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XIX

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# A U R O R A

PETRI RIGAE  
BIBLIA VERSIFICATA

*A Verse Commentary on the Bible*

Part I

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*Editor*

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## PREFATORY NOTE

A printed edition of the *Aurora*, the most popular verse Bible or verse commentary on the Bible in the Middle Ages, has been long in coming. In 1722 Casimir Oudin wrote that he had prepared an edition from several manuscripts; it was never printed. To the modern reader several thousand lines of excerpts from the *Aurora* have been accessible, chiefly in Migne's *Patrologia latina*, but these have been a poor substitute for the complete work.

The problems of making a useful edition of the *Aurora* are perhaps unique. Not only are there an extraordinary number of manuscripts, which are for the most part inadequately described, but there are also several medieval editions of the poem. The best first printed edition, it seemed to me, would be one which would somehow make it possible for the reader to follow, at least in essentials, any of the medieval editions which a contemporary author is likely to have used. The notes for such a printed edition should point out in some detail the sources employed by the poet so that a reader interested in the history of Biblical exegesis might see how the *Aurora* had popularized accepted commentaries.

That my efforts to publish an edition of the *Aurora* have been more successful than those of Oudin, I have the University of Notre Dame to thank. The Reverend Philip S. Moore, C.S.C., the editor of *PUBLICATIONS IN MEDIAEVAL STUDIES*, assured me a long time ago that he would accept my edition. After working spasmodically on the project for a number of years, I was relieved of all other duties by the President and Administration of the University for the fall semester of 1962 and again for the fall semester of 1963 in order to devote full time and attention to it. The interest of friends and colleagues has acted as a pleasant spur. I am indebted to many people, particularly to Professor A. L. Gabriel, Director of the Mediaeval Institute, who not only ex-

tended to me the resources of the Institute but also gave me sage advice on many occasions. I am indebted beyond measure to the Reverend Joseph N. Garvin, C.S.C., the associate editor of PUBLICATIONS IN MEDIAEVAL STUDIES, who read typescript and proof with the patience of Job and the restored eyesight of Tobias. But for his vigilance and learned suggestions this edition would have been much the poorer. My gratitude must also be expressed to Miss Emily Schossberger, Director of the University of Notre Dame Press, for easing the pains of publication and especially for finding a printer skilled in Latin who was willing to set type and supply proofs of this edition piecemeal so that we could correct them at our own pace. It is an agreeable obligation to thank the University of Notre Dame Library and its director, Mr. Victor Schaefer, for purchasing two manuscripts of the *Aurora* and for granting me the privilege of using them outside of the building for indefinite periods.

I also wish to thank the following for their generous permission to use their manuscripts of the *Aurora* in the preparation of this edition: at Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Magdalen College Library, Merton College Library, and University College Library; at Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library and the Master and Fellows of St. John's College; at London, The British Museum; at New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library; and finally The Free Library of Philadelphia. The specific manuscripts are listed on page 2.

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December, 1964

P. E. B.

## CONTENTS

### PART I

PREFATORY NOTE	VII
INTRODUCTION	XI
1. Peter Riga	XII
2. <i>Aurora</i>	XVI
3. Medieval Editions of the <i>Aurora</i>	XVII
4. Aegidius of Paris	XXI
5. Other Accretions	XXIV
6. Popularity and Influence of the <i>Aurora</i>	XXVII
7. Sources of the <i>Aurora</i>	XLVII
8. The Manuscripts and This Edition	L
MEDIAEVAL EDITIONS OF THE <i>Aurora</i> AND SIGLA	2
PREFACES AND POSTSCRIPTS	
I. A Thirteenth-century Foreword	3
II. A Teacher's Preface	4
III. Peter Riga's Preface	7
IV. Preface of Aegidius of Paris	8
V. Verses in Praise of the <i>Aurora</i> by a Canon of the Premonstratensian Order	9
VI. The Name of the Author	11
VII. Verses Concerning the Authors	11
VIII. Formal Prologue of Aegidius	12
IX. Prayer of Aegidius	13
X. Dedicatory Verse-letter of Aegidius to Odo	14
XI. Aegidius on Himself	16
XII. The Number of Lines in the <i>Aurora</i>	17
XIII. Aegidius Counts His Lines Again	17
XIV. Peter, What Is the World?	18
XV. Verses of Aegidius	18
XVI. The Number of Books in the Bible	18

LIBER GENESIS	21
LIBER EXODUS	91
LIBER LEVITICUS	145
LIBER NUMERI	179
LIBER DEUTERONOMII	207
LIBER IOSUE	219
LIBER IUDICUM	231
LIBER RUTH	244
LIBER PRIMUS REGUM	247
LIBER SECUNDUS REGUM	271
LIBER TERTIUS REGUM	287
LIBER QUARTUS REGUM	304
LIBER TOBIE.	316
Misterium de Tobia a correctore appositum—Aegidius	334
LIBER DANIELIS	339
Historia Susanne—Version of Aegidius	371
Allegoria de historia Susanne—Aegidius	373
LIBER IUDITH	375
Allegoria de Iudith—Aegidius	383
LIBER HESTER	386
Allegoria de Hester—Aegidius	396
LIBER MACHABEORUM	399
Prologus in Libro Machabeorum—Aegidius	417
Prologus allegorice compositus de eodem libro—Aegidius	419
NOTES	[1]
PART II	
NOVUM TESTAMENTUM: EVANGELIUM	421
Evangelium Aegidii	535
RECAPITULATIONES	605
ACTUS APOSTOLORUM	626
LIBER IOB	669
CANTICA CANTICORUM	703
Prologus super Cantica Canticorum—Aegidius	760
Item alius prologus—Aegidius	761
NOTES	[39]
APPENDIX	[62]
BIBLIOGRAPHY	[65]

## INTRODUCTION

The *Aurora* of Peter Riga has been called the verse Bible of the Middle Ages. It is not, however, just a collection of paraphrases of Scriptural texts, although passages of this kind abound; nor is it primarily a Bible history, although some books are largely narrative. With its emphasis on allegorical and moral interpretations, it might more accurately be termed a verse commentary on the Bible, for in many respects it is similar to the prose commentaries from which much of its material was extracted, condensed, or paraphrased.

The *Aurora* was a popularization which succeeded—perhaps beyond the wildest hopes of its author. For those who could read Latin, it supplied Scriptural lore in a popular form and it also served as a book of popular theology, devotional reading, moral instruction, and entertainment. Its influence was propagated by teachers, preachers, and lexicographers, by poets and other writers. It was studied, imitated, translated, and quoted. Not only was it widely read in monasteries and convents but it was also recommended reading for the sons of nobles, for it was considered a Christian classic, a “modern” counterbalance to pagan classics of antiquity, such as the poems of Virgil and Ovid. It was one of the most frequently copied books of the Middle Ages, as the more than two hundred and fifty extant manuscripts in various libraries throughout the world will testify. This impressive monument of the late twelfth century cast its long shadow into the fifteenth. Although the first printed quotations from the *Aurora* appeared in incunabular editions of two Latin dictionaries before the New World was discovered, until this present edition of the poem no more than several thousand lines of excerpts have been made available in print.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Casimir Oudin (*Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis* [Leipzig, 1722], II, 1551) said that he had once prepared an edition of the *Aurora* from

## 1. Peter Riga

In spite of the immense popularity of the *Aurora* for several centuries after its composition, scarcely a detail of the life of its author has come down to us. Petrus was his Christian name and Riga his surname in Latin. But from the end of the fifteenth century until the last quarter of the nineteenth he was incorrectly called Petrus de Riga with astonishing consistency by cataloguers of manuscripts and writers who had occasion to mention him. There is, however, no connection at all between him and Riga, the Latvian city on the Baltic. Perhaps in the French of the time he was called Pierre Raie or Reige<sup>2</sup> or Rigge.<sup>3</sup>

"A Thirteenth-century Foreword" (*infra*, pp. 3-4) speaks highly of the talent and learning of Peter Riga but gives few details con-

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various manuscripts. His edition, however, was never printed. Polycarp Leyser included some excerpts from the *Aurora* in *Historia poetarum et poematum medi aevi* (Halle, 1721), pp. 692-750, and Migne reprinted these along with a few other excerpts printed elsewhere (*PL*, 212, 19-46). The longest of these fragments from the *Aurora* thus made available were the short *Liber Ruth* (70 lines), *Liber Esther* (264 lines), and *Recapitulationes* (482 lines). It should be noted that the "Dedicatory Verse-letter of Aegidius to Odo" (54 lines; see, *infra*, pp. 14-16), in which Aegidius of Paris gives an exaggerated notion of the importance of his interpolations and "corrections" in the *Aurora*, was printed by Leyser and reprinted by Migne. Dom J. B. Pitra printed a great many allegories and moral interpretations from the *Aurora* as he had occasion to use them in *Spicilegium Solesmense* (Paris, 1852-58), volumes II and III, *passim*. But even if a person read all the excerpts in Migne and Pitra, he would have an opinion of the whole *Aurora* which would be no more accurate than that of a *terra incognita*, full of peculiarities, mysteries, and large unexplored areas. The articles on Peter Riga and Aegidius (Gilles) of Paris in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XVII (1832), 26-69, and the additions and corrections, XXX (1888), 608-615, are quite useful. The best recent account is that of Max Manitius in his *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III (Munich, 1931), 820-831, although it is not without several errors.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXX (1888), 608.

<sup>3</sup> *Ms. Egerton 2951* of the British Museum, which contains the Latin poems of Robert Partes, a monk of Reading Abbey (fols. 1-23<sup>r</sup>), and *Floridus aspectus* of Peter Riga (fols. 23-47), gives the following colophon written in large letters down the outside margin of folio 23<sup>r</sup>: "Hic finiunt versus Roberti. Hic incipiunt versus Petri la Rigge." An excellent description of the manuscript is given in the *British Museum: Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1916-1920* (London, 1933), pp. 297-302.

cerning his life: he was born of middle-class parentage in Reims; he studied the classics or the arts, logic or philosophy, and theology for a long time in Paris; he later entered the religious life; and he wrote the *Aurora*. Writing in 1492, John Trithemius produced an interesting, if unreliable, testimonial to the learning and the literary production of Peter Riga, without saying anything about his life.

Petrus clericus Ecclesiae Remensis, dictus *de Riga*, vir in divinis scripturis studiosus et eruditus, atque in saecularibus literis inter omnes doctores sui temporis doctissimus, Grammaticus et Philosophus insignis, carmine excellens et prosa. Scripsit utroque stylo non pauca volumina, quibus nomen suum posteris notificavit.<sup>4</sup>

Peter was a student in Paris in 1165, the time of the birth of Philip Augustus, for he wrote a poem about that event in which he says: "Tunc mea Parisius studuit praesentia ..."<sup>5</sup> If he was then about twenty-five years of age, the year of his birth would be about 1140. The year of his death is usually given as 1209 because of the following entry for that year in *Albrici monachi Triumfontium chronicon*, which was written by 1241: "Remis moritur quidam Sancti Dyonisii canonicus regularis, magister Petrus, Riga cognominatus, Bibliotheca versificator, apud scolares et studiosos opinione celeberrimus."<sup>6</sup> *Bibliotheca* was a nickname given to the

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<sup>4</sup> Joh. Trithemius Abbas Spanhemensis, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, cap. 388 (Joh. Alber. Fabricius, ed., *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* [Hamburg, 1718], pt. 3, p. 98). When the exaggeration is cleared away, it can be admitted that Peter Riga was a learned man for his time, a poet, and a rhetorician or grammarian, but I have found nothing to indicate that he was a philosopher and a prose writer. The abbot, however, was cautious enough to say that he had seen only the *Aurora*.

<sup>5</sup> *Versus de gaudio filii regis, quando fuit natus*, line 3. The text is given in the article by H.-François Delaborde, "Un poème inédit de Pierre Riga sur la naissance de Philippe-Auguste," in *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa fondation* (Paris, 1884), pp. 121-127. Delaborde says (p. 123) that the vividness of impressions and the fact that no praise is addressed to the young prince, who was probably too young for praise, lead one to suppose that the poem was written shortly after the birth of Philip Augustus.

<sup>6</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, XXIII (1874), 889.

*Aurora*, doubtless because of its length and scope.<sup>7</sup> A life span of nearly seventy years would have been long for those days but not impossible. When Aegidius of Paris wrote his "Verses Concerning the Authors" (*infra*, p. 11) for his second redaction of the *Aurora*, probably after the beginning of the thirteenth century, he speaks of Peter as a priest of Reims and an old man and of himself as a deacon of Paris and a man of maturity:

Ille prior Remis, hic Parisiensis alumpnus;  
Hic leuita gradu, presbyter ille fuit;  
Simplex clericus hic, sacri ordinis ille professor;  
Ambo graues annis, hic uir, ille senex.

Nearly all modern accounts of Peter mention that he was a canon of the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Reims and later a Canon Regular of the Order of St. Augustine at St. Denis in the same city.<sup>8</sup> In his early years, before his studies in Paris, he seems to have been on good terms with Samson, who was archbishop of Reims from 1140 to 1161. Apparently the archbishop was his patron or wished to encourage the literary talents of a promising young poet by asking him to make a collection of some of his early poems. Peter complied and dedicated the collection, *Floridus aspectus*, to him. In the preface he writes: "... presul venerabilis ... petis autem ut quicquid in versu ab antiquo, in quantum recolligere possum, elegantiori stylo praepollens uno volumine concludam tuaeque devotioni transmittam. Factum est ut postulasti."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Aegidius of Paris used the title *Bibliotheca* for the *Aurora*. See "Formal Prologue of Aegidius," rubric (*infra*, p. 12); "Dedicatory Verse-letter of Aegidius to Odo," line 15 (*infra*, p. 15); "Aegidius on Himself," line 12 (*infra*, p. 16).

<sup>8</sup> Oudin, *Comment. de script. eccles.*, II, 1551; *Hist. litt. de la France*, XVII, 26; F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, 2 ed. (Oxford, 1953), p. 303; Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2 ed. (Oxford, 1957), II, 35; Manitius, *Geschichte*, III, 821.

<sup>9</sup> *PL*, 171, 1381-1382. *Floridus aspectus*, erroneously attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin, was first printed among his miscellaneous works by A. Beau-gendre (*Venerabilis Hildeberti ... opera* [Paris, 1708]) and reprinted by Migne. B. Hauréau proved conclusively, without the benefit of manuscript attribution, that *Floridus aspectus* was written by Peter Riga (*Mélanges poétiques d'Hilbert de Lavardin* [Paris, 1882], pp. 1-14. Hauréau also showed that

Although the scope of this INTRODUCTION to the *Aurora* does not permit an extended discussion of *Floridus aspectus*, it must be observed that the collection which Peter Riga presented to Samson contained secular as well as religious poems, some of them written perhaps as school exercises. Since the extant manuscripts of *Floridus aspectus* vary considerably as to content and the order of the selections, one may conclude that the longer manuscripts probably contain some later poems. The point to be emphasized here is that the Biblical poems of *Floridus aspectus* which have been called excerpts from the *Aurora* by critics and cataloguers of the collection are not excerpts from the *Aurora* at all. They were written as independent poems, and it was probably because of them that Peter was asked by his friends to write the *Aurora*. He used them, making revisions as necessary, when he came to the appropriate places in the composition of the *Aurora*.<sup>10</sup> When Archbishop Samson died in 1161, Peter Riga's career of study and writing stretched ahead of him, not behind him. The explicit

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Samson was the archbishop to whom the collection was dedicated. For another treatment of *Floridus aspectus* see Charles Fierville, "Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Omer nos. 115 et 710," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, XXXI, pt. 1 (1884), 49-156. A list of the individual poems and the places where the text of each may be found in print is given in *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXX (1888), 611-614; a reader of *Floridus aspectus* in Migne will need such a list in order to pick out the poems of Peter Riga. See also Manitius, *Geschichte*, III, 826-831; Raby, *Christian-Latin Poetry*, pp. 303-304; and Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, II, 37-38. One should not miss the description of *Floridus aspectus* in *Ms. Egerton 2951 in British Museum: Catalogue of Additions ... 1916-1920*, pp. 299-302. This is apparently the earliest extant manuscript (xii century, after 1181) of *Floridus aspectus* and the only one definitely ascribed to Peter Riga by the copyist; it also contains *Colores verborum* as the second book. Had it been known to the scholars mentioned above, some of their labor would have been obviated. In *Revue du moyen âge latin*, I (1945), 340, André Boutemy printed an abstract of a study of *Floridus aspectus* which he made from *Ms. 1136* of the Arsenal during the war.

<sup>10</sup> For example: *De venditione Joseph* (*PL*, 171, 1384A-1387A) used for *Liber Genesis*, 1061-1232 (*infra*, pp. 69-75); *Historia Susannae* (*PL*, 171, 1287D-1292D) used for *Liber Danielis*, 451-646 (*infra*, pp. 360-367); *De quatuor evangelistis* (*PL*, 171, 1389B-1390C), revised and used as the prologue of the *Evangelium* (*infra*, pp. 421-423).

assertion of Max Manitius that Peter had already composed his life's work, the *Aurora*, when he collected early poems for the archbishop is wrong.<sup>11</sup> And it would have been strange indeed, had Peter Riga written both the *Aurora* and *Floridus aspectus* in several years as a young man and then lived on for nearly fifty unproductive years until his death in 1209.

## 2. *Aurora*

The work which brought Peter Riga fame was not *Floridus aspectus* but the *Aurora*. He wrote in his preface<sup>12</sup> that his colleagues, with whom he had associated from childhood on, had repeatedly urged him to put the Pentateuch into verse and to draw some allegories from the material. He doubted his own powers and yet he feared to offend his associates. Finally overcome by their entreaty or rather by fraternal charity, he undertook the task, trying to elicit some allegorical interpretations from the literal sense. He called his book *Aurora*, for just as aurora dissipates the darkness of night, so too his book, dissipating the darkness and obscurities of the Old Testament, glows with lightning flashes of truth and shining sparks of allegories. And just as the angel, after nocturnal wrestling with Jacob, said to him, "Let me go; it is aurora," so too, after wrestling with his book, he can say these same words, "Dimitte me; aurora est."

Peter does not speak of the Scriptural commentaries which he must have ransacked in his search for material nor of the sources which he actually used; but his task of reading, selecting, and digesting appropriate matter must have been formidable indeed, to say nothing of writing it in verse. The sources of the *Aurora*, which will be pointed out later in this INTRODUCTION as well as in the NOTES, will provide ample evidence of his use of the works of his predecessors and will justify the reputation he enjoyed as a scholar.

<sup>11</sup> Manitius, *Geschichte*, III, 821: "Mit dem Erzbischof Samson stand er in engerem Verhältnisse, denn er widmete ihm auf dessen Wunsch eine ganze Gedichtsammlung. Damals aber hatte er das Hauptwerk seines Lebens schon verfasst."

<sup>12</sup> "Peter Riga's Preface," *infra*, pp. 7-8.

But the *Aurora* was far from completed when Peter wrote his little preface and published the first group of books for his friends. Successive new editions appeared with new books added. This point has not been recognized in the past, and yet the failure to take it into consideration has resulted in much confusion and many inaccuracies in the reporting of the contents of the poem.<sup>13</sup> The composition of the whole text of the *Aurora* must have covered a period of years, perhaps two decades, between 1170 and 1200. Peter's longest edition contained more than 15,000 lines. Between 1200, or even earlier, and 1208 Aegidius of Paris produced his two redactions of the *Aurora*.

## 3. Medieval Editions of the *Aurora*

Manuscript evidence gives grounds for my view that there are three recognizable editions of the *Aurora* by Peter Riga and two later redactions by Aegidius.

*First edition.* — The first edition contains Peter's Preface, *Liber Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomii, Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth, I-IV Regum, Machabeorum*, and the *Evangelium* up to the Sermon on the Mount (about a thousand lines). In the first edition the longer books, such as *Genesis* and *Exodus*, are subdivided into smaller books; this practice of subdividing the longer books was later abandoned. *Liber Machabeorum* is also subdivided into *Liber Machabeorum* and *Liber Iosephi*. The latter is nothing but the last part of *Liber Machabeorum* (lines 309-474); it corresponds to *Liber II Machabeorum* of the *Historia scholastica*, which the poet was using as his source. The title *Liber Iosephi* was later dropped. The *Evangelium* is about one third completed. One large section of it is an allegorical and moral commentary on the names in the genealogy of Christ (*Evang.* 197-424), and a still larger section is a poetic debate at the trial of Antipater (*Evang.*

<sup>13</sup> For example: Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, II, 35: "His *Aurora* is a collection of verses on the Old Testament." P. C. Spicq, O. P., *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge* (Paris, 1944), p. 72: "... dans l'*Aurora*, poème biblique de plus de 15.000 vers sur quelques livres historiques de l'Ancien Testament (Genèse, Exode, Rois, Ruth, Judith, Esther) par Pierre Riga († 1209) et achevé par Gilles de Paris."

489-828). The prologue concerning the four Evangelists and the formal poetic description of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Evang.* 33-68) are lacking. The conclusion of the *Evangelium* (and of the first edition) is a concordance of the seven petitions of the *Pater noster*, the seven gifts, the seven virtues, and the seven beatitudes, placed immediately after line 1004.

For the books listed above, the verse of the first edition is closer to Peter Riga's prose sources than is the verse of subsequent editions. Thus, identical words occur in the verse and in the sources, but in subsequent editions some of these words are replaced by synonyms. Although some changes may represent variants introduced by scribes who copied the *Aurora*, others appear to be the author's revisions made at the time the new books of the second edition were added and after the verbal influence of the sources had faded. In the first edition the rubrics or headings are briefer than in later editions.

*Second edition.* — The second edition adds *Liber Tobie, Danielis, Iudith,* and *Hester* after *IV Regum* of the first edition. It also adds the prologue on the Evangelists, completes the *Evangelium*, including the *Passio*, and concludes with *Recapitulationes*.

In the second edition Peter seems to have made minor corrections or improvements in the verse of the books contained in the first. And Peter also provided a revised set of rubrics, for many of the new rubrics show a knowledge of his sources which a later scribe who read the verse and the first set of rubrics could not have had. Thus, the distinctive *dum* or *cum* rubrics, which appear particularly in *Liber Numeri*, follow the formula: *Dum de ... (topic) tractaretur, adiunctum est quod ...* (Scriptural text). This is the formula used by Paterius to give his topics and his references in his commentary compiled from the writings of Gregory the Great. The first edition of the *Aurora* (as represented by *Mss. MeE*) uses simple headings in these places and not the formula.

A word about the *Recapitulationes* will not be out of place here. This was the longest passage from the *Aurora* in print and it was easily accessible in Migne.<sup>14</sup> Leyser had printed it originally as

<sup>14</sup> Leyser, *Hist. poet.*, pp. 703-727; Migne, *PL*, 212, 32A-42B.

a curiosity, just as he had printed some short passages as *singularia excerpta* without knowing that the poet did not invent these "oddities" but that he found them in his sources, especially the *Historia scholastica*. Outside of its context the *Recapitulationes* has elicited some sharp comments of critics. It has been condemned as badinage, misplaced ingenuity, or a *tour de force* in bad taste, for it is a lipogrammatic or letterdropping book, in each part of which one of the letters of the alphabet is avoided, beginning with the section *Sine A*, then *Sine B*, and so on, through the alphabet and the book.

But critics expressed their evaluations of the *Recapitulationes* without knowing its purpose or relation to the *Aurora* as a whole. Essentially it is not a recapitulation or summary of the *Aurora* but rather a catalogue of persons of the Old Testament considered as types or figures of subsequent things. To write it Peter Riga followed a catalogue of Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturae ex Veteri Testamento*,<sup>15</sup> for the inspiration and the order of persons; he paraphrased Isidore for many of the individual allegories, and for others he used passages from earlier books of the *Aurora*, after making a few appropriate changes by substituting synonyms and circumlocutions for words containing the letter to be avoided. Nearly half of the book consists of such revised passages. Hence it appears to me that Peter employed letter-dropping as a psychological device to induce a person to read a catalogue and not stop when he realized that he had read many of the passages before in a slightly different form. The device must have been successful in Peter's day; it has focused unwarranted attention on the book today.

*Third edition.* — The third edition simply adds *Actus Apostolorum, Liber Iob,* and *Cantica canticorum* to the end of the second edition. The new books are in riming hexameters, whereas the other books are written in distichs. Perhaps Peter Riga grew tired of distichs and wished to write in a meter which would provide a change or which would move more rapidly, as indeed it does in *Actus Apostolorum*.

<sup>15</sup> *PL*, 83, 99-116.



*First redaction of Aegidius.* — The first redaction of Aegidius of Paris builds on the third edition of Peter. It adds the prose preface of Aegidius (*infra*, p. 8), a formal prologue to the *Aurora* (*infra*, pp. 12-13), and interpolations, *passim*, in nearly all of the books; it moves *Liber Iob* and *Cantica canticorum* to positions within the Old Testament and changes the *Historia Susanne* (*infra*, pp. 360-367) from a debate into a chronological narrative with speeches (*infra*, pp. 371-373).

*Second redaction of Aegidius.* — The principal additions of the second redaction are the "Dedicatory Verse-letter of Aegidius to Odo" (*infra*, pp. 14-16), long prologues or epilogues to a number of books, the verse tract *Mysterium de agno paschali* interpolated after line 216 of *Exodus* (*infra*, p. 99), and the long expanded revision of Peter Riga's *Evangelium*, particularly between the Sermon on the Mount and the Passion (*infra*, pp. 535-604).

Through this first printed edition of the *Aurora* I have tried to make it possible for the reader or the scholar to follow any one of the medieval editions or redactions of the *Aurora*. A medieval writer who used the *Aurora* would have read a manuscript which would probably fit under one of the editions or redactions indicated above, and in some cases it may be of importance to the student of that writer to determine which one, particularly if the *Aurora* was used extensively. Thus, John Gower used a manuscript of the first edition for his many borrowings in *Vox clamantis*, and we have no evidence that he ever read the books added in subsequent editions. Macé de la Charité made his Old French verse translation of the *Aurora* from a manuscript of the first redaction of Aegidius. It is also very probable that John of Genoa used a manuscript of the first redaction of Aegidius for his quotations in his great Latin dictionary, *Catholicon*. But unless a person has some particular reason for reading the interpolations of Aegidius, he might do well to omit them. The importance of his "corrections" and additions has been very much exaggerated—particularly by himself. Instead of adding to the quality of the poem, they often detract from it besides delaying the reader.

#### 4. Aegidius of Paris

When Aegidius of Paris<sup>16</sup> was in Rome on business for one of the churches of Paris just before the year 1200, he was at work on *Carolinus*, a kind of epic in five books, holding up for the edification and emulation of Prince Louis, afterwards Louis VIII, the cardinal virtues as practiced by Charlemagne. Aegidius tells us that he was thirty-six years old at that time:

Quandoquidem teneri progresso finibus aevi  
Jam mihi terdenis accrescit sextus in annis.<sup>17</sup>

In a kind of epilogue he speaks of the writers of the school of Paris who flourished at that time and he regrets that the poetic powers of Peter Riga have waned:

. . . . et quem intepuisse dolemus,  
Petrum in divinis verbo tenus alta sequentem.<sup>18</sup>

Around this time Aegidius took up the *Aurora*, producing his first set of "corrections" and interpolations, but he wished to remain anonymous, perhaps through respect for the aged author or perhaps through prudence until he saw how the public would react to his tampering with an accepted work. In his prayer for Peter, for himself, and for the reader, which he appended to the *Recapitulationes* in his first redaction, he says explicitly that he does not wish to be known.

Me simul, in seriem qui libri abrupta redegi,  
Nec comes, immo cliens, hic tibi, Petre, fui.  
Sed quis sim taceo, uolo namque latere minusque  
Mundi, plus oculis cognitus esse Dei.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Not to be confused with Aegidius of Corbell, canon of Notre Dame of Paris, court physician, and late twelfth-century writer of poems on medical topics (*Leyser, Hist. poet.*, pp. 502-691: *Liber de virtutibus et laudibus compositorum medicaminum*, editus a Magistro Aegidio Corboilensi), nor with Aegidius Columna (Gilles of Rome), who wrote voluminously in prose on theology and philosophy, and on political, moral, and ecclesiastical discipline, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

<sup>17</sup> *Carolinus*, book V, lines 338-339. Dom Brial printed Book V in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XVII (1818): Nouvelle édition publiée sous la direction de M. Léopold Delisle, XVII (1878), 288-301.

<sup>18</sup> *Carolinus*, book V, lines 457-458.

<sup>19</sup> *Infra*, p. 13: "Prayer of Aegidius," lines 7-10.

However, Aegidius soon changed his mind and did not hesitate to make himself known even while Peter lived. He produced a second redaction and dedicated it to Odo, Bishop of Paris, who died in 1208,<sup>20</sup> the year before the death of Peter Riga. In some prefatory verses (*infra*, p. 14) for this same redaction, Aegidius writes as though the volume itself were speaking: "O reader, you wish to know who is the author of this volume. Hear what the book itself says briefly to this. Peter and Aegidius together wrote me, but the former was the author and the latter was the final corrector ... The former composed the work, but by offending in orderliness he allowed all to proceed with inconsistent senses; the latter with the needle of the typical sense [and thread of] separate verses sewed the work into one body and revitalized it. The former was of more abundant study, but the latter was more acute in preferring the order which should be followed."

Aegidius seemed obsessed with his own notion of order in a work. In his poem *On the Eternity of the Pains of Hell* (*infra*, p. 16-17) he wrote about himself in unusually revealing terms: "Whenever I read anything, I soon seek the correct order in it so that all may be clear and in good tenor. If I find it otherwise, I frequently can scarcely restrain my hand in my desire to supply the rest. This was the reason why the fortress [the *Aurora*] of Peter Riga should grow into the *Library* (*Bibliotheca*) in mixed verses." And addressing Matthew of Laon (Matthaeus Laudunensis), whose little poem was the pretext for this effusion, Aegidius concludes in a vein which is curious indeed because it seems to be serious. "But I do not wish these verses to be prejudicial to yours, O learned Matthew! You are brief, I am prolix; you proceed with subtlety, I seek the broad path. I have spoken according to my manner:

<sup>20</sup> *Albrici monachi Triumfontium chronicon* (MGH, *Scriptores*, XXIII, 888) gives 1208 as the year of Odo's death, quoting an epitaph on his tomb as evidence:

Quem cathedre decoravit honore, quem sanguis a vitus,

Quem morum gravitas, hic iacet Odo situs.

.....

Bis sexcenteno Christi quartoque bis anno,

Tredecimo Iulii transiit Odo die.

if more fully and more aptly, let not your muse for this reason be troublesome to mine. Let envy cease in this, let mine be the smallest credit, and let each of us in turn say 'farewell.'"

What Aegidius says here about his own prolixity applies to his additions to the *Aurora* also. However, he was a poor critic in matters of order and proportion. Thus, it was no improvement to place Peter Riga's *Cantica canticorum* before *IV Regum*, even though this did offer him the pretext for writing verses in an attempt to make it fit. Nor did it improve *Historia Susanne* to change it from a debate into a chronological narrative; indeed, it spoils the poem to take some of the high-flown oratory from the mouths of the speakers and use it as though it were the impersonal description or narration of the author. And certainly, it was a violation of good order and proportion to insert his own *Mysterium de agno paschali*, a composition of more than 700 lines, into *Liber Exodus*, which runs to 1338 lines without it.

In his "Dedicatory Verse-letter" (*infra*, pp. 14-16) Aegidius calls Odo's attention to the additions which he has made to the *Aurora*: a formal prologue (*infra*, pp. 12-13), thus removing a "great defect" of the work; *Mysterium de agno paschali* (cf. note, *infra*, pp. 99-100), because Peter had said nothing on the subject perhaps because he was tired or perhaps because the matter was too difficult; mystical matter (i. e., prologues or epilogues) in *Liber Tobie* (*infra*, pp. 334-338), *Judith* (*infra*, pp. 383-385), *Hester* (*infra*, pp. 396-398), and *Machabeorum* (*infra*, pp. 417-420); additions to the Old Testament in passing; and whatever Peter, "as though worn out, had omitted from the *Evangelium*" (*infra* pp. 535-604). He concludes the epistle as follows: "Then finally, let these additions say that they are mine, and you, my reader, note them where it is proper. Because I have become the patcher of the book, to my verses everywhere the needle is prefixed."

The needle (*acus*) is an allusion to the obelus (÷) with which Aegidius marked his verses.<sup>21</sup> We have already seen that he used

<sup>21</sup> Leyser made an error by printing *aens* for *acus* (*Hist. poet.*, p. 739) and Migne reprinted it (*PL*, 212, 21b). The writer of the article on Aegidius in *Hist. litt. de la France*, XVII (1832), 67, recognizing an error, thought that the word should be *Aeus*, an abbreviation for Aegidius. He went on to say:

the same figure before, saying that he stitched the *Aurora* together into one body with the needle of the typical sense and thread of his own verses:

Alter acu typica distictis uersibus unum  
Consuit in corpus atque reuixit opus.<sup>22</sup>

The rubric preceding his preface (*infra*, p. 8) in marked manuscripts is as follows: "Prologus illius qui hunc librum correxit et suppletiones de suo apposuit, et ubicumque inuenitur obelus inter duos punctos ibi sunt dicta illius per totum librum et uersus illius." In unmarked manuscripts of his redactions the rubric omits the reference to the obelus. The consistency with which a manuscript is marked is likely to depend upon the accuracy and the patience of its copyist, and the only sure way to determine interpolations is to compare the third edition of the *Aurora* of Peter Riga with the redactions of Aegidius. The marking of each line of an interpolation has, of course, the effect of emphasizing the passage at the expense of the surrounding material. Aegidius was probably aware of this. He also piled up such long interpolations in the first two hundred lines of *Genesis* (*infra*, pp. 21-34) that he seems reluctant to allow Peter Riga to say much until after he has first made his own impression on the reader. What Bishop Odo thought about his gift from Aegidius no one knows.

### 5. Other Accretions

It is not surprising that other Biblical poems, written by neither Peter Riga nor Aegidius, were sometimes copied by scribes into manuscripts of the *Aurora*. Thus, the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme and the *Lamentationes Ieremie* appear in several of the manuscripts which I have seen, but I have found *Liber Esdre prophete* and *Cantica canticorum Beate Marie* in only one. A

"Dans le Manuscrit 8097 de la bibliothèque du Roi, on voit, en effet, sur la marge, alternativement les lettres, *AE* et *P*; l'une, sans doute, pour indiquer les vers qui appartiennent à *Aegidius* (Gilles), l'autre pour indiquer ceux de Pierre de Riga." Although I have not seen the manuscript, I suspect that the marking is not medieval, for Aegidius spelled his name *Egidius*.

<sup>22</sup> "Verses Concerning the Authors," lines 11-12 (*infra*, p. 11).

close examination of all the manuscripts of the *Aurora* would probably reveal some other accretions.

The *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme,<sup>23</sup> written around 1185, is well known and needs no comment here. The *Lamentationes Ieremie*, written in riming hexameters with occasional leonine rimes, proceeds through the twenty-two verses of the first chapter of *Lamentationes Ieremie Prophetæ*, interpreting the Hebrew letters by which they are designated, paraphrasing texts, and giving allegorical and moral commentary. This poem, of more than 425 lines, is preceded by a short prose prologue: "Sicut sunt cantica canticorum, sunt lamentationes lamentationum: Liber Salomonis canticorum; Treni liber Ieremie lamentationum ... hinc Dauid ait: 'Te decet hymnus Deus in Syon.'" The verses which begin and end the book are the following:

*Inc.* Aleph doctrinam notat et doctrina uocatur  
Vt se cognoscat homo corde Deusque colatur.  
*Expl.* Alphaque principium demonstrat, ut inde notetur  
Quod recte Dominus Iesus alpha sit  $\omega$ que uocetur.

I believe that if Peter Riga had written the *Lamentationes*, it would have appeared at least occasionally in manuscripts of the *Aurora* which do not contain the interpolations of Aegidius of Paris. On the other hand, if Aegidius had written it, I believe that he would have claimed it, as he did his *Mysterium de agno paschali*. It is not printed in this edition of the *Aurora*.

*Liber Esdre prophete*,<sup>24</sup> also consisting of more than 425 riming hexameters, is a narrative or historical poem without any allegorical or moral interpretations, and in this respect it is similar to *Actus Apostolorum*. *Liber Esdre*, which is not included in this edition of the *Aurora*, seems to have been based on the first five chapters of Book XI of Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*. Its beginning and end are as follows:

*Inc.* Balthasar, expertus Darii Cyrique furores,  
Post se Chaldeos utrique reliquit honores.  
*Expl.* Multa quidem fecit Neemias laudeque digna,

<sup>23</sup> *PL*, 205, 933-980.

<sup>24</sup> This book is found between *Liber Hester* and *Liber Machabeorum* in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, *Ms. McClean 31*, ff. 136v-138.

Phenicum turba nimis insidiante maligna;  
 Appositus patribus, tytulorum flore uenustus,  
 Eternum nomen possedit, honore uel omine iustus.

The *Cantica canticorum Beate Marie*, in 316 riming hexameters, is a short imitation of the *Cantica canticorum* of Peter Riga (*infra*, pp. 703-760), from which its unknown author borrowed and adapted many lines. Exegeting selected texts referring to the Spouse and the Beloved in the Scriptural *Canticum canticorum*, it applies them to Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, rather than to Christ and the Church or to God and the soul. It is thus an *ex professo* Marian commentary, which departs from the Patristic and early medieval tradition. Since I have already edited this poem,<sup>25</sup> I have excluded it from this edition of the *Aurora*.

Another imitation of the *Aurora* should be mentioned here. In 1225 Hermannus Werdinensis published his book *Deliciarum hortus* or *Hortus deliciarum Salomonis*, a verse commentary on the Book of Proverbs.<sup>26</sup> It was intended to supplement the *Aurora*, which had not treated Proverbs. Among Pitra's excerpts from the *Hortus* are two which mention Peter Riga and the *Aurora* before quoting passages from *Leviticus*.<sup>27</sup>

Liber Leviticus, ubi victimat iste columbas,  
 Narrat in *Aurora* sic tibi, Riga Petre.  
 (Lev., lines 241-252 follow; *infra*, p. 154.)  
 Hunc *Aurora* tibi pulchro sermone revelat,  
 Quam scribis nobis, O bone Petre Riga!  
 (Lev., lines 671-672 follow; *infra*, p. 173.)

<sup>25</sup> "Cantica canticorum B. Marie," *Marianum*, XXI (1959), fasc. II, 1-15.

<sup>26</sup> Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, III, xxxv. In volumes II and III Pitra printed the *Clavis Scripturae* of the pseudo Melito, a kind of spiritual dictionary of Biblical words and their interpretations, probably compiled in the eighth century from the writings of Latin Fathers. Because of a Greek translation Pitra took it for a lost work of St. Melito of Sardis. His method was to give a passage from the *Clavis* and then to quote passages of works from early Christian times to the thirteenth century to show, as he thought, the development or the use of allegorical interpretations. Thus, he quoted passages of allegorical interpretation from the *Aurora* and the *Hortus deliciarum Salomonis* for this purpose. Unfortunately, he never told where he found the *Hortus*.

<sup>27</sup> Pitra, *Spic. Sol.*, II, 477, 292.

In addition, I have recognized three other excerpts from the *Aurora* imbedded in passages which did not name the source.<sup>28</sup>

*Cras cantat corvus, hodie canit alba columba;*  
*Haec vox perversis, congruit illa bonis.*  
 (Gen., lines 629-630; *infra*, p. 52.)  
*Esuriens homo justitiam est sitiensque beatus,*  
*Angelicus veniet hunc satiare cibus.*  
 (Evang., lines 1021-1022; *infra*, p. 466.)  
*Bina luce solet catulus dormire leonis,*  
*Postque duos surgit evigilatque dies.*  
*Et sic tertia lux de somno suscitatur illum,*  
*Qui stirps hinc vere dicitur esse leo.*  
 (Gen., 1433-1436; *infra*, p. 84: or *Recap.*, 87-90;  
*infra*, p. 608.)

But the extent of the influence of the *Aurora* on Hermannus was much broader than this. There are other quotations, no doubt, which I have missed or which occur in the unprinted portion of the poem, for Hermannus seems to have imitated or adapted many of Peter Riga's allegorical interpretations occurring in various books of the *Aurora* for use in his commentary on Proverbs.

#### 6. Popularity and Influence of the *Aurora*

Farther on in the INTRODUCTION a consideration of the sources of the *Aurora* will show that Peter Riga was not an original exegete but that his poem belongs in the main stream of popular twelfth-century exegesis. Here I would like to present some evidence of the popularity of the *Aurora* and its influence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Countless religious, monks, and other clerics must have read the *Aurora*, for it seems as though every monastic or cathedral library of any size in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries possessed a copy, shelved with the Bibles, histories, or volumes of poetry. What is true of England is doubtless true of France; but other countries probably had fewer copies.

*The Aurora in Medieval Libraries.* — Using an *ex libris* inscription or a note of gift as evidence of ownership, N. R. Ker<sup>29</sup> fixed

<sup>28</sup> Pitra, *Spic. Sol.*, II, 112, 514; III, 56.

<sup>29</sup> N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London, 1941), pp. 8, 15, 24, 49, 50, 64, 70, 92, 107, 111, 113, 115.

the location of a dozen extant manuscripts of the *Aurora* in a dozen such medieval libraries in England. But medieval book lists or catalogues of libraries are perhaps more revealing and more interesting. Thus, Dugdale<sup>30</sup> published the list of books in the royal collegiate Chapel of St. George at Windsor for 1384-85 from *Ms. Ashmole 16*, and M. R. James rechecked the list, compared it with a later one, and added explanations. The list of chained books is as follows:

Libri diuersarum scienciarum cathenati in ecclesia viz:

1. unum Catholicon
2. unum Ugucio
3. Bartholomeus de proprietatibus
4. Aurora
5. Legenda aurea
6. Dialogus Gregorii
7. Historia ecclesiastica
8. Liber sententiarum
9. Unum psalterium glossatum
- 10-11. Duo libri gallici de Romances, de quibus unus liber de Rose, et alius difficilis materie
12. Item unum par Decretorum de dono Ravendale<sup>31</sup>

And this is the comment of James: "Of these, 1, 2 are dictionaries, 3 an encyclopaedia of natural science, 4 a versified Bible by Petrus de Riga, 7 most likely the version of Eusebius by Rufinus, 8 the Sentences of Peter Lombard, 10 the *Roman de la Rose*, 11 we should like to know more about. No. 4, the *Aurora*, may perhaps be in existence still as MS. Bodl. 822 (No. 2702) ..." <sup>32</sup> Thus in Chaucer's time<sup>33</sup> the *Aurora* was "on reserve" in this library, in the very good company of dictionaries, reference books, and two very popular works, the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Legenda aurea*.

<sup>30</sup> *Monasticon Anglicanum* ... Originally published in Latin by Sir William Dugdale. A new ed. by Caley, Ellis and Bulkeley (London, 1849), VI, pt. 3, 1362.

<sup>31</sup> M. R. James, "The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor," *The Library*, fourth series, XIII (1933), p. 63. (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, second series, XIII.)

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 63-64.

<sup>33</sup> Chaucer held the office of Clerk of the King's Works, 1389-91. St. George's Chapel, Windsor, was one of the buildings which fell under his jurisdiction for maintenance, repairs, and the like.

The Durham Cathedral library, also at Chaucer's time, had at least two copies of the *Aurora*, as we learn from a catalogue of 1391 and another made by John Fyshburne in 1416. Three versified Bibles are listed in the first as follows:

P. Biblia versificata. II. fo., "Genesis nec vero."  
[Ponitur in libraria.]

R. Biblia versificata. Liber de Miseria Condicionis Humanae. Meditationes Bernardi; cum pluribus aliis libris.  
II. fo., "Arida dividitur." [B. IV. 28.]

O. Biblia versificata, seu liber Petri in Aurora; cum aliis pluribus libris versificatis. II. fo., "Cristianorum cum ferro." Et in eodem libro continentur Nova Poetria Galfridi Anglici qui vocatur Papa Stupor Mundi.  
[C. IV. 23. 2.]<sup>34</sup>

Fyshburne relisted them according to the same letters, but to R. he added: "et vocatur liber Petri in Aurora."<sup>35</sup> If P. were also a copy of the *Aurora*, I believe that he would have noted the fact.

In his chronicle of the Cistercian Monastery of Melsa, in Yorkshire, Thomas Burton included a book list which recorded two copies:

Aurora magistri Petri.

Aurora magistri Petri; et Boecius de consolatione.<sup>36</sup>

A catalogue of the books of All Souls College, Oxford, shortly after 1440, lists a copy of the *Aurora* among the chained books in the theology section of the library.<sup>37</sup> From this list it appears that the majority of the books in the library were chained, but a large number could be borrowed and read elsewhere.

Since this account of copies of the *Aurora* in medieval book lists is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, it might well be closed with Peterborough Abbey. Before 1250 the library

<sup>34</sup> *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelm.: ... at various periods from the Conquest to the Dissolution* (*Surtees Society*, VII [1838]), p. 11.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>36</sup> *Chronica monasterii de Melsa, a fundatione usque ad annum 1396, auctore Thoma de Burton, abbate* ... ed. Edward A. Bond, III (London, 1868), lxxxvii. (Rolls Series, no. 43.)

<sup>37</sup> E. F. Jacob, "Two Lives of Archbishop Chichele," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XVI (1932), 471. The book list is printed as an appendix, from All Souls College Archives, *Miscellanea*, no. 210.

had received three copies in bequests of three abbots. Abbot Robertus de Lindsey, who was in office from 1214 to 1222, left seven books to the library. Symon Gunton says that "he was not very rich in Books;" but one of the seven was the *Aurora*.<sup>38</sup> His successor, Alexander de Holdernesse, who died in 1226, left ten books to the library, one of which was the *Aurora*.<sup>39</sup> Of his successor, Martinus de Ramsey, who died in 1233, Gunton says, "His Library was but thin," for it contained only three service books.<sup>40</sup> Walterus de S. Edmundo succeeded him and remained in office thirteen years. "*Walters Library*," Gunton writes, "was copious in comparison of his Predecessors." It consisted of seventeen books, one of which was the *Aurora*.<sup>41</sup>

*Aurora as a School Book.* — The *Aurora* was used as a school text, but how early and how widespread the usage was cannot be determined with certainty. From Peter Riga's preface we know that he wrote at the urging of his colleagues with whom he had studied in school: "... cum quibus ab infantia in scolis conuersatus sum, cum quibus libros grammaticae percurri, Ciceronis flores aureos legi et elegi, laberinthum Aristotilis aliquantulum ... introiui" (*infra*, p. 7). Probably some of his colleagues were teachers, and perhaps the use of the *Aurora* for school work began at Reims and then spread to other places.

In a letter written before the end of the twelfth century, an unknown cleric of Champagne speaks of his studies, from grammar and rhetoric to Scripture.<sup>42</sup> About the latter he writes as follows:

<sup>38</sup> Symon Gunton, *The History of the Church of Peterburgh* (London, 1686), p. 29.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 33. Along with these three copies of the *Aurora*, M. R. James in *Lists of MSS Formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library* (Oxford, 1926) records another book found in a fourteenth-century catalogue of the library: "Versus Mag. P. de V. et N.T." In his index he assigns it to Peter Riga with a question mark. See pp. 22-23 and 97 (index).

<sup>42</sup> H. Omont, "Lettre relative aux œuvres d'un auteur champenois de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Not. et extr. des mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXIX, pt. 1 (1909), pp. 24-27. The editor of the letter was wrong in attributing

We added also the Pentateuch in verse; and we abridged the book of Josue, Judges, Kings, the Canticle of Canticles, Machabees, Jeremias, Isaias, Tobias from beginning to end historically and allegorically, Daniel, Judith, besides Esther in verse. Since our professors left nothing untouched, we read through all the authors and we went over the better interpreters for the most part. And since the two Testaments are distinguished into three orders—the Old into these: the Law, the Prophets, Hagiography; and the New into these: the Gospel, the Apostles, Hagiography—by reading or by hearing we went over everything. Now in verse, now in prose, I have touched every side of the Old History and the New.<sup>43</sup>

The list of Old Testament books is tantalizingly similar to (but not identical with) the list of the books in the Old Testament section of the *Aurora*. The cleric from Champagne appears to have attended lectures along with other students, and I believe that he and his masters knew the *Aurora* in some form and the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme.

A Frisian monk writing in his chronicle for the year 1237, speaks about Emo, his predecessor as chronicler. He asserts that, being very studious from youth, Emo was never idle but was always studying, or writing (copying), or illuminating.

Whence it happened that, along with his brother Addo of happy memory, he copied all the authors, namely, the ethical, Ovidian, Virgilian, satirical, and other works of poets, and metrical works of theology, such as *Aurora*, Sedulius, Theopistas and the like, Priscian major and minor and Peter Helias, and other books and *summas* of the grammatical art as well as *summas* of dialectic. All of these both brothers had heard at Paris,

authorship of the works mentioned to the writer of the letter, but he was right in saying that the translation of the Bible in verse makes one think of a well-known contemporary writer, Peter Riga, the author of the *Aurora*. P. Glorieux ("Du nouveau sur Pierre Riga?" *Rech. théol. anc. méd.*, XXIV [1957], 155-61) argued for the identification of the letter writer with Peter Riga himself. J. R. Smeets ("Du nouveau sur Pierre Riga?" *Rech. théol. anc. méd.*, XXVIII [1961], 334-37) refuted the argument. I have tried to show ("The Champagne Letter Writer and Peter Riga," *Rech. théol. anc. méd.*, XXX [1963], 336-40) that the writer of the letter was not an author speaking about his own works but a cleric speaking about the things which he had studied.

<sup>43</sup> For the Latin, see Omont, *op. cit.*, 27.

Orleans, and Oxford, and had glossed from the mouths of the masters, and they brought back various glosses and notebooks.<sup>44</sup>

Thus, early in the thirteenth century the *Aurora* was being lectured on as a metrical work of theology by professors at one if not three great universities, and students were taking notes.

From an entry for the year 1233 in another Frisian chronicle we learn how the *Aurora* was being used at a lower level of education, to teach grammar, diction, and prosody. The chronicler states that Frethericus, the prior of Hortus Sanctae Mariae, was such a master of the liberal arts that learned men came to him from all parts of Frisia with knotty and intricate questions. He had read and reread the pagan classics, which in great part he knew by heart. But putting aside the pagan authors, he instructed his own pupils from Christian books.

Nam libris istis gentilium sepositis, in libris catholicis videlicet Boecio, Prudencio, Aurora, Aratore, Sedulio, Florido aspectu, Iob et Tobie libris ac ceteris, quos longum est enarrare, suorum scolarium ingenia exercebat. Insuper in dictatura, versificatura, in declinationibus, in parciū regiminibus sollerter eosdem insistere curabat.<sup>45</sup>

Vincent of Beauvais, who became famous for his medieval encyclopedia entitled *Speculum maius*, wrote a book on the education of children about 1246 or 1247. It was intended for the instruction of the children of his friends, St. Louis, king of France, and Marguerite, the queen. He says that "it makes a great difference in what doctrines or materials of doctrine the young are educated. For to what purpose are the senses and tongues of children even today imbued with poetic stories and lustful (*luxuriosis*) fictions? Even if this poetic material is useful for the rules of metrics, nevertheless it is useless and even pernicious in so far as the aforesaid stories are concerned." Vincent goes on to suggest works equally useful for the instruction of the young in metrics

<sup>44</sup> For the Latin, see *Emonis et Menkonis Werumensium chronica*, ed. L. Weiland, *MGH, Scriptores*, XXIII, 524.

<sup>45</sup> *Gesta abbatum Horti Sanctae Mariae*, ed. L. Weiland, *MGH, Scriptores*, XXIII, 583. *Floridus aspectus* is the collection of Peter Riga's early verses, and the "Books of Job and Tobias" may refer to those books in the *Aurora*, or *Tobias* alone may refer to the poem of Matthew of Vendôme.

but more suitable in faith and morals. He begins his list of examples with the metrical version of the Gospels by Juvencus, who lived in the time of Constantine, and ends it with the *Biblia versificata* of Peter Riga.<sup>46</sup>

Jacques de Vitry († 1240) said almost the same thing in a sermon to the students of Paris: "In spite of the value of the art of eloquence which we derive from the poets ... it is better to choose for our instruction those works which contain moral teaching, such as those of Cato, Theodulus, Avianus, Prudentius, Prosper, Sedulius, and above all, the Versified Bible."<sup>47</sup>

In his "art of poetry" entitled *Laborintus*, written before 1280, Evrard the German (Everardus Allemanus) devoted a section to authors and works to be read. His list of masters of style includes the ancients, such as Virgil, Ovid, and Horace, but it also comes down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Peter Riga and his *Aurora* are mentioned as follows:

Petrus Riga, petra cujus rigat intima Christus,  
Legem mellifluo textit utramque stylo.<sup>48</sup>

Hugo of Trimberg, in his *Registrum multorum auctorum*, a poem intended to help his students remember recommended classical and contemporary authors and their works, devoted no little space to Peter Riga. He composed his *Registrum* at Bamberg, in 1280, while he was schoolmaster at St. Gangolf. Placing Peter Riga after Prudentius in honor, he wrote about the *Aurora*:

Sequitur Prudentium Petrus dictus Riga,  
Currus theologici providus auriga,  
Qui Pentateuchum Moysis metro compilavit  
Totamque fere bibliam metricè dictavit.  
Allegorias plurimas huic interserendo  
Stilum suum acuit optime scribendo.

<sup>46</sup> *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, ed. Arpad Steiner (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), p. 23: "... verbi gracia, libri iuueni presbiteri de historia quatuor euangeliorum ... preter hos eciam extat mathei de sancto tobias, biblia quoque a petro riga versificata et alia plurima."

<sup>47</sup> Quoted in *The Battle of the Seven Arts*, ed. and tr. L. J. Paetow, *Memoirs of the Univ. of California*, IV, no. 1 (1914), p. 16.

<sup>48</sup> *Laborintus*, lines 653-54. E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1924), p. 360.

Liberque suus merito dicitur *Aurora*,  
 Nam in se metra continet cunctis clariora.  
 Quidam tamen autumant *Petrum Manducatorem*  
 Huius libri, quamvis non fuerit, auctorem.  
 Scolasticam historiam scitur is scripsisse  
 Nec ut credo metrica quicquam edisse.  
 Parisiensis clericus Riga Petrus erat,  
 Vt in libri prologo idem asseverat  
 Dicens, quod petitio frequens sociorum,  
 Cum quibus exegerat cursum studiorum,  
 Ipsum ad scribendum hoc opus compulisset,  
 Quippe cum his minime negare potuisset:  
*Frequens sodalium meorum petitio*  
*Cum quibus conversando florem infantie exegi, etc.*  
*Primo facta die duo celum terra leguntur,*  
*Sic firmamenti spera sequenti die.*<sup>49</sup>

Hugo's inaccuracy in calling Peter Riga a cleric of Paris is understandable because the poet studied in Paris. His other observation is interesting, namely, that certain persons assert that Peter Comestor, who wrote the *Historia scholastica*, was the author of the *Aurora*. The idea must have persisted in some quarters, for the same assertion appears much later in the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden († 1364), the Benedictine of St. Werburg's, Chester, and in its Middle English translations. The following entry

<sup>49</sup> *Registrum*, lines 465-86. The text was edited by Joh. Huemer, *Das Registrum multorum auctorum des Hugo von Trimberg*, Wiener Akad.: Sitzungsberichte ... Phil.-Hist. Classe, 116 (1888), 145-90.

At this point it should be noted that Hugo erroneously attributed the *Floridus aspectus* of Peter Riga to Alanus de Insulis, mentioning it in his *Registrum* (lines 293-96) along with the *Anticlaudianus* and *De planctu naturae*. Farther on (lines 317-22), he gave the *incipit* of the prose preface and the opening four lines of *De nativitate Christi*, the first selection in *Floridus aspectus* (*PL*, 171, 1381-82). In his section concerning poems on the Saints, he mentioned the *Vita sancti Eustachii* and gave the *incipit* (lines 622-25). This poem of Peter Riga was printed by C. Fierville, *Not. et extr.*, XXXI, pt. 1 (1884), pp. 64-86. Hugo rightly said that the *Passio sanctae Agnetis* is from *Floridus aspectus*, and he gave its *incipit* (lines 631-34). This poem of Peter Riga is easily accessible in Migne among the poems attributed to Hildebert (*PL*, 171, 1307-1314), or among the works of Philip de Harvenget (*PL*, 203, 1387-1392). The differences between the two printings are negligible and indicate nothing more than the use of different manuscripts.

is found under the year 1164: "Floruit his diebus in Francia magister Petrus Comestor, qui utriusque Testamenti historiam contextuit, quae scholastica dicitur: scripsit etiam allegorias super utrumque Testamentum, et etiam sermones insignes reliquit; allegorias etiam suas redegit in librum metricum quem intitulavit *Auroram*."<sup>50</sup>

*Aurora and the Lexicographers.* — The *Aurora* was held in high esteem not only by teachers but also by lexicographers, who frequently quoted from it to illustrate the meaning and usage of words or the quantity or accent of syllables.

John of Genoa (Johannes Januensis or Johannes Balbus) used the *Aurora* for quotations in his *Catholicon* perhaps more frequently than any other medieval work. This great medieval dictionary completed in 1286, was widely used in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It was one of the earliest books to be printed after the Bible. "It was probably the first Latin dictionary to be printed with movable type ... the rare first edition [being] printed on vellum, perhaps by Gutenberg, at Mainz in 1460."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis; together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, edited for the Rolls Series, no. 41, by Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, VIII (London, 1882), 42. The second half of the passage, from *scripsit to Auroram*, does not occur in two manuscripts. *Allegoriae super Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (*PL*, 175, 634-828), found with the *Historia scholastica* in many manuscripts, "should rightly be attributed to Richard of St. Victor," according to P. S. Moore, "The Authorship of the *Allegoriae super Vetus et Novum Testamentum*," *The New Scholasticism*, IX (1935), 225.

Probably the ultimate in compounded confusion concerning the authorship of the *Aurora* occurs in two late inscriptions on the flyleaves of a manuscript of the poem: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, *Ms. Morgan 727*, folio iii: "Magister Petrus yspannus, dictus manducator, qui speculum composuit, hunc librum metricum compilavit; aurora uocatur ..." and folio iv: "Magister petrus yspanus fuit auctor huius libri ...

Petrus eram, quem petra tegit dictusque comestor;

Nunc comedor, uiuus docui nec cesso docere ... "

<sup>51</sup> Lloyd W. Daly and B. A. Daly, "Some Techniques in Mediaeval Latin Lexicography," *Speculum*, XXXIX (1964), 237.

Dietrich Reichling (*Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei [Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*, XII (1893)], p. XIX, fn. 4) gave the following list of words from the *Catholicon* (under A and B) for which a quotation from the



Upon checking words from *A* to *G* in the *Catholicon*, I found that the *Aurora* was cited nearly sixty times. Such expressions as "Vnde in aurora," "Vnde in aurora scribitur," or "Item in aurora dicitur," were used to introduce the quotations. Although I made no attempt to verify the accuracy of the quotations, I recognized most of the lines immediately. It was also apparent that John of Genoa had used a manuscript containing additions of Aegidius of Paris, for under the word *Benjamin* he gave a fourteen-line quotation from the *Aurora*, two lines of which are Peter Riga's (*Genesis*, 1047-48); the additional twelve belong to the first redaction of Aegidius (*infra*, p. 68).

Another medieval dictionary, the *Summa* or *Expositiones difficiliorum verborum de Biblia* of William Brito, was already in circulation at the time the *Catholicon* was being completed. This dictionary, which has not yet been printed, also cited ancient and medieval authors as authorities, including Peter Riga.<sup>52</sup>

Another kind of medieval dictionary should be included here—the spiritual dictionary or collection of *distinctiones*—which was a reference work of particular value as a labor-saving device and source of suggestions for preachers. In its simplest form a *distinctio* was a table of the meanings of a word with appropriate texts according to the various senses of Scripture; but it could

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*Aurora* had been used: "acetum, Agabus, Agrippa, albugo, Alchimus, allophilus, alo, amens, Antigonus, Antipater, apocalipsis, Apollonius, aratrum, architriclinus, aroma, assecla, Assur, atrox, auguro, azimus, Benjamin, bidens, bitumen, butyrum." In the edition of the *Catholicon* which I used [Venice, Hermannus Liechtenstein, 25 Nov. 1487], the *Graecismus*, not the *Aurora*, is cited for *amens*; and several additional words—*amenus*, *areo*, *balleus*, *Bethsura*—have citations from the *Aurora*. Reichling also marked with an asterisk those words repeated in the *Vocabularius breuiloquus*. However, he must have meant that the definitions, not the quotations, were repeated, for in the edition of this renaissance dictionary of Johannes Reuchlin which I used [Cologne, Conrad Winters, 1478?], there were no quotations for the words as I had been led to expect. On the other hand, a couplet on the composition of the name *Adam* from the first letter of the Greek names of the four directions, or parts of the earth, was quoted under *Adam*: "V[ersus] Anithole dedit a. . . ." This couplet is from the *Aurora* (*Genesis*, 319-320; *infra* p. 39).

<sup>52</sup> Lloyd W. Daly, *op. cit.*, 237-238.

be expanded by the addition of the qualities or properties of the object and the interpretations which they suggested, and thus even the "natures" and "significations" of animals in bestiaries or other illustrative lore could be worked in under the scheme. A user of such a handbook would look up a key word of the text to be expounded whenever he needed an interpretation, an allegory, a figure, a type, or an idea, and something in the *distinctio* would be sure to help him.<sup>53</sup>

The *Distinctiones monasticae*<sup>54</sup> compiled about 1225, perhaps by Ralph (Radulphus) of Coggeshall, the English Cistercian,<sup>55</sup> is arranged alphabetically. Given the proper occasion, there is scarcely a classical Latin poet who is not quoted. But medieval writers are used just as lavishly: those who had a reputation are quoted by name, and others receive such anonymous designations as *vir literatissimus*, *quidam e nostris*, *versificator egregius*, and so on.<sup>56</sup> Peter Riga is quoted by name twenty-five times; on three occasions verses which appear in both *Floridus aspectus* and the *Aurora* are quoted without Peter's name, perhaps because they were taken from the former, and once some anonymous verses conclude with a quotation from the *Aurora*. Virgil is quoted a little more than Peter Riga, and Ovid a little less; but the number of quotations from any other medieval poet is small in comparison with the number from Peter.

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<sup>53</sup> See Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1964: paperback edition reprinted from the second edition, Oxford, 1952), pp. 246-248; and P. S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers* (Notre Dame, 1936), 78-84.

<sup>54</sup> The *Distinctiones monasticae* was published by J. B. Pitra in fragments in *Spicilegium Solesmense* (Paris, 1852-58), II and III. There is an index of these fragments in vol. III, pp. 452-453, and what was previously omitted is then printed, pp. 454-487.

<sup>55</sup> Germain Morin, "Le Cistercien Ralph de Coggeshall et l'auteur des *Distinctiones monasticae* utilisées par Dom Pitra," *Revue bénédictine*, XLVII (1935), 348-355.

<sup>56</sup> In a footnote Pitra (*Spicilegium Solesmense*, II, xxvii) listed about sixty authors alphabetically. Among the medieval writers are Stephen Langton, St. Thomas of Canterbury, Hildebert, Walter of Châtillon, Walter Mapes, Alexander Neckham, Peter Riga, Peter Comestor, Peter the Chanter, Matthew of Vendôme, Hugh Primas, Serlo, Lawrence of Durham, and others.

*Aurora and the Rhetoricians and Grammarians.* — In the discussion above concerning the *Aurora* as a schoolbook, attention was called to the esteem for it expressed in the *Laborintus* of Everardus Allemanus and the *Registrum multorum auctorum* of Hugo of Trimberg. All writers of the period were saturated with a theory of poetry which was quite rhetorical because it was derived, largely through the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* of Cornificius, from ancient rhetoric intended for the orator. For our tastes today, the system may seem too mechanical and its products too contrived, but it did exert a profound influence on Latin poetry. It was what was taught.

Peter Riga was a rhetorician as well a poet and Scriptural exegete, and his early works show a fondness for rhetoric which was less pronounced but never lost in the later *Aurora*. He knew all of the devices and could employ them. He even wrote a treatise on the figures of rhetoric entitled *Colores verborum*, in which he gave definitions or explanations of the figures in prose and examples in hexameter verses.<sup>57</sup>

The first quotation from a poem of Peter Riga used in an extant work seems to be that found in the *Ars versificatoria* of Matthew of Vendôme, the author of the *Tobias*. It is used to illustrate the figure *paronomasia*. Matthew says: "Vel sic de monachis sumptuosus, quorum fuscata malignitas falsae religionis sepelitur in dumento, qui in ventris ergastulo multifariis dapibus incarceratis

<sup>57</sup> Charles Fierville, who printed *Colores verborum* (*Not. et extr.*, XXXI, pt. 1 [1884], pp. 100 ff.), did not hesitate to attribute it to Peter Riga as the second part of *Floridus aspectus*. Faral disputed the attribution (*Les arts poétiques*, p. 51). But the claim of Fierville seems definitely established because *Ms. Egerton 2951* of the British Museum, the only manuscript in which *Floridus aspectus* is ascribed to Peter Riga, gives it as "liber secundus." This is also the earliest known manuscript of *Floridus aspectus* (XII century, after 1181). See *British Museum: Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1916-1920* (London, 1933) pp. 299-302. *Ms. Egerton 2951* contains the Latin poems of Robert Partes, a monk of Reading Abbey (fols. 1-23<sup>r</sup>; printed by William H. Cornog in *Speculum*, XII [1937], 215-250), and *Floridus aspectus* of Peter Riga (fols. 23<sup>r</sup>-47).

*Colores verborum* is similar to *De ornamentis verborum* of Marbod († 1123), Bishop of Rennes (*PL*, 171, 1687-1692), but it contains many more figures or "colors."

pigmentatas gratias eructant Altissimo. De quibus quidam sic:

Non alleluia ructare sed allia norunt;  
Plus in salmone quam Salomone legunt."<sup>58</sup>

"They do not know how to utter 'Alleluia' but they know how to belch garlic; they read more in a salmon than in Solomon."<sup>59</sup> The couplet is found in a very rhetorical part of Daniel's speech against the two Elders in the *Historia Susanne* (*infra*, p. 364; *Dan.*, lines 573-74). Matthew probably took the couplet from the *Historia* as it was circulating alone or in *Floridus aspectus* and before it was incorporated into the *Aurora* when Peter Riga added *Liber Danielis* in his second edition. This accounts for the fact that Matthew does not seem to know the author of the couplet. Moreover, the date for the completion of the *Ars versificatoria* (sometime before 1175)<sup>60</sup> seems too early for the *Aurora*, particularly for the second edition.

The works of Peter Riga were esteemed and used by Alexander of Villa Dei. In the prologue of the *Ecclesiale*, written perhaps in 1203,<sup>61</sup> Alexander vehemently attacks the classical studies of the school of Orleans, which then had a great reputation. He holds up Peter Riga for the emulation of the masters of Orleans, "who teach us to sacrifice to the gods;" and paraphrasing a passage from the *Aurora* on the meaning of the names of the rivers of Paradise (*infra*, p. 37; *Genesis*, lines 255-64), he applies the allegory to these masters and threatens them with the loss of Paradise unless they mend their ways.

Sacrificare deis nos edocet Aurelianus,  
Indicens festum Fauni, Iovis atque Liei.  
Hec est pestifera, David testante, cathedra,  
In qua non sedit vir sanctus, perniciosam  
Doctrinam fugiens, que, sicut habetur ibidem,  
Est quasi diffundens multis contagia morbus.  
Non decet illa legi que sunt contraria legi.

<sup>58</sup> Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, p. 169.

<sup>59</sup> For the double-entendre of *ructare* and for later uses of the couplet see Paul E. Beichner, "Non alleluia ructare," *Mediaeval Studies*, XVIII (1956), 135-144.

<sup>60</sup> Faral, *Les arts poétiques*, p. 14.

<sup>61</sup> Manitius, *Geschichte*, III, 757.

Has abolere volens sordes et cordis et oris,  
 Vivifico clerum Riga Petrus rore rigavit,  
 Qui nos de petra mellis dulcedine pavit,  
 Significativum promens de simplice sensum  
 Hystoria, viteque modum moraliter addens.  
 Hic nos invitat ad flumina, que Paradisus  
 Emittit, dicens: oris mutatio Phison.  
 Os mutat qui, falsa loquens prius, illa relinquit.  
 Hic verum tribuet ad cetera flumina callem.  
 Designatque Geon pectus; sedes ibi cordis.  
 Sicque per hunc poterit sapientia significari.  
 Qui celer est, Tigris designat quod cito nobis  
 Pandi sincere poterit doctrina sophie.  
 Frugifer Eufrates monstrat quod fructus habetur  
 Ex cordis cella fulviorum rore rigata.  
 Est bona doctrina res, fructus celica vita.  
 Tali doctrine qui corde studebit et ore,  
 Si non a verbis discors habeatur in actis,  
 Huic deus eterne prebebit premia vite.  
 Aurelianiste via non patet ad Paradisum,  
 Ni prius os mutet. Igitur mutatio fiat,  
 Vt sic possimus potari flumine terno,  
 Uniusque dei ternique fidem teneamus.<sup>62</sup>

Alexander probably chose Peter Riga as a representative of the school of Paris, which was already showing its preference for theological and philosophical matter. But in *La bataille des .vii. ars* of Henri d'Andeli, written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the *Aurora* is an ally of Grammar, represented chiefly by Orleans. As the classics fare badly, the *Aurora* is cut to pieces by a hugh battle-ax.<sup>63</sup>

Although the *Ecclesiale* was practically forgotten by the end of the thirteenth century, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villa Dei<sup>64</sup> continued to be extremely popular. This versified grammar,

<sup>62</sup> Charles Thurot, "Notices et extraits de divers mss. latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge," *Not. et extr.*, XXII, pt. 2 (1868), p. 115.

<sup>63</sup> *La bataille*, lines 288-89; Paetow, *The Battle of the Seven Arts, Memoirs of the Univ. of California*, IV, no. 1 (1914), p. 53.

<sup>64</sup> The critical-exegetical edition of the *Doctrinale* is vol. XII (1893) of *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica, Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei*. The introductory study is by Dietrich Reichling, pp. 1-cccix; the edition with an explanation of the text is by Theodor Reichling, pp. 1-211.

completed about 1199,<sup>65</sup> was a "best seller" schoolbook. It was intended for the more advanced students of Latin and, therefore, was to be explained and complemented by the teacher. Hence it attracted glosses, interpretations, and commentaries. In the fourteenth century, along with the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune, it was prescribed in the statutes of universities—"à Toulouse en 1328, à Paris en 1366, à Vienne en 1389."<sup>66</sup> Extant manuscripts of the *Doctrinale* are plentiful. Moreover, after the invention of movable type, the text of the *Doctrinale* was printed repeatedly, in whole or in part, with or without glosses and special commentaries by various experts. Reichling describes 148 such printings from about 1470 to 1499, and 119 more between 1500 and 1588.<sup>67</sup>

Grammarians recognized the words, constructions, and usages of contemporary writers. Alexander preferred contemporary norms for accent to the ancient:

Accentus normas legitur posuisse vetustas. (*Doct.*, 2330)  
 Non tamen has credo servandas tempore nostro. 2331)

It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Aurora* should offer him examples; and he unquestionably had the *Aurora* in mind when he wrote:

*Lagana* producit *Petrus*..... (1721)  
*Tinea* produxit *Petrus Riga*..... (1860)  
 .....*Petrus* dixit *polymita*.<sup>68</sup> (2115)

But Alexander seems indebted to Peter Riga for more than examples from the *Aurora*. In line 16 of the prologue of the *Doctrinale*—"hinc de *praeteritis* Petrum sequar atque *supinis*"—Alexander says that he will follow a work of Peter for his own section on

<sup>65</sup> Manitius, *Geschichte*, III, 757.

<sup>66</sup> Thurot, *Not. et extr.*, XXII, pt. 2 (1868), p. 102.

<sup>67</sup> Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, pp. CLXI-CCXC.

<sup>68</sup> Lines from the *Aurora* illustrating the long vowels of these words are the following: "Azima lagana sunt oleo lita; discute sensum" (*Lev.*, 325), "Que polimita fuit, oscula dando pedi" (*Gen.*, 1242), and "Tinea que rodit uestes laniando figurat" (*Evang.*, 1266). Reichling evidently used the *Catholicon* of John of Genoa for quotations from the *Aurora*: for *lagana* he quoted "Lagana lata notant et fratris et hostis amorem," and for *tinea* he found nothing.

preterits and supines (*Doct.*, cap. V, 698-983). That Peter Riga wrote a verse tract, *De preteritis et supinis*, which Alexander used with little change, is quite probable.<sup>69</sup>

*Translations from the Aurora.* — Believing that so popular a versification of Biblical matter as the *Aurora* must have had some influence on later vernacular verse Bibles or Biblical poems, particularly in French, I tried to verify this intuition. The results of my limited investigation yielded fruit beyond my expectation.

*Macé de la Charité.* — The *Aurora*, except for the letter-dropping *Recapitulaciones*, was translated more or less freely into Old French verse by Macé de la Charité sometime near the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. The total length of Macé's *Bible* is about 43,000 lines, of which nearly 9,000 lines are devoted to an extended exegesis of the Apocalypse. There is no Apocalypse in the *Aurora*, but Macé added this section at the request of Étienne de Corbigny, the abbot of Fontmorigni, and one of his monks, after he had brought his *Bible* to a temporary conclusion with the Acts of the Apostles. Using printed excerpts from Macé's *Bible* to compare with appropriate passages from the *Aurora* and taking into consideration what scholars had said about the contents of the French work, I wrote an article<sup>70</sup> to show that Macé's *Bible* (except the Apocalypse) is a free translation of the *Aurora*. I concluded that probably the first redaction of Aegidius of Paris was used. Since that time J. R. Smeets and a group of researchers at the University of Leiden have started to edit Macé's *Bible*. The text of *Ruth*, *Judith*, *Tobie*, *Esther*, *Daniel*, and *Job* (lines 16131-20690) has just been published by Dr. H. C. M. van der Krabben;<sup>71</sup> other sections of Macé's *Bible*

<sup>69</sup> For manuscripts of *De preteritis et supinis* and glosses and for arguments in favor of Peter Riga's authorship, see Thurot, *Not. et extr.*, XXII, pt. 2, pp. 26-27; Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, pp. LXXVI-LXXVII; Manitius, *Geschichte*, III, 829-30.

<sup>70</sup> "The Old French Verse *Bible* of Macé de la Charité, a Translation of the *Aurora*," *Speculum*, XXII (1947), 226-239.

<sup>71</sup> *La Bible de Macé de la Charité: Ruth, Judith, Tobie, Esther, Daniel, Job* (Universitaire Pers, Leiden, 1964). The manuscript used is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 401. I had stated that two manuscripts were extant, but Dr. van der Krabben pointed out that the second was destroyed during World

will be published by other members of the team in due time. Any uncertainty about Macé's use of the third edition of the *Aurora* by Peter Riga or the first redaction of it by Aegidius of Paris has been removed; Macé used the latter.

*Jehan Malkaraume.* — The verse *Bible* of Jehan Malkaraume survives in a unique manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 903, from the middle of the thirteenth century. The manuscript begins with the exit of Noe from the ark and ends shortly after the combat between David and Goliath. Events before the death of Moses are narrated at length, but thereafter the author limits himself to important events and major characters. Between the account of the death of Moses and the history of Josue, this Old French *Bible* interpolates *Le Roman de Troie*, for which Jehan Malkaraume claimed authorship by substituting his own name where Benoît de Sainte-Maure had given his. It also inserts the Pyramus and Thisbe legend between the stories of Susanna and Ruth.

Unlike Macé de la Charité, who was interested in making a free translation of the *Aurora* and therefore passed over the most rhetorical passages, Jehan Malkaraume seems to have been most attracted to them, and his translation of them produced what appears to be experimentation in his verse. The most notable example is his translation of Jacob's lament for the loss of Joseph (*infra*, pp. 73-75; *Genesis*, lines 1193-1232). The influence of the *Aurora* can also be felt in many passages that give the significations or allegories of events narrated.<sup>72</sup>

*Cursor Mundi.* — The passage on the symbols of the four Evangelists in the Middle English *Cursor Mundi* (lines 21263-21346) is a very close translation of Peter Riga's *De quatuor evangelistarum proprietatibus et significationibus* in *Floridus aspectus*; it is not a translation of the revision used in the *Aurora* as the prologue to the *Evangelium*. The English poet does not seem to have

War II (p. vi): "le manuscrit 906 de Tours, brûlé le 19 juin 1940, lors des combats sur la Loire."

<sup>72</sup> Paul E. Beichner, C.S.C., "La *Bible* versifiée de Jehan Malkaraume et l'*Aurora*," *Le moyen âge*, LXI (1955), 63-78. Some corresponding passages in Latin and in French are printed in parallel columns by way of illustration.

used the *Aurora* at all. The marked similarity that does exist between certain passages of the *Aurora* and the *Cursor* proves only that both poets sometimes used a common source, such as the Latin Vulgate or the *Historia scholastica*.<sup>73</sup>

*Geoffrey Chaucer*. — Since Chaucer alluded to so many books in his poems, it is not surprising that he should have referred to the *Aurora*, which he probably read in his youth. The reference occurs in his early poem, *The Book of the Duchess* (lines 1155-69), where he speaks of the origin of music.

But, for to kepe me fro ydelnesse,  
Trewly I dide my besynesse  
To make songes, as I best koude,  
And ofte tyme I song hem loude;  
And made songes thus a gret del,  
Althogh I koude not make so wel  
Songes, ne knewe the art al,  
As koude Lamekes sone Tubal,  
That found out first the art of songe;  
For as hys brothres hamers ronge  
Upon hys anvelt up and down,  
Therof he took the firste soun, —  
But Grekes seys Pictagoras,  
That he the firste fynder was  
Of the art, Aurora telleth so.

Except for this passage, I have found nothing in Chaucer borrowed from the *Aurora*.<sup>74</sup>

*John Gower*. — On the other hand, John Gower, a contemporary of Chaucer, used the *Aurora* extensively when he wrote his major Latin work, *Vox clamantis*. He does not seem to have borrowed from the *Aurora* for his English or his French poems. In *Vox clamantis* Gower mentions the *Aurora* once by name, perhaps more as an appeal to the authority of an earlier author than as a statement of indebtedness.

<sup>73</sup> Paul E. Beichner, C.S.C., "The *Cursor Mundi* and Petrus Riga," *Speculum* XXIV (1949), 239-250.

<sup>74</sup> *Infra*, p. 45; *Aurora*, Gen. 465-484. For the Biblical tradition of Jubal (sometimes written Tubal) as the inventor of music in medieval writings and art, see P. E. Beichner, *The Medieval Representative of Music, Jubal or Tubalcain?* (Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education, II), Notre Dame, 1954.

Petrus in Aurora que scribam scripsit, et ille  
Testis in hac causa verus et auctor erit.

V.C., III, 1853-1854.

Gower used a copy of the first edition of the *Aurora* and borrowed approximately 450 lines from it, which are scattered throughout the various books of his own poem. Passages vary in length from a line to more than twenty. Gower's use of the *Aurora* has been treated in some detail in an article of mine,<sup>75</sup> but a quotation from the conclusion may not be out of place here.

Although his reading of the paraphrases of Scripture in the *Aurora* must have refreshed and supplemented his knowledge of the Vulgate, he was much less interested in the Biblical content of Peter Riga's poem than in the moral interpretations of the matter. Whether he created a mosaic from slightly changed passages, separated by hundreds or thousands of lines in the *Aurora*, or whether he used a long excerpt from one place, his context is original. And the general context of *Vox clamantis* — conditions within the various orders of society at the time of the Peasants' Revolt — gives originality even to passages borrowed without change by removing them from the plane of the exegete's timeless moral interpretation of Scripture to the reformer's criticism of his own day and counsel for improvement. To develop his Latin craftsmanship, Gower read and reread the *Aurora*, memorized passages as models of elegant writing, plagiarized and imitated them ... And yet I believe that he felt he was honestly presenting his views on his own day even though he often expressed himself in words and criticisms borrowed from his predecessors.<sup>76</sup>

Since the "Table of Lines in *Vox clamantis* Taken from the *Aurora*," printed as an appendix to my article, uses a line numbering for the *Aurora* with additions of Aegidius of Paris included and since this present edition excludes interpolations from the numbering, the table revised to correspond to the numbering used in this edition is printed as an appendix after the NOTES (*infra*, pp. [62]-[64]). However, because of their abundance, very few of Gower's borrowings are pointed out in individual notes.

<sup>75</sup> "Gower's Use of *Aurora* in *Vox clamantis*," *Speculum*, XXX (1955), 582-595.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 592-593.

Perhaps mention should be made of Thomas Rudborne's use of the *Aurora* in his chronicle, *Historia maior de fundatione et successione ecclesiae Wintoniensis*, written about the middle of the fifteenth century. Including in it some early English secular history, Rudborne sometimes compared English personages with Biblical characters and embellished his narrative with a few appropriate lines from the *Aurora*. In three instances he mentioned the *Aurora* as the source,<sup>77</sup> but I also recognized four more quotations which were not so identified. The following excerpt, which does not name the *Aurora*, illustrates Rudborne's method.

Habuit etiam quintum filium, cognomento Ethelstanum, non de matrimonio generatum; cui ... pater Athulphus omnia regna quae ejus Genitor potenter adquisiverat contulit, Occidentalium Saxonum solummodo ipse contentus Regno; propter quod factum filii sui legitimi omnes, praeter Alfredum, contra Patrem insurrexerunt; & primogenitus Ethelbaldus, ut Absalon contra Davit, qui

Aspirans regno, per cunctas Israel Urbes  
Legatos misit Absalon ipse suos  
Ut veniant armis succincti seque sequantur,  
Nam parat insigni Regis honore frui.  
Insignes ad eum Proceres glomerantur in Ebron;  
Post Regem sequitur infima turba novum.<sup>78</sup>

The final word on the popularity and influence of the *Aurora* in the Middle Ages has not yet been written. Versified Biblical material in other vernacular languages than French and English remains to be compared with the *Aurora* by other scholars. If allegorical interpretations have been given, they may perhaps be traceable to the *Aurora*. A study of the Middle Dutch *Rymbybel*

<sup>77</sup> Leyser (*Hist. poet.*, p. 700) called attention to these passages and gave the references to them in Henry Wharton's *Anglia sacra* (London, 1691), where Rudborne's chronicle was printed. Migne found the quotations and reprinted them in his collection of fragments from the *Aurora* (*PL*, 212, 31 B-C): "De Ruben," *Aurora*, Gen. 1376-76, and "De Aoth," *Aurora*, Iud. 25-26, in *Anglia sacra*, I, 204; "De Juda Machabaeo," *Aurora*, Mach. 75-78, in *Anglia sacra*, I, 209.

<sup>78</sup> *Anglia sacra*, I, 204; verses from *Aurora*, II Reg. 235-40. The following lines from the *Aurora* are also quoted in the same work: Mach. 375 on p. 206, III Reg. 14 on p. 209, and III Reg. 133 and 135-36 on p. 214.

of Jacob van Maerlant<sup>79</sup> will probably show some influence of the Latin versified Bible of Peter Riga.

### 7. Sources of the *Aurora*

As a Biblical commentator Peter Riga was no more original than most of the respected exegetes of the Middle Ages, who excerpted, condensed, amplified, or paraphrased passages from the writings of their predecessors and who thus produced useful works which were new in form rather than in matter. My concern has been to find those works which Peter Riga used in writing the *Aurora* and not the sources of those works. When the proximate sources are compared with the text of the *Aurora*, the poem may be better understood and some puzzling questions may be answered. It is beyond the purpose of both the INTRODUCTION and the NOTES of this edition of the poem to trace Biblical interpretations or ideas back to the commentators who first propounded them.

The list of authors of works which were the proximate sources of the *Aurora* is not long: Jerome, Gregory the Great, Paterius, Bede, Isidore of Seville, Rabanus Maurus, Bruno of Asti, Radulphus Flaviacensis (Raoul of Flaix, or Flavigny), Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (Zachary of Besançon), Peter Comestor, and Peter of Poitiers. It must be emphasized, however, that when the *Aurora* mentions authorities for particular statements or interpretations, one can be sure that Peter Riga did not go directly to them. They are cited at the appropriate point in the work which he was following at the time. Thus, the expression "as Josephus says" is almost a sure sign that the *Historia scholastica* is the proximate source of the statement attributed to Josephus as well as the source of the surrounding material. Peter Riga also used some of his own earlier independent Biblical poems at several places in the *Aurora*, and for about one half of the lines in one book, the *Recapitulationes*, he used passages from the Old Testament section of the *Aurora* itself. Moreover, he seems to have referred to a copy of the Vulgate now and then even though the commentaries which he followed usually gave generous quotations from the Scriptures.

<sup>79</sup> *Rymbybel van Jacob van Maerlant*, ed. J. David, 3 vols., Brussels, 1858-61.

As evidence that the poet used a particular work I have considered a combination of such things as verbal similarities, the same Scriptural allusions or quotations from other parts of the Bible used to illustrate a point, citations of the same older authorities for the same material, the occasional rubric or prose heading which turns out to be a quotation from the commentary and the like. The NOTES give the references to the sources for each book of the *Aurora*, along with a few quotations. To have quoted everything that the poet paraphrased would have resulted in a compilation of prose passages longer than the poem itself, for there appears to be almost nothing in it, outside of poetic amplification, which had not been said before.

Since Peter Riga intended to compose a versification of Biblical material which might be used as an aid to memory or even as a substitute for a prose commentary on the Bible, he chose source materials which were already popular. Thus, to write books which would be largely narrative, such as *Judith*, *Esther*, *Daniel*, *Machabees*, he could have selected nothing more popular than the *History scholastica*. To write books or sections which would be interpretative, he used popular works of allegorical and moral exegesis of Bede, Isidore of Seville, and others. Fascination with allegorical interpretation was perhaps at its highest point in the twelfth century. One reason why the *Aurora* became a "best seller" was that it satisfied popular demand.

In presenting allegorical and moral interpretations, Peter was concise and orderly. He preferred to use works which were already concise or concentrated, so that his main task might be one of reducing the material to verse. Thus, the *Liber Tobie* in the *Aurora* is a versification of Bede's compact little work entitled *Allegorica interpretatio in Librum Tobiae*. When Peter did use long or diffuse commentaries, he seems to have moved unerringly from topic sentence to topic sentence, paraphrasing only the most important statements. This talent for digesting books is exhibited in his use of the long *Expositio in Exodum* of Bruno of Asti to write *Liber Exodus*.

Peter did not read a number of commentaries on a particular book of the Bible, then lay them aside and compose a verse synthesis. He seems to have worked with his source books before

him, using now one and now another. For some books of his poem he employed but one commentary; for *Liber Numeri* he used two; and for the various parts of some others he used several. *Liber Numeri*, including its rubrics, ceases to be a strange book when one understands that the poet, using *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum: In Numeros* by Isidore of Seville and *Expositio Veteris et Novi Testamenti: Super Numeros* by Paterius, followed the first to an appropriate stopping place and then the second to the same point to supplement the first, and so on, repeating the process, until he had combined both. Moreover, these two commentaries exhibit the characteristics of their authors, for Isidore was an encyclopedist of Patristic exegesis who was fond of catalogues and the significations of names, and Paterius was an arranger of excerpts from the writing of Gregory the Great.

Except for the legend of the child Moses and Pharaoh's crown, probably taken from the *Historia scholastica*, Peter Riga used *Expositio in Exodum* of Bruno of Asti († 1123), abbot of Monte Cassino and Bishop of Segni, to write *Liber Exodus*. Before I discovered this, however, I had assembled passages from earlier commentators, especially Isidore of Seville, which I thought Peter might have used. But since he did not seem to follow them here as closely as was his practice in the writing of other books and since there were passages in *Liber Exodus* for which I had not yet found comparable prose statements, I suspected that he might have followed a later work in which everything would be found together. This proved to be the case. Moreover, several curious things came to light. Peter Riga mentioned himself by name (*Exodus*, 507-508; *infra*, p. 110) at the very point where Bruno had alluded to himself. Peter also copied as rubrics some of the corroborative Scriptural quotations which Bruno had taken from other parts of the Bible; in several instances they apply to nothing in the verses and appear to float because Peter did not versify the passages in which Bruno had used them but simply passed on to the next point in Bruno's commentary.

Although some rubrics in the *Aurora* are titles or headings for sections of verse which follow them, many are not. Among the latter are some which depend on the poet's sources as much as his verses do. They are quotations and prose paraphrases of

passages in the sources which would be too cumbersome to versify and which the poet copied into his poem for continuity or completeness. For example, a number of rubrics in *Liber Danielis* are quotations or extracts from the *Historia scholastica*. Rubrics of this kind were frequently edited by scribes, or at least they were never copied as faithfully as the text of the poem. From the manuscripts used I have selected the version of such rubrics closest to the wording of the sources and I have not recorded variations. Another type of rubric, which is not really a title, is the Scriptural text to be read before the poet's verses. Thus, nearly all of the *Canticum canticorum* of the Vulgate is quoted as rubrics, passage by passage. Though many of these Scriptural texts are paraphrased in verses preceding their interpretations, others are followed immediately by exegesis which cannot be readily appreciated unless a person has just read the rubric.

#### 8. The Manuscripts and This Edition

Because of its great popularity the *Aurora* was repeatedly copied in the Middle Ages. It should not be surprising, therefore, to find that approximately 250 manuscripts are extant in various libraries in Europe and America. Stegmüller lists about 240 of them.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, some additional manuscripts are still privately owned, and the *Aurora* seems to be second only to the omnipresent Book of Hours in the frequency of offers of manuscripts for sale by rare book and manuscript dealers. By comparison with the number of extant manuscripts of other medieval poems there is a superabundance of manuscripts of the *Aurora*; for example, there are 83 or 84 known manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, including fragments, and 20 of the *Troilus and Criseyde*.

The contents of *Aurora* manuscripts are seldom adequately described in the catalogues of the collections to which they belong.

<sup>80</sup> F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi* (6 vols. to date, Madrid, 1950—) lists them under numbers 6823-6825. Eight more manuscripts in the United States can be added to Stegmüller's list. They can readily be found by consulting the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* by Seymour de Ricci ... (3 vols., New York, 1935-40) and the *Supplement to the Census* ... originated by C. U. Faye, continued and edited by W. H. Bond (New York, 1962).

To examine the manuscripts and compile a descriptive catalogue would be a large undertaking in itself, which can well afford to wait until there is definite need. But to delay the printing of an edition of the *Aurora* until after such work could be done would be a disservice to the scholars and students who wish to read or consult the poem now, perhaps in connection with their own investigations or studies of other writings of the Middle Ages. A first printed edition, however, should satisfy ordinary needs without misleading the user. I have tried to supply such an edition, which attempts to make it possible for a reader to follow, at least in essentials, any of the three medieval editions of the *Aurora* by Peter Riga and the two redactions, or sets of interpolations, by Aegidius of Paris (cf. *supra*, p. xvii ff., and *infra*, p. 2). This may well be the most important feature of my edition of the *Aurora*. A variety of manuscripts have been used in its preparation; they are listed with their *sigla* on p. 2, below. All are from the thirteenth century, except one or two from the late twelfth.

For the text of the books of the *Aurora* written in distichs, that is, for all books except *Actus Apostolorum*, *Iob*, and *Cantica canticorum*, I have leaned heavily on *R* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Ms. Rawlinson C. 819*). This manuscript was completed by the scribe in the month of August, 1199,<sup>81</sup> or ten years before the death of Peter Riga. It belongs to the second edition, and for practical purposes it represents the author's final version of the books written in distichs. I have followed the readings of *R* in preference to the readings of the first edition when later manuscripts (i.e., of the third edition) confirmed the readings of *R*. I have departed from *R* when its readings stood alone against those which were the same in manuscripts of the first and the third editions.

The first edition is represented by *Me* (Oxford, Merton College Library, *Ms. 325*), *Ra* (Bodleian Library, *Ms. Rawlinson C. 315*), and *E* (Bodleian Library, *Ms. Laud Misc. 82*). *Me* was copied in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Its spellings of

<sup>81</sup> The scribe finished his work with the following colophon [f. 140<sup>v</sup>]: "Finit liber, scriptus Rem[is] per manum Roberti clerici Varsliaco, anno Incarnati Verbi M<sup>o</sup>. C<sup>o</sup>. nonagesimo IX<sup>o</sup>., mense Augusto. Explicit liber Magistri Petri Remensis."



proper names are better, or closer to those in the Vulgate, than the spellings in later manuscripts. *Ra* is so much like *Me* that the collation of more than *Liber Ruth* seemed pointless. Several folios at the beginning of *Ra* have been lost; they would have contained "Peter Riga's Preface" and the first part of *Liber Genesis*. *E* is a codex which contains the first edition of the *Aurora* (ff. 1-101<sup>v</sup>). The scribe also copied (ff. 102-128) the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme without naming the author, and under the rubric *Liber Thobie allegorice* he appended Peter Riga's *Liber Tobie* (ff. 128-134<sup>v</sup>); he may have found both poems on *Tobias* already circulating as one unit. Finally, he copied (ff. 135-174) *Actus Apostolorum*, *Iob*, and *Cantica canticorum*, the books in riming hexameters which Peter had added in his third edition of the *Aurora*.

*N* (Notre Dame, University Library, *Ms. 2*) may represent a stage between the second and the third editions of the *Aurora*, or it may be an unfinished copy of the third edition. In any case, it contains all of the books written in distichs, plus the *Actus Apostolorum*. This manuscript was carefully written in a very small hand, and its text approaches the quality of *R*.

The third edition is represented by *M* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, *Ms. Morgan 727*), *P* (Philadelphia, Free Library, *Ms. Lewis 169*), *C* (Bodleian Library, *Ms. Can. Bibl. lat. 44a*), *G* (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, *Ms. 363.569* [CMA 1068]), *U* (Oxford, University College Library, *Ms. 143*). Although no one of these manuscripts could have been copied from any of the others, the first three seem to belong to one family of manuscripts, and the last two perhaps to others. *G* contains some occasional interpolations.

In making the text of the books in riming hexameters I have tended to choose the readings of the majority of the manuscripts used. For this purpose I have included manuscripts of the two redactions, or editions, of Aegidius of Paris, who tampered less with the books written in riming hexameters than with the books in distichs.

For the two sets of additions of Aegidius (indicated by "Aeg. 1" and "Aeg. 2") I have used some manuscripts in which these interpolations were written by the scribe in the body of the text and

some manuscripts in which they were copied in the margins or on flyleaves by a second scribe. I have chosen the readings which made most sense to me and I have not recorded the variants. To have given the variants which occur in the text of the addition would have made this edition unwieldy while contributing very little to its value.

*A* (Oxford, Magdalen College Library, *Ms. 24*) represents the first redaction of Aegidius with the additions marked with an obelus. *L* (Bodleian Library, *Ms. Laud Misc. 576*) and *S* (Cambridge, St. John's College Library, *Ms. E 31*) belong to this same redaction in general, but interpolations are not consistently marked. Both contain the *Mysterium de agno paschali* of Aegidius, which I believe belongs more properly to his second redaction. *L* also contains the anonymous *Cantica canticorum Beate Marie*. *B* (Bodleian Library, *Ms. Bodl. 822*) belongs to the first redaction of Aegidius, but somewhere in the line of transmission the text which it uses received an additional editing at the hand of someone who considered himself more than a mere copyist. Because it is so far from what Peter Riga wrote, I have recorded variants from it only for the *Cantica canticorum*. *W* (Bodleian Library, *Ms. Bodl. 871*) proved to be more curious than useful. Its original text appears to have been that of the third edition of the *Aurora* by Peter Riga. The manuscript was later spoiled by a scribe who tried to make it into a version like the one given in *B*, for in the passages which were written over erasures as well as in the passages written in the margins I have found the variants which occur only in *B*.

*F* (Bodleian Library, *Ms. Laud Misc. 242*) represents the second redaction of Aegidius, with his additions incorporated into the text of all books of the *Aurora* except a part of the *Evangelium*. After line 1106 of the *Evangelium Aegidii* (*infra*, p. 562) the scribe of *F*, perhaps weary of the interminable expansion of Aegidius, turned to an exemplar without additions and copied Peter Riga's *Evangelium*, lines 1743-2190 (*infra*, pp. 493-510; i.e., to the Passion). *Md* (Oxford, Merton College Library, *Ms. A. 2. 8* [VIII]), is a manuscript with many of the additions of the second redaction of Aegidius copied by a second scribe in the margins and on flyleaves.

*Nd* (Notre Dame, University Library, *Ms. 3*)<sup>82</sup> was written by two scribes. The first copied all the books of the *Aurora* except the *Evangelium* and *Actus Apostolorum*. Although he gave a text relatively free from interpolations, he did include as separate books the *Mysterium de agno paschali* of Aegidius and the anonymous *Lamentationes Ieremie*. After this first scribe had stopped at line 171 of Peter Riga's *Evangelium* (*infra*, p. 431), the second copyist, writing in double columns, gave the long second redaction of the *Evangelium* by Aegidius and concluded the manuscript with the *Actus Apostolorum*. This manuscript was of particular use to me after the point where the scribe of *F* had ceased to give the second redaction of the *Evangelium* of Aegidius. *Sl* (London, British Museum, *Ms. Sloane 1726*) has been used only for "A Thirteenth-century Foreword" (*infra*, pp. 3-4).

In choosing a format for presenting this edition I have kept in mind the person who wishes to read the *Aurora* only for its content. He can easily avoid the variants and interpolations, which might be of some use to the scholar who wishes to verify quotations from the *Aurora* in other medieval writings.

Rubrics are printed in italics. The pentameter lines of distichs have been indented, and punctuation and internal capitalization have been added to facilitate reading. Abbreviations occurring in the manuscripts have been expanded. The medieval *e* (for the classical *ae* and *oe*) has been retained, and *u* serves for both *u* and *v*, as in the manuscripts. The letter *p* has been retained in such words as *solempniter*, *sompnum*, and the like. For proper names I have chosen what appeared to be the common spelling of the older manuscripts. Other spellings are recorded among the variants but without the *sigla* of the manuscripts; they are intended to be illustrative only, since a scribe may spell a name two or three ways on the same page.

Variants are recorded without their lemmas when the omission should not cause confusion. Thus, no lemma is given when the

<sup>82</sup> It might be of interest to note that this manuscript, copied by Spanish scribes in the last half of the thirteenth century, belonged at one time to the library of the English poet and artist, William Morris, Kelmescott House, Hammersmith.

variant is a different form of the same word, a synonym, a transposition of several words, and the like. When more than one variant occurs in the same line of verse, a double bar (||) is used to separate the items. A bracket after a line number, or the numbers of several lines, signifies that the whole passage is the lemma; "627-8] *tr. post* 632 *P*" signifies that lines 627-628 are written after line 632 in *P*.

No index of persons is given because the Biblical characters are mentioned at the expected places in the various books of the *Aurora*. A bibliography of the writings mentioned in the INTRODUCTION and the NOTES is given at the end.