Understanding a Selection of Medical, Theological and Poetic Diagrams in a Thirteenth-Century Book of Biblical Commentaries: British Library, Harley MS. 658

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Introduction

British Library, Harley MS. 658 consists of a series of short works intended for the study of the Bible and preaching. The pursuits of the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century theology schools are well represented: there are texts arising out of lectio, disputatio and predicatio in the form of Bible glosses, a series of collections of theological questions, and several sermons. Literal, spiritual and moral expositions are also present – Peter of Poitiers’s Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi (a diagrammatic summary of Biblical genealogy), a spiritual exposition of the Patriarchs and spiritual explanations of Biblical words, a moral index to the Bible and an exposition of Isaiah. More unusually, the book contains a collection of diagrams appended to the genealogical tree of Peter of Poitiers. The nine diagrams vary in subject matter, including a map of the city of Jerusalem and diagrams relating to the study of grammar, medicine and theology. Several of them contrast with the Biblical and moral themes dominant in the rest of the book.

The character of the manuscript and its texts

Harley MS. 658 is a striking manuscript: within its 163 folios many of the works are only several pages long, and are written so as to be visually interesting. The genealogical tree summarizes Biblical history in diagrammatic form, and a work on the virtues is written around a central tree diagram of the cardinal virtues. The first question, then, is whether we are dealing with a collection of quires which were bound together at some later date, or with a book that existed as one entity from the time it was copied. This task is complicated by the lack of several sources of codicological evidence: there are no indications of the book’s owners before the sixteenth century, and the pages have been cut from their original quires, and pasted into a modern binding. However, the script and character of the manuscript, as well as the way in which texts are ordered in the book, do allow some inferences to be drawn about its origin.

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16. Commentary on Joel (ff. 122r-137v)
17. Commentary on Naum (ff. 138r-163v)

The scribes

The scripts present in the manuscript all indicate a date in the end of the twelfth or first half of the thirteenth century. Nine scribes participated in the production of this codex. With the exception of the glossed Gospel of John, and the commentaries on Naum and Joel (the first and last items in the codex), all of the hands show similar features. The scripts are all small early gothic bookhands. Several features suggest their early date: most notably, the lower case ‘a’ throughout the manuscript consistently has a single compartment and trailing head. This is particularly associated with English gothic scripts from the 1180s on. There is pricking on both the outside and the inside margin of each page. This is a feature of the late twelfth century and first half of the thirteenth century, which indicates that the ruling and pricking were completed after the parchment had been folded into a quire. The glossed Gospel of John has features which indicate it comes from the twelfth century: from f. 15v it includes capitals written in green ink; this colour was replaced in such manuscripts from the second half of the thirteenth century in favour of a ubiquitous colour scheme of red and blue capitals. Moreover, the marginal glosses on John are written above top line. The other texts in the book show more thirteenth-century features: they are written below top line, and show more influence from English documentary scripts.

In addition, the table of kings of Israel and Judah is written with arabic numerals which appear to be contemporary with the original text. Arabic numerals first appeared in Spanish and Sicilian manuscripts in the twelfth century, in various experimental forms adapted from the Arabic manner. A standardized Western tradition of numerals only appeared in the early thirteenth century, after a few popular mathematical works caused the arabic numerals to be disseminated more widely. The numerals in Harley MS. 658 belong to this tradition. This is therefore an early use of the numerals, and suggests that the scribe who copied this section of the codex was conversant with Arabic arithmetic, and avant-garde enough to use these numerals in Biblical tables.

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3 The moral index to the Bible shows cursive elements: the scribe uses similar techniques of decoration favoured by documentary scribes, namely the doubling of capitals (see capitals ‘R’ and ‘S’ on the top line of the first and third columns of f. 64r), a looped ‘l’ and a left-hook on the ‘q’ (e.g. at the end of each lemma of column c on f. 64), and a tendency to decorative flourish and corkscrew style ‘9’ abbreviations more often found in documents (see f. 64 six lines from the bottom of this column in the word ‘minimus’). The commentary on Isaiah includes a ‘d’ that is faintly looped (see f. 84ra, top line, second ‘de’) and split ascenders (see the top line of both columns of f. 83ra and b).
4 These were *Liber abbaci* of Leonardo of Pisa, in two editions in 1202 and 1228, the *Carmen de Algoritmo* of Alexander de Villa Dei, and the *Algorismus Vulgaris* of John of Sacrobosco. See Charles S. F. Burnett, ‘Learning Indian Arithmetic in the Early Thirteenth Century’, in his *Numerals and Arithmetic in the Middle Ages* (Farnham, 2010), article IX, p. 15.
The overall impression is that the book comes from an academic setting, in which the scribes were learned themselves, and were developing professional habits. 

**The composition of the book**

It is impossible to make any confident statements about the original collation of this book. The only section of the work to include catchwords is the commentary on Isaiah and there are only quire signatures in the commentaries on the Patriarchs, Joel and Naum. However, the succession of scripts within the book permits us to make a few more inferences.

At regular intervals through the codex, there are short collections of theological questions. With the exception of the collection at ff. 77r-82v, they are all written in the same hand, and set out in a similar way. Two of these collections are written on one verso page (at ff. 32v and 52v), the other two fill several pages and come directly after more lengthy texts. The same hand appears in other parts of the codex in the form of (often extensive) marginal notes. It can be inferred that an early owner of the book in which these texts were collected used the blank pages at the end of quires to write sets of theological questions, and also added his own notes to certain works.

On the basis of the evidence of catchwords and quire signatures, I suggest below a hypothesis for the original collation for the codex. The theory suggests that the only works that were originally copied together are the *Compendium* of Peter of Poitiers, a series of diagrams and a collection of spiritual Biblical readings under the title *De Patriarchis*, and a separate pair of commentaries on Joel and Naum at the end of the book. The last two commentaries on Naum and Joel are written in a contrasting style to the rest of the book. The text is less densely packed on the page, and the red and blue ‘puzzle’ initials are in a different style from the rest of the book. More significantly, there are no signs of marginal notes or additional material, despite ample space. It can be concluded that these two texts were bound with the rest of the book at some point subsequent to the work of the annotating owner from the first half of the thirteenth century.

The first part of the manuscript, including all the texts apart from the commentaries on Joel and Naum, were therefore collected together as a composite miscellany in the first half of the thirteenth century. The fact that most of the works were written on self-contained gatherings means that it is most likely that they were copied separately, and were bound together by a collector. This collector or his scribe then wrote the theological questions and marginal notes that are scattered through the whole codex.

**Texts in the manuscript**

The contents of Harley MS. 658 have been described as a series of aids to preaching. However, this description is more self-explanatory for some texts than others. The following explanations are intended to outline the intellectual context of the works in question, the characteristics of the version included in this manuscript, and to give an idea of how the texts complement each other.

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5 See the outside margins of the glossed Gospel of Saint John, additional notes added into the *Compendium* for example down the right-hand column of f. 33r, and in the margins of the *De Patriarchis* and *Computus*.

6 See manuscript description below, pp. 20-28.

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1) Peter of Poitiers, ‘Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi’ (ff. 33r-39r)

This is a genealogical tree which charts Biblical history from Adam to Christ. Peter of Poitiers first wrote the work as a teaching aid to the literal exposition of the Bible. The original version was not spread across several pages of a book, but drawn on large skins which were pinned up in the classroom. They were intended to allow students to learn Biblical history without going to the expense or effort of studying all the Biblical books; Hugh of Saint Victor had emphasized the necessity of learning Biblical history in narrative order before progressing to the more doctrinal material within the spiritual and moral exposition.

The early scribes who transmitted the work tended to import material from the Historia Scholastica of Peter Comestor to supplement Peter’s biographical notes on Biblical figures, and to add extra diagrams of the kind seen in this manuscript. These additions were transmitted and became integral parts of the text of the Compendium. Such additions were not limited to Biblical history: in time, the Compendium acquired a more general use as a repository of mnemonic devices for doctrinal knowledge, and was included in manuscripts alongside trees of virtues and vices, and other summaries. The version of the Compendium in Harley MS. 658 is a relatively early example, within the transitional stage of the work’s manuscript tradition. It includes an unusual table at the end of the Compendium which allows comparison of the chronology of the kings of Judea and Israel (f. 39r). In addition to the traditional diagrams of the ark, Jerusalem and the arrangement of the twelve tribes around the tabernacle, there is also a series of chronological notes written in the margins, and a series of diagrams on theological and grammatical subjects.

The first work in the codex is a glossed Gospel of John. This is the second work in the codex which originates in the standard theological syllabus of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The first two choices of texts in this book therefore imply a practical use of the book within a series of standard university lectures.

2) Commentary on the Patriarchs, sermons and a collection of materials for the composition of sermons (ff. 42v-52r)

Within this section (all written by the same scribe), there are several varieties of Biblical commentary all written in close succession and all relating to the spiritual exposition of the Bible. Such a collection illustrates the interconnection between the various forms of Biblical comment: a continuous commentary includes long passages on abstract moral teaching, a small collection of sermons amounts to extended spiritual exposition of texts taken in isolation, and a list of spiritual meanings of names and places provides the raw material for commentaries or sermons on episodes from the Pentateuch. The author of the latter does not restrict himself to proper names, but offers spiritual interpretations for whole

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11 Panayotova, ‘Peter of Poitiers’ Compendium’, p. 329, for a description of a very fine example of one such later version of the Compendium see Kathleen L. Scott, Tradition and Innovation in Later Medieval English Manuscripts (London, 2007), pp. 87-117.
12 See pp. 10-18.
13 See below, pp. 23-24, items 6-13.
Fig. 1. Harley MS. 658, f. 33r. Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi.*
episodes from the Bible. Such readings were included in lectures on the spiritual meanings of scripture and had a more direct application in pastoral duties. Those theology masters who went on to academic careers, as well as those who took up a benefice with cure of souls, were required to provide sermons. A collection of model sermons and spiritual readings of the Bible would therefore be of use both within and outside the university.

The spiritual commentaries in this section should be considered alongside the genealogical history of Peter of Poitiers. Hugh of Saint Victor prescribed a clear order of studies, in which the spiritual reading of Biblical books should only be attempted once the history of the Bible has been mastered.\textsuperscript{14} A comparison of the two works provides ample demonstration why he made such a recommendation. The spiritual readings offer allegorical meanings for every aspect of the ritual described in Leviticus, for example, and the events in the history of the Patriarchs. In order to produce or understand such a commentary, the kind of knowledge summarized in the \textit{Compendium} would indeed be necessary. The two sections of the book are complementary parts of a single programme of education.

3) \textit{An extract from the ‘Moralium Dogma Philosophorum’ (ff. 75v–78v)}

This is a moral work composed of \textit{sententiae} taken from classical philosophy organized according to the good and the useful. The work therefore takes its structure from Cicerro’s \textit{De Officiis}, from which the author most frequently quotes. The treatise has traditionally been attributed to William of Conches, but there is good evidence that it was written after his death.\textsuperscript{15} It was extremely popular, and survives in over ninety manuscripts, and as such represents one of the more important routes by which Ciceronian moral tradition was communicated to medieval authors.\textsuperscript{16} The focus in this work on the common good, social duties, and in particular the unusual contrast drawn between justice and injustice, recommended the \textit{Moralium Dogma Philosophorum} to authors of political thought, and in particular to Brunetto Latini, who incorporated large sections into his \textit{Livre du trésor}.\textsuperscript{17}

The text here is unattributed and unidentified, and excludes the introductory paragraphs of the original version (not counting the additional prologues which were quickly added to the \textit{Moralium Dogma Philosophorum}). From the point at which the scribe picks up the text, we have a sizeable extract, although at least one sentence, and sometimes a paragraph, is dropped from each chapter.

The scribe has adopted an original manner of presenting the text: across three pages, he has drawn a tree showing the taxonomy of the four cardinal virtues, around which the first part of the text is organized, and on the fourth page is a summary diagram showing the four cardinal virtues together with a diagram of the species of the useful. In the manner of Peter of Poitiers in the genealogical tree, the scribe has fitted the accompanying text for each virtue around the diagram, next to the appropriate caption. The text in this case is much more substantial, and the columns snake around each other in order to fit on the page. Such a choice of format could be put down to a desire to draw attention to the work as a piece of virtue and vice literature. The diagram is visually reminiscent of the more conventional trees of virtues and vices seen in manuscripts, and of which there are examples on f. 40.

The use of classical literature as teaching on the virtues and vices was current throughout the Middle Ages. Texts such as Juvenal’s and Horace’s satires and Virgil’s \textit{Aeneid} were read

\textsuperscript{14} Hugh of Saint Victor, \textit{Didascalicon}, VI.3 (p. 114).
\textsuperscript{17} Tuve, ‘Notes on the Virtues and Vices’, p. 293, n. 50.
Fig. 2. Harley MS. 658, f. 77r. Extract from the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*. 
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and analysed as grammatical and moral texts within the arts curriculum. Moreover, the most common point of access to classical authors was via books of moral *sententiae* not unrelated to the *Moralium dogma*. John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* and Peter the Chanter's *Verbum Abbreviatum* are two examples of works which drew heavily on such books of *sententiae* and lessons learned in the faculty of arts in order to convey moral teaching. Whereas theological questions and Biblical commentaries, which were concerned with pure theology, rarely included such classical allusions, works aimed at a wider audience, such as the *Verbum Abbreviatum* and the *Moralium Dogma*, included many.

The inclusion of the *Moralium Dogma*, a work firmly within the genre of advice to a secular ruler, suggests an interest in practical moral questions. The *Moralium Dogma* is preceded by a moral index to the Bible, which provides references to Biblical passages on a series of virtues and vices and penitential subjects. The manuscript is therefore a repository of both scriptural and secular sources on moral subjects.

4) *Stephen Langton's Commentary on Isaiah* (ff. 83r-119r)

Stephen Langton was the most prolific and widely-read Bible commentator of this period. His commentaries are the results of his lectures in Paris from the 1170s to 1206. Langton belongs to the ‘Biblical-Moral’ School of late twelfth-century theology because of the practical pastoral interests in his Bible commentaries. He is distinctive in his generation for the particular length and thoroughness of his commentaries, and the large number of Biblical books on which he lectured. All this has led to a particularly tortuous manuscript tradition for Langton’s works: he produced several redactions of his own glosses, which in turn circulated in varying *reportationes* (i.e. lecture notes possibly sanctioned by the author). Moreover, in order to bring down the commentaries to a more manageable size, later scribes tended to copy his comments selectively, in order to produce commentaries of only the literal or moral sense of the book in question. I have compared the text here with two other manuscripts, BL, Additional MS. 19964 and Additional MS. 24073. The text in Harley MS. 658 includes spiritual and moral readings not included in the other two copies. The version of the text found in the Harley manuscript therefore appears to be a relatively full version.

Isaiah occupied a particular place in the medieval Biblical syllabus. Hugh of Saint Victor had stated in the *Didascalicon* that for the allegorical reading of the Bible, the student should read the *New Testament* first, where doctrine is more clearly revealed, before attempting the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament. Stephen Langton developed this idea by saying

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that for the tropological reading, the Sapiential books of Solomon are more easily understood, and that the prophets must be explained many times before their meaning is revealed.

Such a gloss was not only of interest in lectures in the schools. Throughout the commentary, there are thematic rubrics identifying the moral teaching found in that section, and often pointing up suitable subjects for preaching with the words ‘sermo in ...’. There are even sections of text which have been outlined and highlighted by later hands as possible texts for entire sermons. This section of the book therefore sits in the centre of the Biblical syllabus, as it includes literal, spiritual and moral readings. As a source of practical moral teaching for preachers, it complements the moral index to the Bible and the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum.

5) Theological ‘Quaestiones’ (ff. 32v, 52v, 72r-74v, 79r-82v, 119v-121v)

In the early scholastic period at the end of the twelfth and early part of the thirteenth century, theological questions such as these tended to circulate not in fixed collections, but as individual units. These short texts are reports of a debate held in the classroom on a theological problem; the arguments for and against are typically presented by two students or possibly in a hypothetical argument stated by the master, followed by the master’s verdict. In this early period, the most common kind of problems to be debated were those that arose when studying the Bible – in particular when Biblical books seemed to contradict each other, and when patristic tradition conflicted. Earlier in the twelfth century, such problems were appended to the Biblical commentaries themselves, but by the time of Stephen Langton there is evidence that questions were also gathered and discussed in dedicated sessions, sometimes organized to discuss sets of questions on a given theme.

The identification and comparison of sets of questions is another source of a complex manuscript tradition; students took down questions as they were debated in the classroom, and copied from each other. Collections of quaestiones from this period therefore could include reportationes of questions originating from many different masters, and at various degrees of remove from the debate itself. Quinto has recently studied these questions further: practically all of the questions are on topics which appear in Stephen Langton’s collections of questions, yet none of them correspond to any of the incipits of the many versions of Langtonian questions which survive. By comparing the text of two of Stephen’s questions with the equivalent in the Harley manuscript, Quinto shows that the Harley questions, much shorter and highly abbreviated, reproduce the essence of his arguments, but are textually different enough to amount to a separate set of works. A plausible hypothesis would therefore be that the questions are the work of a student of Langton, who had internalized his teaching, but who did not simply copy his texts.

The subjects included in the questions cover a range of abstract theological and Biblical subjects. There are particular series of questions which relate to penitence and confession: the collection on ff. 79-82 includes questions on whether God punishes by mercy, whether the holy are afflicted in limbo, on intention and ends, on the spiritual benefits of alms given by servants on behalf of masters, and on returning to sin. The range of Biblical problems does not show any obvious correspondence with the Biblical commentaries in the same codex;

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25 For example ‘Sermo in sollemnitate omnium sanctorum’ (f. 87rb), ‘sermo de penitencia’ (f. 96rb). This phenomenon has been noted in other manuscripts of Stephen Langton’s commentary on Isaiah: see Smalley, The Study of the Bible, p. 254.
29 Folio 79ra ‘Si Deus misericordia punit’, f. 79rb-va ‘Numquid sancti afflicti sunt in limbo?’, f. 79va ‘De intentione vel fine’, f. 80ra ‘De elemosina Domini danda per servum’, f. 80va ‘De reditu peccati’.
nevertheless, the inclusion of such *quaestiones* is complementary to the study of the spiritual and moral exposition of the Bible.

The works included in Harley MS. 658 therefore have many points in common: they all (except the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*) originate in the theology schools of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; all works fulfil a distinct aspect of the educational programme devised by Hugh of Saint Victor and developed by Peter the Chanter and Stephen Langton. Many of the works are repositories of religious teachings, intended as a necessary shortcut to the canonical authors: the gloss for Bible commentary, a list of spiritual readings, a moral index to the Bible, and a work made up of *sententiae* of classical philosophers on virtues and vices. There is also evidence that works such as the commentary on Isaiah were also used as reference works of moral teaching.

In addition, a rational order of subject matter can be detected: the book includes texts on the historical, the spiritual and the moral exposition of scripture. The first owner who gathered these texts had a clear agenda, and made an effort at completeness: the book provides material for all types of a master’s teaching, disputation and preaching, and offers examples of Biblical exposition in three different senses.

The diagrams

The collection of diagrams which follow Peter of Poitiers’s *Compendium* includes some subject matter which corresponds closely to the intellectual tenor of the rest of the book, such as trees of virtues and vices, and a tree of consanguinity. However, several of the diagrams are on subjects relating to other faculties, namely medicine and arts. It is therefore this part of the manuscript book which most challenges the idea that the book was put together according to a unified agenda.

The medieval fondness for diagrams which illustrate subjects as diverse as planetary motion, the ascent of the soul and variant definitions of words has elicited explanations such as the growing medieval interest in geometry, an Augustinian theory of meditation which placed special value on visual representation, and simple aesthetics. Diagrams in the earlier Middle Ages tended to accompany works on the natural world, time and space, and encyclopedias. However, increasingly in the later Middle Ages, the same forms were adapted to new subjects, including moral and religious subject matter. Peter of Poitiers’s *Compendium* is an example of this tendency: what may have motivated the spread of diagrams to theological material was a growing need to keep technical, doctrinal and Biblical subject matter ready to hand.

There are, therefore, two typical contexts in which technical diagrams tend to appear in medieval manuscripts: alongside technical texts, as a visual explanation (for example the customary inclusion of explanatory maps and diagrams in the geographical and scientific passages of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae*) or in collections of diagrams, in the manner of an almanac. Within this manuscript there are two works which particularly tended to circulate with an attendant set of diagrams, namely the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* and the *Computus*. I have already discussed the *Compendium*, and mentioned its tendency to travel with other diagrammatic summaries of doctrinal and moral information. The second significant fellow traveller in the book is the *Computus* (ff. 53r–56v), a manual for the calculation of time. From the Carolingian period, *Computus* tended to circulate in volumes containing diagrams

that illustrate many aspects of the natural world, and all varieties of counting. The organizing principle, in the words of Edson, was to depict ‘the marvellous, meaningful handiwork of an intelligent and beneficent God’.  

To what extent do these two contexts fit with the collection of diagrams? Can any more general explanations for the choice and inclusion of the diagrams be offered?

1) Plan of Jerusalem (f. 39v)

This is a very schematic plan of Jerusalem and its surroundings. The walls of the city are drawn in, but the gates are only suggested by an arc drawn with a compass, and towers, buildings and mountains are indicated by a circle with a caption written inside. The sea and the river Jordan are represented by a thick line filled in with green and yellow respectively. This is in fact typical of medieval depictions of Jerusalem; the tradition for showing the city with its walls from a bird’s-eye view continued throughout the Middle Ages, and was possibly inherited from Roman tradition. This map of Jerusalem is particularly simple, in that it is not interested in the relative locations of monuments within the city walls – the only sites within the city walls listed are Mount Calvary, the tomb of Christ, the Jewish temple, the temple of Solomon, and the hospital for foreigners (at least two of these are in fact located outside the walls but were traditionally placed within in medieval maps). However, many of the sites outside of Jerusalem are connected by thick coloured lines in red and green which may suggest itineraries for pilgrims: for example, a series of lines in the top left hand part of the diagram connect the sights of the Mount of Olives, the place where Lazarus was brought back from the dead, and Jericho. The map can most plausibly be viewed as a natural continuation of the Compendium, that is, as an aid to understanding the literal meaning of the Bible. Although the map may have been copied from a plan intended for pilgrims, the diagram could also function as a guide to the events of the gospels. The use of maps in teaching the Bible was practised by the Victorines; Hugh of Saint Victor, for example lectured in front of a world map. Edson has argued that maps in the Middle Ages were as much concerned with marking the passage of time and succession of events as with topography, and therefore were created and understood in relation to texts. Maps existed in order to show the significance of places, as well as their location, and were often meant to exist alongside explanation from a supporting text or the words of a teacher. Such a map could be a didactic aid to understanding the progression of episodes in the life of Christ, in the context of the study of the literal meaning of the Bible.

2) The brain and the humours (f. 40r)

The top half of this page comprises of a series of notes and diagrams of medical interest. The descriptions of the humours, and diagram of the relation between the qualities, the elements and the humours are relatively unremarkable manifestations of medieval medical theory; however the diagram of the brain (the top left text not including the unfinished diagram) is something more unusual. It is not a diagram of brain function, but of the different varieties of brain according to their dominant humour. Thus, a coleric brain is described as ‘durum

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33 Edson, Mapping Time and Space, p. 96.  
35 Edson, Mapping Space and Time, p. 12.  
36 Edson, Mapping Space and Time, p. 165.
Fig. 3. Harley MS. 658, f. 39v. Plan of Jerusalem.
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Fig. 4. Harley MS. 658, f. 40r. The brain and the humours.
ad discendum, facile ad investigandum cum firma memoria’ (‘finds it difficult to learn, easy to investigate and has a firm memory’), whereas the phlegmatic is described as ‘tardum ad investigandum et cito labitur’ (‘is slow to investigate, finds it easy to learn and is forgetful’). The division of brain function into apprehension, investigation and memory broadly corresponds with the Platonic division of the soul’s powers into sensation, reason and memory: these functions were associated with the three ventricles of the brain in medieval medical tradition – the front, called the ‘fantasia’ being associated with the senses and the imaginative faculty, the middle ventricle, associated with reason (ratio) which controlled the power of discernment, and the occiput, which controlled the power of memory.37 The diagram here associates the facility of different parts of the brain with the dominant humour in any person.

Such an association was in fact very unusual, the only comparable instance occurring in the work of William of Conches. William included discussion of brain function both in his early encyclopedic work, the Philosophia mundi, and in his later Dragmaticon.38 In the Dragmaticon, William discusses the relative qualities of both the different parts of the brain and the brain as a whole. The brain is generally cold and wet, but the extent of coldness and wetness varies between individuals.39 Each of the three cells of the brain has a distinct combination of qualities: the front part, ‘phantastica’, is hot and dry; the middle part, the ‘logistica’, is moderate (‘temporatum’); the back part of the brain, the seat of the memory, is cold and dry.40 He concludes that the overall quality of any individual determines the effective functioning of each part of the brain. Someone with a wet brain will have a bad memory, anyone with an intemperate brain will have little reason, and anyone with a particularly cold brain will be stupid and dull.41

The author of the diagram in the Harley manuscript has posited a comparable theory of the mental abilities associated with the dominant humours of individuals, in which the possible dominant humours predict the functioning of the three fundamental powers of the brain. Some aspects of his division of abilities and qualities correspond to William’s description of the brain, others differ. Thus, the two dry humours, coleric and melancholic, are described as having a good memory, whereas the two wet humours do not. This reproduces William’s teaching. On the other hand, the statement that the hot and wet humour, the sanguineous, and the cold and dry humour, the phlegmatic, are good at perception diverges from William’s theory.

The presence of such a specialized medical diagram in what is otherwise a book for study of the Bible is unusual and could not be easily explained, were it not for its juxtaposition with the diagram of the soul.

3) The soul (f. 41r)

This is a diagram intended to illustrate the powers of the soul. It is a synthesis of various philosophies, being made up of sententiae taken from several sources. The diagram is made up of a series of lists of powers of the soul written in a circle around the central word ‘Anima’, which is set in a circle, around which two summarizing sententiae are written. Both formulae

37 For the origin and development of this theory see C. D. Green, ‘Where Did the Ventricle Localizations of Mental Faculties Come From?’, Journal of Behavioural Sciences, xxxix (2003), pp. 131–42.
38 William of Conches, Dragmaticon Philosophiae, ed. I. Ronca, CC CM 152 (Turnhout, 1997), VI.18, 4-8 (pp. 240–3). Adelard of Bath, who may have influenced William, also commented on the effect of different qualities on aspects of brain function. His discussion is less systematic than that of William. See Quaestiones naturales, ed. Martin Müller (Münster, 1934), ch. xvii, p. 22.
39 Dragmaticon VI.18.3 (pp. 239-40).
40 Dragmaticon VI.18.4-5 (pp. 240-1).
Fig. 5. Harley MS. 658, f. 41r. Diagram of the soul and the taxonomy of arts and sciences.
express the idea of the soul as an animating force of the whole body and of the world.\textsuperscript{42} The list of powers of the soul are arranged in a series of notes around the central section, and spill outside of the circle. Each power of the soul is accompanied by a short explanation.

The subject matter and quality of this diagram are not as anomalous in the manuscript as the diagram of brain function, since it addresses a question discussed by theologians. However, within the context of the collection of diagrams, this figure of the soul is by far the most abstract and complicated of the figures. The diagram is small, and squashed into one corner of the page. The text overflows into the margins, and the \textit{distinctio}-style figures at the top of the diagram are not any clearer for being written upside down. The arrangement of the powers of the soul into such a diagram is not altogether successful, and the motivation behind such a presentation is not clear.

4) \textit{Taxonomy of sciences and arts (f. 41r)}

This is a much more common diagram in manuscripts from this period, and the subject matter is treated in a more conventional way than in the previous two diagrams. Such taxonomies were traditional in the opening parts of various reference works: Isidore’s \textit{Etymologiae} includes such a division, as did commentaries on Boethius’s \textit{De consolatione}, and grammatical works.\textsuperscript{43} The diagram suggests further influence of both William of Conches and Hugh of Saint Victor. The central part of the diagram – all of it except for the section on the mechanical arts, poetry and music – is similar to the description of the arts given in William of Conches’s commentary on Boethius. The section on the mechanical arts, and particular on the species of magic, correspond directly to Hugh of Saint Victor’s account of these arts in his \textit{Didascalicon}.\textsuperscript{44}

5) \textit{Muses and metrical feet (ff. 40v, 41v)}

These two diagrams are taken from the study of grammar. Discussion of metrical feet was a chapter of both Priscian’s and Donatus’s books of grammar, which were textbooks in the schools. The division of poetic feet here corresponds directly to Donatus’s description.\textsuperscript{45} I have found just one example of a commentary which discusses the muses individually in a similar manner to the diagram on f. 40v.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{42} The first is a sentence from William of Conches: ‘\textit{Anima est naturalis vigor mundi qua habent res quedam tantum moveri, quedam crescre, quedam sentire, quedam discernere}’ [’The soul is the natural vigour of the world by which certain things move, grow, feel and perceive’]. The second sentence quotes from a sermon of Heiric of Auxerre, a ninth-century author, ‘\textit{anima est rationabilis quedam immortalis substantia, natura ignea, motu temperabilis, organa membrorum vivificando ac regendo corpori attributa}’ [’the soul is reasonable and immortal substance, fiery nature, temporal movement, the organs of members attributed to the body for giving life and ruling it’].


\textsuperscript{44} Hugh of Saint Victor, \textit{Didascalicon}, VI.15 (pp.132-3).


\textsuperscript{46} Sedulius Scotus, who wrote a commentary on Donatus’s \textit{artes maior} and \textit{minor} in the ninth century, \textit{In Donati Artem Minorem}, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, CC CM 40C (Turnhout, 1977), 356, 4 (p. 18).
Fig. 6a. Harley MS. 658, f. 40v. Diagram of the muses.
Fig. 6b. Harley MS. 658, f. 41v. Diagram of metrical feet.
A possible explanation for the inclusion of one of these diagrams is provided by the *Computus*. At the end of the text of the *Computus* (f. 56 rv), the scribe includes a series of *distinctiones* on the metrical feet which corresponds with the diagram on f. 41v. The two subjects are connected, since both the calculation of the calendar and the study of metre are species of counting and measures of the passage of time.

A link between the *Computus* and the diagram of the muses can also be detected. Just below the diagram are three poems, one on the names of the muses, the second, mnemonic verses for remembering the months of the year, and the third on the names of the winds. These meteorological references correspond with the scientific nature of the *Computus*: the verses on the winds appear in two other manuscripts, which are made up of short scientific extracts. Many of the marginal notes to the *Computus* in this manuscript include comments on weather and natural phenomena.

More generally, the *Computus* was a genre characterized by the gathering and quantifying of creation and human knowledge. The diagram of the muses and the taxonomy of sciences and arts are both summaries, of the extent of human intellectual activity in one case, and of the uses of eloquence in the other, and are therefore appropriate companions for the *Computus*.

What does the inclusion of such diagrams tell us about the manuscript, and about scholastic method more generally? Discussion of the soul does not only appear in diagrammatic form in this manuscript. Within the different genres of spiritual exposition, discussion of the actions and parts of the soul was common, and there are several texts on the subject in this codex. For example, in the collection of spiritual meanings of Noah’s Ark on f. 50, Noah and his family are interpreted as the complementary relationship of rational intellect and spiritual sense, and the animals and birds on the ark are read respectively as earthly actions and thoughts. There is, moreover, evidence that the philosophies recorded in the diagram of the soul were directly applied to the spiritual exposition: a marginal note on the facing page to the spiritual reading of Noah’s ark records the same set of *distinctiones* of senses of the soul taken from Isidore as appears in the diagram on f. 41r. An analogy can therefore be drawn between the treatment of Biblical history and geography, and doctrines of the soul: both appear in summary diagrammatic form at the start of the book, and are then deployed in the spiritual exposition. Both are first learnt as ‘facts’ so that both sets of knowledge can be used and developed in commentary and preaching. The diagram of brain function is no less relevant to the spiritual exposition. The division of the powers of the brain into apprehension, learning and memory corresponds to a Platonic account of the soul: indeed, since Platonic philosophy located the most rational human functions in the head, the powers of the brain and of the soul were often conflated in medieval philosophy.

The inclusion of such diagrams in a book of Biblical commentary demonstrates the creative association of philosophical, scientific and Biblical knowledge which was current in scholastic method in this period. One comparable example of this tendency can be seen in a sermon of Isaac de Stella in which in order to preach penitence an account of the functions of the three ventricles of the brain is combined with an allegorical reading of the parable of the workers in the vineyard. The workers who arrive for work at different hours are connected with the different functions of the brain: thus the worker who arrives in the first hour is associated with the function of memory, and signifies the grace of the penitent; the workers who arrive

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48 ‘noe: intellectus scilicet rationalis; familia eius: sensus spirituales’ (f. 50ra, l. 34).
49 ‘animalia: opera que circa terrena aguntur; volucres: cogitationes’ (ibid., l. 36).
50 ‘anima dum membra vegetat’ etc. (f. 49v, note in the lower margin of the page).
51 For example, William of Conches describes the powers of the brain as perception, reason and memory, (*Dragmaticon* VI.18.4) but in his commentary on Boethius refers to these functions as ‘partes cordis’ (*Glosae super Boetium*, Li 1600 (p. 44)). The technical vocabulary for these ideas held in common seems to have been changeable.
in subsequent hours are compared to reason, which stimulates brain functions successively from the back of the head to the front – in penitential terms this is read allegorically to mean the memory of faults in the past, the fear of future events, the worry of finished matters and the terror of future tests. Isaac’s method is therefore to find analogies between a Biblical parable and the theories of Avicenna and Platonic science in order to offer a series of ways of thinking about the progression of penitence which were memorable and new. The diagrams in Harley MS. 658 represent a series of resources for this aspect of Biblical scholastic method. The reproduction of the content of the diagrams in other parts of the book proves that this information was actively put to use in the spiritual exposition.

What most of all emerges from the inclusion of diagrams in Harley MS. 658 is an interest in creative juxtapositions and analogies. These engagements with twelfth-century philosophy form part of a wider agenda to provide intellectual material for the main theological interests expressed in the book: commentary, debate and preaching on religious scripture.

**Conclusion**

The compiler of Harley MS. 658 worked to a well-defined agenda: the texts included in the book are chosen to represent the components of the theological curriculum of the early thirteenth century. *Lectio, disputatio* and *predicatio* are represented, as is the exposition of the Bible according to the various senses. The choice of contents is varied, but it is always complementary, and follows a progression of education in line with the recommendations of Hugh of Saint Victor and Stephen Langton. What emerges most clearly is the unusual interest demonstrated by the compiler and scribes in the synthesis of the different categories of knowledge, and a consistent tendency to original thought. Not only did the original compiler choose to include a series of diagrams on diverse themes; other hands have copied aspects of these diagrams into other pages of the book, in ways which demonstrate intellectual connections. As well as the association of classical moral teaching with theology suggested by the inclusion of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* alongside a moral index to the Bible, an annotator has included notes taken from classical studies in the Biblical commentaries. We find references to Juvenal in the margins of a commentary on Isaiah (f. 94v), and to the *De Officiis* in connection with the commentary on the Patriarchs (f. 44r). Several of the texts in this book are unusual, and are re-workings of scholarly material: diagrams of the soul and the brain, and the unusual text of the theological questions are all cases in point. As a whole, Harley MS. 658 bears witness to the love of analogy and creative juxtaposition characteristic of the ‘Biblical-Moral’ school of theology, and in particular to the original thought of the book’s compiler and its most prolific annotator.

**Description of London, British Library, Harley MS. 658**

**Heading**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title:</td>
<td>Theological Miscellany, including the <em>Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi</em> by Peter of Poitiers, and a commentary on Isaiah by Stephen Langton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language:</td>
<td>Latin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date and origin:</td>
<td>England, last quarter of the twelfth century and the thirteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance:</td>
<td>Ricardus Hutton, rector of Surrey in 1513, William Camden, Sir Simonds d’Ewes, the Harley Collection.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Understanding a Selection of Medical, Theological and Poetic Diagrams in a Thirteenth-Century Book of Biblical Commentaries: British Library, Harley MS. 658

Foliation: iv + 163 + i. Older foliation “1–..” in ink from f. 3. I follow the more modern foliation which starts with William Camden’s contents page.

Materials: Parchment; black/brown, red, green, yellow, black and blue ink. Paper for endleaves and ff. 1–2.

Dimensions of leaves: 350 x 260 mm.

Collation and arrangement of sheets: Collation is not possible, since the folios have been cut from their quires, and pasted into new cardboard gatherings. However, based on those quire signatures and catchwords that remain, hypothesized gatherings can be suggested for some parts of the text.

Script: Formal and cursive gothic bookhands by a total of nine scribes.

Secundo folio: Main text: gracie et veritatis.

Gloss: in qua docuit.

Binding: Modern British Library binding.

1. ff. 1r-2v: Title and table of contents.
   Date: 16th century.
   Material: paper.
   Number of leaves: 2.
   Collation: 1 bifolium.
   Written space: 220 x 180 mm, with no ruling or pricking.
   Script: humanistic cursive by William Camden.
   Decoration: some penwork flourishes on initials.

2. ff. 3r-32r: Gospel of John with marginal, interlinear and additional glosses. Glosses are taken from the standard Gloss, with original glosses interposed. Stegmüller, RB no. 9622.53
   Incipit (main text): Hic Johannes evangelista unus est ex discipulis Dei.
   Incipit (commentary): Sum verbum: duplicem habet significationem.
   Explicit (main text): nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere [eos s.l.] qui scribendi sunt libros.
   Explicit (commentary): ubi neque nubent neque nubentur.
   Date: late 12th century.
   Material: parchment.
   Number of leaves: 30.
   Collation: unknown. No quire signatures or catchword.
   Written space: 235 x 170 [50 x 70 x 50] mm.
   Pricking: pricking for horizontal lines in left and right margin, and for vertical columns.
   Ruling: ruled horizontally and vertically in lead point.
   Number of lines per column: 29-30 lines of main text, and 59–61 lines of marginal gloss.
   Script: early formal gothic hand, with serifed and squared feet, and angular letter forms.
   Corrections, marginal notes: correction by original scribe at f. 10r, line 8 of the main text. Frequent marginal notes by a later scribe placed to the left and right of the Gloss notes. Distinctiones in the lower margin of several pages, ff. 5r, 6v, 7r, 26v, 28r.

53 The following abbreviations will be used throughout the manuscript description:
PL: Patrologia Latina.
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Two red initials on f. 3r, four- and seven-lines respectively; initials in alternating red and green at the start of each lemma on ff. 15v–32r, with penwork decoration in contrasting colours on ff. 23r–32r. Spaces left blank for initials on ff. 4r–32r. Paragraph marks in alternating red and green on ff. 13r–32r, and highlighting of capitals in red on ff. 14v–32v.

3. f. 32v: Six theological quaestiones.¹⁴
   Incipit to first question: De triduo dicit quod homines nomen Christo sic in illo triduo.
   Explicit: est in patre sicut ecclesia est in patre. Item.
   Incipit: Generaliter nullus in quantum est homo est persona.
   Explicit: est homo vel angelus ergo factus est persona.
   Date: thirteenth century, slightly later than the other texts in the codex.
   Material: parchment.
   Number of leaves: 1
   Collation: written on the blank page at the end of a gathering.
   Written space: max. 260 x 210 [50 x 55 x 70] mm.
   Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for writing lines and columns.
   Ruling: horizontal and vertical in lead point.
   Lines per column: 66.
   Script: cursive gothic bookhand with influence of English documentary script.
   Marginal notes: titles of quaestiones are listed in the upper margin. Headings for questions.

   Incipit (added text at opening of work): Lux. [i s.l.] Firmamentum [ii s.l.] […]
   Incipit (main text): Considerans historie sacre prolixitatem necnon et difficultatem scolarium.
   Explicit: xiiii. anno Neronis. Set passus eodem die quo et Petrus.
   Date: early thirteenth century.
   Material: parchment.
   Number of leaves: 6
   Collation: one half of a gathering of twelve. See below, p. 24.
   Written space: 260–310 x 165–240 mm.
   Pricking: horizontal pricking for writing lines.
   Ruling: horizontal lines and a central vertical line in leadpoint.
   Number of lines per page: the ruling allows for 61 lines and up to 79 on f. 38v, but since text is disposed around diagrams, only some of the available writing space is used on each page.
   Script: formal early gothic hand.
   Corrections, marginal notes: marginal notes added in a later hand and rubrics.
   Initials: alternating red and blue two-line initials with red and blue penwork.
   Diagrams: colour-coded genealogical diagrams in red, black, green and yellow ink. Diagrams of the disposition of the Ark (f. 33r), the forty-two mansions of the desert (f. 34v), six gates of Jerusalem (f. 37r).

¹⁴ For each collection of quaestiones, I provide the incipit and explicit of the first and last question. For a more exhaustive list of the quaestiones included in this manuscript see Quinto, ‘Il MS Harley 658’, pp. 34–51.
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5. ff. 39r-42r: A series of diagrams on theological and scholastic themes:
- Chronological table of kings of Judea and Israel (f. 39r).
- Schematic plan of the city of Jerusalem and its surroundings (f. 39v).
- The brain and humours (f. 40r).
- Virtues (f. 40r).
- Vices (f. 40v).
- The soul (f. 41r).
- Taxonomy of arts and sciences (f. 41r).
-metrical feet (f. 41v).

Date: thirteenth century
Material: parchment.
Number of leaves: 4
Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for writing lines and columns.
Ruling: horizontal and vertical leadpoint ruling.
Script: small formal gothic bookhand.
Decoration: diagrams in black, red, blue, yellow and green ink.
Notable features: early use of arabic numerals, f. 39r.55

Incipit: Duas habuisse uxorib Iacob legitur.
Explicit: ut in bono quod agit non sit fastidiosus.

Incipit: [I]n refectione, duo sunt potus et cibus.
Explicit: foris per discretionem choibeatur donec viria extinguatur.
Printed text: PL 177, cols 558c-559b.

8. f. 47r: Sermon attributed to Gregory the Great.
Incipit: Homelia Gregorius: Dominus non negavit se samaritanum
Explicit: non merearis accipere. Vel bonum quod habes amittas.

Incipit: [T]abernaculum Dei dicitur quandoque corpus Christi.
Explicit: […] domus destruerit eam omnes pietatis cultores.

10. ff. 49v-51r: ‘De variis quibusdam in scriptura vocabulis et locutionibus mysticis’.56
Mystical meanings of scriptural words and places.
Incipit: [N]ullus sit in tabernaculo quando pontifex ingrediatur sanctuarium.
Explicit: ab occidente ad orientem, quod figurat eius sepultura.

55 See above, p. 2.
56 Rubric added by William Camden.
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11. ff. 51v-52r: ‘Sermo de nativitate domini’. (Not found in Schneyer, RLS).
   Incipit: [E]greditur virga de radice. Iesse, et flos de radice eius as[cendet] etc.
   Explicit: Idem Dominus noster perducere dignetur. cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum Amen.

12. f. 52r: Innocent III, Sermo in Conc. Gen. Lateran. 11.11 1215. (Schneyer, RLS 4, p. 47, n. 78).
   Incipit: [D]esiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum antequam paciar[...]
   verumtamen non mea voluntas fiat set Dei.
   Explicit: de infelicitate ad gloriam de corruptione ad ecernitatem.

13. f. 52r: Notes: ‘De voto’ etc.
   Incipit: [P]rimum est commune omnium quo ligamur in baptismo cum renunciamus dyabolo.
   Explicit: iuxta est dies perditionis et adesse festinant tempora.
   Date: thirteenth century
   Material: parchment
   Number of leaves: 11
   Collation: together with the Compendium and diagrams (ff. 33-52), one quire of twelve (with quire signature at f. 44v), one quire of eight.
   Written space: 240 x 170 [85 x 85] mm.
   Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for writing lines and columns.
   Ruling: lines and columns in leadpoint.
   Lines per column: 55-61.
   Other physical features of note: outside folios of quire, hair side in.
   Script: formal early gothic hand, with influences of English documentary hand e.g. doubled capitals f. 44va fifth line ‘S’.
   Marginal notes: marginal notes in the same later hand which appears in the Gospel of John (ff. 3r-32r) and the Compendium (ff. 33r-38v). Rubrics to the commentary to Leviticus, ff. 47r-49v. Guide letters for initials (e.g. f. 43v).
   Initials: Alternate two-line red and blue decorated initials in the De Patriarchis, with red and blue penwork. The first initial has more elaborate blue and red penwork.

14. f. 52v: Three theological quaestiones.
   Incipit: Rogatur in ewangelio Marci: Lapis erat positus.
   Explicit: ergo a simili potest dici de parvulo.
   Incipit to second question: Ad intelligentiam archanorum dei opus est mansuetudine.
   Explicit: qui abstinet a fornicatione.
   Date: thirteenth century, slightly later than the other texts in the codex.
   Material: parchment.
   Number of leaves: 1
   Collation: written on the blank page at the end of a gathering.
   Written space: 260 x 210 [105 x 105] mm.
   Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for lines and columns.
   Ruling: horizontal and vertical in leadpoint.
   Lines per column: 66.
   Script: cursive gothic bookhand with influence of English documentary script.
   Marginal notes: titles of quaestiones are listed in the upper margin. Headings for questions.
   – Additional notes on the values of metrical feet and the calculation of holy days f. 56rv.
   – Tables for calculating the calendar f. 56v.
   Incipit: Antequam principale propositum aggrediamur primo videndum est quid sit hec ars.
   Explicit: (f. 56r) quia solaris annus annum lunarem xi. diebus superat. Explicit computus.
Date: thirteenth century.
Material: parchment.
Number of leaves: 4.
Collation: one quire of four.
Written space: 245 x 165 [80 x 85] mm.
Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for writing lines and columns.
Ruling: horizontal and vertical ruling.
Lines per column: 67.
Script: formal early gothic with guide letters for initials: e.g. left margin of f. 53v.
Marginal notes: extensive marginal notes in the same hand as the questions on f. 52v. Red rubrics.
Initials: alternating red and green initials on f. 53r, and blue initials on f. 53v.
Other decoration: table of intercalary days and months (f. 55r) and further tables (f. 56v)
decorated with black, green, red, yellow, and sky-blue ink, with red rubrics.

16. ff. 57r-72r: Anonymous table of Biblical sources for 186 moral questions. Stegmüller, 
   RB no. 9625. This is a reworking of the Summa de diversis of Stephen Langton 
   and the Distinctiones of Nicholas Buchiau.77
   Incipit: i Quod vitanda sunt malorum consorcia, consilia et exempla.
   Explicit: Ezech. xiii. circa principium. homo, homo te domo Israel, et de proselytis.
Date: thirteenth century.
Material: parchment.
Number of leaves: 16.
Collation: one quire of fourteen (with a quire signature at f. 70), one quire of four.
Dimensions of written space: 245 x c. 165 [75 x 90] and 250 x 210 [70 x 70 x 70] mm.
Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for lines and columns.
Ruling: lines and columns ruled in leadpoint.
Number of lines per column: 66.
Script: cursive book hand, with rubrics for section headings.

17 ff. 72r-74v: Theological quaestiones.
   Incipit: Facite vobis amicos de man[ona] [i]nqui[tatis]. Glossa: id est que de [i]niquitate.
   Explicit: Si non habet sufficit tantam restituere.
   Incipit: Si offeres munus (u)m ad altare.
   Explicit: alium a morte liberare debent.
Date: thirteenth century, slightly later than the other texts in the codex.
Material: parchment.
Number of leaves: 3.
Collation: written on the blank pages at the end of a gathering.
Written space: max. 260 x 210 [70 x 70 x 65] mm.
Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for lines and columns.

of Humber of Romans and the Postille on the Scriptures of Hugh of Saint-Cher’, in Kent Emery Jr. and Joseph 
Wawrikow (eds.), Christ among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the 
Order of Preachers (Notre Dame, 1998), pp. 49-91 (pp. 58-39, 82-91) for description of the progression of titles, 
and a list of manuscripts in which the various versions of the work appear.
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Ruling: horizontal and vertical in lead point.
Lines per column: max. 66.
Script: cursive gothic bookhand with influence of English documentary script.
Marginal notes: titles of quaestiones are listed in the lower margin. Headings for questions.

18. f. 75r: Fragment of glossed creed, with marginal and interlinear glosses.
Incipit (main text): [A]scendit ad celos.
Incipit (commentary): Et ex homine hominis filius.
Explicit (commentary): et non dicimus spiritum Spiritus Sancti ne Pater eius intelligatur.

Incipit: [H]onestum est quod sua vi nos trahit.
Explicit: cum ante oculos agiti iudicis cuncta cernentis.

Date: thirteenth century.
Material: parchment.
Number of leaves: 4.
Collation: one quire of four.
Written space: max. 300 x 225mm.
Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for writing lines and columns.
Ruling: lines and columns ruled.
Number of lines per column: max. 75.
Script: formal gothic hand with some influence of English documentary script.
Decoration: diagrams of virtues in black, green, yellow, red and sky-blue ink.

20. ff. 79r-82v: Anonymous quaestiones on theological subjects.
Explicit: radicatio gaudii super eadem.
Incipit: Cum non virtutes set opera virtutum sint in precepto.
Explicit: quodlibet modo observat dummodo accionem.

Date: thirteenth century.
Material: parchment.
Number of leaves: 4.
Collation: one quire of four.
Dimensions of written space: 270 x 205 [95 x 110] mm.
Pricking: horizontally pricked only in the outer horizontal margin.
Ruling: ruled into two columns with two or three vertical bounding lines in the central space.
Number of lines per column: 70.
Script: cursive gothic bookhand with influence of English documentary script.
Rubrics: rubrics are used for the title of each question.

Explicit: in die qua ego facio, dicit Dominus exercituum. Expliciunt notule super Ysaiam.

Date: thirteenth century.
Material: parchment.
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Number of leaves: 37.
Collation: five quires of eight, with catchwords. The second quire wants the eighth leaf.
Written space: 240 x 170 [85 x 85] mm.
Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for writing lines and columns.
Ruling: ruled in lead point, into horizontal lines with two vertical columns.
Number of lines per column: 62.
Other physical features of note: this work has its own foliation written in lead point, ff. 83v–114.
Script: small gothic bookhand.
Rubrics: thematic headings.
Marginal notes: very faint notes in lead point, ff. 87v, 119r. Marginal notes in gothic hand.

22. ff. 119v–121v: Theological quaestiones.
  First question incipit: Videtur autem quod non fuerit vera penitentia.
  Explicit: non habet nisi per gratiam.
  Last question incipit: Hoc nomen aliquid aliquando ponitur.
  Explicit: sic videatur in aliis nominibus similibus.
  Date: thirteenth century slightly later than the other texts in the codex.
  Material: parchment.
  Number of leaves: 3.
  Collation: written on the blank pages at the end of a gathering.
  Written space: max. 260 x 210 [90 x 95] mm.
  Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for writing lines and columns.
  Ruling: horizontal and vertical in lead point.
  Lines per column: max. 66.
  Script: cursive gothic bookhand with influence of English documentary script.
  Marginal notes: titles of quaestiones are listed in the first upper margin. Headings for questions.

23. ff. 122r–137v: Commentary on Joel probably by Richard of Saint Victor, also attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor. Stegmüller, RB nos 3824, 7339.
  Incipit to prologue: Joel filius fatuel in ordine prophetarum secundus.
  Incipit to commentary (f. 123r): Verbum Domini quod factum est ad Iohel filium fatuel.
  Explicit: Qui trinus et unus vivit et regnat Deus; per omnia seclorum secula. Amen.
  Explicit tractus super Iohel.

  Incipit to prologue: Naum propheta in regnum assyriorum invenitur. Hystorialiter
de Ninive.
  Incipit to commentary (f. 139r): Onus Ninive liber visionis Naum Helchesei. Pro-
logum istum prophetie sue propheta preposuisse.
  Explicit: usque persequi non destitit.

Date: early thirteenth century.
Material: parchment.
Number of leaves: 41.
Collation: four quires of eight, one quire of ten (with quire signatures in lead point).
Written space: 264 x 155 [75 x 80] mm.
Pricking: horizontal and vertical pricking for writing lines and columns.
Ruling: horizontal and vertical ruling into two columns with central margin.
Number of lines per column: 40.
Script: formal early gothic hand.
Rubrics: thematic titles.
Marginal notes: marginal annotations in lead point, e.g. f. 129r.
Understanding a Selection of Medical, Theological and Poetic Diagrams in a Thirteenth-Century Book of Biblical Commentaries: British Library, Harley MS. 658

Initials: the first initial of each commentary decorated with four-line puzzle-style initial in red and blue. Alternating red and blue one-line capitals ff. 134r-154r. Alternating red and green one-line initials from f. 154v.