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# Bede's Temple

An Image and its Interpretation

Conor O'Brien

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# Bede's Temple

*An Image and its Interpretation*

CONOR O'BRIEN

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*For my parents*



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Conor O'Brien  
*October 2014*

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## Abbreviations

- Abac.* Bede, *Expositio in Canticum Abacuc Prophetarum*, ed. J. E. Hudson, CCSL 119B, pp. 377–409.
- Act.* Bede, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*, ed. M. L. W. Laistner, CCSL 121, pp. 3–99.
- Apoc.* Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos*, ed. Roger Gryson, CCSL 121A.
- ASE* *Anglo-Saxon England*.
- Augustine, *DCD* Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, eds B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCSL 47–8.
- Cant.* Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119B, pp. 167–375.
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout).
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna).
- DST* Bede, *De Schematibus et Tropis*, ed. Calvin B. Kendall, CCSL 123A, pp. 142–71; trans. Tannenhaus = Gussie Hecht Tannenhaus (trans.), ‘Bede’s *De Schematibus et Tropis*—a translation’, *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 48 (1962), pp. 237–53.
- DTR* Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, ed. Charles W. Jones, CCSL 123B; trans. Wallis = Faith Wallis (trans.), *Bede: On the Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 1999).
- EME* *Early Medieval Europe*.
- EpCath.* Bede, *In Epistulas Septem Catholicas*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 121, pp. 181–342.
- EpEcq.* Bede, *Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum*, eds and trans. Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 123–61.
- Ezra.* Bede, *In Ezram et Neemiam*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119A, pp. 235–392; trans. DeGregorio = Scott DeGregorio (trans.), *Bede: On Ezra and Nehemiah* (Liverpool, 2006).
- Gen.* Bede, *In Principium Genesis*, ed. Charles W. Jones, CCSL 118A; trans. Kendall = Calvin B. Kendall (trans.), *Bede: On Genesis* (Liverpool, 2008).
- HA* Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, eds and trans. Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 21–75.
- HE* Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, eds and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969).

- Hom.* Bede, *Homiliarum Euangelii*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 122, pp. 1–403; trans. Martin and Hurst = Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst (trans.), *Bede: Homilies on the Gospels*, 2 vols (Kalamazoo MI, 1991).
- JEH* *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*.
- JTS* *Journal of Theological Studies*.
- Luc.* Bede, *In Lucae Euangelium Expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120, pp. 5–425.
- Marc.* Bede, *In Marci Euangelium Expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120, pp. 431–648.
- MGH* Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin and Munich).
- PL* *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris).
- Prov.* Bede, *In Proverbia Salomonis*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119B, pp. 23–163.
- RB* *Revue bénédictine*.
- Reg.* Bede, *In Regum Librum XXX Quaestiones*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119, pp. 289–322; trans. Foley = W. Trent Foley (trans.), *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings*, in *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool, 1999), pp. 81–143.
- Ret.* Bede, *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum*, ed. M. L. W. Laistner, CCSL 121, pp. 103–63.
- Sam.* Bede, *In Primam Partem Samuhelis*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119, pp. 5–287.
- Tab.* Bede, *De Tabernaculo et Vasis eius ac Vestibus Sacerdotum*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119A, pp. 1–139; trans. Holder = Arthur G. Holder (trans.), *Bede: On the Tabernacle* (Liverpool, 1994).
- Temp.* Bede, *De Templo*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119A, pp. 141–234; trans. Connolly = Seán Connolly (trans.), *Bede: On the Temple* (Liverpool, 1995).
- VCeol.* *Vita Ceolfredi*, eds and trans. Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 76–121.
- VCP* Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1942), pp. 142–306.
- VIII Q.* Bede, *VIII Quaestiones*, ed. Michael Gorman, ‘Bede’s *VIII Quaestiones* and Carolingian Biblical Scholarship’, *RB* 109 (1999), pp. 32–74, at 62–74.
- VW* Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927).

Unless otherwise indicated, when citing the Bible I use the Vulgate for the Latin: *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. R. Weber et al., 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1969); and the Douay-Rheims version for the English: *The Holy Bible: Douay Version* (London, 1956).

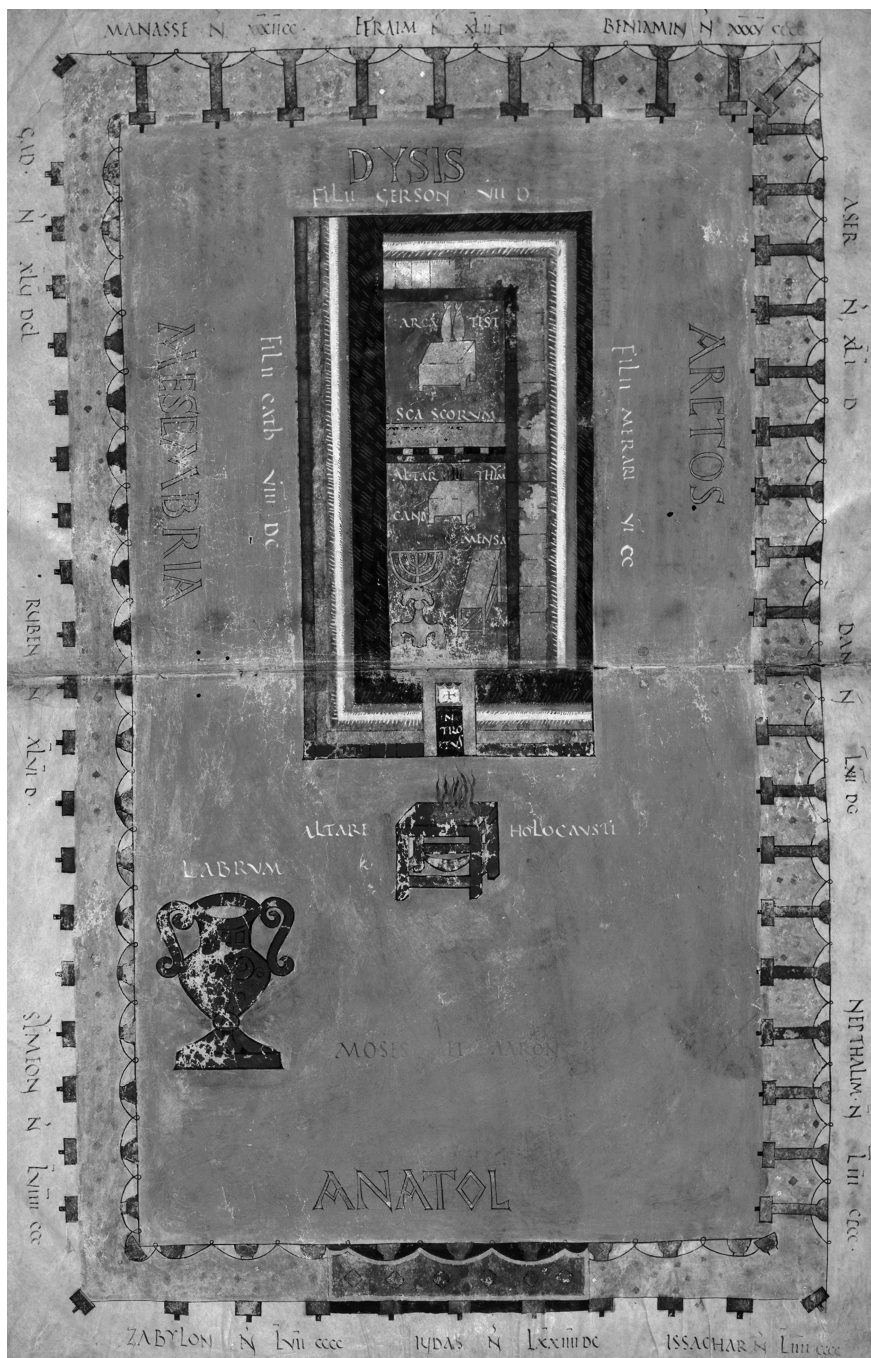


Fig. 1. The Tabernacle image from the Codex Amiatinus: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, fols IIv-IIIr; reproduced by permission of MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is forbidden.



Fig. 2. The Ezra portrait from the Codex Amiatinus: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, fol. Vr; reproduced by permission of MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is forbidden.



Fig. 3. The *Maiestas Domini* from the Codex Amiatinus: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, fol. 796v; reproduced by permission of MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is forbidden.



## *Possible Chronology of the Works of Bede*

The most recent attempts to date Bede's corpus have been made by George Hardin Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 13–15 and Michael Lapidge, 'Introduzione', in *Beda: Storia degli Inglesi*, ed. Michael Lapidge and trans. Paolo Chiesa, vol. 1 (Rome, 2008), pp. xlviii–lviii. Neither is perfect, however. Poor editing vitiates the usefulness of Brown's summary, which contradicts comments he makes elsewhere in the volume. Lapidge's study does not engage with some recent attempts to date certain works, resulting in some very conservative conclusions. The dating suggestions offered by M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca NY, 1943) have in many cases now been superseded by the editions and translations of individual works, to which the reader should turn in the first instance for much of what follows.<sup>1</sup> I have cited secondary literature where relevant in the main text.

pre-703?	<i>On the Holy Places</i>
703	<i>On the Nature of Things</i> and <i>On Time</i>
c.703	<i>Explanation of the Apocalypse</i>
c.705	<i>Verse Life of Cuthbert</i> (first recension)
708	<i>Letter to Plegwin</i>
c.710	<i>On Acts</i>
c.710	<i>Commentary on 1 John</i> (part of <i>On the Seven Catholic Epistles</i> )
post-710?	<i>On the Art of Metre</i> and <i>On Schemes and Tropes</i>
710–715	<i>On Luke</i>
c.715	<i>Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings</i>
715–717	<i>On 1 Samuel</i>
c.716	Letters to Acca: <i>On the Resting-Places</i> and <i>On What Isaiah Said</i>
pre-716?	<i>On the Song of Songs</i>
pre-716?	<i>On Proverbs</i>
716–717?	<i>History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow</i>
710–720	Book One of <i>On Genesis</i>
c.720	Book Two of <i>On Genesis</i>

<sup>1</sup> Laistner and King's discussion of the manuscript transmission of Bede's works is wholly superseded by Michael Lapidge, 'Beda Venerabilis', in *La Trasmissione dei Testi Latini del Medioevo/Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission*, eds Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi, vol. 3 (Florence, 2008), pp. 44–137—but not for Bede's exegesis, none of which is included.

c.720	<i>Prose Life of Cuthbert and Verse Life of Cuthbert</i> (second recension)
721–725?	<i>On the Tabernacle</i>
722–725?	Books Three and Four of <i>On Genesis</i>
pre-725	<i>Letter to Helmwald</i>
725	<i>On the Reckoning of Time</i>
post-725	<i>Letter to Wicthed</i>
c.725–731?	<i>On Mark</i>
725–731	<i>Retraction on Acts</i>
725–731	<i>Martyrology</i>
729–731	<i>On the Temple</i>
725–731?	<i>On Ezra and Nehemiah</i>
731	<i>The Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> (with probable additions later)
734	<i>Letter to Ecgberht</i>

The following works all predate the *Ecclesiastical History* but cannot be more specifically dated:

*The Gospel Homilies*

*On the Canticle of Habakkuk*

*On Tobit*

*Hymns and Epigrams*

*The Passion of St Anastasius*

*The Life of St Felix*

*Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine on the Letters of the Blessed Apostle Paul*

*On Orthography* (in the past believed to be a very early work—but such assumptions are no longer secure)

Undated, but possibly from after 731: *Eight Questions*

# 1

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## Studying Bede's Temple

In the summer of AD 70, after years of Jewish insurrection, a Roman army under the future emperor Titus entered Jerusalem. A hard-fought, slow advance through the city reached its climax when the torching of the temple gates combined with the scorching summer heat to destroy the entire temple complex on the ninth day of the Hebrew month of Av (itself the anniversary of the destruction of Solomon's temple by the Babylonians). The destruction of the Jewish holy site may have been accidental, but its effects proved dramatically permanent.<sup>1</sup> The place of God's dwelling amongst his chosen people would never in fact be rebuilt, despite the hopes and dreams of many. But its power was not destroyed: the next two millennia saw the image of the Jewish temple exert an influence over many minds, Christian as well as Jewish.<sup>2</sup> Thus, when, at the beginning of the eighth century, a Christian monk at the northern edges of the former Roman Empire first sat down to write about the Bible, the image of the temple, despite the building's destruction, could still inspire him.

### BEDE AND THE TEMPLE

The Venerable Bede (c.672–735) declared that 'the temple of the Lord had once been placed upon the earth . . . but now the Church, the temple of the living God, whose way of life is in heaven' had replaced it; while the former had hidden the Ark of the Covenant behind a veil, the latter revealed the Lord's incarnation to the whole world.<sup>3</sup> Bede began his exegetical career as he

<sup>1</sup> Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilisations* (London, 2008), pp. 23–9, 440–4.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. William J. Hamblin and David Rolph Seely, *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History* (London, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> *Apoc.*, p. 385 'Templum domini quondam in terra positum arcam testamenti sub uelamine mystico clausam tegebat. Nunc autem in ecclesia, quae est templum dei uiui [2 Corinthians 6.16], cuius conuersatio in caelis est [Philippians 3.20], uelo templi ueteris et medio pariete macheriae domini sanguine descisso [Ephesians 2.14], arca incarnationis eius toto iam panditur orbi'.

was to continue it—convinced of the relevance of the temple image even in a time and place far distant from the site of ancient Jewish worship. Bede would become one of the most significant intellectual figures in the Latin West of his day; his achievements substantially rest on the biblical commentaries which he wrote over thirty years, starting with his *Explanation of the Apocalypse*. In that extraordinary output the place of the temple image grew from occasional references to become the focus of self-consciously original works on Moses' tabernacle and the temple in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Bede believed that God had allowed him 'not only to grasp the ancient offerings . . . but also to discover new ones beneath the veil'; that is, to build from the patristic tradition an original and uniquely detailed Christian exegesis of the temple.<sup>5</sup>

This work studies that exegesis in its entirety for the first time. It does so from the conviction that understanding Bede's use of the temple sheds significant light on the world view of this most important early medieval English author.<sup>6</sup> Bede's significance needs no defence: his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* remains a major work, the pre-eminent source for the study of early Anglo-Saxon England, and has earned him a reputation as the father of English history. But his scriptural commentary reveals much more concerning the contours of Bede's mind and significance for his own time than does the *Ecclesiastical History* read in isolation. Exegesis provided the major form of intellectual discourse in the early Middle Ages. Intellectuals rarely wrote free-standing theological or academic treatises in this period because exegesis was an encyclopaedic endeavour, drawing on all spheres of knowledge. Scholars now recognize that 'exegesis and biblical commentary were often the field [sic] where political, philosophical and theological matters were discussed'.<sup>7</sup> Bede wrote about the temple image not from antiquarian interest, but convinced of its continuing relevance; as a consequence, his use of the image opens a window on what mattered to him about the nature of time and space, Christ, the Church as an institution, and the individual's relationship with God.

A trilogy of major commentaries on the temple image dominates Bede's mature output: *On the Tabernacle*, *On the Temple*, and *On Ezra and*

<sup>4</sup> *Temp.*, p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> *Ezra.*, p. 392 'amore dedisti et auxilium . . . non solum uetera amplectendi uerum et noua sub uelamine ueterum donaria inueniendi'; trans. DeGregorio, p. 226. See Matthew 13.52.

<sup>6</sup> The best basic introduction to Bede and his work is now Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010). See also George Hardin Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge, 2009) and Benedicta Ward, *The Venerable Bede*, 2nd ed. (London, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> Ineke van 't Spijker, 'Introduction', in *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture: the Role of Exegesis in early Christian and Medieval Culture*, ed. Ineke van 't Spijker (Leiden, 2009), pp. 1–12, at 1. Also Thomas O'Loughlin (ed.), *The Scriptures and Early Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout, 1999); Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (eds), *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* (Turnhout, 2003).

*Nehemiah*, all three written during the latter half of Bede's career. These provide an insight into his developed thought and reveal an experienced author experimenting with exegetical tradition. *On the Tabernacle* and *On the Temple* are both formally unusual—thematically organized exegetical treatises, focusing narrowly on the details of the construction of the desert tabernacle and Solomon's temple. *On the Tabernacle* deals with the relevant texts from Exodus 24.12–30.21; *On the Temple* draws on 3 Kings 5–7 (Bede skipped over descriptions of Solomon's palace as irrelevant to his purposes), with additional material from 2 Paralipomenon 2–4. While *On Ezra and Nehemiah* provides a more traditional line-by-line commentary of an entire book of the Bible, it too broke new ground by dealing with the previously unexamined book of Esdras.<sup>8</sup> A propensity to understand architectural details and descriptions of construction work as symbolic of the Church unites the trilogy; beginning from the assumption that the temple image represented the entire reality of the Church, Bede explored the institutional, personal, historical, and spiritual ramifications of the image throughout these commentaries.

While this trilogy alone would justify scholarly interest, it does not exhaust Bede's use of the temple. He dealt with the image across different genres—as well as his commentaries, three of Bede's homilies concentrate on the temple: *Homily* II.1 (on John 2.12–22), II.24 (John 10.22–30), and II.25 (Luke 6.43–8); a fourth, *Homily* II.19 (on Luke 1.5–17), also dedicates much space to the image. If Bede's temple commentaries asserted the relevance of the image to all aspects of the life of the Church, in the homilies Bede spoke directly to his contemporaries of that relevance: 'we ourselves, who come together in the Lord's name, are . . . his temple'.<sup>9</sup> The homilies may date, along with the temple trilogy, from Bede's maturity but Bede's exegesis featured the temple image from the very beginning. Regardless of subject, his interest in it kept breaking through. Bede noted that Luke's gospel both begins and ends in the temple precincts—*On Luke* thus returns to the temple image repeatedly.<sup>10</sup> His exegesis of the tower of Babel contains a comparison with the temple of Jerusalem using much of the architectural approach familiar from the temple commentaries.<sup>11</sup>

No previous Christian author devoted the same degree of sustained focus to the image as Bede did; unsurprisingly, his works on the topic were to prove influential in England and throughout Europe long after his own time.<sup>12</sup> His

<sup>8</sup> Modern Bibles tend to treat Ezra and Nehemiah as two books, but in the Vulgate they form a single book: Esdras.

<sup>9</sup> *Hom.*, II.24, p. 359 'ipsi qui in nomine domini conuenimus . . . templum eius et appellemur et simus'; trans. Martin and Hurst, II, p. 242.

<sup>10</sup> *Luc.*, pp. 424–5; *Apoc.*, p. 283; see Ch. 8 within this volume, 'Diachronic overview', pp. 183–4.

<sup>11</sup> *Gen.*, pp. 157–62.

<sup>12</sup> Iain M. Douglas, 'Bede's *De Templo* and the Commentary on Samuel and Kings by Claudius of Turin', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary*

*On the Tabernacle* and *On the Temple* inaugurated a new genre of themed exegetical treatises, focusing on biblical structures, which reached its apogee in the twelfth century.<sup>13</sup> The *Glossa Ordinaria*—the great collated biblical commentary that dominated the twelfth century—reveals the influence of Bede's writings on medieval views of the temple. They provided most of the *Glossa*'s material on the building of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple and all of the material on Ezra and Nehemiah and the account of the rebuilding of the temple.<sup>14</sup>

The importance of Bede's work on the temple image in particular mirrored the influence of his exegesis in general.<sup>15</sup> Shortly after his death his monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow already had to respond to a significant demand for Bede's writings, coming especially from the Anglo-Saxon missionaries at work in continental Europe.<sup>16</sup> The activity of these figures, and that of his fellow Northumbrian Alcuin (c.740–804), rapidly made Bede a major intellectual influence on the Carolingian renaissance, which in turn fuelled his importance in later Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>17</sup> Bede's exegesis remained popular up until the birth of Scholasticism and beyond, until well after the Reformation—unsurprisingly given that he was accorded patristic status.<sup>18</sup> Not only did Bede himself feel connected with the Church Fathers, but the Carolingian

*of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 325–33; Valery V. Petroff, 'The *De Templo* of Bede as the Source of an Ideal Temple Description in Eriugena's *Aulae Siderae*', *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 65 (1998), pp. 97–106; Joanna Kramer, "'Du eart se weallstan": Architectural Metaphor and Christological Imagery in the Old English *Christ I* and the Book of Kells', in *Source of Wisdom: Old English and Early Medieval Latin Studies in Honour of Thomas D. Hill*, eds Charles D. Wright et al. (Toronto, 2007), pp. 90–112. For the influence of *On the Tabernacle* and *On the Temple*: Arthur G. Holder, 'Bede's Commentaries on the Tabernacle and the Temple' (PhD dissertation, Duke University, 1987), pp. 141–8.

<sup>13</sup> Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 2 parts in 4 vols (Paris, 1959–64), II.1, p. 406.

<sup>14</sup> Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 45, 47, 55, 80–81.

<sup>15</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, *After Bede*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1960); J. E. Cross, 'Bede's Influence at Home and Abroad: An Introduction', in *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk & Northumbrian*, eds L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald (Groningen, 1996), pp. 17–29; Brown, *Companion*, pp. 117–34.

<sup>16</sup> M. Tangl (ed.), *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, MGH Epistolae Selectae 1, 75–6 pp. 156–9; 91 pp. 206–8; 116 pp. 250–52; 125–7 pp. 262–5; Malcolm Parkes, *The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1982), pp. 12–16.

<sup>17</sup> Joyce Hill, *Bede and the Benedictine Reform*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1998); David Rollason, *Bede and Germany*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 2001); Joshua A. Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond', and Sharon M. Rowley, 'Bede in later Anglo-Saxon England', both in *Cambridge Companion*, ed. DeGregorio, pp. 201–15 and 216–28, respectively.

<sup>18</sup> Joyce Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede', in *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Morgantown WV, 2006), pp. 227–49; Richard W. Pfaff, 'Bede Among the Fathers? The Evidence from Liturgical Commemoration', *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993), pp. 225–9.

Council of Aachen named him in 836 as the 'venerable and admirable teacher of modern times', effectively recognizing him as a Father of the Church.<sup>19</sup> When Charlemagne (742–814) ordered the Lombard scholar Paul the Deacon (c.720–99) to compile a homiliary from the words of the Catholic Fathers, he derived almost a quarter of his material from Bede's writings—more than from any other source.<sup>20</sup> The Middle Ages paid its supreme compliment to Bede: dozens of works which he never actually wrote circulated under his name. Scientific works proved especially prone to gain authority from ascription to him, but the fact that penitentials and large quantities of exegesis shared the same fate indicates Bede's status as a major authority.<sup>21</sup>

No one idea or image can encapsulate everything worth understanding about a writer of such stature. But the broad and substantially original coverage of the temple image in Bede's corpus makes it perhaps the best entrance into his world view. Bede saw the wandering tabernacle and the various permutations of the temple in Jerusalem as closely related, all essentially the same house of God.<sup>22</sup> These Jewish holy sites also contained elaborately described altars and decorations, and priests dressed in distinctive vestments performing cult acts for the worship of God. This matrix of interlinking images cannot be separated from the idea of the temple complex; thus I use the phrase 'temple image' in this broader sense, rather than simply referring to the stones and mortar of a single building. This image combined the static architecture of the temple with the dynamic ritual of its priests, thus allowing Bede to speak about both the eternal reality of the Church and the lived experience of its members through a single divinely sanctioned image.

Addressing such a wide subject in a large body of literature, this study, while not claiming to be exhaustive, provides an extensive tour of Bede's thinking on the temple. I have chosen a thematic structure (focusing on possible interpretations of the temple image) which moves from the macrocosm of the temple as history and cosmos, through the temple as Christ and his body the Church, to the microcosm of the temple as individual. The impossibility of providing a convincing chronology for the whole corpus of Bede's works has led me to eschew a chronological structure—although a diachronic overview of Bede's use of the temple image does appear in the final chapter. That

<sup>19</sup> *Concilia Aevi Karolini I*, ed. A. Werminghoff, MGH Legum Sectio 3 Concilia 2, p. 759. For Bede's perspective: Jan Davidse, 'The Sense of History in the Works of the Venerable Bede', *Studi Medievali* 23 (1982), pp. 647–95, at 654–6; Roger Ray, 'Who Did Bede Think He Was?', in *Innovation and Tradition*, ed. DeGregorio, pp. 11–35.

<sup>20</sup> Cyril Smetana, 'Paul the Deacon's Patristic Anthology', in *The Old English Homily & its Backgrounds*, eds Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany NY, 1978), pp. 75–97, at 79–80.

<sup>21</sup> Michael Gorman, 'The Canon of Bede's Works and the World of Ps. Bede', *RB* 111 (2001), pp. 399–445; Charles W. Jones, *Beda's Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede* (Ithaca NY, 1939); Allen J. Frantzen, 'The Penitentials Attributed to Bede', *Speculum* 58 (1983), pp. 573–97.

<sup>22</sup> See Ch. 3 within this volume, 'The house made by human hands', pp. 47–9.

overview provides important clues as to the reasons for Bede's interest in the temple image, but given the repetitive nature of the monk's corpus, to provide a detailed examination of each work in turn would be tedious, even if possible. I follow the example of other recent synthetic studies of Bede's writings in pursuing a thematic approach while remaining sensitive to issues of chronology<sup>23</sup>—an approach made necessary by the free and open-ended nature of Bede's exegesis.<sup>24</sup>

Bede's methodology opened up rather than limited possible meanings. Since this study explores the use to which Bede put the image of the temple, one must start by acknowledging that he did not interpret that image in any one single way. Depending on the circumstances in which he discussed it, the temple could mean any of a host of different things. A thematic approach, therefore, succeeds in giving a sense of the multiplicity of meanings and ideas Bede explored through the temple. I have chosen the sequence employed (moving from macrocosm to microcosm) more for its own inner logic than to imply any hierarchy of meaning in Bede's mind. Although I will draw out common threads that link different interpretations of the temple, seeking to sketch out the world view which underpins Bede's work, to start from the assumption that one single interpretation explains all of his approaches to the temple image would simply mislead the reader.

Chasing one of Bede's favourite images through its plurality of interpretations means that we can gain important insights into numerous aspects of his thought—from his comparatively well-studied ecclesiology to his almost completely neglected Christology.<sup>25</sup> Scholars have recognized the wide significance of the temple throughout Bede's corpus and my work depends to a great extent on that completed previously by scholars such as Arthur Holder, Jennifer O'Reilly, and Scott DeGregorio.<sup>26</sup> But as the first thematic synthesis of Bede's

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Peter Darby, *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham, 2012); Giovanni Caputa, *Il Sacerdozio dei Fedeli secondo San Beda: un itinerario di maturità cristiana* (Vatican City, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> See Ch. 2 within this volume, 'The intellectual context at Wearmouth-Jarrow', pp. 28–9.

<sup>25</sup> Surveys of Bede's ecclesiology: Johannes Beumer, 'Das Kirchenbild in den Schriftkommentaren Bedas des Ehrwürdigen', *Scholastik* 28 (1958), pp. 40–56; Sarah Foot, *Bede's Church*, Jarrow Lecture 2012 (Jarrow, 2013). I know of no overview of Bede's ideas on Christ, but recent work has made some contributions: e.g. Arthur G. Holder, 'The Feminine Christ in Bede's Biblical Commentaries', in *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité: The Venerable Bede. Tradition and Posterity*, eds Stéphane Lebecq et al. (Lille, 2005), pp. 109–18.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Arthur G. Holder, 'New Treasures and Old in Bede's "De Tabernaculo" and "De Templo"', *RB* 99 (1989), pp. 237–49; Arthur G. Holder, 'Allegory and History in Bede's Interpretation of Sacred Architecture', *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989), pp. 115–31; Arthur G. Holder, 'The Venerable Bede on the Mysteries of Our Salvation', *American Benedictine Review* 421 (1991), pp. 140–62. Jennifer O'Reilly, 'Introduction', in *Bede: On the Temple*, trans. Seán Connolly (Liverpool, 1995), pp. xxvii–lv; Jennifer O'Reilly, 'The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow', in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, eds Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud, 2001), pp. 3–39; Jennifer O'Reilly, 'The Multitude of Isles and the Corner-stone: Topography, Exegesis, and the Identity of the Angli in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*', in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, eds Jane Roberts