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## **The Cambridge Gloss on the Apocalypse of John: Sources, Transmission, and the Lost HL Commentary**

At least twenty-five commentaries on the Apocalypse of John are extant from the Carolingian period (750-987), and most are in Latin.<sup>1</sup> One of these, and the one most recently brought to light, is the anonymous commentary found in Cambridge, University Library, Dd. X. 16, likely written between 750 and 900.<sup>2</sup> This document was an important element in Mgr. Roger Gryson's recent reconstruction of the influential lost commentary of Tyconius. Both Gryson and Irish scholar Roger McNamara have posited the existence of an earlier Hiberno-Latin work (now lost, and which for the sake of brevity I shall hereafter call the HL commentary) that underlies not only the Cambridge MS, but two additional commentaries from the mid-eighth and early ninth centuries, known as the Reference Bible (the commentary on the Apocalypse is commonly referred to as *De Enigmatibus*) and the commentary produced under the supervision of the Carolingian scholar Theodulph of Orleans in the scriptorium of Saint-Mesmin (Micy) as part of his exegetical *expositiones* on scripture (Paris lat. 15679, also called the Micy Bible). This paper situates the Cambridge MS within the rich medieval commentary tradition on the Apocalypse and discusses its sources, particularly Tyconius. I will summarize the relevant historiography, comment on the Latinity of the text itself, and provide a translation into English of two sample passages. I will also compare the text with that of the Reference Bible and the Micy Bible, and discuss the possible reconstruction of the HL Commentary, a project I have commenced with Dr. Francis X. Gumerlock. I contend that by doing so, we will have a more well-informed

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<sup>1</sup> Francis X. Gumerlock, "Carolingian Apocalypse Commentaries," Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, November 2012. All dates in this paper are *Anno domini*.

<sup>2</sup> The Cambridge manuscript was edited and published by Roger Gryson in 2013 as *Corpus Christianorum* 108G (Turnhout: Brepols). I shall refer to this manuscript hereafter as simply the Cambridge MS.

understanding of the medieval interpretation of the Apocalypse of John, the sources of this interpretation and the accuracy with which they were transmitted.

The Apocalypse of John (also known as the Book of Revelation - hereafter called simply the Apocalypse) is the last book of the New Testament canon. According to most scholars, it was composed around the year 95-96<sup>3</sup>, during the reign of the Emperor Domitian.<sup>4</sup> With its striking imagery and colorful cast of characters, it is the best-known example in the apocalypse genre.<sup>5</sup> The text was accepted early on as canonical in the West, and a vigorous commentary tradition ensued.<sup>6</sup> In recent years, there has been a significant scholarly contribution to the study of this commentary tradition, demonstrated by a quick look at Appendix A, a comprehensive chart that will orient the reader to this array of commentators.<sup>7</sup> In just the past two decades, new critical editions and/or English translations of Victorinus, Tyconius, Oecumenius, the *Scholia in apocalypsin*, Caesarius, Apringius, Cassiodorus, *Excerpta De Monogramma*, Andrew of Caesaria, the Commemoratorium Ps.-Jerome, Bede, the Reference Bible, Beatus, the Micy Bible and the Cambridge MS have appeared. Much of this has been accomplished through the tireless

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<sup>3</sup> All dates in this paper are *anno domini*

<sup>4</sup> see Gregory K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999), 4-27 for an excellent discussion of the issue of date. A minority view suggests that the book was written just prior to the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in AD 70.

<sup>5</sup> The idea of what properly constitutes apocalyptic writing has been widely discussed. See Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), 2-36; John J. Collins, "What is Apocalyptic Literature?," *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (New York, 2014), 1-16.

<sup>6</sup> although earlier authors including Irenaeus of Lyon (d. ca. 202), Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 170-236), Origen (ca. 185-254), Tertullian (ca. 160-220) and Cyprian of Carthage (ca. 200-258), made extensive use of the Apocalypse, the earliest commentary on the entire book that we possess is by Victorinus of Petovium (written ca. 260).

<sup>7</sup> This chart builds upon four earlier previous summaries of this material: E. Ann Matter, "The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, NY, 1992); Roger Gryson, "Les commentaires patristiques latins de l'Apocalypse." *Revue théologique de Louvain* 28:3 (1997): 305-337.; Francis X. Gumerlock, "Patristic Commentaries on Revelation," *Kerux* 23:2 (Sept 2008): 3-13; and Gumerlock 2012 (see n. 1) I wish to take this opportunity to acknowledge Dr. Gumerlock's invaluable guidance concerning many aspects of this paper.

efforts of Roger Gryson in his work towards the reconstruction of Tyconius.

### **Tyconius: the *Liber Regularum* and the *Expositio Apocalypseos***

In the late fourth century, Christian scholars and exegetes held no uniform opinion as to how or even whether the Apocalypse should be presented to the community. It was confusing, there was a danger of an overly literal interpretation, and as a polemic against Rome, it was now somewhat of an embarrassment. Should the book be read literally or spiritually? Tyconius, a north African Donatist who flourished ca. 370-390, offered a method for making allegorical sense of difficult texts, especially the Apocalypse. His *Liber Regularum* (Book of Rules) is the first treatise of biblical hermeneutics in the Latin West.<sup>8</sup> In it, he expounds on seven rules, or keys, for explaining scripture. For Tyconius, the law - that is, the Old and New Testaments - is mediated through seven rules or *mysticae*. These are "compositional principles of scripture encoded in the text itself which conceal or obscure its meaning."<sup>9</sup> The method of Tyconius ultimately points toward a more spiritual interpretation. The tribulation and death described in the Apocalypse reveal the present spiritual reality of sin within the body of the church rather than the shape of future eschatological events. So, it is not for the "signs of the end times that one scrutinizes the Scriptures - but rather for the signs of what makes one united or separated from Christ now."<sup>10</sup>

Tyconius is relatively unknown today, as his work was eclipsed by that of Augustine of Hippo (354-430), who summarized the seven rules in his *De doctrina christiana*<sup>11</sup> and made use of them in *De Civitate Dei*, especially book 20 where he summarizes his thinking

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<sup>8</sup> Pamela Bright, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius: Its Purpose and Inner Logic* (Notre Dame, 1988), 2.

<sup>9</sup> Paula Fredricksen, "Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse" in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 26.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>11</sup> at 3.30.42-3.37.56

on eschatology. Through Tyconius (reinforced by Augustine, as well as Jerome) both *chiliasm* (the belief in a literal thousand-year reign of Christ and the resurrected saints on earth – a possible interpretation of the events described in Apocalypse 20:1-4) and the literal reading of the Apocalypse fell out of fashion for the next seven centuries. Instead, the idea of recapitulation and a spiritual, moral reading prevailed, and this is certainly true of the Cambridge MS and related texts.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the *Liber regularum*, Tyconius wrote an influential commentary on the Apocalypse. Although lost, enough of it was passed down through later authors that scholars since the late nineteenth century have postulated that this commentary could be reconstructed.<sup>13</sup> In 2011, Roger Gryson accomplished this feat using the following sources: the Budapest and Turin fragments, Caesarius of Arles, Primasius of Hadrumentum, Cassiodorus, the *Commemoratorium* of Pseudo-Jerome, Bede, Beatus of Liébana, *De Enigmatibus*, Theodulph of Orleans and, especially, the Cambridge MS. As part of this fifteen-year process of reconstruction, Gryson created new critical editions of most of these source texts. I shall now turn to three of these source texts - including the Cambridge MS - that emanate from Tyconius, and exhibit marked similarities.

## **A Constellation of Three Texts**

### **Theodulph of Orleans - Expositio in Apocalypsin Iohannis (Micy Bible)**

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<sup>12</sup> see Fredriksen 1992 for an excellent discussion of this transformation.

<sup>13</sup> see Kenneth Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of Its Reception and Influence* (Frankfurt, 1987), 4-20 and Gryson's introduction to the critical edition for a discussion of the question. Some of the major works in Tyconian studies include: J. Haussleiter (1886), who noticed parallel passages in Caesarius of Arles, Primasius, Bede and especially, Beatus and surmised that they came from Tyconius; F.C. Burkett (1894), who published the critical edition of the *Liber Regularum*; T. Hahn (1900), who wrote the first study of the theology of Tyconius; H.L. Ramsay (1902), who wrote on the dangers of reconstruction solely based on Beatus; F. Lo Bue (1963), who published the *Turin Fragments*; K. Steinhauser (1987), who provided a basis for a chapter and verse reconstruction of Tyconius' commentary, but who felt that a proper effort could not be attempted without proper critical editions of the source authors.

This work, extant in only one manuscript in Paris, was written ca. 810 at Saint-Mesmin (Micy). It contains a series of patristic and medieval commentaries, often in abbreviated form, which were compiled by Theodulph of Orleans to cover nearly the entirety of scripture. According to Gryson, the exposition on the Apocalypse relies heavily on the *Commemoratorium* (Pseudo-Jerome), Jerome's recension of Victorinus and the lost HL commentary that also underpins the Cambridge MS and the Reference Bible.

### **De enigmatibus ex Apocalypsi Johannis (The Irish Reference Bible)**

In an important 1954 article on the history of Latin exegesis in the Irish church,<sup>14</sup> the eminent Latin paleographer and philologist Bernhard Bischoff catalogued a one volume commentary on the Bible which he named *Das Bibelwerk*, or the Irish "Reference Bible." Extant in a nearly complete form in two ninth century manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11561, and Munich, Clm 14276 + 14277), the incipit reads *Pauca problesmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis* (A Few Questions Concerning Mysteries from the Canonical Books), *pauca* being a common title-form among the Irish.<sup>15</sup> Bischoff recognizes a "new encyclopaedic tendency" in the work, and gives it a *terminus ad quem* at the end of the eighth century. The compiler of this work places a particular emphasis on the Apocalypse, devoting more space to this book than any other, given their respective lengths.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, "Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages", translated by Fr Colm O'Grady in *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin, 1976) [first published as "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter" in *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), and later revised for publication in *Mitteralterliche Studien. Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1966). Commonly cited as *Wendepunkte*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 84.

<sup>16</sup> Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos*, ed. Roger Gryson, CCSL 121A (Turnhout, 2001), 233.

## Glossa in Apocalypsin (Cambridge University Library Dd. X. 16)

The Cambridge MS is bound into a volume of 113 folios, normally ruled in 27 lines to the page.<sup>17</sup> In the same volume are Pseudo-Jerome's *Expositio IV Evangeliorum*,<sup>18</sup> a short grammatical treatise on the office of Vespers, a commentary on the Mass, sermon 179 of Caesarius of Arles, and a gloss on the meaning of the name of Peter. Several scribes worked simultaneously, using similar "unskilled versions" of Caroline minuscule to create the text.<sup>19</sup> Insular abbreviations include est, sed, vel, ost for ostendit, per, post, prae, qui, quia and vero. Professor David Ganz, formerly the Chair of Paleography at King's College London suggests that "the volume was copied in the region west of Tours in the tenth-century, though a ninth-century date is not impossible."<sup>20</sup> Roger Gryson posits a range of 750-900, with an exact date most likely closer to the beginning.<sup>21</sup>

Scant secondary literature exists on the Cambridge MS, most importantly the introduction to the *editio princeps* by Roger Gryson, as well as articles by Guy Lobrichon and Martin McNamara. The essential elements reveal that the Cambridge MS interprets the Apocalypse in both an historical and spiritual manner, emphasizes a church whose center of gravity is in the monasteries, and relies heavily on Tyconius as a source. Judging by the spelling, handwriting, and insular abbreviations as well as content, the text bears a close relationship to other Irish exegetical texts of the same period.

The scholarly community was first informed of this manuscript through a paper presented by Guy Lobrichon at the "Conference on the Apocalyptic Year 1000" held at the

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<sup>17</sup> This description is largely a summary of that provided by David Ganz in the appendix of Martin McNamara, "The newly-identified Cambridge Apocalypse Commentary and the Reference Bible: A Preliminary Inquiry." *Peritia. Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland* 15 (2001): 208-256.

<sup>18</sup> Catalogued by Bischoff as 11A in "Wendepunkte"; found in PL 30, 531-590; 114, 861-916.

<sup>19</sup> McNamara, "Cambridge Apocalypse Commentary," 256.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Roger Gryson, ed. *Glossa in Apocalypsin*, (Turnhout, 2013) [CCSL 108G], 36.

University of Boston in November 1996. In this paper, entitled "Stalking the Signs: The Apocalyptic Commentaries," Lobrichon discusses exegetical (that is, how the book was critically interpreted by early medieval commentators) approaches to the Apocalypse as *les terreurs de l'an mil* approached, especially Chapter 20 on the millennium, the "thousand-year reign" of Christ on Earth. Lobrichon mentions a "strange work...which draws its inspiration from Cesarius [sic] of Arles, Primasius, Isidore, Bede, and above all from the *Problemsmata*."<sup>22</sup> He provisionally names this author the Anonymous of York, and intimates that he was active in the late tenth century.<sup>23</sup>

According to Lobrichon, two contrasting traditions arose during the ninth century to expound upon the Apocalypse: a deliberately historical interpretation (exemplified by the Anglo-Saxon Bede); and a continental reading (represented by Haimo of Auxerre) which posits that "the Johannine book cannot be approached historically but maintains only a spiritual reading emphasizing in particular withdrawal from the world."<sup>24</sup> The Anonymous of York fits mostly within the first tradition, but he also introduces ambiguity and multiple interpretations into the text, and thus "proffers certain novelties," including a "modified representation of the confines of the world." In comparison to earlier commentaries, "the strong, classical tone of opposition to temporal powers in the Apocalypse takes an unheard-of form."<sup>25</sup> The published paper from these proceedings did not appear until an astonishing seven years later!<sup>26</sup> However, Yves Christe (Professor of Art History at the University of Geneva who had conversed with Lobrichon about the find the year before,

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<sup>22</sup> Lobrichon, Guy. "Stalking the Signs: The Apocalyptic Commentaries," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change* (New York, 2003). This work (*Problemsmata*) is also referred to as *Pauca problemsmata*, the Reference Bible, or in German "das Bibelwerk."

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 73, where Lobrichon explicitly states that the Anonymous of York was working "around the year 1000."

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 72.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 74-75.

<sup>26</sup> Lobrichon, "Stalking the Signs," 2003.

and who was also present at the symposium in Boston), made a brief reference to the find in his *L'Apocalypse de Jean* published in 1996.<sup>27</sup> Although his book is primarily about iconography of the Apocalypse during the middle ages, Christe begins with a lengthy summary of the exegetical tradition, and concludes with a brief comment on the "very important discovery," which he says uses Tyconius and may be dated to 900-1100.<sup>28</sup>

In 2001, Martin McNamara (an expert on Medieval Hiberno-Latin and vernacular Irish literature) published the first study on the Cambridge MS.<sup>29</sup> He compared three extensive pericopae from the Cambridge MS with those from the Reference Bible: the Preface (Apc 1:1-2:5); the Seven Seals (Apc 5:1-6:6); and the Number of the Beast (Apc 13:13-14:1), as well as the biblical texts of the Apocalypse that they quote. The Cambridge is much more extensive: roughly 23,500 words in 47 folios, compared with 13,500 in 16 folios for the Reference Bible.<sup>30</sup> McNamara remarks that the biblical text used by the Cambridge author is closely related to that of the Book of Armagh (ca. 807) and two manuscripts of Bede's commentary of the Apocalypse found in Durham Cathedral Library.<sup>31</sup> Both have a "very definitely 'Celtic' type," due to the handwriting, spelling, and prevalence of insular abbreviations.<sup>32</sup> In surveying the Latin commentary tradition, McNamara states that Primasius of Hadrumetum (ca. 540-560) and the *Excerpta de monogramma* (an anonymous commentary written ca. 550-600, and which focuses solely on one interpretation of Apc 13:18) are important sources for the Cambridge MS.

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<sup>27</sup> see also Gryson, *Glossa in Apocalypsin*, 7.

<sup>28</sup> Yves Christe, *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Sens et développements de ses visions synthétiques* (Paris, 1996), 51.

<sup>29</sup> McNamara "Cambridge Apocalypse Commentary"

<sup>30</sup> *ibid*, 208.

<sup>31</sup> In addition, Gryson notes that many of the biblical variants in the *Commematorium* correspond to readings in the Book of Armagh and a manuscript of Bede's *Expositio*, suggesting the same insular tradition. See Roger Gryson, ed. *Variorum auctorum Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis* (Turnhout, 2003), 178-82 and Roger Gryson, "Les commentaires patristiques latins de l'Apocalypse." *Revue théologique de Louvain* 28:3 (1997): 337.

<sup>32</sup> McNamara "Cambridge Apocalypse Commentary," 210.



McNamara concludes that both the Cambridge MS and the Reference Bible belong to the same tradition. Although both works carry "essentially the same commentary", they are not identical. He posits the existence of a gloss on the Apocalypse (now lost) upon which both commentaries rest. Since the Reference Bible is dated ca. 750, this lost gloss must be from "the first half of the eighth century at the latest," and may have "originated in Britain or Ireland rather than on the continent."<sup>33</sup> As to the importance of this manuscript, McNamara concludes that:

*The chief importance of this newly identified Cambridge commentary, and of the closely related Reference Bible text, is the evidence they give of an early medieval interpretation of the last book of the New Testament canon, of the sources that stand behind it and the manner in which these sources have been transmitted faithfully or altered in the process of transmission - whether the original composition of the gloss took place in Britain, Ireland or on the Continent.*<sup>34</sup>

As discussed above, in 2013 Roger Gryson edited and published a critical edition of the Cambridge MS as part of a project that culminated in his reconstruction of the lost *Expositio Apocalypseos* of Tyconius. He states that the Cambridge was "an essential pillar" in the reconstruction, and that "at first glance the text bears a family resemblance to the writings considered by Bernhard Bischoff as representatives of the Irish exegetical school of the High Middle Ages."<sup>35</sup>

Regarding the latinity of the author, Gryson writes that the language in general is "rather correct...he rarely uses big words, but certainly went to a good school." Abnormalities of vocabulary and morphology are rare.<sup>36</sup> Syntax is generally well respected: some examples of change include the debility of the final -m (*apocope*) and a tendency to

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 220.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 252.

<sup>35</sup> Gryson *Glossa in Apocalypsin*, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 14.

substitute the perfect for present subjunctive and pluperfect for imperfect subjunctive.<sup>37</sup> I have indicated instances of these and other characteristics of the Latin in my notes to the text and translation below (Appendix C). Gryson expounds at length upon the biblical text used and concludes that "our author is in an environment where the old Latin versions have not yet completely ceded territory to the Vulgate. The same type of text is found in the British Isles in the same era, particularly in Bede and in insular manuscripts like the Book of Armagh."<sup>38</sup>

According to Gryson, the author had read Victorinus, but not Primasius (contrary to what McNamara believed). The author also had read Tyconius, and is the only commentator along with Beatus to retain allusions to the persecutions waged in Africa.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the "few comparisons that can be made with the commentary of Bede are not sufficient to demonstrate that the commentator knew it."<sup>40</sup> Confirming McNamara's conclusions about the affinity between the Cambridge MS and *De Enigmatibus*, Gryson includes a third text in the group of writings that rely on a (now lost) common source, a Hiberno-Latin commentary from the early eighth century that is in the same exegetical tradition as the *Commemoratorium* (Pseudo-Jerome).<sup>41</sup> These two related texts are the *Expositio in Apocalypsin Iohannis* of Theodulph of Orleans (MS: Paris, Biblioteque Nationale, lat. 15679) - also known as The Micy Bible), and especially, *De enigmatibus ex Apocalypsi Iohannis*, a mid-eighth century commentary found in the Reference Bible (also called *Das*

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 15-17.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>39</sup> Roger Gryson, ed. *Expositio Apocalypseos* (Turnhout, 2011), 64 [CCSL 107A]. This passage is found in the commentary on Apc 14:6-7, both in Tyconius (pp. 188-89 in Gryson's edition) and the Cambridge MS (p.111 in Gryson's edition).

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 29.

<sup>41</sup> catalogued by Bischoff in *Wendepunkte* 37.

*Bibelwerk*). The Cambridge MS remains the "most faithful and comprehensive" witness to the lost commentary.<sup>42</sup>

## **Towards a Reconstruction - The Lost HL Commentary**

Dr. Francis Gumerlock and I also believe that there exists a lost commentary underlying the three texts. Building upon the earlier work by Lobrichon, McNamara and Gryson, we have recently commenced this project. Msgr. Gryson has no plans to attempt a reconstruction and wrote to me that the way is open for anyone who wishes to make an attempt.<sup>43</sup> Preliminary research indicates that the Cambridge may be the dominant text as it is the longest, and may preserve Tyconius more completely. To demonstrate these similarities, let us turn now to two sample passages. The first is the commentary on Apc 2:10, part of the letter to the church at Smyrna.

**Vulgate (Apc 2:10):** nihil horum timeas quae passurus es ecce missurus est diabolus ex vobis in carcerem ut temptemini et habebitis tribulationem diebus decem.

**NRSV (Apc 2:10):** Do not fear what you are about to suffer. Beware, the devil is about to throw some of you into prison so that you may be tested, and for ten days you will have tribulation.

In Appendix B, I have placed the three texts (Latin, then English) in parallel columns - Tyconius, *De Enigmatibus* and the Cambridge MS (Theodulph does not gloss this

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<sup>42</sup> Gryson, *Commentaria minora*, 300.

<sup>43</sup> email communication with Msgr. Gryson, 25 September 2014

particular passage).<sup>44</sup> A few observations are in order. First, it is clear that the Cambridge gloss is the longest and most complete. Second, we see that two of the rules of Tyconius are used by the Cambridge author. In the passage "...the whole body of the devil, which besieges the church in the whole world, both from inside and outside," he uses *Lib Reg VII - De diabolo et corpore eius* (On the Devil and his Body) - when scripture speaks of Satan, it may well intend his "body", that is those who follow him, the unrighteous. And on the ten days, using a "finite number for the infinite," he employs *Lib Reg V - De temporibus* (On times) - time resists calculation, for the numbers themselves are elastic, infinitely impenetrable mysteries. Third, the "five senses of the body and the five senses of the soul" refer to five bodily senses augmented by five *sensus animae*, a teaching that goes back to Origen's Homily 3 on Leviticus, and which is characteristically Irish.<sup>45</sup>

The second passage for comparison is that on Apc 13:18 - the number of the Beast (see Appendix C). One of the "most debated verses in the entire book because of widespread disagreement over the identification and meaning of the number 666,"<sup>46</sup> this verse was widely commented upon by early medieval authors.

**Vulgate (Apc 13:18):** hic sapientia est qui habet intellectum computet numerum bestiae numerus enim hominis est et numerus eius est sescenti sexaginta sex

**NRSV (Apc 13:18):** This calls for wisdom: let anyone with understanding calculate the number of the beast, for it is the number of a person. Its number is six hundred sixty-six.

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<sup>44</sup> the translation of the Cambridge MS is mine, Tyconius and *De Enigmatibus* were done by Francis Gumerlock for his forthcoming translations, to be published by Medieval Institute Publications (Kalamazoo, Michigan).

<sup>45</sup> Origen: "And to these [bodily senses], let us add five others which are the senses of the inner man, though which either made 'pure in heart we see God' (Matt 5:8) or 'we have ears to hear' (Matt 11:15) the things which Jesus teaches. Or, we take that 'odor' about which the Apostle says, 'for we are the pleasing odor of Christ' (2 Cor 2:15). Or we even take that taste about which the prophet says, 'Taste and see that the Lord is sweet' (Ps 33:9) or that touch which John mentions, 'We have seen with our eyes and have touched with our hand concerning the Word of Life' (1 Jn 1:1). Gary Wayne Barkley, ed. *Origen: Homilies on Leviticus* (Washington, D.C., 1990), 65. See also Bischoff "Turning Points," 86.

<sup>46</sup> Gregory K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999), 718.

Again, we can see the Cambridge MS is the longest, most complete gloss. The gloss from Theodulph is very cursory (and it is often this way throughout). The text of Cambridge closely resembles that of *De Enigmatibus* - the only significant difference is the reference to Psalm 50 (*Miserere mei*), which I am unable to locate in any of the other earlier commentaries - it appears to be an original contribution by this author.

Second, unlike Beatus of Liébana and other Carolingian authors who relied on the *catena* method of stringing together multiple quotations from earlier authors (and often with no attempt to reconcile opposing viewpoints), this author offers only one interpretation each for the numerical reading of 616 and 666 (the monogram and the name Teitan respectively). This number (616/666) represents the name of Antichrist, the great deceiver and agent of Satan who will pretend to imitate Christ. From the beginning of exegesis on the Apocalypse, a wide variety of names were adduced using numerical values that were represented by the Greek letters. This began with Irenaeus of Lyon in the late second century. In his *Adversus haereses* (written ca. 180) he was the first to suggest the name Teitan as a probable one for Antichrist, as it is composed of six letters, is an ancient word, removed from ordinary use, and a name belonging to a tyrant.<sup>47</sup> Later writers to adduce this name include Hippolytus of Rome, Victorinus (Jerome's recension), Oecumenius, Andrew of Caesarea, Bede, *Excerpta de Monogramma*, *De Enigmatibus*, Ambrose Autpert, Haimo of Auxerre, and Theodulph of Orleans. A variety of additional

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<sup>47</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5,30.3 (ANF 1: 559)

names were also often suggested, including Antemos, Diclux, Ginsicus, Evanthus and others.<sup>48</sup>

The Cambridge author first explains the meaning of the reading 616. This variant is attested in two witnesses, Papyrus Oxry. 4499 (P115), and the *Codex Ephraemi rescriptus* as well as Irenaeus of Lyon (*Adversus haereses* 5.30.1) and the commentaries of Tyconius<sup>49</sup> and Caesarius of Arles.<sup>50</sup> Imitating the initials of Christ, the number of the Beast may be represented by the letters chi (600), iota (10), and the "final sigma" (6), adding to 616. The three letters together form a monogram.

Next, the author explains that "in other books," the number 666 is found. This may be understood as the name "Teitan" in Greek or "sol" in Latin. Breaking the number down into its constituent parts, he goes on to explain that "the number 600 is suitably spoken about Antichrist because he "pretends to fulfill the four gospels, and he pretends that he fulfills the two testaments, and he pretends that he does the will of God in body and soul, and he pretends to make peace between himself and his neighbor." The number ten is suitably spoken about Antichrist, because he "pretends that he fulfills the ten commandments of the law and uses the ten senses for the will of God."<sup>51</sup> The number six is spoken about Antichrist because he will "pretend that he preaches belief in the Trinity and the three laws, that is the law of nature, and the law of the prophets, and the law of

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<sup>48</sup> see especially the commentary of Beatus of Liébana, and the accompanying diagrams found in some of the manuscripts.

<sup>49</sup> 4:46, CCSL 107A, 187

<sup>50</sup> Homily 11 – see Caesarius of Arles. *Exposition on the Apocalypse*. Translated and Edited by William C. Weinrich in *Ancient Christian Texts: Latin Commentaries on Revelation* (Downers Grove, IL, 2011), 89.

<sup>51</sup> see n. 44 above

the new testament." Finally, the number 50 "pertains to penitence, as in the fiftieth psalm, which is sung about penance."<sup>52</sup>

## Conclusions and Further Research

Now that we possess critical editions of all three texts, the most interesting question is whether or not the lost HL Commentary can be reconstructed. Dr. Francis Gumerlock and I have established a few basic working principles for this work:

1. We believe that one text will stand out as dominant and our preliminary guess is that it will be the Cambridge MS.
2. In most cases of textual work, the shortest reading is generally preferred, as authors tend to expand writing over time rather than contract.
3. To be considered part of the lost commentary, with minor exceptions, the passage should appear in at least two witnesses.
4. For correspondences between the texts, we will consult Gryson's notes in *De Enigmatibus*, the *Commemoratorium*, Theodulph and the Cambridge, and also Dr. Gumerlock's translations for the first three of these.
5. Since we know that the lost commentary used Tyconius, if we find a quotation of Tyconius, it also might have been in the lost commentary, especially if it shows up verbatim in two or more of our witnesses.

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<sup>52</sup> that is, Psalm 51 in most modern Catholic and Protestant bibles (which use the Hebrew, or Masoretic numbering), corresponding to Psalm 50 in the Vulgate Bible (*Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam/Have mercy on me, O God, according to your steadfast love; according to your abundant mercy blot out my transgressions*)

This project will also allow us to see how much of Tyconius may have been passed to the Cambridge MS, Reference Bible and Theodulph directly, and how much was filtered through this intermediary commentary. In addition, a translation of the Cambridge MS into English will be beneficial to scholars who wish to study this and related texts, and will generally further Tyconian studies. Doing so will assist us in understanding the viewpoint that medieval exegetes held in explaining the Apocalypse of John.



## Appendix B - Comparative Texts on Apc 2:10

### Tyconius

*Nihil timeas ex eis quae passurus es, utique a toto corpore diaboli, quod in toto mundo intus ac foris obsidet ecclesiam.*

*Ecce incipit diabolus mittere quosdam ex vobis in carcerem. Ut temptemini, et habebitis pressuram decem dies....*

*Decem dies totum tempus posuit, quia denarius numerus perfectus est.*

### De Enigmatibus

*Ecce missurus est diabolus ex vobis in carcerem, ut temptemini, et habebitis tribulationem diebus X. Id est diabolus, qui est in carcere, ex vobis delictis missurus erit in fine mundi, ut vos temptemini. Non utique ecclesiae Smirne tantum dicit, sed totis christianis. X diebus, id est finitum pro infinito posuit; in numero requiescit, vel quia non omnes numeri possunt exire plus quam X, vel propter decem verba legis complenda, vel propter V sensus animi et corporis*

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*Nihil eorum timeas, ut est illud: Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus. Qui pasurus est, id a toto corpore diaboli, quod in toto mundo intus et foris obsidet ecclesiam. Misurus est diabolus ex vobis, non utique aeclesiae Zimirnae tantum dicitur. Diebus decim, id finitum pro infinito possuit, ut in numero requiesceret. Aliter 'X diebus', ideo hoc dicit, quia non possunt omnes numeri exire plus quam decim. Aliter 'diebus X', id pro completionem decim verborum legis domini, vel eo quod conportaverunt quinque sensus corporis et quinque sensus anime ad bonum opus voluntatis dei.*

## Appendix B - Comparative Texts on Apc 2:10

Tyconius

10 Do not fear any of those things which you are about to suffer, surely from the whole body of the devil, which besieges the church in the whole world from inside and from outside.

Behold the devil is beginning to throw some of you into prison, that you should be tested, and you will have tribulation ten days. ...

**He put "ten days" for the entire time, because ten is a perfect number.**

De Enigmatibus

10 Behold, the devil is going to send [some] of you into prison, that you should be tested; and you will have tribulation ten days. That is, the devil, which is in prison, will be sent from you sinners at the end of the world that you should be tested. Surely he is speaking not only to the church at Smyrna but to all Christians. Ten days, that is, he has put the finite for the infinite. In this number she rests. Or, because there are no numbers that are able to go more than ten. Or, because of the ten commandments of the law that should be obeyed. Or, because of the five senses of the soul and body.

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10 Do not be afraid of those things as is said in that passage: Do not fear those who kill the body (Mt 10:28). Which you are going to suffer, that is, from the whole body of the devil, which besieges the church in the whole world, both from inside and from outside. The devil is going to send some of you. Surely this is said not only to the church of Smyrna. Ten days, that is, he used a finite [number] for the infinite, so that he might comfort them with [such a limited] number. In another way of interpreting ten days, that is, for the fulfillment of the ten words of the law of the Lord. Or because they apply to the five senses of the body and the five senses of the soul for [doing] the good work of the will of God.

## **Appendix C - Comparative Texts on Apc 13:18 (number of the beast), with biblical text in CAPITALS.**

### **De Enigmatibus (Irish Reference Bible)**

Item in aliis libris sic inuenitur DCLXVI. Nomen autem quod hunc humerum habet tietan est, et ideo ad antichristum hoc nomen dicit, in quo totus diabolus erit. Teitan enim grece sol interpretatur, quod conuenit ad antichristum, in quo diabolus erit, et de diabolo dicitur: Qui transfert se in angelum lucis. Hic est numerus istius nominis, quia super tau CCC, et iota X, et etha V, et item tau CCC, et alfa unum, et ni L significat; simul faciunt numerum DCLXVI. Apte ad antichristum dicitur, qui simulat se implere IIII euangelia et II testamenta et X praecepta legis. Iste enim numerus DCLXVI per X et VI significat; congrue ad antichristum dicitur, qui dicit se implere X praecepta legis, et fecisse mundum per VI dies, et X sensus anime et corporis homini dedisse, et mundum per VI aetates fecisse.

Likewise in other books it is found thus: six hundred and sixty six. However, the name that has this number is "tietan," and for this reason this name speaks of Antichrist, in whom the devil will be entirely. For "tietan" in Greek is interpreted "sun," which fits Antichrist, in whom the devil will be. And concerning the devil it is said: Who transforms himself into an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14). This is the number of that name, because the tau signifies three hundred, and the iota ten, and the eta five, and again the tau three hundred, and the alpha one, and the nu fifty. Together they make the number six hundred and sixty six. Suitably is it said of Antichrist, who pretends that he fulfills the four gospels and the two testaments and the ten commandments of the law, for this number six hundred and sixty six possesses meaning through the [numbers] ten and six. It is spoken correctly of

Antichrist, who says that he fulfills the ten commandments of the law, and that he made the world in six days, and that he gave to man the ten senses of the soul and body, and that he made the world [to last] through six ages.

### Theodulph of Orleans (Micy Bible)

Here is wisdom so that the teaching of Antichrist does not deceive anyone. One who has understanding let him calculate the number of the beast, that is, the number of Antichrist, through which letters CHRIST is written in Greek. And over them this number will be found DCLXVI. Moreover, "tietan," the name of the sun, is fitting for the devil and for Antichrist because he transforms himself into an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14) and into the sun of righteousness (Mal 4:2).

HIC SAPIENTIA EST, si non seducat quemquam doctrina antichristi. QUI HABET INTELLECTUM COMPUTET NUMERUM BESTIAE, id est nominis antichristi, quibus litteris dicitur Christus in greca, et super has inuenietur hic numerus dclxvi; ti.et.an autem nomen solis diabolo conuenit et antichristo, eo quod transfiguratur se in angelum lucis et solem iustitiae.

**Cambridge Dd. X. 16 on Apc. 13:18 (fol. 93r-93v), This passage may be found in Gryson's edition, pp. 108-110.**

HIC SAPIENTIA EST, id licet diximus bestiam esse, tamen homo est, sed spiritus bestiam appellat. NUMERUS ENIM HOMINIS EST, id numerus est nominis hominis, <non>

numerus est nominis bestiae. ET NUMERUS NOMINIS EIUS EST SEXCENTI SEXDECIM<sup>53</sup>, nomen autem quod habet istum numerum Christus est, quod scribitur per grecas literas, id per chi, ep̄psi et sim̄ma. Super chi autem vadit numerus sexcenti, et super epsi non potest numerus denus exire. Deinde autem a<lia> litera greca in locum eius datur, id est iota, quae numerum denum potest habere, et ideo in loco eius ponitur, dum unius linguae sunt. Et sim̄ma senum numerum non potest habere super se, quia, ut alii dicunt, Greci non habent literam que senum numerum habere potuisset<sup>54</sup>, et ideo in loco istius literae, quae vocatur sim̄ma, ponitur ep̄ssimon, quod signum est conpoti<sup>55</sup> apud Grecos et senum numerum habet.

Non facilis est autem hec<sup>56</sup> sententia, quia quod nomen est, non est numerus, et quod numerus est, non est nomen. Deinde autem faciemus unam literam, que pot[u]erit et nomen esse et numerus esse, id pro litera chi, a qua nomen incipitur, nomen esse potest, et ista litera monogramma vocatur. Mono autem graecae 'una' in latina interpretatur, et gramma graece 'litera' interpretatur. Pro qua causa monogramma in Apocalipsi[s] invenitur, cum in corpore libri non invenitur. Ideo dicitur, eo quod dixit angelus: QUI ABET INTELLECTUM COMPUTET NUMERUM BESTIAE. Haec est autem mon<o>gramma:

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<sup>53</sup> this variant - 616 - appears in the commentaries of Tyconius and Caesarius of Arles (Homily 11), and is attested in Papyrus Oxry. 4499 (P115), Codex Ephraemi rescriptus, and Irenaeus of Lyons (Against Heresies 5.30.1).

<sup>54</sup> *potuisset* (pluperfect subjunctive) - a tendency for our author to use the pluperfect rather than the perfect subjunctive. see Gryson's introduction, p. 17.

<sup>55</sup> derived from con + potus, i.e. placed together or placed in union. Perhaps this refers to the "final sigma" (L. *ep̄ssimon*) which joins together the chi and iota to form the monogram.

<sup>56</sup> =*haec*, reduction of diphthong common in Medieval Latin (Goddard Elliott, Alison. "A Brief Introduction to Medieval Latin Grammar" in *Medieval Latin*, 2nd edition. ed. K.P. Harrington, revised by Joseph Pucci (Chicago, 1997), 1.3.1)

In aliis autem libris non ita invenitur, sed sic invenitur 'sexcenti sexaginta sex'. Nomen autem quod hunc numerum habet Tietan est, et ideo ad antichristum hoc nomen dicitur, in quo totus diabolus erit, quia Tietan graecae latine 'sol' interpretatur. Et aptum est ut<sup>57</sup> antichristus hoc nomine vocatus fuerit<sup>58</sup>, quia de diabulo dicitur: Transfert se in angelum lucis. Hic est autem numerus istius nominis, quia super tau exeunt -ccc- et super iota exeunt -x- et super eta exeunt quinque et super tau exeunt -ccc- et super alpha vadit unum, et super noi quinquaginta vadit. Numerus autem sexcentorum apte <ad> antichristum dicitur, quia simulat se implere quatuor evangelia, et simulat se implere duo testamenta, et simula<t> se voluntatem dei facere ex corpore et anima, et simulat se delegere deum et proximum, et simulat se pacem abere inter se et proximum. Et numerus denus apte ad antichristum dicitur, quia simulat se implere decim verba legis et decim sensus portare ad voluntatem dei. Et numerus sen[s]us congrue ad antichristum dicitur, quia ipse predicavit sex dies, in quibus factus est mundus, et sex mundi spatia predicabit, et numerus dividitur in trias et in trias, et apte ad antichristum dicitur <se>nus numerus, quia simulabit se predicare<sup>59</sup> fidem trinitatis et tris leges, id legem naturae et legem prophetarum et legem novi testamenti. Et recte quinquagenus numerus ad poenitentiam pertinet, pro psalmo quinquagesimo, qui de poenitentiam<sup>60</sup> cantatus est.

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<sup>57</sup> *aptum est ut*: a favourite expression of the author used to draw attention to the appropriate character of a passage (see Gryson's introduction, p. 20).

<sup>58</sup> *vocatus fuerit* = *vocatus est*; a usage approved by the grammar of Donatus (fl. s. iv<sup>med</sup>), which was the primary instructional guide to Latin during this period (see Keith Sidwell, *Reading Medieval Latin*. Cambridge, 1995), 362.

<sup>59</sup> = *praedicare*.

<sup>60</sup> In the manuscript, many instances of *apocope* occur, that is, the loss of the final *-m*. Common in Medieval Latin, this often creates uncertainty in the use of the accusative and ablative cases after prepositions. There is also the tendency for the accusative to function as a utility case, substituting for other inflections (see Goddard 3.3.5). Here, *poenitentiam* is clearly in the ablative case.

## Cambridge MS - Translation

HERE IS WISDOM, for although we have said it is a beast, nevertheless it is a man, but the spirit calls it a beast. FOR IT IS THE NUMBER OF A MAN, that is the number of the name of a man, it is <not> the number of the name of a beast. AND THE NUMBER OF HIS NAME IS SIX HUNDRED SIXTEEN, moreover the name which has that number is Christ, which is written with Greek letters, that is with chi ( $\chi$ ), and psi ( $\psi$ ) and sigma. Moreover above chi goes the number six hundred, and above psi the number ten cannot be produced. Therefore another Greek letter is given in its place, that is iota, which can have the number ten, and therefore is put in its place, since they are the same language. And sigma cannot have the number six above it because, as some say, the greeks do not have a letter which signifies the number six, and therefore in place of that letter, which is called sigma, is put a "final sigma"<sup>61</sup>, which is the sign that is composed among the Greeks and has the number six.

This notion, however, is not easy, because what is a name is not a number, and what is a number is not a name, so then we shall make one letter which can be both a name and a number, that is for the letter chi, with which the name begins, there can be a name, and this letter is called a monogram. For mono in Greek is interpreted "one" in Latin, and the Greek gamma is interpreted "letter". For this reason a monogram is found in the Apocalypse although it is not found in the body of the book.<sup>62</sup> It is said for this reason because<sup>63</sup> the angel said: LET ANYONE WHO HAS UNDERSTANDING CALCULATE THE NUMBER OF THE BEAST. For this is the monogram:

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<sup>61</sup> L. *epissimon*

<sup>62</sup> L. *corpore libri*, i.e. the Bible

<sup>63</sup> L. *eo quod* - common in Medieval Latin, used often by Tyconius, Caesarius and others.

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However in other books it is not found in this way, but is found as: “six hundred and sixty-six”.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the name which has this number is “Tietan”, and therefore this name is spoken about Antichrist, in whom the devil will be entirely, because Tietan in Greek is interpreted “sun” in Latin. And it is fitting that Antichrist is called by this name, because concerning the devil it is said: He transforms himself into an angel of light.<sup>65</sup> For this is the number of that name, because above tau goes 300, and above iota goes ten, and above eta goes five, and above tau goes 300, and above alpha goes one, and above nu goes fifty. For the number six hundred is suitably spoken about Antichrist, because he pretends that he fulfills the four gospels, and he pretends that he fulfills the two testaments, and he pretends that he does the will of God in body and soul, and he pretends that he loves God and his neighbor, and he pretends to make peace between himself and his neighbor. And the number ten is suitably spoken about Antichrist, because he pretends that he fulfills the ten commandments of the law and uses the ten senses for the will of God.<sup>66</sup> And the number of senses is suitably spoken about Antichrist, because he proclaimed the six days in which the world was made, and he will proclaim six spans of the world, and the number is divided in three and three, and suitably about Antichrist is spoken the number six, because he will pretend that he preaches belief in the Trinity and the three laws, that is the law of nature, and the law of the prophets, and the law of the new

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<sup>64</sup> McNamara, “Cambridge Apocalypse Commentary,” 242, states that the first part of this gloss is dependent on Caesarius; the second on *De Monogramma* and Primasius.

<sup>65</sup> 2 Cor 11:14

<sup>66</sup> see n. 44 above



testament. And rightly the number fifty pertains to penitence, as in the fiftieth psalm, which is sung about penance.

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