information confirmed in the Book of Genesis ch. 74 (i.e., 46.27) and Deuteronomy 47 (=10.22), with conflicting testimony in Acts 14 (=7.14). For the passage beginning *Filii Israel* one will find restatement in Acts 14 (=7.17), and so on. A pre-Langton system of capitulation of the Bible is employed. Monte Cassino MS. 62 pp. 371-401 contains another copy of this text.

¹⁷ Under such headings as *De terrore iudicii*, *De resurrectione*, *Acceptio personarum*, *De ascensione domini*, one is given *in extenso* up to ten biblical passages whose symbolic meaning pertains to the topic; for example, under *De terrore iudicii* the citations begin, «Ysa. c. xxx (30.30) ibi: Auditam faciet dominus gloriam vocis sue...; eadem c. (30.33) ibi: Preparata est enim ab heri..., » and so on. At times the work becomes little more than a series of *distinctiones*.

¹⁸ The concordance of topics, or real concordance, in Troyes Bibl. mun. MS. 2019 ff. 1-33^v, beg. «Incipiunt capitula... concordantiarum veteris ac novi testamenti quas ad utilitatem multorum fratres predicatorum compilaverunt ».

partly by innovation. A useable chapter division of the books of the Bible was already in existence, as a single rational substitute for the varying and often illogical chapter divisions to be found in pre-thirteenth-century Bibles. Traditionally this new system of capitulation is attributed to Stephen Langton¹⁹. The new chapter divisions, in existence by 1203, had been widely accepted as a uniform system at the university by the 1230's. Coupled with its use in the "Paris Bible", the adoption of this system by the Dominican concordance served as a sort of official blessing, which insured the survival of the new system of divisions, with only minor alterations, to the present day. Division of the chapters into verses was not achieved until the sixteenth century²⁰. Nevertheless, the St. Jacques Dominicans devised a workable technique for referring to the relative location within a chapter, namely, that of mentally dividing the chapter into sevenths, each designated by one of the first seven letters of the alphabet, A through G. Spicq has attributed this device to Thomas of Vercelli (Thomas Gallus), on the grounds that Thomas employed it in his commentary on Isaiah written at St. Victor in 1218²¹. However, the commentary itself does not survive; all we have are quotations from it, in another of Thomas's works written in Italy in 1243, which itself is known only in two copies of the fourteenth century and later²². There are thus two reasons for discounting Spicq's suggestion: (1) The lateness of the surviving text provides ample time for insertion of the more precise A-G references after the fact; and (2) neither Thomas of Vercelli nor his Commentary on Isaiah — cited, evidently, only by himself — was sufficiently well known or influential to have popularized, and thus passed on to the Dominicans, this reference system. In short, we know of no use of the A-G references that antedates the first verbal concordance.

¹⁹ Cf. Smalley (n. 11 above) 222-224.

²⁰ Mangenot (n. 1 above) 897.

²¹ Spicq (n. 7 above) 173-174.

²² Quoted in his *Explanatio super angelicam ierarchiam*, found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS. 695 fols. 88-117^v (1343; Garsten, OSB); and in Oxford, Merton Coll. MS. 69 (s.xv); printed by G. Théry, « Commentaire sur Isaïe de Thomas de Saint-Victor », *La vie spiri-tuelle* 47 (1936) 146-162. Thomas Gallus did employ letters of the alphabet (as many or few as necessary) to designate paragraphs within chapters of the Dionysian corpus; see Thomas Gallus, *Commentaires du Cantique des Cantiques*, ed. Jeanne Barbet (Paris 1967) 18-19. A similar system, of employing letters to refer to specific items, was used at the same time or earlier by Cistercian florilegists; see R. H. Rouse, "Cistercian Aids to Study in the Thirteenth Century", *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History*, II.

The second matter, the practical mechanics of how the concordance was compiled by a group, is far less clear. The initial stage of extraction and compilation has left no written evidence. However, in our examination of concordance manuscripts, we had the good fortune to find several fragments of the next stage, the first concordance in draft notes. Quétif and Echard noticed one of these, in the fifteenth-century binding of a St. Jacques book, and castigated the supposed negligence of the librarian who had permitted the dismembering of a St. Jacques concordance²³. Comparison with complete manuscripts of the concordance reveals instead that this and similar binder's fragments comprise parts of an unfinished state of the St. Jacques concordance²⁴. Evidently, once the words and their references had been collected, the compilers arranged them on loose quires in rough alphabetical order, each quire being devoted to a specific portion of the alphabet. All or part of five such cahiers, each in a different hand, pertaining respectively to the words beginning with *St-*, *Ta-* through *To-*, all of *U* and two separate cahiers for parts of *V*, can be reconstructed from fragments in the fifteenth-century bindings of manuscripts from St. Jacques²⁵. Let us examine the first of these, to illustrate the state of progress which they represent. The cahier for *St-* comprises two leaves, originally folded to form four folios, written in four columns per page; our description treats this quire as it was originally ordered, referring to the folios as [I, II, III, IV] respectively. The first folio begins with the references for *Stabile*; words beginning *Sta-* fill most of the first two folios of the quire. On folio [II] recto, after *Statera* the writer has started the entry

²³ Quétif and Echard (n. 3 above) 203; « Extabant etiam alias [concordantiae] apud nostros Sanjacobeos Parisienses cod. fol. par. mem. eleganti, sed arcae librorum custos imprudens bibliopegis tradidit quo ad concinnandos libros uterentur: ejusque adhuc quaedam folia in eadem bibliotheca videri possunt ad initium et finem codicis MS quo sermones S. Bernardi de B. Virgine continentur... », probably Bibliothèque Mazarine MS. 735.

²⁴ This possibility was noticed by Molinier ninety years ago, in his description of MS. 735: « En garde, fragment d'un manuscrit de la Concordance de Saint-Jacques, qui paraît être la mise au net de la première rédaction »; Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine 1 (Paris 1885) 343.

²⁵ The leaves, originally folded, have been opened flat by the binder; cahiers are described from outer to inner leaf: (1) *St-* (complete). Bibl. Maz. MS. 249 ff. i, ii. (2) *Ta-* to *To-* (complete). MS 239 f. iii, f. ii. MS. 735 f. iv, f. iii. (3) *U* (complete). MS. 735 ff. i, ii, MS. 239 f. i. (4) *Va-* and *Ve-* (one or two leaves missing). MS. 105 f. i. (5) *Vi-* (inner and perhaps outer leaf missing). MS. 239 f. iv.

for *Statio*; then he has expunged it and entered instead *Statim* and its "family" (*Statim ascendas, Statim offere, Statim egressus, etc.*), followed by *Statio*. Toward the end of the third column of folio [II] verso, after *Statutum*, there begin four columns of words that start *Ste-* (*Stella* to *Stertere*); the rest of folio [III] recto is given to words beginning *Sti-* (*Stibium* to *Stimulus*). On [III] verso (see Plate I), the first column has been cropped; column two is devoted to words beginning *Sto-* (*Stola* to *Storax*); column three, to a "family" of entries overlooked from *Sti-* (*Stirps*, and *Stirps Israel, Stirps Cyrus, Stirps Ruben, etc.*); and column four, plus all of folio [IV] recto and the beginning of [IV] verso, to *Stu-* (*Studere* to *Stuprum*). The remainder of [IV] verso is given to words that begin *Str-* (*Strata asina* to *Structor*), which should rightly have preceded the *Stu*'s. The entries on [IV] verso fill slightly less than three columns, and the rest of the page is left blank (see Plate II).

From this and the four other cahiers, one gains a helpful insight into the process of compilation. There is obviously at least one stage preceding this draft, a stage of extraction of the words and of added notation each time a word reappears, with the entries for each word or word-group being recorded in a separate place, probably on loose leaves. This is revealed by the fact that our writer's errors in alphabetization occur in sizeable blocs — all of *Statim* and the *Statim*-phrases, all of *Stirps* and the *Stirps*-phrases, all of the words that begin *Str-*. Next comes the stage which our cahiers represent. At this point, each man was given the responsibility for putting into order a specific portion of the alphabet. In the cahier which we have described, the writer was obviously responsible for *St-* and no more; thus, when he had completed his ordering of those words, he left the remainder of his cahier blank — presumably *Su-* was already being dealt with by someone else²⁶. It is doubtful that any further stage intervenes between these cahiers and the finished concordance. There were a few last-minute decisions: for example, it was decided, after all, to integrate words beginning with *U* and *V*, and to alphabetize word-phrases by taking into account the second word. Aside from these, one needed only to arrange the cahiers themselves in order, take cognizance of indications of change, and make a fair copy. The operation, for its own day or any other, was a masterpiece of organization of manpower.

²⁶ Conversely, the space remaining at the end of the letter *U* was employed by the writer of the next section; so that the hand of cahier 4 (see preceding note) actually begins, with *Vah, Vacca*, at the bottom of the last column of cahier 3.

Of the some twenty-two surviving manuscripts of the St. Jacques Concordance all but two date from the mid-thirteenth century, and these are strikingly similar in appearance. Written in five columns per page, of forty-six to sixty lines per column, they are plain, without either rubrication or decoration. They are small portable volumes, approximately twelve by eight inches. One of them, Dôle MS. 20, is truly in the format of the mendicant portable Bibles, measuring only six by four inches. They seem basically to have been produced within the order — perhaps at St. Jacques itself. The fact, however, that the words were merely listed, without context, limited the usefulness and thus the circulation of this concordance.

The second verbal concordance, the so-called English Concordance, attempted to rectify this omission by giving each word in full context. It begins, “*A, a, a. Jerem. I.b., A a a domine deus ecce nescio loqui quia puer ego sum*”. This is not, as it is frequently portrayed, a mere revision of the St. Jacques Concordance²⁷; since virtually every word-entry contains references to additional biblical *loci*, and since entries have been added, suppressed and rearranged, the English Concordance seems to have been a new work, involving considerable if not total duplication of the previous efforts. The dating of the English Concordance is imprecise; Simon Bertherius, writing in 1500, says that the work was composed “*circa annum 1252*”, but we do not know the basis for this statement²⁸. The only certainty is that it was composed after the St. Jacques Concordance and before the third version, neither of which has a precise date.

The names of three English Dominicans are associated with the English Concordance, but in fact only one, that of Richard of Stavensby, is above question. His name is included as “*perfecter*” or “*completer*” at the end of several letter-sections in the surviving manuscripts of this work, e.g., “*Explicit littera A, quam perfecit frater R. de Stavensby*”, “*Explicit littera N, a fratre Ricardo de Stavensby completa.*” In all, his name occurs at the end of letters A, I, N, O and P.²⁹ Richard of Stavensby is difficult to identify. Russell is probably correct in identifying the maker of the English Concordance with that Richard of

²⁷ For example, Quétif and Echard (n. 3 above) 205; Mangenot (n. 1 above) 896; DNB, sub nom. Darlington, John of, etc.

²⁸ Cited from Quétif and Echard (n. 3 above) 209.

²⁹ *A*, in B. N. MS. lat. 17252; *I*, in B. M. Royal MS 3 B. III; *N*, in Bibl. Maz. MS. 283 and Assisi MSS, 42-45; *O* and *P*, in Maz. 284.

Stavensby, brother of the bishop of Coventry, who amassed preferments in the diocese of Lincoln in the 1220's and who served briefly as treasurer of Lichfield ca. 1230-1231³⁰; but there seems to be no evidence that this latter Richard ever became a Dominican, or that he ever went to Paris. Thus, the identification remains tentative. The Dominican John of Darlington, councilor and confessor of Henry III and eventually named archbishop of Dublin, is associated with the English Concordance by an English source which represents John as the sole compiler of the work: "cuius [scil. Johannis] studio et industria editae sunt concordantiae magnae, quae Anglicanae vocantur". This statement appears under the date 1276 in Nicholas Trevet's *Annales*³¹ and William Rishanger's *Chronica* ("huius tamen studio...")³², and under the date 1294 in the *Chronicon de Lanercost*³³; we have not managed to track down the origin of this phrase. Hugh of Croydon's alleged connection with the work first appears, coupled with Richard of Stavensby's name, only at the beginning of the sixteenth century³⁴. He is otherwise unknown³⁵. The "well-known" trio of Englishmen, Richard, John and Hugh, seem never to have been linked together prior to Quéatif and Echard. The authors of the *Scriptores* knew only the imperfect multi-volume St. Jacques copy of the English Concordance, which by their time was lacking the volumes for the letters C-L and Q-S. They advanced the speculation that John of Darlington and Hugh of Croydon must have left their names at the end of some of the sections then missing, but previously available to the earlier chroniclers³⁶. However,

³⁰ Russell, (n. 7 above) 121-122.

³¹ T. Hog, ed., N. Triveti Annales (London 1845) 296.

³² H. T. Riley, W. Rishanger Chronica et Annales, Rolls Series, 1 (London 1865) 89. Rishanger postdates Trevet's *Annales*, to which he refers on one occasion (p. 82).

³³ J. Stevenson, ed., Chronicon de Lanercost 1 (Edinburgh 1839) 156. It is impossible to say whether this part of the Lanercost Chronicle was compiled later than the appearance of Trevet's *Annales*; see A. G. Little, "The Authorship of the Lanercost Chronicle", English Historical Review 31 (1916) 269-279.

³⁴ In the letter of Simon Bertherius (A.D. 1500) prefixed to a work of John Bromyard (not in a letter addressed to Bromyard, as in Russell [n. 7 above] 121); cited from Quéatif and Echard (n. 3 above) 209.

³⁵ For some reason, he has been dubbed Robert of Croydon by Bede Jarrett (n. 8 above) and D. A. Callus, "The Contribution to the Study of the Fathers made by the Thirteenth-Century Oxford Schools", Journal of Ecclesiastical History 5 (1954) 148.

³⁶ Quéatif and Echard (n. 3 above) 209.

the complete manuscripts at Assisi and the British Museum contain the name of Richard of Stavensby and no other. At all events, the chronicles and the surviving manuscripts agree that the compilers were English.

There seems to be no statement prior to Quétif and Echart that the compilers of the English Concordance did their work at St. Jacques; but in this supposition the *Scriptores* is on firmer ground. For one thing, it does not appear likely that the St. Jacques Concordance, inspiration and model for the English Concordance, was known in England by mid-century. More importantly, the portions of the English Concordance which survive from the library of St. Jacques are almost certainly parts of the original fair copy. This was a multivolume manuscript, of which only four volumes survive, those comprising the entries for the letters A-B (B. N. lat. 17252), M-O, O-P and T-Z (Bibl. Maz. 283, 284, 285). There must formerly have been at least three and possibly four additional volumes. The first of the surviving codices is written in a hand different from that of the other three³⁷, but since Quétif and Echart saw all four of them together at St. Jacques at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they doubtless belong to one set.

Evidently no one has recognized the fact that there are no known surviving copies of this text. What one has instead are various abbreviations or abridgements of it. The compiler of the four-volume Assisi text omitted the least. B. N. lat. 514 and British Museum Royal 3 B. III perhaps stem from a single abridgement, which contains many fewer *lemmata* than the original and a reduced number of citations for most of the remaining *lemmata*; but the Royal manuscript has, in addition, reduced the context passages to a bare minimum. The incomplete Tours manuscript is slightly fuller than either of these. Arsenal 79 and B. N. lat. 602 are perhaps individual abridgements, which differ from the other texts even in their incipits. The Bologna manuscript begins with the full context passage, found only in the English Concordance, "A, A, A, ... puer ego sum"; but the text as a whole is so eclectic, and the manuscript so late in date, that one is uncertain whether it stems from the English Concordance or whether it is not rather a composite of two or even three versions. There is an incom-

³⁷ Hinnebusch (n. 8 above) 299 says that B. N. lat. 17252 "is entirely in the hand of Stavensby" because his name appears at the end of letter A; however, his name appears as well in two other volumes of the same set, written in a different hand. See n. 29 above.

plete text at New College, Oxford, and fragments of three others at the Bodleian. Finally, there is a curious verbal concordance composed solely of prepositional phrases, a work which seems to be modeled after, if not actually drawn from, the English Concordance. This survives in Troyes Bibl. mun. MS. 931 ff. 503-545 (s. xiii²), with fragments of another copy in the bindings of manuscripts from St. Jacques³⁸. Of the manuscripts which we have seen, no two texts of the English Concordance are very much alike. Also, while several texts have the word *Zona* as the final *lemma*—B. N. MSS. lat. 514 and 602, Maz. 285 (? last folio missing), and the New College and Arsenal manuscripts—only the last two conclude with the same reference, Apoc. XV. f.; and even so, Arsenal 79 provides only a one-word context. The fact that the above-mentioned multi-volume set from St. Jacques is much the fullest text of the English Concordance tends to confirm it as the original, and to verify that St. Jacques was the place where Richard of Stavensby did the work of compilation.

The English Concordance, popularly but erroneously thought to be the progenitor of the modern Latin concordance³⁹, was an ambitious failure. Richard of Stavensby and his assistants chose to give virtually a full sentence of context for each reference, with the result that the English Concordance was not just unnecessarily but impossibly long. Moreover, they supplied for each reference a marginal number, for which no explanation is given; these numbers occur in a separate column lined for the purpose, to the left of the biblical citations. Examination revealed them to be a number-code referring to the syntax of the *lemma*. Richard of Stavensby and his assistants did not repeat the *lemma* in giving it in context, but merely wrote its initial letter. The result was that from the context passage one often could not determine, for example, the case or number of a given noun (no great loss, surely). The number symbols were employed to provide this information. Thus, each reference under a noun will have beside it one of the number from 1 to 6, representing respectively the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative and ablative cases; a line above the numeral indicates plural number. The code for adjectives

³⁸ Bibliothèque Mazarine MS. 206 ff. i, ii, iv (190), v (191); and MS. 249 pastedown.

³⁹ See for example Jarret (n. 8 above) who calls it « the arrangement still in use »; and the DNB (n. 27 above) says « These 'Concordances' were the basis of all later works on the same subject. »

is expanded to indicate gender as well. In the complex code for verbs, numbers run at least as high as 12. Invariables have no number symbols. This ambitious but impractical device is maintained in some manuscripts but abandoned by most.⁴⁰ In all, its abridgements and derivatives are few enough to show that the English Concordance was an unsatisfactory replacement for the St. Jacques Concordance; but, on the other hand, they are numerous enough to document the desire for such a replacement.

The form of the verbal concordance to the Bible as it was widely known in the Middle Ages, from the late thirteenth century onward, was neither of the two preceding versions but rather a third compilation. This third concordance survives in at least eighty manuscripts, the majority of which were written at Paris between ca. 1280 and 1330. This version avoids the extremes, of terseness and prolixity, which marred its two forerunners. As did Stavensby et al., its compilers realized the need for citing each appearance of a word in context; but, in contrast to the former, they restricted the length of the context-passages to manageable proportions. Moreover, while retaining the A-G notation for indicating the division of the lengthier chapters of the Bible, they indicated locations in short chapters by means of a four-part division labeled A-D. (It was evidently assumed that one would know at first glance whether a given chapter fell into the first or the second category). This change is explained in a prefatory paragraph, beginning "Cuilibet volenti requirere concordantias in hoc libro..."; the body begins, "A a a. Jer. I.a., Domine deus ecce nescio lo". and ends, "Zelpha. Gen. XXX.b., Sentiens Lia quod parere desiisset, Zelpham ancillam suam marito tradidit". Notwithstanding the fact that it has been so described for the past two and a half centuries, this third concordance is not a revision of the English Concordance⁴¹. Far from merely pruning the lengthy entries of this latter, the compilers of the third con-

⁴⁰ The numbers appears in the Bodleian fragments and in the New College and British Museum Royal manuscripts, but in none of the other manuscripts which we have seen; see list of manuscripts below. It should be noted that Quéatif and Echard (n. 3 above) 205 and Mangenot (n. 1 above) 896 refer to an incunable edition of this concordance, at Nurnberg in 1485, which we have not identified. (The Nurnberg Koberger 1485 concordance is the third version).

⁴¹ Cf. Quéatif and Echard (n. 3 above) 206; and Mangenot (n. 1 above) 896 says; « Conrad de Halberstadt apporta des modifications à l'œuvre de ses confrères [anglais]. Cette dernière était trop volumineuse et trop prolixe... Conrad ne conserva que les mots essentiels... L'ouvrage ainsi diminué fut adopté partout... ».

dance seem to have made no use whatever of the work of the English Dominicans. Nor, on the other hand, did the compilers take the original St. Jacques Concordance as their sole base, merely adding on a brief context to each of the references given there. The third concordance presents many variants when compared with both of its predecessors, including references and even word-entries not found in the other two⁴². In addition, the alphabetical order in this third concordance does not equal or improve upon the alphabetization of the earlier concordances, as one would expect if it were dependent upon either of them; but rather, it is throughout a bit less meticulous in alphabetizing than either of the others⁴³. In sum, like the English Concordance, the third concordance seems to represent a partial or total duplication of previous efforts. It is the third concordance which survives, with little alteration, in the modern Latin concordance⁴⁴.

All of the modern mentions of this concordance attribute it, on the basis of Quétif and Echard, to Conrad of Halberstadt. The *Scriptores* actually is more cautious in its wording, saying that "many people assert" that it was he, or that Conrad "probably" compiled the work⁴⁵. Conrad of Halberstadt is a shadowy figure, whose only known vital statistics are that he was diffinitor for the Dominican province of Saxony in 1321, and was involved in actions against Meister Eckhart at Cologne in 1327⁴⁶. The problem of his identity is compounded by

⁴² For example, the entry *Ab infantia* does not occur in the English Concordance; in the St. Jacques Concordance this entry has one reference, Job xxxi.e. In the third concordance under this entry are nine *loci*, with context passages.

⁴³ For example, note the following instances of imperfectly alphabetized word-entries in the third concordance: « Aaron, Abbas pater, Abacuch..., Abducere, Abductio, Abdicare..., Abesse, Absens, Abiectio, Abias, Absentia, Aberrans... ».

⁴⁴ The alterations are essentially ones of increased precision. In comparison with the third concordance, the modern printed concordance has (1) expanded greatly in size, by adding references and words omitted—in particular, the third concordance (like its predecessors) had given only haphazard treatment to invariables, including some but omitting the majority; (2) improved the alphabetization; (3) replaced the A-G symbols with verse numbers; and (4) tailored the length of context passages to the width of the printed column—this last not necessarily an improvement.

⁴⁵ Quétif and Echard (n. 3 above) 206: «...argumentum est unicum hominem hujus tertiae editionis concinnatorem fuisse. Hunc nostrum esse Conradum Alberstansensem seniore plures asserunt». p. 611: «Concordantiarum formam... tertiam... cujus ultimae formae adinventor potuit esse Conradus...».

⁴⁶ T. Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* 1 (Rome 1970) 276.

the existence of another Dominican of the same name who flourished only twenty years later. Quétif and Echard were primarily persuaded — but not, it seems, completely convinced — by the fact that the first printed edition of this third concordance (Mentelin's) concludes, "Explicitiunt concordantie fratris Conradi de Allemania"⁴⁷. It was evidently on this basis alone that Johannes Trithemius, equating Conrad of Germany with Conrad of Halberstadt, named the latter as the maker of the first biblical concordance⁴⁸; possibly he called it the first because this version of the concordance was the first to appear in print. It is possible that "Friar Conrad of Germany" may refer to the person who readied the text for Mentelin to print. The other incunable editions repeat the attribution in the form given by Mentelin. None of the surviving manuscripts bears an attribution of authorship.

The third concordance was already in existence by 1286, for it appears in a Parisian stationer's list of that date: "Item Concordantie de Valle Lucenti, c pecias et viii"⁴⁹. The wording does not distinguish which concordance is meant (save that the stationer evidently acquired his exemplar from the Cistercians at Vauluisant!). However, neither the St. Jacques Concordance nor the English Concordance were available in *peciae*, and manuscripts of the third version are known which are divided into 108 *peciae*; so this last is unquestionably the version represented in the list of 1286. Moreover, a copy of the third version, probably a stationer's product, was received by the Sorbonne in the bequest of Stephen of Abbeville in 1288 (now B. N. lat. MS. 15252). The date of the third concordance (1286 or before) is probably too early for Conrad of Halberstadt (fl. 1321) to have been responsible for it. Quétif and Echard, unaware of the early date of the work, speculated that Conrad would have compiled this concordance around 1300 or "more likely, 1310"⁵⁰ — a quarter century after the latest date at

⁴⁷ Strasbourg, Mentelin, not after 1474; Hain 5629.

⁴⁸ Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis...* (Paris, B. Rembolt [1512]) fol. 112: « Conradus de Halberstat...: Hic etiam fertur concordantias totius bibliae novi et veteris testamenti primus ordinasse ». Because this assumption was accepted by Quétif and Echard, all modern guides to incunable books list the early printed concordances under the name of Conrad of Halberstadt; see, e.g., *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig 1938) cols. 15-19, nos. 7418-7422.

⁴⁹ H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* 1 (Paris 1889) 645 and 649 n. 12.

⁵⁰ Quétif and Echard (n. 3 above) 206, « ...huic operi incumbere potuit circa MCCC vel potius MCCCX ».

which the third concordance could have been finished. In sum, we do not know who wrote this. However, it seems certain that this concordance like the others emerged from the intense concentration on scriptural study at St. Jacques. The brief prologue "Cuilibet volenti" refers by name to the older "Concordantiae Sancti Jacobi", and it employs with modification the St. Jacques reference system. Also, the making of this third concordance is referred to by Valladolid, who says in the so-called Chronicle of St. Jacques, prefixed to his *Tabula* of Dominican authors, "In isto conventu concordantiae super totam Bibliam compilatae sunt, quas totus ordo Praedicatorum, quia breves erant, dilatavit postea, et hic in uno volumine redegit, Fratribus in simul congregatis in quodam capitulo generali, et ideo vocantur concordantiae Sancti Jacobi, ut ponitur in prologo concordantiarum"⁵¹. A concordance which expanded the brevity of its predecessor could refer either to the third concordance or to the English Concordance. Clear indication that Valladolid does not mean the latter is provided by his *Tabula* (no. 35), where he attributes the *concordantiae Anglicanae* specifically to Richard of Stavensby, not to "the whole Order of Preachers"⁵². When one adds that the concordance in question was drawn up in one volume (the English Concordance comprised seven or eight volumes in the original, in the library of St. Jacques), and that it had a prologue, a prologue moreover which includes the phrase "concordantiae Sancti Jacobi", and the only possible candidate is the third concordance. Thus the third, like the first concordance, was a corporate project of the St. Jacques Dominicans, according to the belated testimony of Valladolid. As for its date, the third concordance must have been compiled after the English Concordance (it is most unlikely that Stavensby would have undertaken the work, had a satisfactory concordance already existed), and before 1286. We do not know whether the third concordance was available in *peciae* earlier than this date, nor for how long it remained so; but it is available, again or still, on the only other surviving stationer's list from Paris, in 1304.

The stationer's exemplar was divided into 108 six-leaf *peciae*⁵³. *Pecia* marks are visible in a number of manuscripts of the third concor-

⁵¹ Printed in Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum... collectio* 6 (Paris 1729) col. 552; see also Quétif and Echard 205.

⁵² H. C. Scheeben, « Die Tabulae Ludwigs von Valladolid... », *AFP* 1 (1931) 258.

⁵³ Information that the *peciae* contained six folios is given only in the stationer's list of 1306; see Denifle and Chatelain (n. 49 above) 2 (1891) 109.

dance⁵⁴. While substantial in size, the concordance was normally copied as one volume. However, Troyes MS. 1420 at the end of letter M says, "Explicit prima pars concordantiarum"; Vicenza Bibl. Bertoliana 258 is divided into two sequences of *peciae* numbered i-lx and i-xlvi; and in Cambrai MS. 353 letters A-N comprise one sequence of *peciae* and O-Z a second. The manuscripts copied from stationers' exemplars are strikingly uniform in format. Just as the St. Jacques Concordance was written in five columns, so the third version is almost invariably in three columns, of 62-66 lines, with running headlines. When decorated, the opening C of the prologue frequently contains a depiction of the Virgin and Child⁵⁵. Two manuscripts, B. N. lat. 517 and Bibl. Maz. 282, bear correctors' notes at the end of each quire. While the first or St. Jacques Concordance was in the portable format characteristic of early thirteenth-century mendicant books, the third concordance was a sizable book normally at least sixteen by twelve inches with some 400 folios. Their wealthy owners did not carry them about.

The circulation of the Dominican concordances began slowly. The original, the St. Jacques Concordance, was apparently created with the specific intention of serving the needs of St. Jacques students and masters. As were Hugh's postills, this concordance was almost immediately seized upon by the old orders. Of the twenty-five surviving copies, the two oldest belonged to Jumièges, and two others each to Monte Cassino and Tours, though these may well be copies brought back from Paris, where the concordance quickly settled at St. Victor and the colleges of St. Bernard and the Sorbonne. For all practical purposes, however, one may say that the verbal concordance to the Bible was not known in Europe until the third concordance had been published by the stationers. The concordance owes its large circulation and much of its impact at the end of the century to its availability in *peciae*. Otherwise, the circulation of the third concordance might not have been significantly larger than that of the first version.

The third concordance was very much a "class" book — i.e., its circulation can be associated with a distinct class of ecclesiastics, the wealthy prelates; it was, for example, part of the panoply of expensive

⁵⁴ In Bibliothèque Mazarine MS. 281 at the head of the column for the beginning of the letter B there is an unusual in-extenso notice: « Pecia Guillelmi Senon. est ».

⁵⁵ Cf. Chartres MS. 189; Dijon MSS. 101, 102; Paris B. N. MSS. lat. 518, 520; Reims MS. 48; St. Omer MS. 52; Tours MS. 28; Troyes MS. 94.

handbooks owned by those at the papal court in Avignon⁵⁶. This is seen partly from the provenance and partly from the physical appearance of surviving copies. They are frequently very handsome volumes, contrasting noticeably in appearance with those manuscripts of school-books and priests' manuals which belonged to the rank-and-file clerics. That is to say, the concordance manuscripts are often carefully written, on parchment of good quality, occasionally bearing a corrector's notes, with decorated and even historiated initials and much use of gold leaf — books, in short, that are conspicuously expensive. The fact is, that even if all the luxuries were dispensed with, reproduction of the concordances must have been a costly affair, because of their length and because of the precision demanded of the scribe.

Nevertheless, despite the limiting effect of such economic considerations, the concordances had a broad impact upon other aids to study and upon exegetical and sermon literature, in the second half of the thirteenth century and later. One of the first visible effects was the widespread adoption of the Dominican reference system, the citing of a letter A-G along with the chapter number. Hugh of St. Cher himself employed the reference letters, admittedly for a rather small minority of his biblical citations, in his postills, written possibly before the St. Jacques Concordance was completed. Etienne de Bourbon, O.P., was among the earliest consistent users, in the *De septem donis* written from 1250 until his death in 1261; by the last quarter of the century, this was a common method of citing the Bible. Moreover, the A-G reference system itself, since it provided a simple and sensible means of subdivision, was applied in the second half of the thirteenth century to works other than scripture. In his *tabulae* and summaries of patristic works, for example, Robert Kilwardby used A-G to indicate relative location within chapters in works of the Fathers⁵⁷. Or, to take a completely different application, the Cistercians at Bruges used A-G to refer to relative location, vertically, within a given column of a given page of any manuscript⁵⁸. Virtually every index compiled in the later Middle

⁵⁶ The inventories of the libraries of prelates who died at Avignon are currently being edited for the Institut de Recherche et d'histoire des textes in Paris by Daniel Williman and Jacques Monfrin.

⁵⁷ See D. A. Callus, "The *Tabulae super Originalia Patrum* of Robert Kilwardby OP", *Studia Mediaevalia* in honorem R. M. Martin (Louvain 1948) 243-270; and *idem*, "New Manuscripts of Kilwardby's *Tabulae*...", *Dominican Studies* 2 (1949) 38-45.

⁵⁸ See Rouse (n. 22 above).

Ages employs this system for its smallest unit of reference. It is the ancestor of the A-D system designating the four quarters of the two-column page in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

The major impact of the verbal concordances, their principal utility, was in the writing of sermons. Although this fact is impossible to gauge on any sort of scale, indications are many. One of the earliest dateable copies of the St. Jacques Concordance (Rouen MS. 239, s. xiii¹) came to Jumièges through the gift of a parish priest, Walter Cloel. On the flyleaf of William's manuscript two different hands have noted down in schematic fashion four *distinctiones* (on the proposition: *Vitanda sunt litigia*, and on the words *taciturnitas*, *terra* and *equus*), each of which employs the concordance's letter-reference, as well as book and chapter, to identify its biblical illustrations. This is early and concrete evidence of how the concordance served at least two preachers in compiling sermon material. The concordance doubtless was an aid to the compilation of collections of distinctions, such as the widely-circulated collection of Nicholas Gorham O.P. and the private compilation of Pierre de Limoges⁵⁹, both of which employ the concordance A-G reference system for biblical citations, as well as numerous anonymous thirteenth-century collections. All of these served in turn as aids to the writing of sermons, as did Etienne de Bourbon's *De septem donis*, one of the earliest uses of the concordance.

In Arsenal MS. 79, a personal abbreviation of the English Concordance is accompanied by two other compendia obviously designed for use in preaching. Following the concordance (ff. 1-132^v), there is a list (ff. 132^v-134^v) of selected biblical passages containing numbers, thus: "*Unus*. lapidem, I Reg. XVII.f. (17.49); edificans, Eccl. XXXIII. g. (34.28); contra unum, XLII.g. (Ecclesiasticus 42.25); de seraphim, Ys. VI.d. (6.6)...; *Duo*. lumina, Gen. I.d. (1.16)..." and so on through *duodecim*. With this useful tool one could choose as the theme for one's sermon a biblical text which made prominent mention of a given number — for example, *Cumque elevasset oculos, apparuerunt ei tres viri stantes prope eum* (Gen. 18.2) — and proceed to weave a sermon around various groups of threes mentioned in the Bible, with an explanation of the figurative meaning of each. The manuscript concludes (ff. 134^v-

⁵⁹ Gorham's collection survives in many copies; Pierre de Limoges' compendium is now B. N. MS. lat. 16482 (given by him to the Sorbonne). Concerning distinction collections and their use, see A. Wilmart, « Un répertoire d'exégèse... », in *Memorial Lagrange* (Paris, 1940) 307-346; for Nicholas Gorham, pp. 342-343.

147^v) with a list of lessons for the liturgical year, epistle and gospel, for Sundays and saints' days, for sermons *ad varios status*, and for such occasions as dedications, ordinations and the like. The list employs the concordance reference system to locate biblical passages, thus: "*Dominica i^a in adventu domini*. Romanos XIII.e., Scientes quia hora, finis, Dominum Jhesum Christum (Rom. 13.11-14); Evangelium, M. XXI.a., Cum appropinquasset Jhesus, fi., qui venit in nomine domini (Matthew 21.1-9)".

Aside from indications like these in the manuscripts themselves, there is external evidence of the usefulness of concordances for preachers. The sermons preached by and for the theology faculty at Paris in the thirteenth century do not begin to show any widespread practice of the "chaining" of biblical *auctoritates* until the end of the century⁶⁰; the timing of this change coincides with that of the proliferation of copies of the verbal concordance by the stationers. In 1306 Thomas of Ireland, writing at the Sorbonne (where there were, eventually, some fifteen copies of verbal concordances), considers the concordance as the alphabetical tool *par excellence*; when explaining the alphabetical arrangement of his *florilegium* for preachers, the *Manipulus florum*, he adds, as a further clarification, that his work is ordered *more concordantiarum*⁶¹. By the 1340's, Thomas Waleys in his *Ars predicandi* takes it for granted that a preacher would have access to a concordance for preparing his sermons⁶²; the same is true of the later *Ars predicandi* of John of Chalons (ca. 1372)⁶³. Obviously, then, whether through borrowing or through the use of institutional copies or through purchase of their own, preachers — specifically the elite of

⁶⁰ This statement is based upon an examination and comparison of three collections of sermons preached at Paris during the thirteenth century: B. N. MS. nouv. acq. lat. 338 (sermons preached during the academic year 1230-1231); B. N. MS. lat. 16481 (for the year 1272-1273); and B. N. MS. lat. 3557 (primarily from 1301-1302).

⁶¹ Concerning Thomas of Ireland, see R. H. Rouse, "The List of Authorities appended to the *Manipulus florum*", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 32 (1965) 243-250.

⁶² T. Waleys, *De modo componendi sermones*, ed. T. M. Charland, *Artes praedicandi: Contribution à l'étude de la rhétorique du Moyen Age* (Paris 1936) 390: « Et iste modus praedicandi, scilicet per colligationes auctoritatum, est multum facilis, quia facile est auctoritates habere, ex eo quod factae sunt Concordantiae super Bibliam... secundum ordinem alphabeti, ut auctoritates possint faciliter inveniri ».

⁶³ Concerning John of Chalons see Charland p. 53 and Glorieux (n. 6 above) vol. 2 pp. 261-262.

that group, such as those who preached school-style sermons and who made use of *artes predicandi* — employed the verbal concordance as a preaching tool.

In summary, the first concordance was important as a solution to the needs of theologians for a tool which would bring together in one place all the uses of a given word or phrase in the scriptures; the need for such a device emerged in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. There was no facile means of reproducing the tool, however, and to judge from the number of surviving copies it had little impact outside of the order. The English Concordance, rather than being the progenitor of the modern concordance, was virtually unknown. The ancestor of the modern work was the third concordance, produced not by Conrad of Halberstadt in the fourteenth century but by the brothers at St. Jacques in the thirteenth century. Rather than emerging full grown in 1235-40, the verbal concordance, like many other thirteenth-century tools, was the subject of prolonged attention. It evolved through trial stages, each an effort at perfecting this tool for the use of the theological/pastoral community, and culminated in the concordance seen in the stationers' list of 1286. It was this other invention of the thirteenth century, publication in *peciae*, which assured the concordance of making an impact and enabled it to become a standard medieval reference tool.

MANUSCRIPTS *

I. *The first concordance,*

beg., « <i>A, a, a.</i>	ends, « <i>Zorobabel.</i>
Je. I. c.	I. Paral. III. b.
XIII. d.
Eze. VIII. f.	Mat. I. d.
. . . »	Luc. III. f. »

Arras, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 634 ff. 11-307^v (s. xiii; St. Vaast A. 40) MS. seen.

Chantilly, Musée Condé MS. 20 (s. xiii^a); 255 ff. MS. seen.

Dôle, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 20 (s. xiii med.); 661 pp. MS. seen.

Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia MS. 160 FF (s. xiv).

* This is a representative list and does not claim to be complete. Fragments are listed only in the case of the first two concordances.

- Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia MS. 212 FF (s. xiii).
 Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare MS. 83 (s. xiv).
 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Canon. Pat. lat. 7 ff. 1-255 (s. xiii; Cardinal Domenico Grimani).
 — MS. Rawl. G 26 (s. xiii; Italy); 221 ff.
 — Corpus Christi College MS. 485 no. 44 (s. xiii²); fragment, 2 ff.
 Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, fragments of a draft stage:
 — MS. 105 f. i (s. xiii¹; St. Jacques).
 — MS. 239 ff. i-ii, iii-iv (s. xiii¹; St. Jacques).
 — MS. 249 ff. i (pastedown), ii (s. xiii¹; St. Jacques).
 — MS. 735 ff. i (pastedown), ii, iii, iv (pastedown) (s. xiii¹; St. Jacques). MSS. seen.
 — Bibliothèque nationale MS. lat. 14791 ff. 1-270 (s. xiii; St. Victor). MS. seen.
 — MS. lat. 14792 ff. 1-334 (s. xiii; St. Victor). MS. seen.
 — MS. lat. 16279 ff. 1-327 (s. xiii¹; Sorbonne). MS. seen.
 Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana MS. A 17 (s. xiii).
 Praha, Knihovna Metropolitni Kapituli MS. B XII (s. xiv); 315 ff.
 — MS. B XIII (1423); 276 ff.
 Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 109 (s. xiii¹; Walter Cloel; Jumièges A 8); 266 ff. MS. seen.
 — MS. 110 (s. xiii¹; Jumièges A 13); 234 ff. MS. seen.
 Tours, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 26 (s. xiii¹; s. xv, Yves Mesnagier, St. Gatien 52); 280 ff. MS. seen on film.
 — MS. 27 (s. xiii; St. Gatien 53); 182 ff. MS. seen on film.
 Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 938 (s. xiii/xiv; «... secundum exemplar Radulphi burgundiensis», Clairvaux A 55); 309 ff. MS. seen.
 — MS. 1603 (s. xiii; College of St. Bernard; Clairvaux A 59-60); 241 ff. MS. seen.
 Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica MS. Urb. lat. 4 (s. xiii); 164 ff. MS. seen.
 Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana MS. 2.11.8 (s. xiii).
 Wien, Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek MS. 1154 (s. xiii); 318 ff.
 — MS. 1538 (s. xiv); 315 ff.

II. *The second concordance,*

beg., « *A, a, a.*

Jerem. I.b. *A, a, a, domine deus ecce nescio loqui quia puer ego sum.*

XIV.d. *A, a, a, domine deus prophete dicunt eis non videbitis gladium et fames in vobis non erit.*

. . . »

There is no common ending

. . .
 Apoc. XV.f. *precincti circa pectora zonis aureis.*

- Assisi, Biblioteca comunale MSS. 42-45 (s. xiv).
- Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio MS. A 103 (s. xv); 423 ff. MS seen on film.
- London, British Museum MS. Royal 3 B. iii (s. xiii²; Sempringham Priory); 381 ff.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, fragments:
- MS. lat. misc. b 18 nos. B 58-60 (s. xiii²; England); other fragments of this concordance are found in the binding of a printed book, A. 8 c. 12 Th.
 - MS. lat. misc. b 18 nos. B 61-62 (s. xiii/xiv); other fragments of this concordance are Brasenose College MS. 57 nos. 49-50, and Magdalen College MS. lat. 271 nos. 7-8.
 - MS. Selden supra 102 ff. 3-4 (s. xiii²).
 - New College MS. 70 (s. xiii²; Thomas Trillek bp. of Rochester; Wm. Reed bp. of Chichester); 317 ff. Incomplete (beg. s.v. *Baalim*).
- Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare MS. A 54.
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal MS. 79 ff. 1-147 (s. xiii med.; Grands Augustins of Paris). An individualized abbreviation. MS. seen.
- Bibliothèque Mazarine MS. 283 (s. xiii med; St. Jacques); 262 ff. Letters M-O, one volume of a multi-volume set; cf. MSS. 284, 285, and B. N. lat. 17252. MS. seen.
 - MS. 284 (s. xiii med; St. Jacques); 235 ff. Letters O-P; cf. MS. 283. MS. seen.
 - MS. 285 (s. xiii med; St. Jacques); 148 ff. Letters T-Z; cf. MS. 283. MS. seen.
 - Bibliothèque nationale MS. lat. 514 ff. 1-285 (s. xiii²). MS. seen.
 - MS. lat. 602 ff. 1-425 (s. xiii²; Le Tellier). MS. seen. An individualized abbreviation.
 - MS. 17252 (s. xiii med.; St. Jacques). Letters A-B; cf. Bibl. Maz. 283 above. MS. seen.
- Tours, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 29 (s. xiv¹; Marmoutier 144; written by Jean de Montléon abbot of Marmoutier 1312-30 and Br. Albertus or Aubertus *armarius*); 484 ff. Incomplete (ends s.v. *Judicium*). MS. seen on film.

III. The third concordance,

Prologue beg. « Cuilibet volenti requirere..., » ends « ... in finem capituli protendatur ».

Text beg. « A a a.

Jerem. I.a. A, a, a, domine deus, ecce nescio loq.

XIV.b. A, a, a, domine deus, prophete dicunt eis.

ends, « *Zelpha*.

Gen. XXX.b. Sentiens Lia quod parere desiisset, Zelpham ancillam suam marito tradidit ».

- Aarau, Kantonsbibliothek MS. Wett. Fol. 3 (s. xiv, Cistercians of Wettingen); 339 ff.
- Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum MS. I. 118 ff. 1-433^v (s. xv).
- Arras, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 488 (s. xiv; 1628, St. Vaast A. 14); 311 ff.
- Assisi, Biblioteca comunale MS. 64 (s. xiv); 400 ff.
- Bernkastel-Kues, St.-Nikolaus-Hospital MS. 26. 462 ff.
- Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 13 (s. xiv); 470 ff.
- Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 353 (s. xiii²; Cambrai Cathedral 161); 394 ff.
- Cambridge, Pembroke College MS. 8 (s. xiv¹; Bury St. Edmunds B. 276); 492 ff.
- Peterhouse MS. 26 (s. xiv/xv); 291 ff.
- St. John's College MS. 51 (s. xiii/xiv; Christ Church Canterbury); 432 ff.
- Capetown, South African Library MS. Grey 48 b 1 (s. xiv); 354 ff.
- Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana MS. Plut. XXI dext. 8 (s. xiv); 401 ff.
- Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 189 (s. xiii²; Chapter Library); 427 ff.
- Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 100 (s. xiii²; Cîteaux); 330 ff.
- MS. 101 (s. xiii²; Cîteaux); 395 ff.
- MS. 102 (s. xiii²; Cîteaux); 308 ff.
- Douai, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 61 (1424-1428; made for Joannes de Bateria, abbot of Anchin; Anchin G 184); 269 ff.
- Dublin, Trinity College MS. 65 (ca. 1348, written in Dorchester; Franciscans of Bayle, Slane); 381 ff.
- Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. 82; (s. xiii); 182 ff. Incomplete (*Increpare-Universus*). Unseen; possibly an example of the second version.
- Escorial, Biblioteca del Escorial MS. a.I.12 (s. xiv); 366 ff.
- Firenze, Biblioteca Medica Laurenziana MS. Plut. I dext. 4 (s. xiii); 411 ff.
- MS. Plut. V dext. 2 (s. xiii²); 525 ff.
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek MS. 99 (s. xiv); 397 ff. Incomplete (beg. *Abyssus*).
- MS. 100 (s. xv; Leipzig Dominicans?); 370 ff.
- MS. 101 (s. xv); 467 ff.
- London, British Museum MS. Royal 4 E.v ff. 4-349 (s. xiv; written by Br. Thomas de Horstede; Rochester Priory).
- Lambeth Palace MS. 172 ff. 1-133 (s. xiv²).
- Madrid, Biblioteca nacional MS. 177 (s. xiii²); 336 ff. Incomplete (beg. s.v. *Annuntiare*).
- MS. 179 (s. xiii²); 477 ff.
- Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia MS. 61 FF (s. xiv); 402 pp.
- MS. 62 FF ff. 1-370 (s. xiii/xiv).
- Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale MS. VI Aa 7. (s. xiv); 395 ff.

- Napoli; Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. VI Aa 14 (s. XIV); 389 ff.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 275 (ca. 1400); 525 ff.
- MS. Canon. Pat. lat. 113 (s. XIII²); 440 ff.
- New College MS. 69 (s. XIV; New College, ex don. William Mowitts); 154 ff. Without contexts.
- Oriel College MS. 44 (s. XIV); 464 ff. Incomplete (beg. at *Ab-*).
- Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana MS. 318 (s. XIII²; Dominicans of Padua); 438 ff.
- MS. 319 (s. XIII²; Dominicans of Padua); 495 ff.
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS. 14 (s. XIV; Grands Augustins of Paris); 610 pp. MS. seen.
- Bibliothèque Mazarine MS. 281 (s. XIV; Paris; « perhaps the MS. Quetif saw at the College de Navarre » acc. to Molinier); 369 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. 282 (s. XIII²; St. Victor B 9); 422 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. 286 (s. XIII/XIV; Paris); 267 ff. Incomplete (beg. *Gabaa*). MS. seen.
- Bibliothèque nationale MS. lat. 513 (s. XIII/XIV); 314 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 515 (s. XIII/XIV; Paris); 564 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 516 (s. XIII/XIV); 428 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 517 (s. XIII/XIV); 346 ff. Incomplete (ends s.v. *Vultur*). MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 518 (s. XIII/XIV; Paris); 406 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 520 (s. XIII/XIV; Paris); 510 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 15248 (s. XIII²; Sorbonne); 434 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 15249 (s. XIII²; Sorbonne, ex leg. Godfrey of Fontaines); 371 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 15250 (s. XIII²; Sorbonne); 424 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 15251 (s. XIII²; Sorbonne, ex leg. Stephen of Geneva); 382 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 15252 ff. 3-405 (s. XIII²; Sorbonne, ex leg. Stephen of Abbeville, d. 1288). MS. seen.
- MS. lat. 15253 (s. XIII²; Sorbonne, ex leg. Petrus Plaoul d. 1415); 383 ff. MS. seen.
- Bibliothèque de l'Université MS. lat. 20 (s. XIII²; Coll. Louis le Grand 189.6.4); 426 ff. MS. seen.
- Reims, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 48 (s. XIV; Chapter Library, ex don. Guy de Roye); 388 ff.
- MS. 49 (s. XV).
- Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 111 (s. XIV; Jumièges A. 3); 324 ff.
- St. Omer, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 28 (s. XIII; St. Bertin); 366 ff.
- MS. 52 (s. XV); 348 ff.
- Tortosa, Biblioteca Capitulare MS. 38 (s. XIII²); 347 ff. Letters H-O; MS. 165 is part of same set.
- MS. 165 (s. XIII²); 371 ff. Letters P-Z; cf. MS. 38.

- Tours, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 28 (s. xiv¹; St. Gatien 51); 370 ff.
- Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 85 (s. xiii²; Paris; Clairvaux A 49); 393 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. 86 (s. xiii²; Paris; Clairvaux A 47); 390 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. 93 (s. xiii²; Paris; Clairvaux A 48); 387 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. 94 (s. xiii²; Clairvaux A 46); 385 ff. MS. seen.
- MS. 93¹ ff. 1-502 (s. xiii²; Clairvaux A 50). MS. seen.
- MS. 1420 (s. xiii/xiv; Clairvaux A 52); 546 ff. First vol. of a two-vol. set; ends s.v. *Mutatus*, « Explicit prima pars concordantiarum ». MS. seen.
- Valencia, Biblioteca de la Catedral MS. 90 (s. xiii-xiv); 383 ff.
- Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica MS. Vat. lat. 45 (s. xiii/xiv; bought at Nantes by Card. d'Estouteville); 354 ff.
- MS. Vat. lat. 46 (s. xiv, Italy); 422 ff.
- MS. Vat. lat. 47 (s. xiii/xiv; Paris; indication of *peciae*); 445 ff.
- MS. Vat. lat. 4238 (s. xiv, from the library of Sixtus IV); 385 ff.
- Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 3 (s. xiv; belonged to Petrus Bourdays, cantor of St. Albins at Angers, before 1380); 363 ff.
- MS. 4 (s. xiv); 442 ff.
- Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco I. 63 (s. xiv); 445 ff.
- Vicenza, Biblioteca comunale Bertoliana MS. 258 (s. xiii²; Paris); 427 ff. First folio lacking.
- Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS. 1376 (s. xiv); 385 ff.
- Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka MS. I.F. 88 (s. xiv).
- Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek MS. M.p.th. f. m. 6 (s. xiii/xiv); 363 ff. Destroyed in world war II.