

A Spanish Bishop Remembers the Future: Oral Traditions and Purgatory in Julian of Toledo

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Part One: Julian's Sermon Hidden in Titles

Julian of Toledo, born to Christian parents of Jewish descent, took a strong stand against Rome and was responsible for making Toledo into the pre-eminent bishopric of Visigothic Spain in the late seventh century. He also helped King Erwig retain his election by declaring his comatose predecessor Wamba a penitent and presiding over a council in which his people were released from their obligation to obey him. In the intellectual as well as political sphere, he took an aggressive stance. Julian argued against the Babylonian Talmud, insisting that the Messiah had arrived in the person of Jesus, and also wrote a grammar and some poetry (Hillgarth 1976: viii-xi). One of the pre-eminent men of his day, he also contributed notably to the creation of a Christian theology of Purgatory in his *Prognosticon Futuri Saeculi*, a surprisingly rational and intimate approach to Judgment Day and the last things. In this work Julian does not offer typical medieval "prognostications," those charming books sometimes attributed to Daniel that promise to reveal the future from the imagery of your dreams, the occurrence of thunder, wind or sunshine on a Thursday, or the phase of the moon on your birthday. Julian seeks to answer a simple question: where does the soul reside between death and Judgment Day? In doing so, he creates one of the most popular works of the early Middle Ages: the *Prognosticon* survives in 162 complete manuscripts (*ibid.*:xxxiv).

In an inspired moment, Julian, who may not or may not have known Greek, chooses the Greek *prognosticon* over the Latin *praescientia* as his title and then creates a work that is *sui generis*: a model of clarity, consolation, and good sense. Yet, it is rare to meet anyone today who has actually read or studied this text. The *Prognosticon* suffers from a triple whammy of unpopularity, at least for English-speaking audiences: it is written in Latin prose by a seventh-century Spanish bishop, helps to formulate orthodox Catholic theology, and is comprised largely of quotations remembered from Julian's reading of Patristic authors. To my knowledge, it has never been translated into English, though many of the works it draws upon have been. Lacking the aesthetic appeal of poetry and the linguistic appeal of the vernacular, neither sermon nor penitential nor encyclopedia, the *Prognosticon* remains in the realm of systematic theology, used mostly as an ancillary citation to illuminate the *Zeitgeist* of the late Visigoths.

Julian's *Prognosticon* is one of the earliest works to formulate in some coherent way the fate of the human soul between individual death and Judgment Day in the medieval Christian

tradition. Jacques LeGoff, of course, is the leading historian of the creation of the realm of Purgatory and its fullest formulation in late medieval scholastic theology (LeGoff 1984). The vast mythology of Purgatory includes Bede's account of Drythelm's vision wherein souls are flung between regions of burning heat and freezing cold, Dante's multi-terraced Mount of Purgatory, medieval French confessions to Jacques Fournier that describe the dead traveling by night from church to church around southern France, Hamlet's father's ghost's assertion that he is "doomed for a certain time to walk the night," and folk songs such as the Lyke Wake Dirge, which admonishes one to give shoes, hose, silver, gold, food, and drink to the poor, because those gifts will protect you as you cross over the Thorny Moor and the Bridge of Dread to Purgatory. To this day pilgrims travel to Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland, and countless visions in romance, epic, sermon, fantasy, science fiction (even TV dramas such as "Neverwhere" and "Lost") remind us of the fluid boundary between this world and the immediate next. Much of this mythology can be attributed to oral tradition, popular religious customs, and folk tales about communing with the dead.

Julian's work initially seems to come from a very different, learned and written tradition. Like most Christian theologians, Julian must resolve the paradox arising from the words of Jesus to the good thief on the cross—"Verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43)—and the description of the dead being raised at the Day of Judgment. Because it was such a popular work, Julian's *Prognosticon* has had significant influence on medieval thought on this topic. The *Prognosticon* was copied frequently until the fifteenth century and was used not only as a monastic school text and easily accessed compendium of Patristic wisdom but also as a highly personal and contemplative guide to the next world. It addresses a multitude of questions in a brief space: how death entered the world, the types of paradise, our age and sex after death, whether the disembodied soul can sense pain, the resurrection of those consumed by animals, whether what the soul senses after death is any more vivid than that which it once sensed in dreams, and whether our corporeal eyes, that now see the sun and moon, will also be the eyes that see God. The fact that Julian brings together quotations from earlier authors has caused his work to be seen as derivative, and even Julian's modern editor, J. N. Hillgarth, will go only so far as to call the work a "manual de doctrina y de contemplación."¹

And yet, when one looks more closely there are several curious features of this work. The fundamental paradox in the composition of the *Prognosticon* is that Julian is remembering what he knows about the future—he recalls only those passages from his extensive reading that refer to future time and our fate in eternity. He blends Scriptural and Patristic authors in his quest to reveal the truth of our ultimate fate and inspire his readers to forsake sin.²

¹ Hillgarth 1971:112. Julian's contributions to the idea of purgatory are explored by LeGoff (1984) and his articulation of the interim paradise by Kabir (2001). In addition, Collins (1992), Madoz (1952), Pozo (1970), and Von Wicki (1953) have analyzed Julian's contribution to the development of the theology of the after-world and his use of Patristic sources.

² In this way, he resembles Augustine, who dwells on the problem of memory extensively in his *Confessions*. Connelly has said of Augustine's memory that "memory acts as a mirror of Augustine's whole identity; fully present to himself, Augustine can dialogue with God about his revealed truth in Scripture . . . memory reveals Augustine's intimacy with Truth who dwells within him" (Connelly 1999:abstract).

We know how the work was composed, from Julian's own account in his preface. From this and other evidence, I propose three ways to illuminate this text and its place in early medieval literary culture: first, the *Prognosticon* within its written form reveals an earlier, "oral" version of itself, rooted in *communitas* and a shared dialogue. Second, Julian, who composes from memory and an understanding of *ars praedicandi*, can be considered a preacher or even, like the Anglo-Saxon poets who bear that name, a *scop*. Finally, the *Prognosticon* is comprised of a series of paradoxes that bear strong similarities to early medieval riddles. For the latter point I will draw on several glossed English manuscripts, including one from the Anglo-Saxon period that contains three sets of riddles and the *Prognosticon* glossed by the same hand (British Library Royal 12.C.xxiii).

While Julian draws his *exempla* from other theologians, he composes a unique book that provides insight not only into seventh-century eschatology, but also into the use of memory, paradox, oral composition, metaphor, enigma, and appeals to emotion. Like many early medieval thinkers and writers, Julian lived in a culture influenced by a Germanic vernacular heritage, as well as a Latin-based book culture; just as the Anglo-Saxons melded their Germanic past with their new religion, so too the Visigoths, in their journey from a pagan Germanic culture through Arian Christianity and finally to Catholicism, blended elements of Germanic and Roman cultures. This may explain, in part, the popularity of this work among so many generations of medieval readers, particularly in northern Europe. More intriguing perhaps is what it reveals about the possible survival of Germanic "beer or mead hall" culture of orally transmitted and shared poetry, transmuted into a version acceptable to a religious community living behind very different walls. We even find in Julian's other work a hint of the tradition of the pre-battle *flyting* in his attacks on the Franks in the *Historia Wambae* and *Insultatio in tyrannidem vilis Galliae*.³ But, paramount for our purposes here, the *Prognosticon* offers a very literal embodiment of the contradictions and interplay between oral and literate culture and shows how memory is truly the key to composition in pre-modern cultures. In fact, the text actually provides two versions of itself—a conversationally inspired, orally composed version and a fuller, remembered, written version. The *Prognosticon* is comprised of three books, each beginning with a list of chapter titles, followed by the chapters themselves. The titles, in each case, provide the record of the original conversation transmuted into a sort of sermon.

Julian tells us in his preface that he initially composed the *Prognosticon* in one sitting, drawing on the inspired conversation of his friend, Bishop Idalius of Barcelona, and their mutual memory. He is quite clear that the entire shape of the book is revealed before he actually takes up his stylus. Since the preface is brief and has not, to my knowledge, been previously translated, I provide my own translation below. Note, as you read, that Julian mentions the titles four times. Although he may in part be using the titles as a metonymy for the work as a whole, his repeated emphasis is striking. The prince mentioned is most likely the Visigothic King Ervigius (aka Ervigio, Erwig, r. 680-87) whose reign coincides with the probable decade for the composition of the *Prognosticon*:

³ "For Julian of Toledo the Roman Empire has ceased to exist; the enemy is the Franks and he employs against them his unbridled rhetorical talents" (Hillgarth 1970:277). "The attacks on "Gaul" (here meaning Septimania, the province ruled by the Visigoths) in the *Historia* and especially in the *Insultatio*...are extraordinary in their violence, in their praise of the Goths and hatred of Gaul . . ." (299).

Preface

To the most holy Lord Idalius, bishop of Barcelona, most dear to me above all others, from Julian, most unworthy bishop of the Cathedral of Toledo.

Who, with the clear exception of the redeemer of us all, would be able to express in words worthy of the task the joy we remember experiencing on that famous day this year when we, situated in the royal city, celebrated the feast of the Lord's Passion with the festive ardor of our hearts?

For indeed, it happened, as we were longing for the silence appropriate to such a festival, we entered into a more remote place of quiet. And there being filled, as we ought, by tearful rain-showers for the divine passion, we two reclined on couches, and were together touched by the mirror of divine light as we took up sacred reading for a long time that day. We scrutinized the secrets of the Lord's Passion in the concordances of the synoptic Gospels and when we arrived at a certain delectable passage, which I am now unable to recall, we shake violently, we moan, we sigh! A sublime joy arises in our minds, and at once we are drawn up to the summit of contemplation. Tears spring from our eyes, and hinder our attempt to read; in our mutual grief we lay aside the book and await the work to be brought forth by the inspiration of our shared and individual reading. What divine savor touched our spirits? What sweetness of supernal charity, cast forth from heaven, diffused into our mortal minds? Who may explain this in writing? Whose voice might be equal to the task of explicating what happened? Indeed, you at that time (who are, I confess, my lord and most holy brother), were languishing, laid low with the pains of gout, yet even still you remained upright in the hope of divine contemplation. I believe that all your excruciating physical pain was put to flight when we began to engage in divine colloquy between ourselves. And then how fully we sensed "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity" (Psalm 132:1) when the balm of the Holy Spirit, which descended upon our heads from the hem of his garment, illuminated us by setting us on fire for this most necessary inquiry.

Having thus been invited to such a rich feast, we began to inquire between ourselves, in what manner the souls of the dead exist before the final resurrection of the body. By this mutual endeavor we hoped to know what we ourselves will become after this life and to contemplate this business more vigorously and truly, so that in scrutinizing those future realities, we might more emphatically flee the realities of the present world. There arose certain small questions out of this matter which in their diversity did not touch our souls lightly. But since we did not wish merely to collect a brief answer to these questions, we both agreed that whatever question had arisen among us concerning these things, ought to be written down with a stylus quickly (*stilo percurrente annotari deberet*) and that whatever reason itself proffered in response or whatever was well defined by the good sense of Catholic teachers, we should express from the memory of our sacred reading, so that the work of recording might be done not by the turning over of many books, but with the living voice (*vivae vocis*).

Then at your urging—unless I am mistaken—I took up my stylus and organized into chapters the previously mentioned questions, that same day, in your presence, with such brevity as I was able. But you, with your spirit of sanctity, being impatient in divine

things, as usual, constrained my feeble powers by the most sweet force of familiarity and the precept of individual friendship, and I received a divine inspiration that those same things which came into question above and also that the list of titles I had already given you ought to be gathered together into one complete and brief volume. In this way, what greater authors had already touched upon, I could demonstrate by placing their *sententiae* alongside others and the examination of such questions would not force the inquiring spirit to search among numerous books, but rather that this collected short work might slake the thirst of a multitude of readers.

Moreover, we decided, by the working of yet more divine charity, that I would provide a list of titles for the arguments and questions we could recollect concerning the final resurrection of bodies. In addition, we recalled a friend suffering from illness and a saddened heart, and proposed that a preliminary book be joined to the two already conceived, concerning the death of this body, a book which would be preceded by titles in the same manner as the others, so that the titles might raise hope of celestial joy in the soul of a reader terrified by an immoderate fear of death. And thus, the nature of the fruit of that eternal beatitude prepared for blessed spirits after the deposition and reception of the body would be expressed in the titles of the following books. You yourself know that all these things were conceived and done with me on that delectable day.

Since the warlike departure of the glorious prince [Ervigius] from the royal city [*ab urbe regia*, i.e. Toledo] has driven away those turbulent crowds of people who departed with him, I believe now the health of our mind (*salutem mentis nostrae*) might begin to be calmed amidst the more peaceful and silent airs that now caress our ears. Therefore I betook myself to remember your command and my promise. I have done what I promised, if not as I ought, then at least as I was able. The first book concerns the origin of human death, the second how souls of the dead exist before the resurrection of the body, and the third treats of that same resurrection to come.

Joining together this entire work of three books in one volume, we gave it a name from the last of these, so that it might be called from its better and greater part the *Prognosticon futuri saeculi*, or “Foreknowledge of the world to come.” In this work, you will find teaching and examples not from me but from those greater than I, and if anywhere my voice recites something more briefly than what I remember having read in their original books, I have written it with my own stylus in my own style (*proprio stilo conscripsi*). But, if perhaps in any place I have spoken things other than how they ought to be spoken or I have placed things other than where they belonged, or expressed them otherwise than they ought to be formulated, may charity, which suffers and tolerates all things, overlook what I am confessing and may the same charity of your sanctity obtain in those souls of my readers so that what my feeble sense has created in ignorance, your prudence may correct, elucidate, and embellish. May this above all other things obtain in prayers to be placed before the Lord, so that whatever I, aware of my own faults, have gathered together badly in this work, the intervention of the pious blood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ may remedy.

I did not write this book in this way in order to demonstrate unknown things to my readers, since I do not doubt that there are volumes of diverse books that teach the

knowledge of these things, but rather that the account of things to come, collected together as one, might more powerfully touch the minds of mortals, that they may read without labor the things placed here and that the remorseful mind may return in time to where this meal is laid out most conveniently before it. May this ordered collection of chapters be in its combined wisdom a mirror wherein our spirit may recognize its very self. For if we consider in careful meditation what we will become in the future, I believe that we would rarely or never sin. Thus, indeed, is it written: "Son, in all thy works remember thy last end and thou shalt never sin" (Ecclesiasticus 7:40).

With these things now finished, which are recorded both for memory and discernment, I pray and beseech that the offered form of this work, whether its cloak be pleasing or displeasing, may either be improved by the stylus of your censure or be published by the wisdom of your judgment. Here ends the preface.

Although the work is composed from memory, Julian has forgotten the delectable passage that initially inspired him. The lost text stands here as a sort of cipher for the moment of inspiration, the actual conversation that gave birth to the text. Like the erased text of a palimpsest, this text has escaped the preserving power of both memory and stylus. Unlike Cædmon, the first Christian Anglo-Saxon poet, who receives his inspiration in an angelic vision and whose song of creation has survived in multiple copies, Julian's moment of inspiration has been effaced. So too, except for a verse epistle addressed to one Modoenus, otherwise unknown, Julian's poetry has been lost, though he is known to have written at least one book of poems (Collins 1992:9). Yet Julian's prose account of his inspiration remains and, despite his curious inability to remember the exact Biblical passage that caused their almost mystical communion with the text, Julian's goal is to recapture the memory of that sweet day when he and his friend withdrew from the company around them to discuss the resurrection. I have tried to faithfully translate the verb tenses above because the tense shifts unexpectedly into the present when Julian describes his and Idalius' physical reaction to the texts. The sense of immediacy combined with his forgetting the original text obscure the actual birth of the text, in spite of his desire to recount its very origins. Like all histories, narratives, and apocalyptic visions, the impelling movement forward to the desired end causes the origins to become more and more obscure. As inspiration moves forward, memory lags behind. Or is this perhaps a novel use of the modesty *topos*? Unlike Cædmon, who needed scribes to take down his verse, Julian serves as both *scop* and scribe. And, also unlike Cædmon, Julian is interested not in creation and the beginning of the world, but rather the end of all things. How fitting in a way that he has forgotten his moment of inspiration, because his intent is to look not back, but forward. And yet, like other *scops*, he shapes from memory for his new audience.

Julian and Idalius' mode of composition seems to be almost conversational: they consider questions and draw upon their remembered readings of sacred writings and scripture to resolve difficulties in interpretation. Stancati emphasizes the *Prognosticon's* unique genesis in an episcopal dialogue which attests not only to the theological sophistication of the Spanish church hierarchy but to a unique sense of educational ministry that includes eschatology as a topic of passionate interest (Stancati 1996:412).

Certainly at some point during their conversation (*collatio*) Julian becomes aware that they will turn their conversation into a book. Nonetheless, his and Idalius' initial act of composing is an entirely oral endeavor, in which they search not through books, but through their own memories.⁴ Twice Julian mentions that he wants to save others from the laborious task of searching through books for the answers to their queries. There is no hint of the laborious turning over of pages in his description of the act of remembering, which is uniformly suffused with joy. And it is clear that, to Julian at least, the book filled an urgent need—to answer in one brief book all the troublesome philosophical problems and contradictions inherent in the theology of the afterlife. Beyond this goal, Julian also has the intent to help people to consider the state of their own souls. Though he does not call his work a *speculum*, he has not only the intellectual desire to resolve contradictions and solve problems, but the explicit desire to make the mind recognize its very self (*ut et in hoc speculo noster sese animus recognoscat*). Julian's second stated goal, inspired by an ailing friend, is to offer comfort to those suffering from an excessive fear of death. Once again, the act of composition is couched in terms of friendship and spiritual *communitas*.

The prayer that follows the preface continues to reveal the work's genesis in a shared dialogue and joy of *communitas*. Note that Julian, of all the joys of heaven, desires most to see not the gems or ornamented gates and towers of the celestial city but the dwellers themselves in the heavenly Jerusalem. This concern for others, so clearly a part of the inspiration and composition of the *Prognosticon*, reveals itself here as well in the preface. Because it is brief, I translate it in full:

Prayer

A dweller and inhabitant of the desert of Idumeus, blind and near death, I call to you, O son of David, to have mercy on me. I seek my homeland, the heavenly Jerusalem, I desire to see its citizens, but a leader to take me there I do not find. You, therefore, who in your very self are worthy to show me the way, reach out your hand to me, that, thus, no longer blind but seeing, I may come there without encountering any thieves. You indeed are the only pathway along which there lies no thief in wait. Behold my anxious heart, desiring for a long time the return to your homeland, is filled with great cares for the future, wishing that before it is illuminated it might contemplate the future joys of blessedness. Seeking thus to know what reward remains for the defunct spirits after the death of this body and what glorification they may attain after the return of their bodies, in the small measure of my strengths and insofar as I was able to discern from the disputes of those greater than I, I have collected together certain things useful for these purposes.

I have spoken these things insofar as they can be spoken by mortals; I have not however, told of all things that will happen in the future since the narrow paths of your judgment are inscrutable. I however wish to fly to the bosom of that fatherland of which

⁴ Regarding Julian's *Historia Wambae*, Hillgarth comments, "An explicit motive for the work . . . is to provoke the young to virtuous and warlike deeds. The use of dialogue and imaginary speeches enlivens the story" (1970:299).

many things are spoken, so that through you, who are the way, I may ascend to you, who are the truth, that I may not offend, yet may come to you, who are the life. I would be divided from you for no cause, you who are the way of the highest felicity, I would be separated by no impediments, that ascending towards you, about to die, I will not suffer the thief, dead I will not arrive at the accuser. Protect me, as I die, with guardian angels and when I have called to you, console me in the bosom of your protecting piety so that I, coming to you without confusion, may see the good things that are in Jerusalem. Already, Lord, it is enough that I, clouded by such shadows of sin, should perish. So that this may not come to pass, I am preparing a remedy for myself and my brothers, that if it be offensive to you in anyway I beseech, I pray you, through the glorious intervention of your sacred blood and the venerable and undefeated sign of your cross, that for these offenses I be not shown to be rash, nor waste away as one in error, nor be punished or judged as one of those who speak of great things from their own heart rather than your spirit.

Behold me, Lord, thus, your servant, begging and urging, neither defining things not to be known in pride, but humbly wishing to understand those things that ought to be known. Feed me thus, from all the promises of your grace, those things that cannot be touched by the senses, things thought to be true, thought to be perfected in the true firmness of faith, so that you may grant me that joy that cannot be expressed by the mere stylus of any man, what the eye has not seen nor has entered into the heart of man [that is, the things which God hath prepared for them who love him] (1 Corinthians 2:9). I pray you grant a wretch like me to enjoy the proof of these things on earth and also to behold them there more fully in heaven. Here ends the prayer.

We know from Julian's account that the book was initially composed in conversation with Idalius. Yet in its final form, it contains 79 citations (out of a total of 128) from Augustine. It is not mere chance that Julian had so many examples from Augustine ready to hand. He had some years earlier prepared two books of excerpts from the works of Augustine (Hillgarth 1976:viii). These efforts surely laid the groundwork for the ease and felicity with which he (and Idalius?) were able to recall the passages relevant to their queries. Much as a preacher carries a store of Biblical verses and a *scop* carries his word-hoard and the mythical history of heroes in memory, so Julian carried with him Augustine's arguments about such difficult questions as why men die as a result of sin and angels do not. Each of the three books of the *Prognosticon* is comprised of citations in answer to genuine paradoxes and theological puzzles, the greatest number of which come from Augustine, and then Gregory.⁵ The questions initially concern etymologies and explanations of names and end with practical advice on praying for the dead or visions of the eternal joys of heaven. Much in the way that medieval *artes praedicandi* recommend, Julian introduces his overarching *theme* in his preface, then a *protheme* in each of the three books. In each section he divides, subdivides, and discusses the *protheme*, gives one

⁵ Of 128 citations, 79 are from Augustine, 19 from Gregory, eight from Isidore, five from Julian Pomerius, five from Jerome, four from Cyprian, two from Ildefonsus, and one each from Origen, Chrysostom, and Eugene of Toledo.

major exemplum, and finally recapitulates and applies it to his audience. The subdivisions of the *prothema* mostly involve etymologies or the classification and description of types of heaven and hell. Prefaced by a series of titles arrayed into a sort of homily, and comprised largely of Augustinian citations, each of Julian's three books nonetheless supplies a selection from another work whose contrast to Augustine's philosophical style is striking. Cyprian's homily on not fearing death is in some ways the heartfelt centerpiece for the whole work, occurring as it does two-thirds of the way through the first book. Though not directly addressed to Julian and Idalius's friend mentioned in the preface, this section certainly addresses the fears of someone near death. We do not know if this friend lived to read or hear the *Prognosticon*, but he was certainly intended as the first audience for the work.

This selection from Cyprian's homily is not, however, the only homily in the *Prognosticon*. This is a work that means to be several things: a brief reference work to spare others the laborious search for answers to difficult questions, a *consolatio* or *ars moriendi*, and a record of shared inspiration from a holy muse. One can read the book as a puzzled thinker, careful researcher, or a fearful soul living in the shadow of death. Yet one can also read the book as Julian initially composed it, by reading the titles straight through. Julian, though he quotes from Cyprian's homily in Book One, also leaves evidence of his own homiletic tendencies in the written record of his inspiration. How is this possible?

The work retains its oral urgency if we read the titles not as an index, but in order, on their own. And since the titles are presented in the surviving manuscripts in the traditional form (in title pages preceding each book), we can read the titles through as a record of the oral form of this work. In this way the titles to each of the three books of the *Prognosticon* become a miniature homily, with the initial titles setting out a problem or puzzle to be solved and the titles gaining in certainty as each book progresses. By the end of the each book the titles no longer pose questions, but provide answers. This strongly suggests that Julian and Idalius in their composition moved from question to answer, from uncertainty to certainty, from doubt to faith as they answered the central query posed by each book. Let us look at them in turn to see how this works.

Book One begins with eight titles on the origin of human death:

I. Quo modo mors primum subintrauerit in mundum.

II. Quod Deus immortales angelos creans, peccantibus hominibus mortem sit comminatus.

III. De qualitate creati hominis, uel de poena mortis, qua post peccatum iuste damnatus est.

IIII. Vnde dicta mors.

V. De tribus generibus corporalium mortium.

VI. Quam aspera sit mors carnis et quod plerumque molestiam eius non sentiant morientes.

VII. Quod plerumque contingat, ut per asperam mortem carnis liberetur anima a peccatis.

VIII. Quod mors nec bonum aliquid sit, et tamen bonis bona sit.

- I. How death first entered into the world.
- II. That God, though creating angels immortal, yet assigned death to sinning humans.
- III. Concerning the nature of created man, or the pain of death, to which, after sin, he is justly condemned.
- III. Whence it is called “death.”
- V. Concerning the three types of bodily death.
- VI. How bitter is the death of the flesh, and that, for the most part, those dying do not sense its sting.
- VII. That, for the most part, it happens that the soul is liberated from sin through the bitter death of the flesh.
- VIII. That, although death is in no way good, yet it is good to the good.

Each of these questions proceeds naturally from the preceding and reveals an interest in etymology and the fundamental problem of the link between sin and death. In order to find the answers to the puzzles posed by these titles, one must consult the text. So far, Julian has done what he says he set out to do, organize a useful compendium of the answers to difficult questions for his readers. And yet, with the very next question, his rhetorical strategy changes and, rather than posing a question to be answered, he poses an argument against those who assert that if baptism removes our sins then baptized men should not die. Now his title links us not to an etymology or a bit of salvation history, but to a theological argument of Augustine. Note the use of the word “Contra” to indicate the difference from the earlier titles beginning with “Quod.”

VIII. Contra eos qui dicunt, si in baptismo peccatum primi hominis soluitur, quare mors baptizatos homines subsequatur.

Julian quotes Augustine here, who argues that if we were to attain immortality with baptism and the absolution of our original sin, inevitably our faith would be weakened and it is for this purpose that we must still suffer death. Whether this is conscious on Julian’s part or not, he proceeds in the remaining sections of Book One to do just as Augustine suggests: strive to increase his listeners’ faith. After the posing of each philosophical question, there follows a series of titles as an exhortation to faith. Because this exhortation is revealed in the titles themselves, there is almost no further need to read the attendant passages. The titles shift from asking a question or identifying a topic, to answering their own questions themselves.

As an example, take Title X, which tells us that when faithful men die there will be angels present and by these angels their souls will be rescued and led to God:

X. Quod praesto sint angeli quando fideles homines moriuntur, et quod ab eisdem angelis animae eorum excipiantur perducendae ad Deum.

The next titles (XI and XII) are devoted to the fear of bodily death and the various forms this fear takes before exhorting in Title XIII.

XIII. De non timenda Christianis morte corporea propterea quod iustus ex fide uiuat.

The next two citations quote extensively from a homily of Cyprian, in a style far more passionate than that of Augustine. Lastly, the remaining titles instruct the living to pray for the dying, bury them properly, and offer prayers after death. The book ends with the practical application of what one is to do in the face of bodily death.

Book Two asks and answers the question of where the spirits of the dead dwell before the Last Judgment—a classic problem in Christian theology. Once again, Julian begins with etymologies and careful distinctions among such terms as paradise, the bosom of Abraham, and hell (*paradisus, sinus Abrahae, infernos*), and his titles change from a mere indicator of a topic or definition into titles that provide their own answers. Along the way he provides one of the earliest formulations of the idea of Purgatory. But of more import here is the sequence of questions that his titles answer. He is quick to assure his readers that the souls of the blessed go immediately to Christ upon leaving their bodies:

VIII. Quod animae beatorum statim ut a corpore exeunt, ad Christum in coelis uadunt.

He continues on through various other complications that arise out of this assertion: that these souls do not see God in the same way they will after their resurrection, that the spirits of the elect have also ascended to heaven, that sinners will be brought to hell, and that the spirit will have its same shape and senses after separation from the body. From here he continues to a consideration of how incorporeal spirits can be tortured by corporeal fire and speculates that purgatorial fire is different from the fire in which the impious will be submerged after the Last Judgment.

As in Book One, there are several points against which he argues strongly and these are indicated by the use of *Contra*:

XXXIII. Contra eos qui dicunt quod nulla sit animae uita post mortem.

XXXIII. Contra eos quibus parum uidetur quod anima post mortem carnis, in quadam corporali similitudine laeta quaedam uideat uel tristia sentiat et quod expressiora sint ibi laeta uisa uel tristia quam hic uideri possunt per somnium ab animo

XXXIII. Against those who claim that there is no life for the soul after death.

XXXIII. Against those to whom it does not seem that the soul after the death of the flesh, sees in a certain corporeal likeness certain joyful things and senses sad things, and that these joyful sights and sadnesses are more vivid than what they can see here by their mind through a dream.

Here Julian quotes from Cassianus and Augustine as well as Daniel, Psalms and Revelation, Matthew, Exodus, Luke, and Hebrews. Several well-known Biblical passages regarding dreams are cited (Psalm 150:6, Matthew 22:31-32, Exodus 3:6, Luke 20:38, Hebrews 11:16), as well as Augustine's story of the monk Gennadius who doubted that the souls of the dead were in heaven and was shown a vision of heaven, including music, in a dream. Augustine further argues that because the vision was not seen by corporeal eyes, this offers proof of non-corporeal (or spiritual) eyes and thus the existence of the soul. This is the philosophical climax of Book Two and it is followed by titles that call to mind the joys of heaven:

XXXVI. Quod post depositionem corporis huius statim uideatur a sanctis spiritibus Deus.

XXXVII. Quod etiam modo sanctorum animae iam cum Christo in coelis regnent.

XXXVI. That God will be seen by the blessed spirits immediately after the deposition of the body.

XXXVII. That even now the spirits of the blessed reign with Christ in the heavens.

Book Three concerns Judgment Day and its attendant terrors. Once again, Julian seeks to alleviate the fear of his readers and begins with an ominous title asserting that no one knows the time and day of Judgment:

I. Quod tempus et diem iudicii nullus hominum nouerit.

Well, a reader might wonder, if I cannot know the time and day of Judgment, perhaps I can know the place or how long it will last?

II. Utrum specialis locus esse credatur ubi iudicium a Domino agitabitur.

III. Quod nullus nouerit hominum per quot dies futurum illud iudicium extendatur.

The answer to the first is yes, but to the next, alas, no. Julian cites Jerome's commentary on Joel, explaining that Iosaphat means "judgment of the Lord," and this is where Judgment will likely take place. To the second query he cites Augustine (*De Ciuitate Dei*, XX:1), who provides no more information than the title itself: how long the Judgment will last is unknown (*Nam per quot dies futurum iudicium tendatur, incertum est*).

Because this book is a bit longer than the preceding two, it offers more topics: the terror or the appearance of both Christ and Satan, the coming of the seventh angel, the exact appearance of our resurrected bodies, the ultimate fall of the devil, and the diversity and appropriateness of punishments. Like Books One and Two, Book Three contains certain passages that begin with the word *Contra* and present counter-arguments against those who would challenge Julian's version of future events. There are two in Book Three:

XXXVIII. Contra eos qui scrupulosissime quaerunt qualis sit ille ignis futurus uel in qua mundi parte haberi possit.

XXXVIII. Contra eos qui dicunt, si post factum iudicium erit conflagratio mundi, ubi tunc esse poterunt sancti, qui non contingantur flamma incendii?

XXXVIII. Against those who too scrupulously seek to know what type of fire there will be or in what part of the world it could be.

XXXVIII. Against those who say if after the judgment the world is entirely burned, where then can the saints be, who are not touched by the flames of the fire?

These are two places where the titles will not suffice and one must consult the text itself. And yet, the use of the word *Contra* itself allows a reader more interested in affirming faith than

exercising reason to see that the arguments given to support such statements will be disproved. The first of these is the more interesting because it actively seeks to dissuade the reader from looking up the answer: it exhorts the reader to leave behind excessive questioning and simply accept the inconsistencies and imponderables, puzzles and paradoxes that arise when one tries to define hellfire. Here Julian refers us once again to Augustine, who says that the nature of hellfire and its location cannot be known unless the divine spirit were to reveal it (*De Ciuitate Dei* XX:16). We are entering the mystical end of Julian's *Prognosticon* and just as the first two books ended with visions of joy, so too will this last.

But before this sermon in titles comes to an end, there is one last interesting feature to note in Book Three. In the first two books, the titles begin with queries and end with series of answers. In Book Three we notice an even more pronounced effect: in three instances the titles pose a question that is answered by the very next title. This is persuasive evidence that these titles reflect the "sermon" that Julian composed orally on that Sunday long ago. These three instances follow:

XII. De his qui cum domino ad iudicandum sessuri sunt.

XIII. Quod in praenominatis a Christo duodecim sedibus non tantum duodecim apostoli sessuri credendi sunt, sed omnis perfectorum numerus qui in duodenario numero partietur.

XII. Concerning those who will be seated with the Lord at judgment.

XIII. That it is not only the 12 Apostles who are believed to fill the 12 seats appointed by Christ, but the full number of the elect who will be divided into 12 parts.

XXVIII. Quod hi qui nunc a bestiis comeduntur aut diuersa laniatione truncantur, resurgentes integritatem sui corporis obtinebunt.

XXX. Quod hi qui de hac uita debiles exierunt, cum suis integris membris in resurrectione futuri sint.

XXVIII. That those who are eaten by beasts or who suffer amputation in various ways upon arising will regain the integrity of their body.

XXX. That those who leave this life lame or crippled will have their members whole in the resurrection.

LIII. Vtrum per corporeos oculos istos, quibus nunc cernimus solem et lunam, uideatur tunc Deus.

LV. Quod ea uisione tunc Deum uidebimus, qua nunc eum angeli uident.

LIII. Whether with the same eyes that now see the sun and moon we will also see God.

LV. That the vision we will have of God is that which the angels enjoy now.

The entire work ends with a vision of eternity in a passage explaining the end without end in which we will praise God forever:

LXII. De fine sine fine in qua Deum laudabimus infinite.

This is of course the perfect antithesis of the dire opening of Book One: how death came into the world. The *Prognosticon* follows the same path from death to heaven as many other works of spiritual *consolatio*, and yet it reveals in its titles its own composition via the more commonplace structure of a medieval sermon.

There is evidence from another of Julian's works to support my thesis that these titles are a record of his initial composition of this work as an exercise in memory and orality, inspired by dialogue and a sense of *communitas*. Julian's *Ars Grammatica* also shows his delight in dialogue in the way he uses questions and inserts a more personal voice into the text he inherits from Donatus. Consider the passages below, which Julian has changed from the standard text of Donatus by the addition of queries:⁶

Donatus 369, 16

Pes est syllabarum et temporum certa dinumeratio

(A metrical foot is a specific measure of syllables and quantities.)

Julian II, XI, 2

Pes quid est? syllabarum et temporum certa dinumeratio.

(What is a metrical foot? A specific measure of syllables and quantities.)

Donatus 369, 21

huic contrarius est spondeus ex duabus longis temporum quattuor

(The opposite of the preceding metrical foot is the spondee which is four units of length in two long syllables.)

Julian II, XI, 66

Quis est illi contrarius? spondeus. Quomodo est illi contrarius? quia quomodo ille ex duabus breuibus constat, ita iste ex duabus longis. Quot tempora habet? quattuor.

(What is the opposite of the preceding metrical foot? The spondee. And how is it opposite? Because the previous metrical foot consists of two short syllables and the spondee consists of two long. How many units of length does it have? Four.)

Consider as well the example below, in which Julian changes the simple question "Whence is Pyrrichius named" and reveals his explicit interest in etymology by asking "Whence this etymology?"

Audax 334, 8

Pyrrichius unde nominatus? A Pyrro, Achillis filio, qui Eurypilo, Telephi filio interfecto cantu quodam, qui ex isto pede constabat, in armis saltavit.

⁶ This comment and the passages below are found in Maestra Yenes 1973:1-li. Further comment on Julian's use of dialogue can be found in Hillgarth 1970:299.

(From whence does the Pyrrhic foot get its name? From Pyrrho, the son of Achilles, who, when Eurypilus, the son of Telephus, had been killed, honored him by singing, in his armor, a song written in this meter.)

Julian II, XI, 60

Unde habet etymologiam? a Pyrro, filio Achillis, eo quod ad funus patris armatus, eodem metro luserit, siue quia interempto Eurypilo, eodem metro saltavit.

(From whence arose this etymology? From Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, either because he sang a song in this meter, when he sang fully armed at his father's funeral or when he honored Eurypilus, the son of Telephus, in the same meter after he died.)

Maestra Yenes, the editor of *Julian's Ars Grammatica* (1973), says that she is unable to find a source for Julian's variations on these passages. The evidence from the *Prognosticon* above, suggesting that his titles are structured as a sermon, as well as his preface where he tells us that he has expressed passages in his own style, suggest that these are his variations on these passages as well. In six of the nine instances provided by Maestra Yenes, Julian has either added a question (five times) or reframed a question (once). This procedure suggests a homiletic rhetoric that reaches out for its audience and is congruent with what we can tell of his compositional techniques from the *Prognosticon*.

Part Two: Glossed English Manuscripts of the *Prognosticon*

Very few manuscripts of the *Prognosticon* survive from Spain, and because this work, unlike Julian's others, was not widely read in his homeland, the *Prognosticon* finds its true literary home in England and the Irish-based monasteries of the early medieval period (Hillgarth 1985:1-16). Six manuscripts of the *Prognosticon* are known to have survived from Anglo-Saxon England, evidence of its dissemination among early English monasteries and cathedral schools (Gneuss 1981). In addition, the preacher Ælfric based one of his sermons on his reading and compilation of notes from Julian. Though Ælfric made selections from the Patristic selections found in the *Prognosticon* he does not seem to have used the titles independently of the text (Gatch 1977:129-46).

While we have some evidence for Julian's intentions towards his future readers in his preface and style of composition, we have no direct medieval commentary on or response to this work. In this absence, we must rely on historical and textual evidence to see how medieval readers read the text. Luckily, there are plentiful manuscripts of this work and three English manuscripts of note from the eleventh to the thirteenth century: London, British Library Manuscript Royal 12.C.xxiii (copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, XI c.); Oxford, Balliol College 218 (XII c.) and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 476 (XII-XIII c.). The glosses to these three manuscripts in particular reveal how medieval readers responded to the challenges and complexities of this text.

British Library MS. Royal 12.C.xxiii contains the *Prognosticon*, followed by the Riddles of Aldhelm, Eusebius, and Tatwine, some pieces of advice for Charlemagne and his sons, and the *Versus cuiusdam Scoti de alfabeto*. While Tatwine's and Eusebius' riddles are less well

known, a few of Aldhelm's 101 riddles (occurring in the manuscript directly after the *Prognosticon*), serve as the inspiration for some of the Old English riddles of the Exeter Book. Others an interest in pragmatic morality, Greek terms, the puzzles of metaphor, etymology, and other types of word-play—traits common to much of the vernacular literature of the Anglo-Saxons. Aldhelm, the author these riddles, was a near contemporary of both Julian of Toledo and Bede. Copious amounts of his Latin verse have survived as well as a description of him singing Old English verses on the bridge in Malmesbury in order to bring people into church. No surviving Old English verse can be attributed definitively to him, though his Latin poetry and prose is written in the fabulously ornate "Hisperica Famina" style. Perhaps like Julian, he was a man who moved easily between the world of Latin letters and the vernacular. Likely the crucial difference in their literary formation would be the fact that Aldhelm grew up speaking English and learning Latin, whereas Julian spoke a native tongue quite a bit closer to Latin. Like Julian, Aldhelm wrote extensively in Latin, both poetry and prose. That a scribe from Christ Church, Canterbury chose to put these two authors together in a single manuscript suggests that there was some perceived usefulness or similarity in this arrangement. It is quite likely that the texts included in Royal 12.C.xxii were school texts, and the glosses contained within the manuscript corroborate this view. Aldhelm himself, in the preface to his riddles, says that he wrote them to help students learn to write Latin verse. Perhaps the *Prognosticon* was also useful in teaching Latin prose or homiletic composition. The extensive syntactical glosses to the text suggest that this may be true. But there is surely more than a set of syntactical glosses to explain the occurrence of these texts together. Let us look at some textual congruities before we return to the question of the glosses.

What similarities do we find between a compendium of questions about the afterlife and a set of Latin riddles on diverse creatures? Julian's preface tells us that he wants to create a book that was a distillation of his earlier readings on the afterlife. Likewise, Aldhelm's riddles reveal that he was a man who lived in a world of books and texts:

Aenigma 29: De elemento vel Abedecedario

Aenigma 59: De Penna Scriptoris

Aenigma 89: De Arca Librari

Riddle 29: On the Elements of writing or the Alphabet

Riddle 59: On the Writer's pen

Riddle 89: On the Bookcase

Like Julian, Aldhelm relies heavily on paradox and word-play to create his puzzles. And also like Julian, Aldhelm would have known the definition of *aenigma* from the Donatus-based grammars of his era, such as Pomeius' commentary on Donatus or Julian's own grammar. The following passage occurs in Aldhelm's preface to his riddles as well as in Julian's grammar (Maestre Yenes 1973:217-18):

*Aenigma est obscura sententia per occultam similitudinem rerum, ut: mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me, cum significet aquam in glaciem concrecere et ex eadem rursus effluere.*⁷

A riddle is a saying made obscure by a hidden similarity between things, as for example: My mother bore me and then is born again from me, which signifies water solidifying into ice and then flowing again out of ice.

The paradoxes of Julian's work are often akin to the strange juxtaposition, *prosopopoeia*, and metaphor of the commonly cited riddle above as well as the riddles of Aldhelm. For paradox in particular, we can compare Aldhelm's riddle on the nettle to Julian's phrase *fine sine fine* (III:62) or his quotation from Augustine on the "goodness" of death (*Prognosticon* 1:8):

Riddle 45

De Urtica

Torqueo torquentes sed nullum torqueo sponte.

I torment tormenters, but I torment none willingly.

I: VIII *Quod mors nec bonum aliquid sit, et tamen bonis bona sit.*

1: 8. That, although death is in no way good, yet it is good to the good.

Likewise, consider the paradox of fire that does not consume, a problem similar to the punishment of spirits by flames. Aldhelm addresses this puzzle in his riddle on the salamander and Julian in his comments on purgatorial fires:

Aenigma 15 De Salamandra

Ignibus in mediis uiuendi non sentio flammam

Although I dwell amid the fires I do not feel the flames.

Prognosticon II: XVII Si anima, cum incorporea sit, igne credatur corporeo cruciari.

If the spirit, although it be incorporeal, can be believed to be tortured by corporeal fire.⁸

Another interesting feature shared by Julian and Aldhelm's text is a tendency for the sequence of titles to create another level of textual complexity. While I would not argue that Aldhelm's titles create a sermon in the way Julian's do, there is at least one instance where the sequence of titles provides an answer to a sort of Christological meta-riddle: a set of 4 riddles where the mill and sieve hint at the flour they produce, which turns into bread and then is joined by fish to create one of the miraculous meals of the New Testament (Boryslawski 2006). This sequence occurs over a brief space and includes:

Aenigma 66 De Mola
 (On the Millstone)
Aenigma 67 De Crebello
 (On the Sieve)
Aenigma 70 De Tortella
 (On the Hearth Cake)
Aenigma 71 De Pisce
 (On the Fish)

In addition to the textual similarities that may have contributed to these works being copied together, we find actual evidence of both texts being studied together in glosses. Let us look first at the *Prognosticon* and *Aenigmata* in Royal 12.C.xxiii, the earliest of the three English manuscripts that concern us here. The most heavily glossed of surviving manuscripts of the *Prognosticon*, it contains glosses in both Latin and Old English: lexical, grammatical, alternate reading, suppletive, correlative, syntactical, and encyclopedic (definitions follow below). There are a total of 576 glosses to Julian's text, almost evenly divided between word glosses and syntactical marks to link words together.⁹ Word glosses are of the following types:

Lexical (Latin)

conspicuum: pulchrum

Lexical (Old English)

remuneratur: by_geleanod (folio 69r)

Grammatical (gives the case of a noun or adjective)

mensura: ablatiuus

lector: s. ó

Variant reading (supplies a reading from another manuscript)

beatam: uel beatorum

concremari: uel cruciari

Suppletive (adds a form of *esse*)

Quid: s. est

bonum: s. est

Correlative (adds referent to pronoun, subject to verb or conjunction)

quo: s. die

uidetur: s. animae

dampnum: s. et

ipsius: s. diaboli

quos: s. casus

⁹ For a full discussion of these types of glosses see, Stork 1990:27-78. The total numbers of word glosses to Julian in Royal 12.C.xxiii are the following: lexical (68), grammatical (11), alternate reading (52), suppletive (65), correlative (98), encyclopedic (6). Syntactical mark glosses occur in the following configurations: linking noun and/or adjective and/or article (19), linking subject and verb (35), linking conjunction and verb (153), linking negatives with noun or verb (39), linking conjunction with preposition (22), linking verb with direct object or participle (8). Of the total 576, word glosses comprise 52.1% of the total; syntactical glosses the other 47.9%.

Encyclopedic

i. per uisionem egritudinum uel per uisiones egritudinum. prognosticon a praesciendo uocatur. oportet enim medicum preterita. cognoscere praesentia scire. et futura preuidere.

(that is, through the vision of a sick man or the visions of sick men. Prognosticon is derived from “prescience.” It behooves a doctor to be aware of past things, to know present things, and to foresee future things.)

Glosses like this are quite common in medieval manuscripts, but less common are the syntactical marks that also accompany the *Prognosticon* in this text. These are comprised of various sigla that allow one to scan a sentence quickly and link the elements crucial for comprehension of the prose. The 8 sigla, somewhat resembling the dots and dashes of Morse code, are the following:



These sigla are used in groups of two or three in the following contexts to link elements of a sentence together:

Linking nouns and/or adjectives and/or articles

Quis ibi diuinus sapor

Linking subject and verb

Ipsi....mandauerunt

Linking conjunction and verb

Ut.....esset

Sed.....coegit

At modo.....contigit

Linking a negative particle with another sentence element

Non....deus et....credendus

Non...saluarentur

Linking conjunction with conjunction or pronoun

Et quia hec recte factum.....ac

Nam et.....

Linking verb and direct object or participle

Iubeat commercium illud

inpensum.....est

We see from this evidence that at least one medieval reader took great care with the written form of this text and probably used Julian as the basis for lessons in reading and even writing Latin. Aldhelm says specifically that his *Aenigmata* are intended to teach students to write Latin poetry, and they are glossed similarly to the *Prognosticon* in this manuscript. This is evidence that at least at Christ Church, Canterbury the *Prognosticon* was used to teach Latin prose composition.

Our next manuscript, which shares many of the word glosses from Royal 12.C.xxiii, but none of the syntactical marks glosses, suggests that the glossator who worked on Royal 12.C.xxiii is unique among commentators on Julian in paying such attention to the fine points of Latin syntax. Oxford manuscript Balliol College 218 is a twelfth-century Italian manuscript containing many identical glosses to those in Royal 12.C.xxiii and reveals the popularity of this text across Europe, as well as the copying of glosses from one manuscript to another. The fact that the lexical glosses, but *not* the syntactic glosses of Royal 12.C.xxiii, are found in Balliol 218 show that these syntactic glosses did not always (or ever?) travel together with the lexical and variant reading glosses. For example, look at the following sequence of glosses from Royal 12.C.xxiii:

conspicuum: i.pulchrum

quo: s. die

ardore: i. calore

Illo: s. die

actum: i. factum

Ut.....intraremus

ambo: ego et tu

stratibus: i. sedibus

secreta: s. res

Congestis: i. congregatis

iubilum: uel laus

The glosses to the same section of text in Balliol College 218 read:

conspicuum: i. pulchrum

quo: s. die

ardore: i. calore

actum i. factum

ambo: ego et tu

secreta: s. res

iubilum: uel laus

The similarities here suggest that each of these manuscripts was copied from an earlier exemplar containing the glosses common to both. Though it is a later manuscript, Balliol College 218 preserves an earlier stage of the transmission of these glosses. Since there is only one glossating hand in Royal 12.C.xxiii, there was likely at least one intervening manuscript between it and the earlier exemplar. Somewhere in the stages of their transmission to England and Italy another glossator has added glosses distinctive to each. Of 164 glosses in Balliol College 218, 116 are shared with Royal 12.C.xxiii. The glosses unique to Balliol College 218 are lexical, grammatical, correlative, and suppletive, and are exclusively in Latin.

Oxford manuscript Bodley 476 is a thirteenth-century manuscript that reveals an entirely different tradition of glossing the *Prognosticon*. Bound together at some later point in a sheet of

music parchment with a copy of Thomas Bradwardine's handbook on speculative arithmetic in a different hand, it reflects the survival of this text into the later world of medieval universities. And perhaps in this new world concerns about teaching Latin grammar are not as important as other questions. Unlike the twelfth-century manuscripts above, whose primary concern was understanding the details of Julian's prose, this manuscript has only five encyclopedic glosses, two relating to dreams and three to seeing God. This interest in last things at the end of the manuscript suggests that Julian's intent to inspire his readers to a better life had that effect for at least one medieval reader. In the left margin of folio 10v, midway through the *Prognosticon*, opposite the text "Ex hoc noster predictus doctor sic ait Mitti ad vivos aliquos ex mortuis. Sicut e contrario paulus ex vivis in paradisum raptus est" (Book II:xxx), we find the following glosses:

Ibidem

secundo machabeorum 15

hec quod onias

defunctus

aperuit Jude

Machabeo

et recitat hoc

doctor de

lira in prologo

super psalterium

(This same event occurs in 2 Maccabees 15 where the dead Onias appears to Judas Maccabeus. Nicholas of Lyra tells the story in his Prologue to the Psalter.)

In the bottom margin of folio 10v beneath the text "Credendum omnino est quod sicut viventes mortuorum gestis interesse non possunt" (Book II: xxxi) we find:

persona apparens vel instruens in alia effigie. aliud est homo sanctus sicut secundo machabeo 15 habetur quod onias iam defunctus apparuit jude machabeo dicens ei de jeremia propheta sicut apparente hic est qui multum orat pro populo et cetera hec dicit lira in prologo super psalterium circa medium.

(This is the apparition of a person appearing (after death) and instructing in a recognizable form. Another type of apparition is the appearance of a blessed man, just as according to 2 Maccabees 15, the already deceased Onias appears to Judas Maccabeus, saying to him, concerning the appearance of the prophet Jeremiah, "Here is the one who prays much for the people, etc." This and many other things are told by Nicholas of Lyra in his Prologue to the Psalter.)

This passage refers to Judas Maccabeus' vision from II Maccabees 15, 12:

And the vision of that dream was this. He saw Onias, him that was a high priest, a noble and good man, reverend in learning, yet gentle in manner and well spoken, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, with outstretched hands invoking blessings on the

whole body of the Jews; thereupon he saw a man appear, of venerable age and exceeding glory, and wonderful and most majestic was the dignity around him and Onias answered and said, This is the lover of the brethren, he who prayeth much for the people and the holy city, Jeremiah the prophet of God; and Jeremiah stretching forth his right hand delivered to Judas a sword of gold and in giving it addressed him thus, Take the holy sword, a gift from God, wherewith thou shalt smite down the adversaries.

Like Julian before him, this medieval glossator was eager to share a passage that he thought would perfectly illuminate the problem at hand. He remembered reading about this incident in Nicholas of Lyra's *Prologue to the Psalter* and added the reference to the margins. If he had continued or added enough passages of his own, he could have expanded Julian's work to include this example. If he were to have copied the text and included his examples, these glosses might have been incorporated into the actual text in later versions. But, alas, this unknown glossator's work never makes it past the gloss stage. Because he was working as a glossator, rather than a *scop* or author, his work here comprises only five scattered glosses.

The other glosses to Oxford MS. Bodley 476 occur at the very end of the work and provide first a somber and then an ecstatic commentary on Julian's final vision. On folio 19v, these three glosses are added after the final *Amen* of Julian's text and neatly fill in the remaining space of the folio. The hand of the last two glosses may be different from the hand of the antepenultimate gloss, though this hand closely resembles the glossing hand of folio 10v. All of the glosses appear to be in hands contemporaneous with the hand of the manuscript. The first of these later glosses explains that all sins, no matter how small, and including original sin, must be atoned for to achieve salvation:

Anselmus de conceptu uirginali.

Impossibile est homo unquam saluari cum aliquo quamuis paruo peccato. Quare si originale peccatum est peccatum necesse est in eo natum illo non dimisso dampnari.

This is taken from Anselm, *De Conceptu Virginali*, or *On the Virgin Birth* (1844-64: 462):

Impossibile itaque est aliquem hominem cum aliquo, quamvis parvo, peccato, salvari. Quare si, quod dixi, originale peccatum est aliquod peccatum, necesse est omnem hominem in eo natum, illo non dimisso, damnari.

Indeed, it is impossible for any man with any sin, no matter how small, to be saved. And since, as I have said, original sin is indeed a sin, then all men born to that sin will be damned, unless it be absolved.

The last two glosses reveal an interest in the nature of angelic versus human bodies. The first is not linked to a specific part of the text, but logically refers to *Prognosticon* (III:lviii), which discusses the fact that the blessed do not envy the rank of those above them and follows after

Julian's final description of the joys of heaven. The gloss refers to Deuteronomy 4:19, which also follows below:

*Quorum eadem est natura. Et idem locus naturalis sed eadem est natura angeli et anime. ergo idem locus. Sed celum est locus angeli ergo et cetera
Ita est quoniam adam componitur ex pluribus locus corpori est locus naturalis in eo et u.8. Si terra praedominetur in aliquo corpore, tunc corporis locus est terra. sed anima praedominatur corpori hominis. ergo locus anime est locus naturalis corporis hominis. Sed anime locus est celum. igitur et corporis. Nobilia corpora supracelestia. Facta sunt propter corpus humanum, igitur humanitate nobilius.
In Deu 4 solem et cetera quae creavit deus in ministerium cunctis gentibus. Si igitur corpus humanum sit nobilius. et eius locus maxime supremus.*

Whose nature is thus the same. And also in the same place: but the nature of angel and soul is the same. Therefore in the same place: But the sky is the place of an angel, etc. Thus it is since Adam was made of many things, that the place of the body is the natural place. See verse 8 (?). If earth predominates in a certain body, then the place of the body is earth. But spirit predominates in the body of man, therefore the place of the spirit is the natural place of the human body. But the place of the spirit is heaven. And thus of the body. The supracelestial bodies are noble; they were created because of the human body, and thus the human body is more noble because of its humanity, as in Deuteronomy 4. If thus the human body were to be more noble and attain its supreme maximum place . . . [n.b. this gloss seems to be unfinished]

Deuteronomy 4:19: *ne forte elevatis oculis ad caelum videas solem et lunam et omnia astra caeli, et errore deceptus adores ea et colas quae creavit Dominus Deus tuus, in ministerium cunctis gentibus quae sub caelo sunt.*

And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy god hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven.

The next passage continues in an even more mystical vein and defines three types of visions of God. The text is laid out graphically so that the words *Visio dei est infinita* stand on the left while the three types of visions are joined by three radiating lines:

*Visio dei est infinita
duratione quae conuenit omni menti rationale
numerositati quae conuenit omni menti beate
intensione quae conuenit soli deo.
Tenendum est quod essentia prima quae deus est uisibilis est non oculo carnali
quantumcumque depurato et glorificato ut uolunt auctoritates. scilicet Exodus 33.
non uidebit me homo et Iohannes 1. deum nemo et cetera. Et Nota*

*quod deus noster plus minus que limpide a diuersis. non cadunt gradus
ex parte uisi sed ipsius uidentis.*

The vision of God is infinite in:

1. duration, which pertains to every rational mind,
2. number, which pertains to every blessed mind,
3. intention, which pertains only to God. It is held to be true that the prime essence , which is God, is not visible to the carnal eye no matter how purified and glorified, as say the authorities, such as Exodus 33 and John 1. (Also note that our God is seen more or less clearly by various creatures; degrees do not occur on the part of the seen but of the seer.)

Here the glossator once again, like Julian, calls upon remembered passages of Scripture to assert that no one has seen God:

Exodus 33:20 *Rursumque ait: non poteris videre faciem mean: non emin videbit me homo et uiuet.*

And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.

John 1:18 *Deum nemo uidit umquam*

No man has seen God at any time.

Despite an extensive search, I have been unable to find any written sources for the last two of these glosses, on the nature of angelic or blessed bodies and the vision of God. I would love to think that the glossator is providing his or her own commentary, but from what we have seen about the preponderance of memory in medieval composition, that seems unlikely. Yet the glossator adds glosses that heighten the overall rhetorical effect of the *Prognosticon*, which suggests, at least once, that Julian's text achieved its purpose.

Though oral tradition is not usually concerned with texts such as Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticon*, I hope I have convincingly demonstrated that even here, in a work comprised mostly of remembered quotations of Patristic authors we see the traditions of oral memory and composition at work. The peripheral elements of this text, its titles and glosses, provide evidence of just such a mode of composition. From another perspective, we might want to classify the *Prognosticon* with such works as Plato's *Symposium*, which record the purported conversation of a group of friends. Perhaps some will decide that the references to oral composition and conversation are mostly artifice or even a pose, rendered in a strictly literate context. Yet, the evidence of the titles and even the glosses to Julian suggest that we can see in the surviving medieval manuscripts some actual evidence of oral composition and a tradition of commentary aided by memory.

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