

Lucie Dolezalova

Food, Fight and Familiarity with the Bible:

A textual analysis of the *Cena Cypriani*

M.A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

June 2001

**Food, Fight and Familiarity with the Bible:
A textual analysis of the *Cena Cypriani***


by


Lucie Doležalová

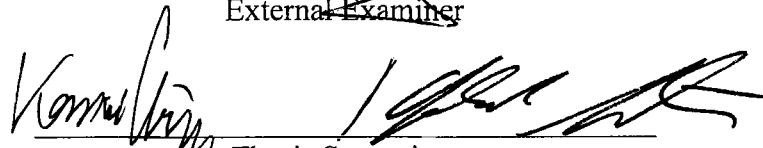
(Czech Republic)

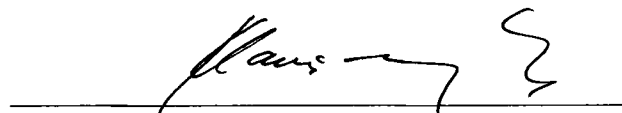
Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU


Chair, Examination Committee


External Examiner

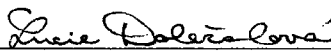

Thesis Supervisors


Examiner

Budapest
June 2001

I, the undersigned, Lucie DOLEZALOVA, candidate for the M.A. degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 1 June 2001


Signature

ABSTRACT

Food, Fight and Familiarity with the Bible: A textual analysis of the *Cena Cypriani*

by

Lucie Dolezalova
(Czech Republic)

The title is an attempt to briefly allude to the specific character of the obscure Latin text called *Cena Cypriani*. The *Cena Cypriani*, written probably in the second half of the fourth century and surviving in 54 manuscripts, can not be easily categorized. The text not only combines elements of many different Late Antique genres and literary types, but it also seems to involve contradictory elements. Being based on the Bible, it has been interpreted both as allegory and parody, as a religious text and as a blasphemy. Containing catalogues with Biblical characters and their attributions, it has been called both a mnemotechnic help and *exertitium ingenii*. Being very entertaining, it has been perceived both as a youthful lapse of a church father and as a playful joke.

Baffled by such strong disagreement among scholars, I considered all possible contexts where the *Cena Cypriani* could be placed, I translated the text into English, and studied each of the 472 Biblical allusions again. Based on this analysis, I concentrated on the author's methods: the choice of the sources, the strategies of attributing, tendencies in cataloguing and in creating the plot. It turned out that the author chooses primarily the exciting, popular and plot-dense stories from the Bible – violent and miraculous events and tricks, as well as scenes where eating and drinking is involved.

There are various types of attributions – some are based on association, some on implication, word play or metaphor. Some are closely tied to the text of the Bible, others are distant from it. The attributions are distributed on many levels – some are familiar, others surprising, some are easy to recognise, others difficult or almost impossible.

The catalogues seem to be organized without a specific strategy, only some tendencies can be detected. The plot connecting the individual catalogues is rather weak – it depends solely on the character of the king, the organizer of the feast. This can be perceived as another allusion.

After the analysis of the author's methods, I returned to the problem of the literary genres and types, and re-evaluated their importance for the *Cena Cypriani*. I concluded that the author includes contradictions and ambiguities on purpose, and the result is closest to the *exertitium ingenii*.

I proposed the hypothesis that the purpose of the whole is to amuse and to educate in a broad sense of the word – to draw the reader's or listener's attention to the Bible; and that the audience was a larger public within an elite – educated people familiar with the Bible. But this problem, together with many others, remains open.

The study could be a starting point for further research on medieval re-writings of the *Cena Cypriani*. Comparing these versions with the original could provide useful conclusions about the shifts between the Late Antique and medieval idea of education through entertainment, interpretations, and transmission of the texts. But that is already a different story.

Acknowledgements

“Do not make other people responsible
for your bad work by thanking them for
helping you to achieve it.”

A Czech proverb

I wanted to thank for kind help and support
to those who cared and were patient with me.
But – they know who they are.

The Table of Contents

“OPUS STULTUM LECTUQUE INDIGNUM”	1
I. THE TEXT	3
1. <i>Manuscripts and editions</i>	3
2. <i>Description of the form and content of the text</i>	3
3. <i>Author, time and place</i>	4
4. <i>Scholarship</i>	6
II. THE CONTEXTS	9
1. <i>Late Antique Literature (possible parallels and models)</i>	9
a) <i>Vespa: Iudicium coci et pistoris iudice Vulcano</i>	9
b) <i>Testamentum porcelli</i>	9
c) <i>Constitutio Apostolorum (7, 37)</i>	10
d) <i>Oratio II</i>	10
e) <i>Zeno of Verona: Tractatus II.38</i>	10
2. <i>Medieval responses to Cena Cypriani</i>	13
a) <i>Re-writings</i>	13
i) <i>Cena Hrabani Mauri (CHM)</i>	13
ii) <i>Cena Iohanni Diaconi (CID)</i>	14
iii) <i>Cena Azelini (CAz)</i>	14
iv) <i>The Arras Cena (CAr)</i>	15
b) <i>Commentary of Herveus Burgodiensis (HBC)</i>	15
3. <i>Literary Genres and Types</i>	16
a) <i>Catalogue</i>	16
b) <i>'Parasitic' Types</i>	16
<i>Parody</i>	17
<i>Satire</i>	17
<i>Menippean satire</i>	17
<i>Allegory</i>	17
<i>Cento</i>	18
c) <i>The Symposion Literature</i>	19
d) <i>Comedy, farce, carnival, the grotesque, caricature</i>	19
e) <i>Riddle, exertitium ingenii, iocus, 'Bible quiz'</i>	20
SYNTHESIS	21
I. SOURCE CHOICE	21
A) <i>Books</i>	22
1. <i>Chief Books</i>	22
2. <i>Representation of Books</i>	23
a) <i>Old Testament</i>	23
b) <i>New Testament</i>	23
c) <i>Apocrypha (with stress on Acta Pauli et Theclae)</i>	24
3. <i>Rarely used books</i>	30
B) <i>Characters</i>	30
1. <i>Chief characters</i>	30
2. <i>Representation of characters</i>	32
a) <i>Role versus event</i>	32
b) <i>Names of the characters</i>	32
3. <i>Rarely used characters</i>	33
C) <i>Events</i>	33
1. <i>Chief events</i>	34
2. <i>Types of events</i>	35
a) <i>Food (Eating, drinking, feast, entertainment)</i>	35
b) <i>Violence (violent death, killing, God's punishment)</i>	36
c) <i>Trick (betrayal, theft)</i>	37
d) <i>Miracles, miraculous birth</i>	37
e) <i>Piety (suffering, sacrifice, conversion)</i>	38
3. <i>Rarely used events</i>	38

II.	MANIPULATION OF THE SOURCES	39
A)	<i>Attribution</i>	39
1.	Form of the attributions	40
2.	Relationship between the attributions and the Bible	40
	Association (close and distant)	40
	Change of context	41
	Implication (close and distant)	41
	Specification versus abstraction	41
	Word play, pun, play with the meaning of a name, metaphor	42
	<i>patiens-agens</i> and <i>agens-patiens</i> shift	43
	Reversed action	44
	Exchanged attributes	44
3.	Language (Greek attributions)	45
4.	Unclear attributions	46
B)	<i>Levels of attributions</i>	47
C)	<i>Cataloguing</i>	48
1.	Distinctive features of individual catalogues	48
2.	Introducing new characters	49
3.	Re-appearance of characters	50
4.	Continuity	52
D)	<i>New plot</i>	53
1.	Extracted plot	53
2.	Narrative situation	54
3.	Allegorical elements of the plot	55
4.	The role of the king	56
5.	Content links between the characters	57
6.	Lexical links between the characters	58
III.	PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF LITERARY TYPES AND GENRES	62
1.	<i>Christian sermon and tractatus</i>	62
2.	<i>'Parasitic' types – parody, satire, allegory, cento</i>	63
3.	<i>Comedy, farce, the grotesque, caricature</i>	65
4.	<i>Symposion Literature</i>	65
5.	<i>Novel</i>	67
6.	<i>Riddle, exercitium ingenii, iocus, 'Bible quiz'</i>	67
IV.	PURPOSE AND AUDIENCE	69
	CONCLUSION	72
	APPENDIX	73
I.	THE LATIN TEXT	73
II.	THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION	79
III.	THE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS	85
IV.	PHOTOCOPIES OF THE VIENNA MANUSCRIPTS	184
	SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	185
I.	PRIMARY SOURCES	185
II.	SECONDARY SOURCES	187

“Close your eyes and imagine you do not have to go through all this. Open them only when you start feeling like doing it, or when you eat. It is good to look at what you eat.”

(This is an unclear allusion clearly connected to the themes of struggle, food and miracle. The exact Biblical passage referred to has not been specified yet.)

“Opus stultum lectuque indignum”¹

This study concentrates on a single text trying to answer a simple question: what is it? Mine is not the first attempt – there are many contrasting studies.

The text, the so-called *Cena Cypriani* (CC) is obscure, and enigmatic, and interesting. Nothing clear can be stated about the author and the place of its origin. It was probably written in the second half of the fourth century. The CC describes the feast of a king where various and most diverse characters out of the Bible gather, sit down, cook, eat, get drunk, offer presents to their host, and steal. These thefts lead to the torture of some guests; one of them is killed by the others before everybody returns home.

The CC has the form of catalogues enumerating what each of the guests did – it consists of 472 attributions. The whole text features elements of literary types popular at the time, such as parody, comedy or *cento*. It has attracted and baffled readers, as well as writers and scholars up to the present. Each of them has pointed out different aspects of it and often neglected many others.

I decided to make another attempt. With the help of a detailed textual analysis I will try to contextualize the CC. In this textual analysis I want to consider each allusion, each character and each catalogue in the CC individually. In the following synthesis I intend to define the methods, strategies and tendencies of the author, applied to the text as a whole.

¹ C. Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1722), 274.

Apart from the basic problem, several other questions seem to be important:

1. Why and how did the author choose specific Biblical figures and passages?
2. How did he create the attributions? Is it possible to trace a specific technique?
3. How are the attributions placed in the catalogues?
4. What is the role of the plot of the *CC*?
5. What is the relationship between the *CC* and the literary types and genres popular in the fourth century?
6. What was the purpose and who was the audience of the *CC*?

The study is meant as a basis for a planned comparative research on the ninth- to twelfth-century 're-writings' and modifications of the *Cena Cypriani*, which became popular in Western monastic space.

I. The Text

1. Manuscripts and editions

The text of the *Cena Cypriani* survives in 54 manuscripts from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. It is mostly preserved among collected works of Cyprian of Carthage, to whom it was assigned in the Middle Ages.

The CC was noted several times in the nineteenth century and compared to its re-writings. The first careful edition was the work of Karl Strecker.² Strecker based his edition on some 36 manuscripts, which he divided into two main groups, X and Y, according to textual differences. The second, more precise edition of both the CC and all its re-writings was made in 1992 by Christine Modesto.³

I have seen four of the manuscripts: from the group X the Codex Berolinensis theol. lat. fol. 700 from the twelfth century, and from the group Y the Codex Vindobonensis 810 from the thirteenth century, and Codices Vindobonensis 770 and 14 091 from the fifteenth century.⁴ Each of these codices contains collected works of St. Cyprian of Carthage, and they include the text of the CC at the very end, without illuminations or decorated initials. The texts differ from one another especially in the spelling of the names of Biblical characters. There are no comments or marginal notes included. There is not much information about the original form and purpose of the CC that we can derive from the manuscripts, especially as there is a great gap between the time of the origin of the CC and the ninth century – the time from which its earliest surviving manuscripts come.

2. Description of the form and content of the text

The CC is a prose Latin text consisting of some 1,756 words.⁵ The structure of the text follows to some degree the structure of an ancient *cena*. It features 112 characters from various parts of the Bible and some apocrypha. The guests gather at a wedding feast organized by king Joel in Cana of Galilee. They sit, dress, cook and eat. Then they drink and entertain themselves and they go to their homes in a festive

² Karl Strecker, ed., “Iohannis Diaconi versiculi de Cena Cypriani” *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, IV 2 (Berlin: (?), 1896): 854-900.

³ Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992): 14-35.

⁴ The photocopies of the Vienna manuscripts are included in the Appendix.

⁵ (The arrangement into 289 lines is the work of Modesto, and I follow it in my work although it does not reflect the way the text is presented in the manuscripts.)

procession. The next day they bring the king presents, but it is discovered that something was stolen at the feast and so they are interrogated and tortured. Finally the king decides that only one of them, Achan, should be punished, and the others enthusiastically kill him and bury him before they return to their homes.

Each of these activities is introduced briefly and then presented in a form of a catalogue consisting of a name of a Biblical character and an attribution assigned to him or her, which in some way relates or alludes to what the person does in the Bible.

The place is specified as Cana of Galilee, but it lacks any physical properties. Time is not specified at all, except for the length of the feast - two days. Each of the 472 allusions recalls a different event, and thus refers to different time and different space. These are not connected to each other except that they are collected in the *CC*. There are no dialogues in the text.

3. Author, time and place

The problem of the author, time and place of origin of the *CC* remains and will have to remain open, unless some new data are discovered. The basic difficulty lies in the fact that the oldest manuscripts come from the ninth century, while the text is surely much older. Both Christine Modesto and Martha Bayless summarize and re-evaluate scholarly opinions on this problem, and they both conclude by stating that this problem cannot be satisfactorily solved at the moment.⁶ I will only briefly present the discussion without an attempt at resolving it.

As the title of the text suggests, the *CC* was, throughout the Middle Ages, assigned to Saint Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage and a martyr (died in 256). Taking into account the nature of the text, this idea was rather problematic, and the *CC* was perceived either as the young Cyprian's lapse, or as a religious work with many hidden meanings.

But actually nothing is known about the author, except what can be derived from the work: that he was familiar with the Bible, the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* and that he knew both Latin and Greek. This did not prevent scholars from daring theories.

It is generally accepted now, although no disproving evidence was found, that the *CC* is later and thus it could not be written by Saint Cyprian. Harnack agreed, but claimed that the author's name had to be Cyprian, and thus he decided for the

⁶ Modesto 72-81 and Bayless 19-24.

Christian poet Cyprian from Gaul at the beginning of the fifth century, author of *Heptateuchos* – a re-writing of the Heptateuch in hexameters. Brewer agreed with him, but Hass proved them wrong by asserting that different versions of the Bible are used for each of these works.

The whole argumentation is obviously weak – the author could have been anyone, and the text could have been assigned to St. Cyprian in order to gain authority and to stress its paradoxical character. Early Christian works were frequently assigned to the church fathers like Augustine, Tertullian or Cyprian.⁷

As for the place of origin, there are three main opinions: Lapôtre decides for Antioch claiming that it was written there by a pious Spanish writer Bachiarius between 362 and 363,⁸ Harnack for Southern Gaul or perhaps Northern Italy, Brewer and Hass for Northern Italy. Harnack's ideas are extremely doubtful, as he does not gather any relevant arguments to justify his choice, except for some vague statements about the intellectual environment of the place, as well as the familiarity with the Greek language and the *Acta Pauli*. Brewer's support for Northern Italy is derived from the suggested dependence of the *CC* on an Easter sermon of Zeno of Verona, as well as from the fact that the names of wines listed in the *CC* are mostly Italian wines. His suggestion is probable but not the only one possible.

The ideas about the time of the origin of the *CC* have varied between 362⁹ and the 10th century.¹⁰ Some theories were based on the model of the *CC*, which was specified as the *Vetus Latina* – thus, the text had to be written before the Vulgata spread. Stylistic parallels to the text can be found in the fourth century literature.¹¹

Other theories derive from specifying other sources of the *CC* – *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, *Protoevangelium Iacobi*, and *Acta Petri*. This is useful, except for Harnack's claim that the *CC* had to be written before the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* were recognized as apocrypha. Such interpretation supposes that the author of the *CC* was Christian, which is far from certain.

Some scholars tried to date the text by specifying the source of some obscure or unusual allusions. Such is, e.g. the fact that Peter sits "in cathedra", or that Eve gets

⁷ Cf. N. Brox, *Falsche Verfasserangaben. Zur Erklärung der frühchristlichen Pseudepigraphie* (Stuttgart: n.p., 1975), 49-50.

⁸ Lapôtre 595.

⁹ Lapôtre 502.

¹⁰ Wright 45.

¹¹ They are e.g. Zeno of Verona's Easter sermon, *Constitutiones apostolorum* 7,37, or Vespa's *Iudicium coci et pistoris*, and they will be discussed in the introduction to the context.

a “murena” or that Mary wears a “stola” – a dress of married women. These will be discussed within the textual analysis, but it should just be noted here that dating cannot be based solely on a specification of single one out of 472 attributions.

There is a lot of confusion about the whole. Modesto concludes that it is possible to place the text into the time between 360 and 400 AD¹² There is a general agreement about this now, and although the placement is still quite vague, it is useful as it provides us with some idea of the contemporary literary context.

4. Scholarship

Summarizing the scholarship seems to be popular part of the articles dealing with the *CC*. There is a reason for it: the *CC* inspired various reactions. Scholars used it for pointing out their opposing arguments about the history of Christianity, laughter or literature. Writers were inspired by it and adapted it.¹³

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the *CC* and its re-writings received more attention. A group of articles appeared in 1883 in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*. Adolph Harnack¹⁴ was mainly concerned with the relationship of the *CC* and its surprising source – *Acta Pauli*. Without gathering enough evidence, he concluded that the *CC* was written either in Gaul or in Northern Italy. Hermann Hagen¹⁵ focused on specifying how the *CC* was rewritten and changed by Hrabanus Maurus in the ninth century. Hermann Rönisch¹⁶ concentrated on explaining allusions of the *Cena Hrabani Mauri*, which can often be used as explanations for the *CC* as well.

Besides editing the *CC* in 1896,¹⁷ Karl Strecker wrote an important article in 1912, about the relationship of the *CC* and the Bible, specifying the individual allusions.¹⁸ Other articles on the *CC* were written in the beginning of the twentieth

¹² Modesto 73.

¹³ The medieval re-writings and a learned commentary by Hervé de Bourgdieu from the twelfth century could be included among the reactions to the *CC*, but I prefer to deal with those in the chapter on medieval perception.

¹⁴ Adolph Harnack, “Drei wenig beachtete cyprianische Schriften und die *Acta Pauli*” *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 27 (1883): 1-34.

¹⁵ Hermann Hagen, “Eine Nachahmung von Cyprian’s Gastmahl durch Hrabanus Maurus” *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 27 (1883): 164-187.

¹⁶ Hermann Rönisch, “Einiges zur Erläuterung der *Cena Hrabani Mauri*” *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 27 (1883): 344-349.

¹⁷ Karl Strecker, ed., “*Iohannis Diaconi versiculi de Cena Cypriani*” *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, IV 2 (Berlin: (?), 1896): 854-900.

¹⁸ Karl Strecker, “Die *Cena Cypriani* und ihr Bibeltext” *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 54 (1912): 61-78.

century. Lapôte¹⁹ wrote a detailed analysis of another re-writing of the *CC* – *Cena Iohani Diaconi*. He claimed that the *CC* was written in 362-363 in Antioch as a satire on the religious views of Julian the Apostate. He was also one of the first scholars to concentrate on the *CC* as a piece of literature, identifying the way in which the author manipulated the Bible. Brewer's rather detailed article from 1904 is mainly concerned with the question of the time and place of origin of the *CC*.²⁰ André Wilmart²¹ is the only scholar so far who has dealt with the twelfth-century commentary on the *CC* by Herveus Burgodiensis.

The above mentioned studies share their general view of the *CC* as a religious, but not very well written text. There were, however, other scholars who approached the text as parody. Such is the interpretation of Francesco Novati,²² Eero Ilvonen²³ or Paul Lehmann. Paul Lehmann's book *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*²⁴ served as the basic textbook on medieval parody until very recently.

A very important change in perception of the text begins with the study of Mikhail Bakhtin. Bakhtin relates the text to his notion of carnival, and parodic literature that constituted the basis of blasphemous medieval laughter.

Umberto Eco includes in his book *Il Nome della Rosa* a re-writing of the *CC*. In his re-writing, he repeats the method of the author of the *CC*, and the result is similarly exciting and confusing as the *CC* itself. It is through this book that many scholars found their way to the primary text.

It is only in the 1990s that the text has been re-evaluated and its special qualities stressed. Most significant is the work of Christine Modesto, and I will often return to it.²⁵ Modesto carefully edited both the *CC* and its re-writings and added a detailed commentary on its manuscripts and related problems. Her work summarizes the previous scholarship and carefully evaluates individual arguments. As a whole, it is, in my opinion, an excellent starting point for further research on the *CC*.

¹⁹ A. Lapôte, 'Le souper de Jean Diacre' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 21 (1901). 305-385.

²⁰ H. Brewer, "Über den Heptateuchdichter Cyprian und die Cena Cypriani. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 28 (1904): 92-115.

²¹ André Wilmart, "Le prologue d'Hervé de Bourgdieu pour son commentaire de la Cena Cypriani" *Révue Bénédictine* 35 (1923): 255-263.

²² Francesco Novati, "La Parodia" *Studi critici e letterari*, ed. Francesco Novati (Torino: Loescher, 1889).

²³ Eero Ilvonen, *Parodies des thèmes pieux dans la poésie française du Moyen âge* (Paris: n.p., 1914).

²⁴ Paul Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963).

²⁵ Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992).

The only English analysis of the text is to be found in Martha Bayless' book *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition* from 1996.²⁶ Unfortunately, Bayless was unable to include reactions to Modesto's work in her book. She approaches the text as a parody and allegory at the same time. She concentrates on the elements of parody in the text and compares it with its re-writings.

An article by Reinhold F. Gleis from the University of Bochum is very witty and raises literary problems.²⁷ I will return to his main idea that the *CC* is fully in agreement with traditions of Late Antique literature, that it is simply an *exertitium ingenii* and no deep Biblical allegories should be looked for in it.

The *CC* was translated into Czech and commented upon by Eva Stehlíková. Stehlíková points out the performative character of the text claiming that it could easily have been performed. There is a short study by Thomas Ricklin from 1994 stressing the importance of rhetoric and mnemotechnic aspects of the *CC*.²⁸ Most recently, two articles appeared in the journal *Hermeneus*.²⁹

Most of the shorter articles from the 1990's, are only introductions to the problem of the text – they retell the story of the *CC*, repeat its constitutive elements, and then point out one or two minor aspects. It shows not only that the contemporary readers are not familiar with it, but also that the *CC* is perceived primarily as an exciting peculiarity rather than a suitable object for a detailed analysis.

²⁶ Martha Bayless, *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1996).

²⁷ Reinhold F. Gleis, 'Ridebat de facto Sarra. Bemerkungen zur Cena Cypriani,' *Literaturparodie in Antike und Mittelalter* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1993) 153-170.

²⁸ Thomas Ricklin, "Imaginibus vero quasi litteris rerum recordatio continetur. Versuch einer Situierung der Cena Cypriani" *Peregrina Curiositas. Eine Reise durch den orbis antiquus*, eds. A. Kessler, Th. Ricklin, G. Wurst (Freiburg/Schweiz und Göttingen: Universität Verlag et al., 1994): 215-238.

²⁹ A. Bastiaensen, "Bijbelse figuren aan een bruiloftsmaal. De Cena Cypriani" *Hermeneus* 69 (1997): 315-323. And A. Hilhorst, "Kruimels van de Cena Cypriani" *Hermeneus* 70 (1998): 220-222.

II. The Contexts

1. Late Antique Literature (possible parallels and models)

One of the basic contexts of a piece of writing is the context of other texts written in about the same time. It is much easier to do so when one is sure about the time, which is not the case. I chose the context of Late Antique literature following the conclusions of recent studies.

Looking for parallels has two basic dangers: either we end up by stating that the text is absolutely unique and unprecedented, or we consider some similar features of two texts more important than they actually are. It is also difficult to decide whether a certain influence is based on a specific text or on a general characteristic of literature of a certain time and place. I tend to be rather careful with assigning influence to specific texts, and so my discussion of this problem will not offer a definite source suggestion.

The possible literary influences on the *CC* have already been identified, but I consider it relevant to discuss them briefly and re-evaluate their importance for the *CC* at this point.

a) *Vespa: Iudicium coci et pistoris iudice Vulcano*

The text is a Late Antique argument between a baker and a cook in hexameters. For the *CC*, verses 83-93 are relevant. They involve a list of mythological figures receiving corresponding meals. In the *CC*, some of the meals, especially types of meat occur, assigned to different characters. Thus it seems very likely that the author of the *CC* was inspired by this text, although he changed the source and enlarged the whole.³⁰ However, the similarities are not so striking as to call this text a model for the *CC*.

b) *Testamentum porcelli*

This is a well-known parody on last wills. A pig, Grunnius Corocotta, persuades the cook to let him make his last will, before he dies. He leaves certain parts of his body to people who need them. The text is anonymous, from the end of the fourth century, and it belongs among parodic texts of the time characterized by the

³⁰ Cf. Modesto 105-106.

form of a catalogue.³¹ In my opinion, it is very unlikely that this text had a direct influence on the *CC*. Except for the enumeration and the parodic features, there are no links between the two texts. However, the *Testamentum porcelli* serves as a good example of the type of texts typical for the fourth century.

c) *Constitutio Apostolorum* (7, 37)

Brewer points out the 37th chapter from book 8 of *Constitutio Apostolorum* as a possible parallel to Zeno's Easter sermon, and thus an indirect one to the *CC*.³² It includes a prayer to God with enumeration of the Biblical characters whose prayers God has heard. About half of the 30 characters from this text re-appear in the *CC*. I agree with Modesto who claims that the texts are not very similar except for the appearance of various Biblical characters and asyndetic linkage between the attributions³³

d) *Oratio II*

Harnack includes *Oratio II*³⁴ among other texts written by Cyprian, pointing out the fact that the *Acta Pauli* are used as a source for it as well. The Confession of Faith can be extracted from it, which probably originated in Gaul. Harnack uses all these arguments to make his theory that the *CC* was written in Gaul sound more probable. Nevertheless, his arguments are rather poor. Neither the fact that Thecla is mentioned in it, nor the text itself is of much importance and relevance to the *CC*.

e) *Zeno of Verona: Tractatus II.38*

This Easter sermon is the closest to the *CC* from the known texts.³⁵ It not only features characters from various parts of the Bible and assigns them certain attributes, but it is also concerned with the theme of feast and with Easter – the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. God is described as inviting everyone for a heavenly meal – *coeleste prandium*. The structure of the text is similar to the *CC*, but the whole is much clearer and shorter – it only includes 14 attributions, all very obvious.

³¹ Cf. Modesto 106-107.

³² Brewer 103.

³³ Cf. Modesto

³⁴ Adolph Harnack, "Drei wenig beachtete cyprianische Schriften und die Acta Pauli" *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 27 (1883): 25-28.

³⁵ Cf. Modesto 108-111.

Martin rejects the influence on the *CC* simply because of the differing intentions of these texts,³⁶ but otherwise it is generally accepted that the sermon served as a model for the *CC*. The two texts are indeed very close to one another, but no one has really considered the possibility that the influence went the other way round – that the *CC* was a model for Zeno's sermon.³⁷

Brewer makes this statement³⁸ and Modesto takes it from him by simply stating that the shorter text must be the model, and the longer one its developed version.³⁹ However, in my opinion the possibility that the influence went the other way round can not be excluded.⁴⁰

If that was the case, Zeno's tractatus would be reminiscent of medieval re-writings of the *CC* – it is united in its structure, it is explicitly linked to celebration of Easter and it disambiguates the enigmas of the original *CC*, or rather only uses the clear allusions from it. By drawing an open parallel between the described feast and the heavenly feast, Zeno's tractatus is clear and concise, with a well-defined purpose. The fact that it is an easily understandable parable makes it very different from the *CC*. Of course it is possible that the author of the *CC* took the *tractatus* apart and filled it with mysteries and ambiguities. But the other possibility – that a religious author was inspired by the playful and enigmatic *CC* to create his short parable is at least as probable. The only argument against this suggestion could be that Zeno would perhaps not get to read the blasphemous *CC*. But, as the *CC* has surely been on the border between religiosity and blasphemy by the ninth century, when Hrabanus Maurus and Iohannes Diaconus rewrote it, there is no reason to deny that its status has always been like this.

If we suppose that the *CC* was written before the Zeno's sermon, there is nothing preventing us from the idea that the *CC* was originally written in Greek. This idea will remain only a suggestion, as there are no Greek manuscripts of the text. But perhaps it is worthy to discuss shortly this possibility.

All the commentators acknowledge that the author of the *CC* surely knew Greek and worked with Greek sources. Most of the attributions are not in lexical agreement with the Vulgata version of the Bible. The commentators claim that the

³⁶ Martin 193.

³⁷ Modesto excludes the possibility that the *CC* would be a model for the sermon simply by stating that the shorter text must be the model, and the longer one its developed version. (Modesto 110)

³⁸ Brewer 97.

³⁹ Modesto 110.

author of the *CC* has used the *Vetus Latina* or other versions, and so the attributions originally were in lexical agreement. This thesis can not be proved entirely, but especially some findings of Karl Strecker suggest that it could have been so.⁴¹ But what about the Greek sources? Harnack suggested that there was a Latin translation of the *Acta Pauli et Teclae* already in the fourth century, but it has not survived. If, however, there was not such a translation and the author of the *CC* simply translated the allusions into Latin, they could not be too reminiscent of the original any more.

The other part of the argument comes specifically from the text of the *CC*: some of the most baffling attributions and many of the puns come from the Greek.⁴² They make the text very ambiguous and difficult to understand. There are two possible reasons for this: either the author of the *CC* wanted to boast, amaze and baffle with his knowledge of Greek, or the text was written originally in Greek and these attributions are the remains of it – they present translational problems. They are the places which baffled the translator and so he decided to leave them as they were, he only transcribed them into Latin alphabet. For the obvious allusions, the translator used the *Vetus Latina* so that the Biblical allusions would agree lexically.

The question of the purpose of such Greek text is as unclear as the question of purpose of such Latin text. But only the Latin text could obviously be ascribed to Saint Cyprian, included among his other works, all in Latin, and thus receive more attention. This, however, only explains why the Latin text has been preserved, but it does not prove that the *CC* was Latin originally.

⁴⁰ Thomas Ricklin expressed his doubts about the connection as well (Ricklin 234).

⁴¹ Strecker (1912), 68-73.

⁴² They are: *Iohannes trichiniam* (line 55a), *Iob biplagiam* (line 60b), *Isaias mesotropam* (line 61a), and *Iacob pseudoaletinam* (line 69a)

2. Medieval responses to *Cena Cypriani*

As is obvious from the number of the preserved manuscripts of the *CC*, the text was popular in the Middle Ages. Besides being frequently copied, it was also rewritten, adapted for the medieval public. Four re-writings survive from the ninth to the end of the twelfth century. In addition, there is a detailed commentary to the *CC* from the twelfth century. The responses provide information about the reception of the *CC*, and thus an important context that should not be omitted.

The re-writers makes significant changes to the original. Most of them are intentional, but there are also some obviously wrong interpretations that are based on the temporal gap between the time of origin of the *CC* and the time when it was rewritten. While the author of the *CC* worked with *Vetus Latina*, and the original complete *Acta Pauli*, the re-writers had only the Vulgate. Thus, some of the allusions became unclear, and they tried to guess the original meaning and substitute them with clear ones. This opens up the problem of how much of the *CC* was actually intelligible for a medieval reader.

a) Re-writings

The four re-writings of the *CC* were carefully edited and commented on by Christine Modesto,⁴³ and briefly analyzed by Martha Bayless,⁴⁴ but they deserve still more attention. Here, I only include a short introduction to the texts, and I only allude to them in the analysis. I am convinced that a detailed comparative study of these texts could offer useful conclusions about the history of transmission – about the changes, misunderstandings, and interpretations that accompany it.

i) *Cena Hrabani Mauri* (CHM)

CHM has survived in 18 manuscripts. It was written by Hrabanus Maurus, the abbot of Fulda and later archbishop of Mainz, for king Lothar. Modesto concludes that the king must have been the young Lothar II, and that the *CHM* was written between September 855 and February 4, 856.⁴⁵

This is the only re-writing in prose. Hrabanus makes the allegory to the crucifixion more explicit (the king's name is Abbatheos, and his son, who is getting

⁴³ Modesto 122-293.

⁴⁴ Bayless 19-56.

⁴⁵ Modesto 175.

married, is Bartheos). In addition, he omits or substitutes the obscure allusions, and makes the plot more unified and compact.⁴⁶ The feast takes place only during one day, and Achan's sin is closer to the original sin – everybody, starting with the serpent, is found guilty.

ii) *Cena Iohanni Diaconi (CID)*

The *CID* has been preserved in 12 manuscripts. It was edited and commented on by Karl Strecker.⁴⁷ Modesto included some additions to his analysis.⁴⁸ The *CID* is a work of Iohannes Diaconus, also known as Hymmonides, from between June 876 and October 877. It consists of 375 verses in elegiac distichon, and it seems to be ready for reciting. The text includes a prologue, an epilogue and a dedicatory poem to the king where Iohannes explains the purpose of the work – to amuse and to teach at the same time.

There are no radical differences from the *CC*. This re-writing, however, stresses the notion of spectacle, and it is around this text that the discussion about the performative character and a possible performance in the ninth century arose, but no conclusions are possible due to the lack of information.⁴⁹ However, the relationship of the *CC* to theatre and performance is an interesting and important one and I will return to it in the chapter on genres.

iii) *Cena Azelini (CAz)*

There is only one surviving fragment (54 strophes) of the *CAz*, in Codex Parisinus latinus 5609 edited by Du Méril.⁵⁰ It was written by Azelinus, a monk in Reims, between 1047 and 1054. It seems that the author was acquainted with Hrabanus' and Iohannes Diaconus' re-writings. The work loses rhythm and humour, as each allusion is extended to a whole strophe. The attributions are less obscure and more representative of the characters.⁵¹ The whole must have been very long, because the 54th strophe still describes the seating of the guests.

⁴⁶ Cf. Bayless 38-40

⁴⁷ Karl Strecker "Iohannis Diaconi versiculi de Cena Cypriani" *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, IV 2 (Berlin: (?), 1896): 854-900.

⁴⁸ Modesto 177-219.

⁴⁹ Cf. Bayless 40-44.

⁵⁰ E. Du Méril "Cène de Johel" *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen Age* (Paris: Didot, 1847).

⁵¹ Cf. Bayless 44-46.

iv) **The Arras *Cena* (*CAr*)**

A fragment (160 stanzas) of the anonymous *CAr* from the twelfth century can be found in Codex Atrebatensis 557. Very little is known about its origin. The author knew also the *Cena Azelini*. The work is the most sophisticated re-writing of the *CC*; it includes more variety of activities and is organized more clearly as a copy of Biblical history. There are some explicit clarifications of the allegorical elements, e.g. “Iohalem ergo dominum/ Intellige Christum Iesum,/ Ut sponsam eius unicam/ Accipias Ecclesiam.” (Therefore understand lord Joel as Jesus Christ, so that you interpret his only bride as the Church.)⁵² The symbols used are clear.⁵³

b) **Commentary of Herveus Burgodiensis (*HBC*)**

The *HBC* surviving in three manuscripts from the twelfth century has, unfortunately, not been edited yet. Only André Wilmart dealt with it in more detail: he published the prologue to the commentary.⁵⁴ Herveus Burgodiensis approached the *CC* as a deeply religious text, the purpose of which is to facilitate remembrance of Biblical characters and their attributes. After the prologue he explains all the allusions.

The last re-writing, when compared to this commentary, raises the question of the sophistication of the original *CC*. Should we, together with Herveus Burgodiensis, presume that the structure of the *CC* is actually very well devised, that the obscurities and ambiguities are intentional, that each of the attributions conveys a hidden meaning? Or should we, together with the author of the Arras *Cena*, suppose that there are mistakes, hasty errors, and the whole is simply not a very good piece of writing which needs many adjustments? The problem was obviously relevant for the twelfth century, and it is typical for scholarship as well. It is only since the 1990's that literary critics have tended to approach a work as a result of an author's intentions and are more reluctant to call a piece of writing simply bad.

⁵² “The Arras *Cena*,” in *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition*, ed. Martha Bayless, 230 and 250 (Michigan: Ann Arbor Press, 1996).

⁵³ Cf. Bayless 46-51.

⁵⁴ André Wilmart “Le prologue d'Hervé de Bourgdieu pour son commentaire de la *Cena Cypriani*” *Revue Bénédictine* 35 (1923), 255-263.

3. Literary Genres and Types

Literary types are distinguished on the basis of formal features of the text (prose versus poetry, length, vocabulary), intention (serious versus light, implied audience, objectives), plot, types of characters and influences (time and place of origin, models). The whole notion of genre or literary type has been largely criticized throughout the twentieth century. It is, indeed, difficult to place a text into a category with other texts, as each of them is a distinct unit with its unique existence and specific features. Nevertheless, the need for textual categorization remains, and, in spite of their inadequacy, literary categories continue to be in use.

My aim in this study, however, is neither to denounce the notion of literary type, nor to conclude by specifying a definite category where the *CC* should be placed (as the *CC* is an extremely specific text, and it is obvious at the first glance that it does not belong to any category in its entirety). Rather I would like to discuss the suggested categories as possible contexts for the text of the *CC*, and to see in what ways and to what degree the *CC* fits them.

Thus, the following five subchapters are meant as short definitions of the relevant literary types. At this point, questions are raised rather than answered, the relationship of the categories to the *CC* is only alluded to – it will be discussed in more detail after the textual analysis itself.

a) Catalogue

A catalogue is a list of items put in order according to certain rules. It is not a genre, but rather a form of organizing material. But it can be perceived as a distinctive type with a beginning, an end and a system of presentation, both of each item and of the whole. The form of a catalogue is one of the most important features of the *CC*. and its implications will yet be discussed in more detail.

b) Parasitic Types – parody, satire, Menippean satire, allegory, cento

All the above mentioned genres share one common characteristic: they all depend upon another text or a group of texts. These types are highly intertextual: the primary text is alluded to, mocked, quoted, changed and manipulated in various ways in them. This makes the whole group very close to the *CC*, which is dependent on the Bible. However, the relationship to the primary text or model is different in each of them.

Parody

Parody mocks a text or a distinctive group of texts by exaggerating its distinctive features and stretching them *ad absurdum*. Parody tends to be reminiscent of its source in its layout, although it is not always very strictly organized. The primary aim of parody is to amuse without necessarily denouncing its model. The *CC* has often been connected with this type, as it is not critical but rather provides amusement.

Satire

The basic difference between parody and satire is in purpose: while parody tries to achieve the amusement of the reader, satire attempts at a change. The reader should be aroused by reading to action, or, at least, should learn from the text who is, in the author's opinion, right and who is wrong.

As the author of the *CC* hides in his text and does not explicitly criticize anything, it is difficult to perceive it as a satire. Also its topic is not suitable for satire at all, and any imaginable theories interpreting it as such seem very stretched to me. Perceived as satire, the *CC* would have to be understood as critical of the fourth century church or of Christianity as such, especially of its cruelty and violence.

Menippean satire

The literary type hidden under the heading of Menippean satire is difficult to describe, but, in my opinion, little can be connected with the *CC*. Modesto deals with it, because Bakhtin states as characteristics of the type that its heroes are often historical and legendary characters, it is very imaginative, includes scandalous scenes and sudden changes of the plot.⁵⁵ The fact that in the *CC*, as opposed to Menippean satire, prose is not mixed with poetry, does not prevent her from concluding that the *CC* is very close to this literary form.⁵⁶

Allegory

Allegory is telling something other than what is meant. Allegorical characters stand for other characters, and events for other events. So that the hidden meaning would be recoverable, allusions and links are included. Allegory is a relevant category

⁵⁵ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Román jako dialog* (Novel as a Dialogue), tr. Daniela Hodrová (Prague: Odeon, 1980), 215.

⁵⁶ Modesto 111-113.

especially where the re-writings of the *CC* are concerned – the medieval rewriters of the *CC* made explicit the allegorical possibilities of the text.

But also the original *CC* has been perceived as an allegory on Biblical events. King Joel supposedly stands for God. The wedding is the wedding of Christ and the church. And the final killing of Achan is the crucifixion of Jesus. But the whole is not very clear, especially as Jesus himself, included among the characters, is crucified already in the catalogue of tortures, and then he reappears and flagellates poor Achan, thus sharing the guilt of his death.

Cento

Cento is, obviously, not a genre; it is a writing technique. However, Modesto is right to claim that *centos* tend to share definite characteristics: they all consist of words or phrases of another text.

The basic difference between a *cento* and the *CC* lies in the fact that *cento* is composed solely from bits and pieces of its model. The relationship of the *CC* to the Bible much looser than is the case with a usual *cento*. In addition, the story presented by a *cento* is usually different from the one of the model, and the further the new creation is from the initial one, the better.⁵⁷ The *CC*, in contrast, features the same events as the Bible, the only difference being that they are all placed at one specific time and place.

Finally, a *cento* has a unified structure and a definite message, and thus it can be enjoyed even without knowledge of the primary text it is composed from. Familiarity with the model certainly adds to the enjoyment, but in many cases it is not crucial for it. The relationship of the *CC* to its model is different: without a detailed knowledge of the Bible, the text is extremely boring. The enjoyment lies in recognizing individual allusions separately; together they do not form a very striking or breathtaking story.

⁵⁷ Thus, it was popular to create religious hymns from Vergil's poems etc.

ature

is even less a genre than *cento*. However, it forms a type Josef Martin has dealt with the development of the literary and the recurring characters and events.⁵⁹

tion of the type in Antiquity. The basic type is already *dyssey* and other epic poems. There, feast is a part of the battle as well as a kind of ritual. Philosophical feast is Plato. In his *Symposion*, the feast is actually a pretext for their dispute. The poetic tradition includes Lucilius' *Cena idieni* (i.e. Satire II, 8) and Juvenal's *Satire 11*. The latter is a feature of the symposion literature – elements of satirical feast proper is best represented by the well-known *onias*. In Late Antiquity parodic and playful feasts occur, to the CC. Such is the *Symposion* of Julian the Apostate, or Lukianos' *Symposion*.

argely differs from the *symposion* literature tradition: it is Plato's texts, satirical and critical of society as Petronius, nos. Another basic difference is clear at first glance: the CC is a communication whatsoever. This fact makes it very distant from the model based on communicating.

Unique model is, in my opinion, far closer to the Ancient CC. It usually features a first person narrator who retells the story to a listener who frequently interrupts him. Similarities could be found in the *symposion* is a feast and the characters get very drunk and noisy. In my opinion, a parallel between two texts cannot be drawn. In the CC, guests get drunk at a feast. It simply happens.

*Guests get drunk at a feast.
It simply happens.*

d) Comedy, farce, carnival, the grotesque, caricature

The performative character of the CC is often stressed, and some scholars claim that it must have been performed.⁶⁰ Bakhtin's association of the CC with

⁵⁸ A useful book on the history of this literary form is: Josef Martin, *Symposion: Die Geschichte einer literarischen Form* (Paderborn 1931).

⁵⁹ Josef Martin, *Symposion. Die Geschichte einer literarischen Form* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1931).

carnival Disturbing about the idea is the number of characters included. But the *CC* could still have been publicly recited. And, in addition, it reveals elements typical for comedy and farce, such as the grotesque or caricature.⁶¹

e) **Riddle, *exertitium ingenii*, *iocus*, ‘Bible quiz’**

Riddles were not particularly popular in Late Antiquity, but features of this literary type were present throughout the history of literature. For example, a *cento* is also a kind of riddle – the reader is definitely more amused when he or she recognizes from where individual pieces of the text are taken. The *CC* could be perceived as a set of riddles – each of the attributions presenting a kind of riddle. Or, it can be understood as an *exertitium ingenii* – the result of the author’s showing off his knowledge of the Bible. Or, simply as a joke. All these possibilities would enable us to perceive the ambiguities of the *CC* as the author’s intention to hide rather than to show, and simply to play with the reader and his or her doubts.

⁶⁰ E.g. Eva Stehlíková in: Eva Stehlíková, *A co když je to divadlo?* (And What if it is Drama?) (Praha: Divadelní ústav, 1998): 47-49.

⁶¹ I am often referring to the audience of the *CC* as ‘readers’ not because I want to dismiss this suggestion, but because it is shorter.

Synthesis

Discussing the *CC* as a whole is made difficult in many aspects. First, there are several versions of the text, preserved in manuscripts written five hundred years later than the original text. There is no information about the author and the place of origin of the text, and the theories about the dating are based only on the stylistic analysis of the text.

It is almost impossible to recover the author's writing techniques, as we are still not sure which version of the Bible he worked with. And, even if he worked with *Vetus Latina* (the most probable source) there is only a limited number of fragments to be used for comparison. Thus, the allusions that now seem ambiguous or totally inexplicable might have been obvious to the fourth-century reader.

Another problem is presented by the text itself, with its obscurities and ambiguities. It has been suggested many times that it is simply a bad and hasty piece of work. However, I am hesitant to approach it as such, because what we see as mistakes and imperfections might easily be mistakes and imperfections in our interpretation. Thus, it seems safer to me to approach the text as a successful result of its author's intentions.

I propose to answer the question of the literary type and context of the *CC* by focusing on its intertextuality. I would like to explore the author's choice of the sources and the way he manipulated them in the *CC*. After specifying the way intertextuality is applied to the text, I can perhaps answer more easily the question of the type of the text itself.

I. Source choice

That the *CC* is a text based on other texts is one of the few statements we can make about it. I will not try to define the exact sources the author of the *CC* used, especially after so many scholars have failed to do so, but rather to explore the nature of the author's choices. The basic question connected with the source choice is the question of the overall intention of the author. This question will not be solved but some suggestions will be made here.

I would like to present three basic approaches to the sources here: discussion of books, characters and events. It is clear, however, that none of these approaches completely explains the author's technique – applying them always leaves out some odd' attributions. I suggest that the author did not have a simple technique but rather some tendencies in his choices. And, in this chapter, I would like to define them.

A) Books

Finding the exact Biblical lines that are used in the *CC* has been one of the concerns of the scholars who dealt with the text. There are cases when the specification of the sources is complicated or even impossible, but most of the allusions are clear now. Nevertheless, the results of the source identifications are not as helpful for defining the nature and purpose of the *CC* as would be desirable. They support neither the perception of the *CC* as Biblical allegory, nor any other definite interpretation.

1. Chief Books

	<u>Book</u>	<u>Number of allusions in the <i>CC</i></u>
1.	Genesis	167
2.	Gospels	94
3.	Daniel	30
4.	Exodus	29
5.	<i>Acta Pauli et Theclae</i>	17
	First Book of Samuel	17
6.	Jonah	11
	Joshua	11
7.	Second Book of Samuel	10
	Judges	10
8.	Judith	8
	Second Book of Kings	8
	Tobit	8
9.	First Book of Kings	6
	Numbers	6
	Job	6
10.	Isaiah	5
	Acts of the Apostles	5

At first sight it is clear that the attributions are not distributed evenly. It is not surprising to see Genesis and the Gospels at the top of the list, and it would suggest that the author concentrated on the books that were seen as the most important ones

from the Bible, those that were most frequently interpreted, and therefore best-known, but the answer is not so simple.

2. Representation of Books

The sources of the *CC* have always been straightforwardly divided into canonical books and the apocrypha. The fact that apocrypha are also included among sources for the *CC* surprised the commentators and complicated their perception of the *CC* as a Biblical allegory. The scholars were all struggling to either diminish or justify the use of apocrypha, so that their presupposition that the author of the *CC* was a Christian would remain valid. Approaching the *CC* as an intertextual text, there is no reason to divide the sources from the point of view of Christian dogma. Thus, I decided to analyse the apocrypha used in *CC* without any presuppositions, hoping to show that this distinction is illogical.

a) Old Testament

There are 352 allusions to the Old Testament, of which 167 are to Genesis. Thus, 35% of all allusions in the *CC* are to Genesis. Twenty-one canonical books out of 39 are represented in the *CC*. There is no allusion to the Song of Songs, Proverbs, many of the lesser prophets and some shorter books like Esther. From the prophets, only Jonah and Daniel are recalled more than five times. A striking feature is the proportion of deuterocanonical books: through 25 allusions, four out of nine books are alluded to.

b) New Testament

There are 107 allusions to the New Testament, of which 94 are to Gospels. The Gospels are here counted together as it often cannot be decided from which Gospel a specific allusion comes. From the rest, Acts of the Apostles is alluded to five times; one allusion can be assigned to the 1 Corinthians, one to the 2 Timothy and three to Hebrews. The Apocalypse is not alluded to at all.

c) **Apocrypha (with stress on *Acta Pauli et Theclae*)**

Except for the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (APT), whose relationship to CC has been justified, scholars avoid apocrypha and only indicate possibilities for further research.⁶² Sometimes the use of apocrypha is doubtful, but it is suggested by the scholars when they fail to find explanations for unusual allusions in the Bible. The other possibility is to assign the problematic attributions to ‘tradition,’ which is quite a vague term to accept. In addition, using tradition on specific occasions would be in a sharp contrast with the majority of the CC, where the allusions are strictly text-based. At the same time, almost every one of the suggested apocrypha explains only a single allusion, and the idea that the author used the Bible for a great majority of the attributions, and several other texts for a very few allusions, is not very likely either.

From the other New Testament apocrypha, it has been suggested⁶³ that the author of CC might have used the *Protoevangelium Iacobi*, because of one unclear attribution concerning Jacob (‘Iacobus et Andreas attulerunt faenum’ in line 6). The case of the *Evangelium Pseudo-Mattei de Nativitate Mariae*, which could perhaps explain line 61b, where Mary wears ‘stolam’, is similar. The suggested relationships cannot be proven, because neither of the two apocryphal gospels has been completely preserved, and thus the references cannot be specified. In addition, both of the problematic characters also appear in the New Testament itself, and thus their attributes could be easily based simply on an original interpretation and not necessarily on a specific text.⁶⁴ The New Testament apocrypha as a group present a problem, not only where their relevance for CC is concerned: the texts are often corrupt, many versions exist, their editions are rare and so are in-depth studies of them.

Old Testament apocrypha appear more often. Apart from individual ambiguities (there are, for example, two allusions to Isaiah that might refer to the *Martyrium Prophaetae Iesaiæ*, where the death of the prophet is described in more detail), deuterocanonical books are very popular: *The Book of Tobit* is referred to

⁶² Modesto, Harnack, Lapôtre, Strecker and others. It is possible that at least some of the 68 absolutely unclear attributions in CC (out of 472) could be traced back to apocryphal texts. At the same time, it is obvious that apocrypha had not been used extensively by the author of CC, and so the specification of the references is not likely to reveal much.

⁶³ Christine Modesto, *Studien zu ‘Cena Cypriani’ and zu deren Rezeption* (Classica Monacensia 3), 183.

⁶⁴ For individual discussions, see relevant lines in the Analysis.

eight times, *The Book of Judith* also eight times, and additions to *The Book of Daniel* – the story of the chaste Susanna – six times.

In my opinion, the apocrypha form just another source. Nevertheless, the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* deserves more attention, not only because it is used surprisingly frequently in the *CC*. I find it very fitting for a case study in which I can suggest my opinions about the nature of the author's choice of sources.

It is not certain whether at the end of the fourth century (when *CC* was probably written) the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* were already considered apocryphal. Most probably, they were approached as not quite outside the canon. Even more importantly, they were very popular. Thecla is often noted as a significant person in the works of the church fathers. Thus, it is not so surprising that she appears in the *CC* as well.

The author obviously does not approach the apocrypha critically – he deals with them in exactly the same way as with the canonical texts: the allusions are based on the same strategy of placing an event out of its original context. In contrast to his approach, all the later re-writings of the *CC* strictly avoid polluting the *cena* by using other than canonical texts, and it is not probable that they do so solely for the sake of the clarity of the allusions.

I would like to suggest that the author of the original *CC* was interested in stories, unusual events, extraordinary characters, jokes, and in violence. I hope that a closer look at the most frequently used apocryphal text from the perspective of literary criticism could reveal more about the intentions and interests of the author of *CC*.

The *Acta Pauli et Theclae*⁶⁵ come from about 180 CE and are extant in eleven Greek manuscripts, and in Latin, Syriac, Slavic and Arabic versions. According to Gebhart⁶⁶ there were at least four independent Latin translations. This episode from Paul's life presents the only source of information on the life of Thecla. It was well-known and transmitted independently of other acts of Paul⁶⁷. The text was soon

⁶⁵ Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum I*, 235-269.

English translation in: Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha II* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1991), 239-246.

⁶⁶ Otto von Gebhart, *Die lateinischen Übersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae*, *TU NF VII*, 2 (1902): 158.

⁶⁷ Schneemelcher, 220.

regarded as apocryphal, but in the Eastern Church, Thecla was long venerated as the first female saint.

The *APT* appears perhaps 12 times in the *CC*. With its nine mentions of Thecla, one of Paul, one of Tryphaena, and one of Onesiforus, the *APT* remains the most frequently used of the apocryphal texts in the *CC*. Harnack argued that in the original *Acta Pauli*, the episode of Hermocrates and Hermippus followed right after the *APT*. Hermippus is mentioned once and Hermocrates three times in the *CC*, which makes the *Acta Pauli* used as frequently as the First Book of Samuel, preceded only by Genesis, the Gospels, Daniel and Exodus.

The text of the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* is rather short (it consists of 43 short paragraphs), but it is dense with action. If we disregard the Christian message, its plot bears many features of a typical ancient novel:⁶⁸ Thecla hears Paul preaching in her hometown, Iconium, and is converted. She wants to follow him and rejects Thamyris, whom she was supposed to marry. Her mother, Theocleia, is unhappy; Thamyris is angry and accuses Paul at the governor of spoiling young virgins. Thecla manages to sneak into the prison to see Paul. Consequently, Paul is whipped and driven out of the city and she is condemned to be burnt. Miraculously, the fire does not harm her, and she follows Paul, who meanwhile is fasting and praying for her safety in a tomb outside the town. Happy to be reunited, they go together to Antioch.

But there another danger awaits them: a Syrian named Alexander immediately falls in love with Thecla and tries to lure her from Paul with money and gifts. Paul, however, states he does not know her. When Alexander embraces Thecla in the street, she rips off his cloak, looking steadily at Paul. Thus ashamed, Alexander accuses her through the governor of the city and she is condemned to be given to the beasts. A rich woman, Tryphaena, whose daughter had died, takes Thecla under her protection and finds in Thecla her second child. When fighting with the beasts, Thecla baptizes herself by jumping into a pool with seals. The seals are dangerous, but Thecla is helped by miracles: a bolt of lightning from the sky kills all of them, a big lioness protects her, and there is a protective cloud of fire around her.

⁶⁸ The phrase ‘typical ancient novel’ is a paradox in itself – nothing like that exists. Here, I mean the love-adventure novels like Achilleus Tatios’ *Leukippe and Clitophon*, Heliodoros’ *Aithiopika* or Chariton’s *Chaireas and Callirhoe*, which, although still very different from one another, share some basic common characteristics. The connection between the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* and the ancient novel has been suggested also in Thomas Hägg, “The New Heroes: Apostles, Martyrs and Saints,” *The Novel in the Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983): 154-165.

Tryphaena faints out of concern for Thecla, and the governor, scared that she is dead, closes the spectacle. Tryphaena converts, Thecla is released and goes to look for Paul in Myra. Paul, seeing her good clothes and company – presents from Tryphaena – fears that Thecla has lost her faith, but she assures him she is fine and even baptized. After she tells her story to Paul, Thecla goes back to Iconium to convert her mother, then to Seleucia where she preaches until her death.

Thecla and Paul are not the kind of lovers that would appear in an ancient novel – rather than being bound by love for each other, they are bound by love for God and Christ. However, the text implies real affection, especially on Thecla's part. After she listens to Paul's preaching for the first time, she does not eat or drink for several days, but sits by a window, pressed against it. In the rather short and informative text, this scene stands out as being quite elaborate (it extends over four paragraphs – 7-10). It does not move the story forward, it simply stresses the depth of the encounter. The scene is also very vivid – Thecla's mother is worried and sends for Thamyris, who comes happily, as if already taking the bride home, and is subsequently very disappointed. Their loving concern for Thecla indicates the troubles to come: Thamyris, out of jealousy, will accuse Paul; Theocleia, out of sorrow about the sudden change in her daughter, will cry out at the court that Thecla should be burnt. Such harsh events are the result of Thecla's unusual reaction to Paul's preaching.

There is a question whether Thecla is more struck by the first encounter with Christianity or by the personality of Paul. Other people, like Thecla's Thamyris, call Thecla's feelings for Paul love,⁶⁹ but this could be explained by the fact that they cannot imagine such strong feelings towards the Christian God, and that Paul seems important just because it was he who introduced the new religion to Thecla. Thecla met Christianity through Paul, and thus she always perceives it through him. (For example, when she is about to be burnt, she has a vision of the Lord in the form of Paul.⁷⁰)

Nevertheless, with the exception of the end, where Thecla willingly leaves Paul, she enthusiastically follows him everywhere and looks at him steadily whenever she can. And, her look at him after he claims not to know her can be read as the look

⁶⁹ *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 244,13.

⁷⁰ *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 250,21.

of an abandoned lover.⁷¹ When she joins him in the prison, she is found there ‘bound with him in affection’.⁷² And, when they meet again in the tomb, it is said that ‘within the tomb there was much love’.⁷³ Thecla’s conversion is caused primarily by a personal charisma, not the Christian ideology,⁷⁴ and the personal affection influences Thecla’s whole life significantly.

Like in the ancient novel, the characters are separated and reunited and have to overcome many obstacles. Here, the dangers awaiting Thecla are both cruel and spectacular – she is condemned to be burnt, she is attacked by an admirer in the street, she is given to the beasts. In Thecla’s experiences we can detect not only one of the first typical scenes of saintly martyrdom and miracles (which were then largely developed in the Middle Ages), but also the influence of the ancient novel. The novel’s separated lovers encounter similar obstacles – other people fall in love with them and revenge themselves when rejected, they are accused of deeds they have not done, tried and often punished as well. They travel a lot and it takes a long time before they are finally reunited. In general, they are saved by chance, by their wit, or, by their gods – just like Thecla.

An important difference lies in the fact that while the novel characters desire to have sex, and the happy ending is based on the fact that it is possible at last, Paul and Thecla (as well as other saints later) avoid it on purpose, considering chastity the right road to salvation. Thus, the ending of the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* is different from the typical novel ending (and disappointing for a novel reader) – in order to be a good ending in the Christian sense, it has to provide the death of the main character, because death means salvation. Other characters from the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* attract attention: Demas and Hermogenes – unfaithful companions of Paul, Onesiphorus – his attentive follower, and Tryphaena – full of care for Thecla and worried about her.

⁷¹ When somebody else falls in love with one of the “ancient novel couple”, the couple usually claim that they are brother and sister, so that they will not be separated. But when, for example, Leukippe says this to the leader of the pirates, Cleitophon is very disappointed. Poor Thecla is left here completely alone – Paul disappears from the story after this event and she will have to look for him, after she survives all the obstacles caused by this scene.

⁷² *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 248, 19.

⁷³ *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 252, 25.

⁷⁴ In addition, Paul’s charisma is not described as a gift from God in order to help him in converting people – it might be caused by his enthusiasm, but it might also simply be an inborn part of his personality.

The author of *CC* chose primarily the violent scenes: out of the nine mentions of Thecla, three are related to her being given to the beasts: ‘in bestiario’ (line 197b), ‘taurum’ (line 215a), and ‘bestiis datur’ (line 244a); two to her being burnt: ‘flammeam’ (line 54a), and ‘arsinum’ (line 154a), and one to the occasion when she ripped off Alexander’s clothes: ‘vestem detraxit’ (line 277a). The only mention of Paul is also cruel: ‘flagellatur’ (line 246a). (Paul appears in the *CC* four times altogether. Only this attribute can be linked to the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* without hesitation – because Paul is indeed scourged, while Thecla is condemned to be burnt.)

The other three allusions to Thecla do not refer to cruel events but rather stress Thecla’s devotion to Paul. Two of them evoke the charming initial situation, when Thecla listened to Paul so attentively that she did not move from the window for several days – ‘super fenestram’ (line 25a), and ‘araneum’ (139b). The latter allusion is rather funny – it recalls that Thecla was described by her mother as sticking to the window like a spider. The remaining allusion – ‘speculum argenteum’ (line 227b), is connected to Thecla’s secret sneaking into prison to see Paul. (In order to get there, Thecla gave the guards her bracelets and her silver mirror.)

The other two characters from the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* are both minor. Tryphaena is connected with Thecla, Onesiphorus with Paul. Tryphaena (in *CC* as ‘Trifena’) ‘plorabat’ (line 265a), because she liked Thecla very much and cried when Thecla was about to die among the beasts. Onesiphorus (in *CC* as ‘Onesiforus’) ‘attendebat’ (266a), because he paid attention to Paul, opened his house to him, and then left his riches and followed him. While Tryphaena’s cry relates to dangers awaiting Thecla, Onesiphorus’ attribute is the only one describing pure devotion to God. However, ‘attendebat’ could also be related to the fact that Onesiphorus took good care of Paul in his house, and thus simply relate to food, like many other allusions in *CC*.

The possibility of reading the text as a love story, and especially the fact that a woman is allowed to preach and to baptize herself, makes the *APT* problematic from the religious point of view. But, if the text is approached as a source for another text, other aspects stand out: the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* is a very inspiring text. The author of the *CC* used it in various ways: he pointed out the violent scenes in particular, but he did not neglect its imagery (comparing Thecla to a spider), details (e.g. the silver mirror) and the food theme (Onesiphorus). The representation of the story in the *CC* stresses the plot density as well as specific details.

3. Rarely used books

Except for the suggested apocrypha, there are seven canonical books that appear only once in the *CC*.⁷⁵ Not all of these books are as independent as it might seem. Sometimes the allusions can be explained through other Biblical passages as well. Thus, for example, line 1 opening the whole *CC*, assigned to the Book of Joel, refers more clearly to the wedding at Cana⁷⁶ than to anything else. There are more characters called Joel in the Bible, and it is not certain that the prophet is meant. Probably, the author chose the name because of its meaning. Also 2 Timothy can be excluded from the list, as it is assigned to an allusion which can be explained through the *APT* as well: Onesiforus is described there as hosting Paul. Other times, it is possible to link the allusion to other allusions to the same character. Thus, although Psalms appears only once, David does not: all other allusions to him are connected to 1 Samuel.

It would be foolish to argue that the rest – Amos, Ruth, Asaph and Eliezer are used in order to include more books in the *CC*. Out of them only Ruth can be connected to Rahab in the preceding half line, with whom she might have exchanged the proper attributes. The others are indeed unique, but their appearance might become clearer when I will deal with the choice of events.

B) Characters

Another possibility in an attempt to define the nature of the source choice is to explore the appearance of the characters. There are 81 Old Testament, 27 New Testament, and 5 apocryphal characters in the *CC*.

1. Chief characters

Order	character	number of allusions in the <i>CC</i>
1.	Jacob	15+1 ⁷⁷
2.	Jesus	14
3.	Peter	12

⁷⁵ They are Joel, Amos, Ruth, Psalms, 1 Paralipomenon, 2 Timothy, and 1 Macabees.

⁷⁶ John 2.

⁷⁷ This allusion is to Israel – the new name of Jacob, and it is connected to his fight with the angel.

4.	John the Baptist	11
	Jonah	11
	Moses	11
	Noah	11
5.	Abraham	10
	Adam	10
	Daniel	10
	Judas	10
	Pharaoh	10
	Rebecca	10
6.	Abel	9
	Thecla	9
7.	Cain	8
	David	8
	Eve	8
	Isaac	8
	Tobias	8
8.	Aaron	7
	Esau	7
	Elijah	7
	Rachel	7
	Samson	7
9.	Achan	6
	Benjamin	6
	Isaiah	6
	Judith	6
	Lot	6
	Susanna	6
10.	Absolon	5
	Herod	5
	James	5
	Job	5
	Martha	5
	Zechariah	5

From the table it is clear that the frequency of appearance of the characters in the *CC* is different from the Bible and there is no recoverable scheme in their selection. At the same time, all the main characters are well-known and the reader should be familiar with them. However, it is difficult to perceive them as truly main for the *CC*, to approach them as personalities and try to extract their little stories within the *CC*.

2. Representation of characters

a) Role versus event

The characters are represented in various ways in the *CC*. There are two basic types of presentation: they are presented either through their role or through an event significant for their lives. Most frequently a character is represented through a single event, but there are many variations as can be seen in the table.⁷⁸

Type of presentation	Number (and names) of characters thus presented	
1 event	61	(e.g. Absolon, Hagar, or Zacheus)
2 events	16	(e.g. Benjamin, Elisha, or Eve)
1 role	15	(e.g. Job, Martha, or Lea)
1 event + 1 role	11	(e.g. Cain, James, or Paul)
3 events	3	(Isaac, Rebecca, Samson)
2 events + 1 role	3	(Abel, Adam, Rachel)
4 events	2	(Jacob, Tobias)
5 events	2	(Aaron, Thecla)
4 events + 2 roles	2	(David, Peter)
6 events	1	(Abraham)
3 events + 1 role	1	(John the Baptist)
4 events + 1 role	1	(Daniel)
5 events + 1 role	1	(Moses)
11 events + 1 role	1	(Jesus)
2 events + 2 roles	1	(Mary)

b) Names of the characters

In the manuscripts, the spelling of the names of the characters varies significantly. Even within one manuscript, a name of a character is sometimes spelled differently in different lines. Only in one case does a character have two completely different names: Jacob is once called Israel.⁷⁹ On the other hand, it is often the case that one name refers to more than one character. Thus, for example, *Ioseph* is the Old Testament Joseph, Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary, and Joseph of Arimathea, or *Maria* refers to the Virgin, the Old Testament Mary, as well as to Mary Magdalene. The fact that both Hagar and Achan are represented as *Agar* caused a lot of confusion in the past.⁸⁰

In addition, some of the names are not actually names of characters: Pharaoh and Abimelech are functions. Persons of these functions appear frequently in the *CC* and connecting them with specific characters is only a matter of interpretation. Very

⁷⁸ There are attributions difficult to categorize, so this table serves only for rough orientation.

⁷⁹ Line 251b.

exceptional is the status of poor Lazarus collecting crumbs under the rich man's table: he is not a Biblical character, but a character from Jesus' story. Including him among the 'real' Biblical characters connects the two levels of narration.

3. Rarely used characters

There are 30 characters mentioned only once, and 26 characters mentioned twice in the *CC*. The number of characters is very striking for such a short text as the *CC*, and it justifies, to some extent, the theory that the *CC* was written in order to help Christians to remember Biblical characters and their attributes. Nevertheless, the obscurity of many of the allusions as well as the overall style of the *CC* questions its validity.

If the *CC* is an *exertitium ingenii*, the author might have wanted to simply boast about his knowledge of Biblical places and characters. If the *CC* is an allegory, variety together with unity of the Bible might be stressed by the great number of characters. If it is a parody, the greater the number of people taking part, the greater the confusion.

Thirty-three of these rarely used characters can, however, be linked to others, because their attributions refer to the same event in the Bible. There are only 12 characters left that are truly isolated. But their appearance in the *CC* can be justified as well. They can be connected either through the fact that the event they are described through is a reappearing type of event in the *CC*, or through a lexical link to another attribute.

C) Events

The last of my approaches to the author's source choice is concerned with events rather than books or characters. This approach is probably closest to the author's technique, especially as one event is frequently referred to through allusions to different characters and attributes. A drawback of this division is the fact that many characters are associated with their overall role rather than a specific event in the *CC*. Such characterization appears in 85 cases. It often seems to compare, or even put into contrast, two characters, who appear close to one another in the *CC* – Cain and Abel,

⁸⁰ See the note to line 32a in the analytical part.

Rachel and Lea or Jacob and Esau. These have to be omitted from the discussion of the events.

1. Chief events

Event	Number of allusions	Characters involved
The Fall	15	Adam, Eve
Jacob's trick on Esau	13	Jacob, Esau, Isaac, Rebecca
Noah's arc	12	Noah and his sons
Death of John the Baptist	11	John the Baptist, Salome, Herod
Cain's murder	10	Cain, Abel
Susanna in the garden	9	Susanna
Jonah inside the whale	8-11 ⁸¹	Jonah
Jesus crucified	8	Jesus, Pilate
Judas' betrayal	8	Judas
Pharaoh's persecution	8 ⁸²	Pharaoh
Joseph feeds the nation	7	Joseph, Pharaoh
Holofernes killed	7	Judith, Holofernes
Three men in the furnace	7	Azarias, Ananias,
Tobias' healing	7	Tobias
Thecla in danger	2+4+1 ⁸³	Thecla
Achan's theft	6	Achan
Rebecca's blushing	5-6 ⁸⁴	Rebecca, (Jacob)
Fall of Sodom	5-6 ⁸⁵	Lot, Abraham
Isaac's birth	5	Isaac, Sarah
Wedding at Cana	5	Mary, Jesus, servants, king Joel
Jesus eats at Martha's	5	Martha
Noah's drunkenness	5	Noah and his sons
Habakkuk bringing food	5	Daniel, Habakkuk
Joseph's trick on Benjamin	5	Joseph, Benjamin
Rachel's trick on Laban	5	Rachel, Laban
Abiram et al. devoured	5	Abiram, Chore, Dathan
Elijah taken to heaven	5	Elijah
Job's suffering	5	Job
Miraculous birth of Isaac	5	Abraham, Sara, Isaac
Annunc. of the birth of Isaac	5	Abraham, Sara
Jacob's fight with angel	5	Jacob
John the B. fasts in desert	5	John the Baptist
Isaiah killed	4	Isaiah
Thamar's trick	4	Thamar
Rahab's trick	4	Rahab

⁸¹ Two of the allusions are not very clear (lines 165a and 210), and one (line 159b) relates to Jonah's sleep in the ship before he was thrown to the sea.

⁸² The allusions the Pharaoh are rather unclear, they could refer to the persecution as well as to something else.

⁸³ These allusions are actually three different events: Thecla condemned to be burnt, Thecla among the beasts, and Thecla ripping off clothes.

⁸⁴ One allusion (line 75b) refers to Jacob opening the well.

⁸⁵ Line 206a says 'Loth in impio' which perhaps might be connected to his escape from Sodom.

Hagar sent away	4	Hagar, Ishmael
Urias and Bersabee	4	Urias, Bersabee
Dinah's rape	4	Dinah, Levi
Birth of John the Baptist	4	Zaccharias, Elisabeth
Abel's sacrifice	4	Abel
Daniel eats vegetables	4	Daniel, Ananias, Misahel
Absolon killed	4	Absolon
Samson kills the lion	4	Samson
Isaac's sacrifice	3	Isaac
Creation of Eve	3	Adam, Eve
Lazarus resurrected	3	Lazarus
Hermocrates' healing	3	Hermocrates, Hermippus
Goliath killed	3	Goliath, David
Saul killed	3	Saul
Jeremiah killed	3	Jeremiah
Abimelech takes Sarah	3	Abimelech
Paul cares	3	Paul
Zacheus converts	3	Zacheus
David entertaining	3	David
Rebecca carries water vessel	3	Rebecca
Melchizedek and salt	3	Melchizedek

2. Types of events

The types of events that I define result from my thesis that the author chose plot-dense places in the sources to refer to. It is obvious that it is possible to create many categories, that is why I am not trying to make sharp distinctions but rather to indicate the tendencies in the author's choice.

a) Food (Eating, drinking, feast, entertainment)

Many of the events referred to in the *CC* can be related to eating and drinking, or its contrast – the lack of food or fasting. The possible reason for this choice is clear – the *CC* describes a feast, and so it is logical to choose places from the Bible which are concerned with food, either in positive or in negative ways.

The theme of the feast is more present in the plot and general outline than in individual allusions. The wedding at Cana is alluded to five times, the Last Supper twice. Nevertheless, the six allusions to water, three to wine and two to bread can be connected to this. Two minor 'feasts' can be mentioned here. In each case, a small feast is prepared for angels who bring an important message – one is the annunciation of Isaac's birth (five allusions), the other the annunciation of the fall of Sodom (one direct allusion). In opposition to the feast allusions stand some attributions concerning

fasting. John the Baptist is five times mentioned as fasting in the desert, Moses' and Jesus' fasts are both mentioned once.

In addition, there are many events that involve food, although it is not their primary concern. Thus we can include the initial fall, as it was caused by eating the wrong food (the fruit is specifically alluded to twice). Jacob's trick on Esau can fit this category as well – first, Jacob exchanged primogeniture for food (two direct allusions), and then he deceived Isaac by giving him food cooked by Rebecca (three direct allusions).

Several popular Biblical places connected to food are alluded to – Joseph's division of the saved grain (seven allusions), and Benjamin's speedy eating when he is hungry like a wolf (one allusion). Many more events are alluded to once.⁸⁶ Eating is clearly connected to drinking and entertainment⁸⁷. Many of the guests get drunk,⁸⁸ but others only drink water.⁸⁹ Some allusions are to a well.⁹⁰

Some attributions seem to stress the theme of food more than is the case in the Bible. There are seven occasions when Tobias is connected to the fish, which he partly ate, and partly used for healing his father and wife, five allusions to Daniel eating the food brought to him when imprisoned by Habakkuk, four allusions to Amelsad providing vegetables for Daniel and his friends in prison, two allusions to Hieroboam trying to deceive through food. Melchizedek is three times connected with salt, which is a pun, but the Biblical line alluded to⁹¹ involves food as well. Most of the unclear allusions concern food – the characters get *pepones*, *morum*, *betas*, *olus*, *prunum*, *bulbos*, *nucleos*, *strobilos*, or *stipula*.

b) Violence (violent death, killing, God's punishment)

There are altogether 64 allusions to someone's death, 49 to God's punishment, 24 to violent acts, and 13 to great danger in the CC. Fourteen characters are

⁸⁶ It is mentioned that Rachel gets the apple from Lea (and lets her to have Jacob for one night in exchange), Samson eats honey (which he found in the corpse of lion he killed), Abigail provides supplies, Lazarus picks the crumbs, Onesiforus feeds Paul in his house, and Peter offers honey (perhaps to Jesus after this resurrection).

⁸⁷ The entertainers are David (3 times), Iubal (twice), Old Testament Mary (once), and Asaph (once).

⁸⁸ The greatest drinker in the CC is Noah (five allusions).

⁸⁹ Aaron and John the Baptist.

⁹⁰ Rebecca goes to the well, carrying a water vessel (3 allusions). Jesus sits by a well and Jacob opens the well, each event is alluded to once.

⁹¹ Genesis 14.18.

murdered,⁹² two commit suicide.⁹³ Seven events present extreme danger.⁹⁴ There are some minor situations, such as killing animals.⁹⁵

God's punishment may be distinguished as a category of its own, including the fall, the flood, Jonah's stay inside the whale, the fall of Sodom, and Abiram with his family being devoured by the earth. These situations reappear frequently in the *CC*. The stoning of Achan and his family by the community may be included here as well, because although only Achan's theft is alluded to, the whole story with its violent consequences lies behind the allusions, and is manifested explicitly in the plot of the *CC*.

c) Trick (betrayal, theft)

Tricks from the Bible used in the *CC* have complex plots. They also include specific objects, which is very convenient for the *CC*. There are at least eight Biblical tricks alluded to: Jacob's trick on Esau (13-14 cases), Rachel's trick on Laban (5), Joseph's trick on Benjamin (5), Tamar's trick (4), Rahab's trick (4), the trick on Abimelech (3), Thecla's sneaking into prison (1), and David's theft of the royal lance (1). In additions, there are two betrayals: Judas' (8), and Peter's (2).

d) Miracles, miraculous birth

Miracles are similar to tricks in that they tend to be popular episodes with elements that are easy to remember. The miracles chosen by the author of the *CC* have one more important characteristic: they are transitional miracles, stressing the contrast of life and death. Thus Lazarus is resurrected (3), Elijah taken to heaven on the fiery carriage (5), Elisha ascends to heaven (2), God makes the bones around Ezekiel become human beings (1). There are also occasions of miraculous healing – Tobit and Sara are healed by Tobias (7), Hermocrates is healed by Paul (3)

⁹² The characters are: John the Baptist (11), Cain kills Abel (10), Jesus (8), Holofernes (7), Absolon (4), Urias (4), Isaias (4), Jeremiah (3), Saul (3), Goliath (3), Eglon (2), and Phineas (1).

⁹³ Samson (2) and Judas (1).

⁹⁴ Thecla is thrown to fire and to beasts (6), Daniel put to lion's den (2), Daniel's friends put to furnace (7), Dinah raped (4), Mary Magdalene in danger of being stoned to death (1), Paul flagellated (1). Hagar and Ishmael suffer in the desert (4), Susanna is unjustly accused (9).

⁹⁵ Samson kills the lion (4) and Eliezer the elephant (1). In addition, Samson kills thousands with a jaw (1), Peter cuts off ear of the high priest (1) and Jacob fights with the angel.

A very special subcategory of miracles is the one of miraculous births. The births of Isaac (5), John the Baptist (4), Eve (3), Jesus (1), and Jacob (1) are alluded to in the *CC*. The allusions to the miraculous births are important for the plot.⁹⁶

e) Piety (suffering, sacrifice, conversion)

Piety is included in the *CC* primarily in combination with suffering (Job is alluded to five times), or with sacrifice. The sacrifice is human only in three cases: Jesus' (8), Abraham's interrupted sacrifice of Isaac (3) and Jephtha's sacrifice of his daughter (1). Otherwise, sacrifices of animals occur, especially Abel's sacrifice (4).

Another specific occasion of piety is the moment of conversion. It is, however, possible that these moments are included in the *CC* simply because they are interesting and enjoyable: Zacheus converts after climbing up a tree (3), Thecla after listening to Paul, pressed to the window like a spider (2), Nabuchadnezzar after he is sent away from people (4), and the apostles Mathew, James, and Andrew while doing their jobs (4).

Piety as such appears only rarely, several times in connection with Peter's (6) and Paul's general role (3), twice in the case of old Simeon (1) and the prophetess Anna (1).

3. Rarely used events

There are some events that do not fit the above-mentioned categories. For example, there are two insignificant events of farewell in the Bible that are included in the *CC*: Jethro's saying good bye (1) and Tobias wanting to go from his parents-in-law (1). A series of unprecedented events occurs in the last catalogue of the *CC*, the burial of Achan: selling and buying a field, building the grave, and using ointment (5). These events are justified and forced by the plot.

Rebecca is four times associated with blushing in the *CC*, which is explained through a Biblical line in which she covers herself when she sees her future husband, Isaac, for the first time. A reason for its insertion may be found in the following line in the Bible, which says that Isaac made love with Rebecca.

⁹⁶ They are discussed in more detail in the chapter on plot of the *CC*.

II. Manipulation of the sources

The author of the *CC* does not simply heap up the chosen passages from the Bible referring to different events. Through the attributions he alludes to Biblical places but, at the same time, he puts them into a new context – the context of the big feast organized by king Joel. Only rarely is the situation in the *CC* exactly the same as the one in the Bible, which is being alluded to. Usually there is some kind of shift, e.g. shift of purpose, cause or result of the Biblical activity. The attributions are placed in catalogues, the catalogues connected to each other by the new plot.

The main technique of the author is thus the technique of decontextualization. Putting the familiar Biblical events outside their original context of Biblical allegory, in the context of an earthly feast described in everyday language (and thus close to everyday reality) is the main source of humour of the *CC*. It is this basic strategy that was interpreted as blasphemous in the nineteenth century. The author indeed approaches his source, the Bible, as any other textual source, without any concern for its special character. This, of course, neither supports nor disproves the idea that he was a Christian.

A) Attribution

Due to the lack the original source of the author of the *CC*, it is impossible to analyse how exactly the author dealt with the Bible. On the basis of some findings we can suppose that his approach was close to the technique of a *centonist* – he used the words or word stems he found in his version of the Bible. On the other hand, sometimes it seems that he chooses a lexeme different from the source on purpose, in order to confuse or make the attribution a bit more complicated. Thus, as far as we can judge, some allusions are lexically close, others lexically far from the Bible. The problem of the lexical distance of the *CC* from its source can not be solved unless more information is discovered, and thus I am not able to consider it further in this discussion.

1. Form of the attributions

Where the nature of the attribution is concerned, I divide the allusions into two basic categories: objects and action. In the *CC*, object attribution is used more often than the action attribution. As the table shows, the two are rarely mixed within one catalogue.

Catalogue	Object	Action
1. arrival		7
2. seating	38	
3. starters	21	2
4. latecomers		4
5. dressing	37	
6. cooking		36
7. eating various	18	
8. eating hunts	7	
9. eating lamb	24	7
10. eating fish	32	1
11. sweets	5	4
12. wine	13	
13. entertainment		47
14. procession	46	
15. presents	19	
16. thefts	8	
17. torture		69
18. Achan's death		12
19. Achan's burial		12
Count:	250	219

This distinction enables, in my opinion, an effective discussion of the attributing strategies, because the process of attribution is usually different for the objects and for the actions. Most of the attributions are dealt with in the analytical part when relevant lines are discussed, so I will only suggest here the specific tendencies and give examples.

2. Relationship between the attributions and the Bible

Association (close and distant)

Association is the main and the most obvious technique of the author throughout the *CC*, and the one most frequently used as far as the object attributions are concerned. The characters are linked with objects associated with their stories. The associations can be divided into near and distant, depending on whether the attribute chosen is one frequently associated with the character or rather an obscure

one. This distinction can only be made from the contemporary point of view and thus is not valid enough to be discussed here in more detail. Nevertheless, it is clear that both the types were consciously included by the author of the *CC*.

Change of context

While association is most relevant for the object attributions, the action attributions most frequently describe the same activity as the one described in the Bible, but with a change in context: the circumstances, purpose, result, or cause of the activity. For example

77a ministri aquam attulerunt

is a *result shift* - while in the Bible, the servant brings water so that it would be changed into wine, in the *CC* the water remains water.

157 saturatione vini sopitus iacebat Adam

236a Zaccharias timens obmutescit

These are examples of *cause shift* – while in the Bible, Adam sleeps because God makes him sleep, here the cause of his sleep is the wine he drank. Zechariah does not become mute due to his fear, but because of his daring disbelief that he could still, in his old age, have a son.

32b Sem et Iaphet cooperuerunt recumbentes

This is an example of *object shift* – in the Bible, Shem and Japheth cover their drunken father, here all the reclining ones.

Implication (close and distant)

Implication is a technique close to association: a character is assigned an object, or described to be performing an activity, which he is not in contact with explicitly in the Bible, but he or she could easily do so – the connection is implied. Sometimes, the Bible describes advice or an intention, which is then made real in the *CC*. This strategy is, in turn, close to specification. Thus, e.g. although Zechariah is not mentioned in the Bible as wearing a white robe, which he does in the *CC* (*albam*, line 51), it can be implied that he wore it, because he was a priest.

Specification versus abstraction

Specification is a technique that adds to the humour of the *CC*. While the text of the Bible tends to be rather vague, so that its allegorical meaning is stressed, the

author of the *CC* does not hesitate to specify what is being described in straightforward down-to-earth terms. Thus, for example, the food Habakkuk brought to Daniel is specified. It is possible, although it obviously can not be proven that some of the specifications are based on pictorial representations of the relevant Biblical passages – a picture can not avoid to ‘describe’ what a piece of writing can easily avoid. Thus, the characters in a picture have to wear robes of a definite colour, when they eat, they have to eat specific food etc.

Abstraction is used much less frequently in the *CC*, and it seems that it is solely for vocabulary variety purposes.

Word play, pun, play with the meaning of a name, metaphor

The *CC* abounds in word plays. Most of them occur in the catalogues of eating fish and drinking wine, but a few can be seen elsewhere as well. The use of word plays and puns shows how closely the *CC* is tied to its source. For example, the three allusions to Melchizedek⁹⁷ connecting him with salt are, in my opinion, based on a word play rather than on the suggested distant association. The relevant Biblical line⁹⁸ reads: “at vero Melchisedech rex salem proferens panem et vinum erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi.” The word *salem* is to be associated with *rex*, meaning “Melchizedek, the king of Salem, bringing bread and wine...” But, it can easily be connected to *proferens* and mean: “The king Melchizedek bringing salt...” In more cases, explanation through a word play is much more elegant than distant associations.

A specific technique is a play with the meaning of a name. There are some three occasions in the *CC* when a character is assigned or connected to the meaning of his or her own name. For example:

87b Phalech partes fecit
202a Isaac in risiculo

Metaphor is not a characteristic tendency of the *CC*, but it occurs a few times, e.g. in 136b, where Herod receives *sepiam*, or in line 144, which says *Cain prior intinxit*.⁹⁹ Apart from these true metaphors, there are occasions in the *CC*, where the attribution is based on associating, but there is a possibility of reading it metaphorically as well. For example, when Jesus wears dove-gray robe, it should be

⁹⁷ He is called Molessadon in the *CC*.

⁹⁸ Genesis 14.18.

connected to his baptism, during which Holy Spirit descended from heaven in the form of a dove. Wearing the dove-gray robe might be a metaphor for the unity of Christ and Holy Spirit.

patiens-agens and agens-patiens shift

I have created these two categories in order to describe a special technique of the author of the *CC*. Sometimes he lets the characters actively perform the same activity, which they were patiently bearing or suffering from in the Bible, or vice versa. There are only a few examples of the latter, the *agens-patiens* shift:

263b	Iohannes arguebatur	(John the Baptist accuses Herod)
160b	Iesus suscitabatur	(Jesus wakes up his disciples at the Olive mountain)

In contrast to that, there are many cases of the *patiens-agens* shift. This strategy might seem to make the passive characters from the Bible actively participate in the *CC*. However, most of the characters are active enough in the Bible, so there is no need for the change. It can be argued that the change of the voice is forced by the new context of the *CC*, or that the quoted attributions are primarily based on association. In my opinion, even if only secondary, it is a distinctive method adding to the *CC* the important aspect of reversing the content of the original source.

Some of the activities have an original *agens*, they are the *patiens-agens* shift proper.

15b	Isaac (sedit) super aram	(Isaac was placed on the altar by Abraham in the Bible)
80b	Iesus resticulam porrexit	(Jesus was bound with rope)
92a	Tunc intulit Saul panes	(Bread and other food was brought to Saul by Isai)
112	Iohannes primus sustulit caput	(The head of John the B. was taken to Herod)
175a	David hysopum porrexit	(David wanted to be anointed with ysope)
175b	Aaron dedit unguentum	(Aaron was anointed)
189a	Iohannes in custodia	(John the Baptist was imprisoned)
197b	Tecla in bestiario	(Thecla was thrown among wild beasts)
284b	Noe clusit	(Noah was enclosed in the ark by God)

⁹⁹ For an explanation, see the relevant notes in the analysis part.

Others are events rather than activities that simply happened to the characters, and they are now actively performing them:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--|
| 83b | Absalon suspendit | (Absolon got stuck, hanged among the boughs) |
| 84b | Hermocrates ventrem aperuit | (the belly of Hermocrates was open due to his illness) |
| 279b | Iudas medium aperuit | (the belly of Judas opened when he killed himself) |

As a part of the *patiens-agens* shift can be perceived a shift of order to action. A character that ordered or indirectly caused something in the Bible is performing the activity by himself in the *CC*. Through this strategy the author seems to assign more responsibility and more guilt to the characters in the *CC*.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--|
| 82a | ad terram elisit Danihel | (Daniel draws the king's attention to the priests of Baal, and consequently they are harshly punished) |
| 85b | sanguinem effudit Herodes | (Herod orders John the Baptist and the innocents to be killed) |
| 285a | Pilatus superscripsit | (Pilate orders the inscription to be put on Jesus' cross) |

Reversed action

Another specific tendency of the author of the *CC* is to describe the characters performing the exact opposite of what they do in the Bible:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|--|
| 30a | Esau murmurabat | (Esau complains loudly) |
| 31b | Iudith (porrexit) coopertotirum | (Judith steals, <i>folds</i> the blanket) |
| 32a | Achar (porrexit) stragulum | (Achar steals, <i>hides</i> the cloak) |
| 98b | cepit tumultari Eglon | (Eglon <i>imperavit silentium</i>) |
| 111 | Noe distribuit omnibus | (Noah <i>took from</i> all the animals one pair) |
| 220a | ligulam Achar (obtulit regi) | (Achan <i>stole</i> the spoon) |

Or, the characters are in an opposite position:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|
| 18b | Tobias super lectum | (Tobias prays <i>beside</i> the bed) |
| 21b | Lazarus super tabulam | (Lazarus remains hidden <i>under</i> the table) |
| 28b | Heli super sellam | (Eli falls <i>down from</i> the chair) |

This method is clearly combined with association.

Exchanged attributes

In three cases it seems that the attributions of two characters placed one after the other could be exchanged on purpose, because if the attributes were assigned the

other way round, they would be clearer.¹⁰⁰ It does not occur frequently enough to be called a technique, but, at the same time, it might not be only a chance.

16a + 17a	Iacob super petram, Moyses super lapidem
24	Raab super stuppam, Ruth super stipulam,
42	Acetum Ionas, accepit oxigarum Iesus.

3. Language (Greek attributions)

The language of the *CC* is the language of Late Antiquity. On many occasion where the word choice is not in agreement with the Bible, the word can be found in popular Late Antique literature, e.g. with Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*.¹⁰¹

An obvious peculiarity of the text is presented by the Greek attributions. Apart from the Latin attributions based on Greek texts,¹⁰² there are also truly Greek attributions (most from the catalogue of dressing), although they are written in the Latin alphabet. For example:

55a	Iohannes trichiniam
60b	Iob biplagiam
61a	Isaias mesotropam
61b	Maria stolam
69a	Iacob pseudoaletinam
222a	strobilos Levi

It is difficult to judge why the author of the *CC* included them in his text. Perhaps he wanted to show off, or to educate his readers in Greek. The former is much more probable: it is often the case that works of educated authors include a Greek word where Latin lacks a suitable term. This is not the case here, but the author of the *CC* could have simply taken over the technique in order to mock it. I am aware of the fact that my suggestion that the text might have been written in Greek originally (and that these allusions present translation problems) cannot be proven, but it is as probable as the boasting or the educating theory.

¹⁰⁰ For a detailed explanation see the relevant lines in the analytical part.

¹⁰¹ I have not explored the linguistic parallels in more detail in this study, but they are definitely worthy of a detailed research.

¹⁰² There are some 16 allusions to the *Acta Pauli*. It was suggested that this apocrypha was translated into Latin, but any such translation does not survive.

4. Unclear attributions

Dividing the attributes into easy and difficult ones is impossible now due to the temporal gap separating us from the time of origin of the *CC*. It can not be decided any more which of the attributions seemed easy and which difficult for the fourth century reader. Nevertheless, we can judge from the changes made in the medieval re-writings of the *CC* that many of the attributions were already unclear by the ninth century. Thus, although it would be misleading to claim that our misunderstandings were problematic for the fourth century audience as well, the original *CC* obviously included some allusions difficult to decipher even for the original readership.

After the first reading of the *CC*, I was completely baffled but interested in specifying the allusions. After the second reading and consulting some of the commentaries, I made a preliminary division of the attributions according to their clarity. There were 184 clear, 146 unclear and 142 not quite clear allusions. No conclusion can be derived from this count, but it is an example of a response to the *CC*. Even though it is a contemporary response, it is still a response. It can be supposed that after some effort, the reader understands more and more of the *CC*.

Nevertheless, the understanding seems to be limited: there are some attributions that were not understood already in the ninth century (as we can see from the re-writings), and attributions that remain unclear until now. According to Modesto,¹⁰³ these are primarily:

- 6 Iacobus et Andres attulerunt faenum
- 86a Stercus proiecit Sem
- 151a Surrentium Pharaon
- 221a Resinam Ruben
- 222a Strobilos Levi
- 243a Occiditur Maria¹⁰⁴

I would add at least 10 more lines, lines, which are explained by critics in a way that I do not find satisfactory.

These lines are not problematic for the general appreciation of the *CC*, as the characters included are Biblical, and the attributes are relevant for the specific catalogues. Thus, all we miss is the exact relationship to the text of the Bible, which is no wonder, as we miss the exact version of the Bible used by the author of the *CC*.

¹⁰³ Modesto 96.

¹⁰⁴ For the discussion of each, see the relevant lines in the analytical part.

B) Levels of attributions

The above-discussed types of attributes and strategies are frequently in contrast to one another: obvious easy allusions to popular Biblical stories are put together with complicated references to obscure characters and events. Sometimes a character is closely connected with his or her attribute in the reader's mind, sometimes it requires more concentration (or perhaps a closer reading of the Bible) to understand the relationship. Sometimes the reader is absolutely sure, sometimes he or she is vaguely guessing. Sometimes the reader delights in immediately recognising a familiar place, sometimes in finally succeeding to make out the meaning after long leafing through the Bible.

This is not a random effect. The author consciously plays with the closeness and distance of the attribution, as well as with familiarity and surprise. The *CC* is neither too easy to understand nor too difficult so that it would be boring. The author catches the reader's attention with a familiar allusion and then surprises with an unexpected allusion to a minor event. He amuses with a close attribution, and then baffles with a distant one. All in all, the *CC* is well balanced in this respect.

C) Cataloguing

The *CC* indeed consists of several catalogues, in which each character is ascribed an object or an action. This layout of the text affects its perception very much: the whole feast is perceived as a list of individual allusions rather than a unified story. Why the author chose this strategy is not clear – he could have been influenced by another text, or he could have simply preferred to divide the text rather than unite it. In any case, the form of the catalogue is a crucial feature of the *CC*, with important implications for the whole.

1. Distinctive features of individual catalogues

There are two basic types of the form of a catalogue item – either it includes a character and an object attributed to him or her, or a character in action. Sometimes the name of the character precedes the attribution, sometimes it follows. I do not find this distinction important enough to deal with it in more detail.

The catalogues largely differ in length – the shortest (4 items) is the one of the latecomers, the longest the catalogue of torture (69 items). As there is no inner structure of the individual catalogues, their length seems rather random – they could be much longer or shorter without any impact on the plot.

From the table it is clear that the guests stole from the king less than they brought him as presents. The greatest contrast, marking a sudden change in the plot, is the one between the small number of thefts and the great number of various kinds of tortures that results from them.

Order in the <i>CC</i>	Catalogue	Number of attributions
17.	torture	69
13.	entertainment	47
14.	procession	46
2.	seating	38
5.	dressings	37
6.	cooking	36
10.	eating fish	33
9.	eating lamb	31
3.	starters	23
15.	presents	19
7.	eating various	18
12.	wine	13
18.	Achan's death	12
19.	Achan's burial	12
11.	sweets	9

16.	thefts	8
1.	arrival	7
8.	eating hunts	7
4.	latecomers	4

The catalogues form units not because of their specific formal characteristics, or distinctive beginnings and ends, but rather due to their content. Each of them describes a specific activity. They do not refer to one another in any other way except for the fact that the same characters re-appear in them. Some catalogues are unified: they introduce a pattern and then follow it until the end. Such are the catalogues of seating, dressing, or procession. Others, for example entertainment or cooking, are more complex, changing the pattern even several times. The form of the catalogue seems to indicate organized, polite behaviour in the first case, and disorganized, confused behaviour in the second.

The catalogues further differ in the types of attribution strategies that are applied in them. The catalogues of eating fish and drinking wines abound in puns and word plays. The dressing part stresses colours. The procession catalogue mostly introduces the roles of the characters, which are frequently their usual roles but even more frequently temporary roles connected to a special situation. For example both Judith and Tamar dress up for the special occasion of seducing their opponents, and it is also in the *CC* that they are presented in this way rather than in their usual plain widow dresses. This might be connected to the possibility that these special occasions were popular among the readers of the Bible, which might have been the author's main concern for the choice. But it could also be connected to the plot of the *CC* itself – Judith and Tamar dress up because of the special occasion of the feast. The attributions can be linked to the plot of the *CC* more frequently, but it is a problem of the plot, which will be discussed later.

2. Introducing new characters

The strategy of introducing new characters partly belongs to the problem of the plot. The table shows clearly that new characters appear even in the very last catalogue. It is possible to conclude from this fact that the plot was not the primary concern of the author of the *CC*: if it was, he would have made an attempt to develop the personalities or roles of his characters rather than going on with introducing more of them.

<u>Catalogue</u>	<u>New characters/All characters</u>	<u>Percentage of new characters</u>
1. arrival	8 / 8	100%
2. seating	35/ 38	92%
3. starters	11/ 24	46%
4. latecomers	1/ 4	25%
5. dressing	9/ 37	24%
6. cooking	11/ 37	30%
7. eating various	4/ 18	22%
8. eating hunts	0/ 7	0%
9. eating lamb	3/ 31	10%
10. eating fish	2/ 34	6%
11. sweets	0/ 9	0%
12. wine	0/ 13	0%
13. entertainment	10/ 47	21%
14. procession	7/ 46	15%
15. presents	3/ 19	16%
16. thefts	0/ 8	0%
17. torture	8/ 69	12%
18. Achan's death	1/ 12	8%
19. Achan's burial	2/ 12	17%

There are four short catalogues that only feature the already mentioned characters. If we suppose that the *CC* is a kind of Bible quiz, they represent the parts when the adept can relax a little bit. In my opinion, it is also significant that only two new characters are introduced in the catalogue of eating fish, and none in the catalogue of wines. These two catalogues feature a new method of attribution, the word play, and thus, in order not to make the whole too complicated, the old characters and their attributes, most of them already mentioned as well, are presented.

3. Re-appearance of characters

There does not seem to be any system in the way the characters' attributions are distributed in the catalogues. The characters that only appear once or twice in the whole *CC* are usually tied to a specific catalogue (Jubal to entertainment, Eliezer to killing Achan, etc.) and it seems that one of the reasons why they are included is that they fit the specific catalogue.

No character appears in all the catalogues. The characters that appear more than twice seem to re-appear quite randomly. The only definable tendency of the author is not to put one character more than once into one catalogue. But, even here, there are exceptions:

Character	Catalogue	Appearances	Lines
Adam	entertainment	2	157, 176b
Daniel	cooking	2	76b, 82a
	eating various	2	95a, 99a
David	entertainment	2	175a, 177b
Dinah	torture	2	239b, 257b
Elijah	cooking	3	73a, 81a
Jeremiah	torture	2	247b, 269b
Jacob	cooking	2	75b, 89a
	eating lamb	2	110b, 124a
	torture	2	236b, 267a
Jesus	eating various	2	92b, 101a
Job	torture	2	259a, 266b
John the B.	torture	2	263b, 234
Jonah	entertainment	2	159b, 165a
	starters	2	33, 42a
Judas	entertainment	2	171a, 182a
Mary	torture	2	243a, 265b
Martha	entertainment	4	162b, 167b, 171b, 176a
Moses	torture	2	248b, 264b
Pharaoh	eating lamb	2	108, 118b
	torture	2	251a, 267b
Rebecca	cooking	2	77b, 90a
	torture	2	250a, 269a

In the catalogues concerning eating, the characters usually appear at the very beginning, bringing or serving something, and thus they are described as truly eating only once. Cooking involves various activities, and so there are more opportunities for active cooks. In the catalogue of entertainment, Martha's serving is repeated four times. Thus, her Biblical role stands out even more than it would in any of the previous catalogues where the guests serve to one another frequently, asked to do so by the king. The catalogue of the tortures seems to be the only one where the repetition adds tension to the plot. The fact that a character is mentioned as being tortured once, and then again after a while, suggests that he or she was suffering all the time while the reader was concerned with other characters.

4. Continuity

The order of the characters within individual catalogues seems as random as their appearances in the *CC*. It follows neither the Biblical scheme of appearance, nor any other easily recoverable plan. Sometimes, a relationship between two characters placed one after the other can be defined.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, there are only a few pairs of characters in whose case the connection is obvious, characters linked to each other in the Bible as well as in the *CC*.

Characters	Occurrences	Lines
Adam and Eve	4	(12a, 12b) (119b, 120a) (191b, 192a) (reverse order 128b, 129a)
Cain and Abel	3	(13a, 13b) (144, 145) (192b, 193a)
Joseph and Benjamin	2	(19a, 19b) (reverse order 270, 271)
Jacob and Esau	1	(93b, 94a)
Rachel and Lea	1	(204b, 205a)
Dathan and Chore	1	(252a, 252b)
Phineas and Hophni	1	(256a, 256b)
Abraham and Sarah	1	(146b, 147a)
Habakkuk and Daniel	1	(94b, 95a)
Amelsad and Misahel	1	(95b, 96)
Pharaoh and Joseph	1	(108, 109a)
Rebecca and Jacob	1	(110a, 110b)
Noah and Japheth	1	(14a, 14b)
Zechariah and Elisabeth	1	(286, 287a)
Zacheus and Mathew	1	(22b, 23a) – both occasions of conversion
Simeon and Anna	1	(173b, 174a) – both bless God after seeing Jesus

¹⁰⁵ An example is provided by the two last pairs on the list.

D) New plot

1. Extracted plot

The cataloging of the attributions requires a general plan for the resulting text, a plot. The plot provides a new context for the Biblical events alluded to. In addition, it can add a new story to all the little Biblical stories indirectly involved. The plot of the *CC* can be extracted from the text easily by omitting all the catalogues. This leaves us with 40 lines:

1. Quidam rex nomine Iohel nuptias faciebat in regione orientis,
2. In Chana Galileae.
3. His nuptiis invitati sunt plures.
4. Igitur qui temperius loti in Iordane adfuerunt in convivio.
5. Atque omnes discubuerunt turbae.
6. Sed cum iam locus discumbentium plenus esset,
7. Qui superveniebant, quisque ut poterat,
8. Locum sibi inveniebat.
9. Illatus est gustus cenae...
10. Tunc rex respiciens invitatos suos ait:
11. Quisque vestrum voluerit, veniat in vestiarius meum
12. et dabo singulis singulas cenatorias vestes.
13. Tunc aliqui ierunt et acceperunt...
14. At ubi divisit vestes, respiciens eos rex sic ait:
15. "Non ante cenabitis, nisi singuli singulas vices feceritis." ...
16. Atque ita praecepta sibi diaconia consummaverunt...
17. Explicitisque omnibus omnes locis suis resederunt...
18. Ceteri autem partes suas tenebant,
19. Quas ex variis venationibus acceperant...
20. Sed quoniam aliquot genera vini habebant,...
21. Sed cum iam vellent ire, respiciens eos rex sic ait:
22. "Nunc per omnia diem nuptiarum celebrate
23. et confrequentate et demutato habitu
24. velut pompas facientes ite in domos vestras."
25. Placuit vero omnibus voluntas regis...
26. Quo facto iussit eos rex ad se venire.
27. Qui venerunt altera die et munera ei obtulerunt...
28. Sed quoniam ante diem quaedam de convivio
29. Subducta fuerant, iussu regis inquirebantur ab eis...
30. Tunc iussit rex, ut omnes, qui fuerant in convivio,
31. Ducerentur in tormenta.
32. Sed quoniam multorum conscientia erat in furto...
33. Postmodum scrutatis omnibus inventum est furtum apud Benjamin
34. quod erat in conscientia Joseph.
35. Sed posteaquam probatum est regi,
36. quod Achar filius Carmi solus esset reus furti,
37. iussit eum commori donavitque eum omnibus.
38. Tunc occasione accepta...
39. Tunc iussit rex, uti qui mortuus erat, sepeliretur...
40. Tunc explicitis omnibus domos suas repetierunt.

The fact that this simple extraction is possible shows that the catalogues do not form an integral part of the plot – they are somehow added to it, or the plot is somehow added to them. The catalogues are lists of various types of fulfillment of the action that is introduced briefly at the beginning of each of them. They illustrate the activity but do not move the overall action forward. Each of them could be summarized by one sentence: the guests sat down, they dressed, they cooked, they ate, etc.

2. Narrative situation

The author of the *CC* is not present explicitly in the text, neither as the author nor as a specific narrator. The *CC* is narrated in third person singular by an omniscient narrator. The author does not make his narration special in any way where narrative techniques are concerned. This is quite unusual in Late Antique literature – the classically educated writers tended to play with narrative frames and first person narrators to a great degree.

Most of the *symposion* literature texts are retrospective narratives of narratives about what happened at a feast. Several frames are intermingling in them and complex parallels are established – the outer listener disturbs the outer narrator, while the guests at the feast (i.e. the subject of the outer narrator's narrative) disturb one another. The reactions of the outer listener may anticipate the reader's reactions, or stand in contrast to it, which then makes the real reader angry. The narrator may not remember everything, or he may make up events that did not happen at all. Thus, the *symposion* literature as well as the ancient novel create the sense of immediacy, actual listening to a story being narrated to the real reader, and, at the same time a sense of unreliability.

In this respect, the *CC* might seem rather plain – there are no plays with narrators and the reader, the author does not hide behind the mask of a character, nor does he reveal any of his thoughts. The only possible exception is the name of the author put into the title. It is, of course, not sure whether *Cena Cypriani* is the original title of the text, but it is certain that it is not a work of Saint Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage. Thus, it might have easily been the real author who called his work so. He would not only hide himself behind, but also add to his text a sense of authority. It has been discussed whether Cyprian's name is included in order to show that the text is

meant to belong among the writings of the Church Fathers, or to stress the contrast between the two and thus make the parody and blasphemy even more efficient. In any case, the title of the text surely adds to the entertainment derived from it.

In my opinion, the specific technique applied in the *CC* is far from plain. The *CC* shares it with *centos* and other highly intertextual writings. The method is reminiscent of the postmodern approach according to which everything has already been said, and there is no way to be original except to put the old pieces together in a new way. However, from the fact that the text is composed from the words of the Scripture it does not follow that the author does not have his own voice, only that his voice is hidden more carefully.

3. Allegorical elements of the plot

The plot is an attribution of its own. Like the other, half-line attributions, it refers to a Biblical event or events. The events alluded to are the wedding at Cana, the heavenly feast and the crucifixion of Jesus. The wedding at Cana is recalled through the indication of the place of the feast, as well as through recurring allusions to water and wine, and through some individual attributions. The heavenly feast is present through the name of the king¹⁰⁶ and the fact that various Biblical characters are hosted by him. The *CC* could, in addition, be perceived as simply alluding to the unity of the Bible by putting together characters from both the Old and New Testaments, having them mingle and cooperate with one another.

The closest allusion is, however, to the crucifixion. Although all are found guilty, it is only one of them (Achan in the *CC*, Jesus in the Bible) whom the king, God, orders to die. The burial consists of eight descriptive allusions, four of which actually refer to the death of Jesus.¹⁰⁷ A short catalogue of four reactions to the events follows. All the allusions originally refer to the reactions of parents when it is announced to them that they will have a child. All the births that are alluded to – John the Baptist’s, Jesus’ and Isaac’s, are miraculous in some way. Thus it could be argued that the short passage actually refers to the resurrection. The feast described before could be understood as the Last Supper: wine is drunk, and Jesus divides bread.

The interpretation of the *CC* as a Biblical allegory follows from interpreting the plot as an allusion. Nevertheless, compared to the medieval re-writings, the

¹⁰⁶ Joel means ‘God’.

allegorical elements of the *CC* seem weak and vague. And, there are other than allegorical elements creating a different idea from the one just presented. For example, Jesus is crucified in the catalogue of torture¹⁰⁸ but he re-appears and takes part in killing Achan – he flagellates him. Although Achan was killed, stoned to death, by the community in order to purify it in the Bible,¹⁰⁹ he does not simply stand for Jesus, because he really *was* guilty in the Bible, and he is guilty in the *CC* as well. His guilt adds to his death an element of justice, which is not present in the Scripture, and which spoils the notion of an ideal sacrifice: the passage can be interpreted as a cruel punishment of a thief. But, as all are guilty in the *CC*, the punishment is not quite just and it may recall the planned stoning of Mary Magdalene.¹¹⁰ While a cruel punishment can support the parallel between king Joel and God,¹¹¹ the injustice of the decision can not. Drawing a parallel between Achan and Jesus might then stress more the cruelty of Achan's punishment in the Bible rather than the ideal sacrifice of Jesus.

This should show that the allegory of the *CC* is mixed with other elements that can be easily interpreted as mocking the Bible or stressing its cruelty rather than supporting its ideology. In order to exclude the possibility of such reading, the later re-writings change the names of the characters, and it is always Jesus who is killed for all, never Achan. The catalogue of killing is not included in any of the re-writings, because by the ninth century it probably seemed blasphemous to describe Biblical characters joined in killing their innocent companion. Especially as the allusions in the catalogue of killing in the *CC* are to real cruelties practiced by the characters in the Bible.

4. The role of the king

The plot is moved forward by the decisions of king Joel. It is he who invites the guests, suggests that they dress up, asks them to serve to one another, to cook, and to go in a festive procession. For obvious reasons, he does not have to ask them to sit down, to eat and to drink, to entertain themselves, and to bring him presents. His intervention is most decisive in the end when the guests are tortured, and Achan is killed and buried. Then he does not offer or ask anymore but gives orders. He is not

¹⁰⁷ They are lines: 283a, 284a, 285a, and 285b.

¹⁰⁸ Line 241a.

¹⁰⁹ Joshua 7.

¹¹⁰ Which is also alluded to in the *CC*, in line 243a.

¹¹¹ Numerous allusions to the Old Testament God's cruel punishments of his folk appear in the *CC*.

only the organizer of the feast, but primarily its manipulator. He initiates the activities, but the guests have to perform them by themselves. They even have to do things unfit for guests: they cook and serve to one another, they also seem to provide food, drink and amusement. Thus, the king being behind, pulling the strings but letting his guests struggle through by themselves, is indeed similar to God. But he can also be paralleled to the author of the *CC*: it is the author who decides upon what will happen next and connects the activities into one whole.

5. Content links between the characters

The individual catalogues usually serve as a list of independent illustrations of a specific activity. The characters do not communicate with one another, they seem simply to happen to be all at one place but without noticing one another. Only very rarely are the attributions connected in such a way that we can speak about some kind of cooperation among the characters. Even in the catalogue of cooking the joined effort can be detected only in lines 79b – 90b.

Line 211 is very unusual in this respect, because it explicitly connects two characters, saying: ‘Tunc solem petebat Auses, ut siccaretur Bersabee.’ Otherwise, the attributions are independent of one another, except for the fact that activities are frequently put into contrast by the use of ‘sed’. This contrast is, however, almost always fake – there is no opposition between two activities connected in such a way. The only exception is perhaps the passage in lines 97- 101:

‘Sed quoniam hedum coctum comederat Isaac,
Et piscem assum Tobias, cepit tumultari Eglon,
Valde esuriebat Danihel, panem petebat Hermocrates,
Non manducabat Iohannes, nichil gustaverat Moyses,
Ieiunus erat Iesus, micas colligebat Lazarus.’

It includes a cause-effect relationship: because Isaac and Tobias ate, the others were hungry. Nevertheless, the suggested contrast is not developed further – it becomes clear that there is much more food available at the feast, so these guests did not really have a reason to complain.

The connection and cooperation is often not even suggested in the *CC*. It is always only implied rather than specifically stated. The lack of a unified plot as well as the lack of tension might be perceived as a failure of the author if we compare the *CC* to *centos*, comedies, or novels. But perhaps the author is just trying to make his

audience more independent. It is clear that the reader, plot in his or her desire for a story and a meaning, can easily supply the plot.

6. Lexical links between the characters

Some characters are repeatedly assigned the same or very similar attributes. Thus, for example, Zacheus is connected to a tree,¹¹² Jonah to vinegar,¹¹³ Esau to a stag,¹¹⁴ Judith to a blanket,¹¹⁵ or Melchizedek to salt.¹¹⁶ If we suppose an educational function of the *CC*, it can be easily explained as ‘revision of the previous lesson,’ which the author of the *CC*, as a good teacher, includes among the ‘new lesson material’. In addition, there are two occasions in the *CC* in which one character is described both as *agens* and *patiens* of the same action. These are: Noah ‘includitur’¹¹⁷ and ‘clusit,’¹¹⁸ and Absolon ‘suspendit’¹¹⁹ and ‘suspenditur.’¹²⁰ In both occasions, the same event is alluded to – Noah enclosed in the ark by God, and Absolon stuck among the boughs of a tree. For Noah the event means life, for Absolon death. These lines, in my opinion, do not convey a deep meaning, but they provide a good example of another way the author of the *CC* played with the voice of the verb.

Even more surprising are those instances where a play with the voice includes different characters. There are, indeed, occasions in the *CC* when one character is described as an *agens* of an action, and another one as *patiens* of the very same action.

1.	Rahab	alligavit	80a
	Joseph	alligatur	242b
2.	Jesus	flagello (percussit)	279a
	Paul	flagellatur	246a
3.	David	lapide percussit	278a
	Jeremiah	lapidatur	247b
4.	Cain	occidit	82b
	Abel	occiditur	235a
	Mary Magdalene	occiditur	243a

¹¹² (‘Super arborem’ in line 22b, ‘sicomorum’ in line 35b, and ‘arbustum’ in line 153b.)

¹¹³ (‘Acetum’ in lines 42a and 143a.)

¹¹⁴ (‘Cervum’ in line 217a, and ‘cervinam’ in line 104b.)

¹¹⁵ (‘Coopertorium’ in line 31b and ‘coopertorium subsericum’ in line 229.)

¹¹⁶ (‘Salem’ in lines 88b and 143b, ‘salpam’ in line 138b.)

¹¹⁷ (In line 240a.)

¹¹⁸ (In line 284b.)

¹¹⁹ (In line 83b.)

¹²⁰ (In line 249b.)

- | | | | |
|----|---------|----------------------|------|
| 5. | Pharaoh | non credebat | 267b |
| | Moses | non creditur (Moysi) | 248b |

When the allusions are put one beside another like this, it seems as if Rahab bound Joseph, Jesus flagellated Paul, David stoned Jeremiah, and Cain, besides killing Abel, killed Mary Magdalene as well. Such entertaining effect is fully in accordance with other strategies applied in the *CC*. Only the last occasion presents a real relationship – although the line with Moses alludes probably to the fact that Moses feared that the people would not believe him, it can be associated with Pharaoh as well, because he truly did not believe Moses that he is serious about leaving Egypt.

Similar to this technique is the tendency of the author of the *CC* to ascribe the same or similar attributes to different characters. Thus, a link is created between the two characters, sometimes based on similarity, other times on contrast. In four cases, the attributes are exactly the same:

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|------------------|------|
| 1. | Daniel | leoninam | 54b |
| | Samson | leoninam | 106a |
| 2. | David | hysopum porrexit | 175a |
| | Sephora | ysopum porrexit | 76a |
| 3. | Eve | prior gustavit | 90b |
| | Misahel | prior gustavit | 96 |
| 4. | Esau | murmurabat | 30a |
| | Hermippus | murmurabat | 165b |

The connection of the first two characters to a lion is clear, while in the second case, the relationship to ysop is not very obvious. Number three is a good example of a contrast: while Eve's tasting is not considered very fortunate, the fact that Misahel and others ate vegetables in prison saved their lives. (There is also a contrast in the importance and popularity of the events. Eve's sin is directly connected to the history of humankind, while only a few people know about the existence of Misahel, and it is not even stated in the Bible that Misahel was the first of Daniel's friends who tasted the vegetables.) On the fourth occasion, the two characters drawn together are similar: both Esau and Hermippus are deprived of what belongs to them and what they were looking forward to get – Esau of primogeniture and Hermippus of an inheritance. In addition, they are both perceived as rather negative figures in the Bible

and the *Acta Pauli*, due to their way of life and greediness. The parallel is, however, artificial, because as opposed to grumbling Hermippus, Esau actually complains loudly in the Bible.

In five other cases, the main attribute is the same but in one case it stands alone, in the other a verb is added to it:

1.	Peter	favum	223a
	Samson	favum porrexit	177a
2.	Sara	ventrem	121a
	Hermocrates	ventrem aperuit	84b
3.	Judith	vestem	219a
	Thecla	vestem detraxit	277a
4.	Jesus	vitulum	217b
	Abraham	vitulum adduxit	79b
5.	Judas	tradidit	171a
	Peter	tradidit omnibus	93a

The last example is exceptional, because the method applied to it is not the one of comparing two characters, but a witty word play. Although the allusions look very similar, their meaning is absolutely different: Judas ‘tradidit’ – betrayed, but Peter ‘tradidit omnibus’ – spread the teaching to all. Both the activities concern Jesus, one negatively, the other positively.

On three occasions, there is the same verb used for two characters, but once it is in present tense, once in imperfect. This strategy is not very clear to me.

1.	Pharaoh	arguitur	251a
	John the Bapt.	arguebatur	263b
2.	Rebecca	confunditur	250a
	Elisabeth	confundebatur	287a
3.	Enoch	queritur	237a
	Laban	querebatur	262b

The last four occasions I offer here serve as an example of further similarities. More can be found in the text, but the vaguer their lexical link, the less clear becomes the intention of the author to create such parallels.

1.	Cain	carduum	37b
	Herod	cardinam	57a
2.	Susanna	in orto	25b
	Adam	in ortolano	191b
3.	David	lanceam regiam	230
	Eliezer	lancea transfixit	280
4.	Phalech	partes fecit	87b
	Rebbecca	partes composuit	110a

Both Cain and Herod shed blood. While Susanna is exposed to danger in the garden, Adam is safe there. The third parallel justifies the appearance of Eliezer (and thus also the inclusion of 1 Maccabees) at the feast. The last is a nice contrast between composing and decomposing.

III. Place in the context of literary types and genres

I stated in the introduction that the *CC* does not belong to any genre or literary type introduced. At the same time, however, I would like to show that the author of the *CC* makes use of various literary types, especially the popular ones, and that he does it on purpose, in an attempt to make his text more effective and enjoyable. In the following discussion I will try to redefine the relationship of the *CC* to the relevant genres and types.

1. Christian sermon and *tractatus*

These types, new for the Late Antiquity, are relevant for the general method of drawing together characters from different parts of the Bible. But where the approach towards these characters is concerned, the *CC* can be easily interpreted as stressing, in accordance with the early Christian writings, the unity of the Bible, as well as a simple fictional meeting of characters who would never meet otherwise. The latter method was not alien to ancient culture, as we know from the Jerome's letter, in which he quotes Cicero's lost speech criticizing these popular customs:

“His autem ludis – loquor enim, quae sunt ipse nuper expertus – unus quidam poeta dominatur, homo perlitteratus, cuius sunt illa convivia poetarum ac philosophorum, cum facit Euripiden et Menandrum inter se et alio loco Socraten atque Epicurum disserentes, quorum etas non annis, sed saeculis scimus fuisse disiunctas. Atque his quantos plausus et clamores movet! Multos enim condiscipulos habet in theatro, qui simul litteras non didicerunt.”

(At these games – I am telling you something within my own recent experience – one gentleman, a poet, has been cock of the walk. He is a very literary fellow and he has written a book ‘Conversations of Poets and Philosophers’. In it he makes Euripides and Menander talk together, and in another passage Socrates and Epicurus, men whose lives we know to be separated not by years but by centuries. And yet what applause and cheers this stuff evokes! He has many fellow pupils in the theatre, schoolfellows who went to the same school and learnt nothing.)¹²¹

Thus, even the basic strategy of the author of the *CC* is twofold, and there is no certainty that one interprets it well. This is the case with almost all other aspects of the *CC*. The easiest way out is to state that the *CC* combines both intentions, it includes both possible interpretations at the same time.

¹²¹ Jerome, *Selected Letters*, tr. F. A. Wright (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 212.

2. 'Parasitic' types – parody, satire, allegory, *cento*

The *CC* obviously belongs among 'parasitic' types – it is closely tied to the text of the Bible and some apocrypha. Intertextuality is perhaps its most important feature: it shapes not only all the 472 individual allusions but the whole plot as well. It is possible to argue that it affects even the cataloguing: the long catalogues might be perceived as reminiscent of long genealogical catalogues in the Bible. The question of the purpose of the intertextuality remains, however, unresolved. It might be mocking the Bible as well as allegorizing it, making it the object of amusement as well as of education.

The notion of parody has not been satisfactorily defined, which complicates discussing the connections. The main aspect of parody that is generally agreed upon is that it takes distinctive features of its model and exaggerates them. This technique can be found in the *CC*, although through the short attributions the Biblical stories are condensed and simplified rather than exaggerated. The amusing elements of the *CC* fit into the notion of parody. There is, however, no explanation for the process of creating the attributions, except perceiving it not as parody on the Bible but rather on the strategies of the Church, which is rather simplifying.

Understanding the *CC* as satire, we have to proceed further to a harsh criticism of the Church, as it is rarely the text, but rather what the text represents that is the object of the author's criticism. Again, the violence of the Bible and thus of religion could be seen as the object of the critique. However, no way to improve the situation is suggested, and, in addition, the theme of the violence is not disturbing (which it should be in a satire) but rather lost among the themes of the feast, trick and miracle.

Allegory can be found very easily, primarily in the plot of the *CC*, but in some of the individual allusions as well.¹²² Part of the notion of allegory is that it is meant seriously. Thus, discussing the allegorical elements of the *CC*, we face again the problem of the religiosity of the author. It is, however, also possible to see the elements of allegory as parodic of the allegorical character of the text of the Bible.

While all these three types are present in some way in the *CC*, it is clear that the *CC* is not a *cento*. In the analysis of the attributions I tried to indicate various techniques of the author. He does not simply put together different parts of the Bible,

¹²² The allegorical elements have been discussed above, and I do not want to repeat myself here.

he uses a variety of methods from direct association to complex word plays. Many of the attributions are not even tied to a specific passage in the Bible. Thus, the objectives of a *cento* that Ausonius stresses in the preface to his *Cento nuptialis*:

“...sensus diversi ut congruant, adoptiva quae sunt, ut cognata videantur, aliena ne interluceant: arcessita ne vim redarguant, densa ne supra modum protuberent, hiulca ne pateant”

(...So as to harmonize different meanings, to make pieces arbitrarily connected seem naturally related, to let foreign elements show no chink of light between, to prevent the far-fetched from proclaiming the force which united them, the closely packed from bulging unduly, the loosely knit from gaping.)¹²³

can not be applied to the *CC* because the author of the *CC* concentrated on the individual allusions more than on the whole.

Although in a different way, Ausonius, as well as the author of the *CC*, took a well-known text and manipulated it. He describes the result not only as “opusculum de inconexis continuum, de diversis unum,” (continuous, though made of disjointed tags; one, though of various scraps) but also as “de seriis ludicrum, de alieno nostrum.” (absurd, though of grave materials; mine, though the elements are another’s).¹²⁴ While the first two statements can not be related to the *CC* very well, because it remains rather disjointed, the other two are much closer to it, pointing out the ridiculing of the primary source and making it more familiar as important methods. Although it can not be stated about them in general, it is clear that *centos* draw the reader’s attention to the primary text and ridicule its system of values.

Ausonius indirectly alludes to the problem of decontextualizing the primary source in a short introduction to the core of his text – a very detailed description of the wedding night. He says: “...ut bis erubescamus, qui et Vergilium faciamus impudentem”.¹²⁵ Showing that description of sexual intercourse can be extracted from Vergil is a more powerful method than simply writing a dirty poem. The author of the *CC* might have had something similar in mind. The events described in his text are confused, violent and cruel. They would not make such an impact if they were not so closely connected with the Bible and its values. Perhaps even the mysterious blushing of Rebecca, which is alluded to four times in the *CC*, should be connected to the author’s writing activity.

¹²³ Ausonius, tr. Hugh G. Evelyn White (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 374.

¹²⁴ Ausonius 372.

3. Comedy, farce, the grotesque, caricature

Some of the events in the *CC* are truly comic, but, due to the lack of dialogue, there is no conversational humor, and only a few occasions when situational humor occurs (such as the fact that the guests have to cook for themselves). The humor of the individual allusions is, however, mostly based on the relationship between the *CC* and the Bible. Thus, the humor is not only intertextual – accessible exclusively to those who know its model in detail, but also textual – it does not require performance. On the contrary, performing the text might only distract the spectator and cause confusion.¹²⁶ Watching the text performed implies a lack of concern for the difficulties of understanding of individual spectators, while reading the text allows the reader to manipulate the time, to pause at the allusions that are less clear, etc.

The changes of the status of the Biblical characters in the *CC* could perhaps be reminiscent of caricature. However, caricature includes not only ridiculing but also exaggeration, which is only relevant for a very few of the allusions in the *CC*. The elements of the grotesque do not stem out of the plot of the *CC*, they are introduced in individual places through the relationship between the Biblical stories alluded to and the new context of the *CC*. The sudden changes of the plot are simply unexpected rather than comic.

4. *Symposion* Literature

The *CC* includes elements of the *symposion* literature, especially as far as its structure is concerned. The catalogues describe the usual activities taking place during a *symposion* in their proper order. Two of the medieval re-writings of the text keep, with minor changes, the catalogues, although by the ninth century there were no *symposia* of the kind, and thus the texts did not relate to reality any more. Thus it seems that the types of the catalogues were perceived as an integral part of the text.

At a *symposion*, the guests washed themselves and put on special dress – *vestis cenatoria*. They were distinguished according to the places where they reclined (the best was *locus consularis* – the third place in the middle couch). The feast itself began with a starter – *gustus* (cold meal from eggs, fish, salads), followed by the main course – *caput cenae* (various types of meat and bread) and dessert – *secundae mensae* (fruit and pastry). Wine was probably drunk only after the dessert. The guests were

¹²⁵ Ausonius 386.

entertained and they played games. Finally, the guests with wreaths of flowers went through the city in a merry procession.

This, however, is only a theoretical scenario. Whatever it was like in reality, it is never described exactly like this in literature. For example, Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*, being a satire, portrays a freed man trying to behave like a rich organizer of a feast. The text is full of exaggeration, the usual order is reversed and the sense of measure is missing.

In addition, this feast scenario never seems to be the main issue of the texts. They are always filled with dialogues that often suppress the food motif altogether. It almost seems that the feast is usually only a pretext for the author to bring together various people who might not meet under normal conditions, and make them communicate with one another. In contrast to these conventions, the element of dialogue is totally missing from the *CC*.

The lack of communication in the *CC* makes it difficult to discuss the possible influence of rhetoric on the *CC*. It was first introduced and elaborated by Thomas Ricklin who spoke about *imagines* and *loci* from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.¹²⁷ In my opinion, the influence of rhetoric on the *CC* is doubtful. Rhetoric is an art of communicating and persuasion, and there is nothing of the kind in the *CC*. Also Ricklin does not stress his suggestion in the conclusion: he only speaks about "classically educated churchmen"¹²⁸ there. It is obvious from discussing the other genres and types that the author of the *CC* was classically educated and familiar with classical literature, but it is not necessary to point out specifically the art of rhetoric.¹²⁹

The omission of dialogues from the *CC* is almost painful: the reader longs for some contact between the characters, but he or she is only satisfied a couple of times. We could speak about some kind of cooperation in the catalogue of cooking, but the smoothness of this common activity can easily be a coincidence. There is a link between two characters in a single line.¹³⁰ A unifying thread is only given by the interference of the king who announces the beginnings of new activities. The characters are like puppets, their personalities are not presented in any way in the text, and thus there is no clashing of interests, no plot, no tension.

¹²⁶ Cf. Bayless 44.

¹²⁷ Ricklin 223-227.

¹²⁸ Ricklin 238.

¹²⁹ Similarly to Menippean satire, I have not included a separate chapter on rhetoric in my discussion, simply because I find it irrelevant.

Or, if there is a tension, it does not arise from within the text – from the plot or the characters, but rather from the outside: the reader might ask: ‘What is the author going to make happen next?’ rather than ‘What will happen to this character?’ Both the number of the characters and the form of the catalogue prevent the reader from following individual stories, from identifying with any of them. Thus, it seems that the author of the *CC* was not trying to create a piece of *symposion* literature but rather to use some of its elements to provide his text with a definite structure. There are many lexical links between the *CC* and *Cena Trimalchionis*, but I am convinced that it is because the texts deal with the same themes rather than a result of a direct influence.

5. Novel

The ancient novel differs from the *CC* in many basic features: the novel is concerned with creating a dense plot full of tension, love and adventure. In contrast, the tension in the *CC* is suppressed, love is never mentioned, and its overall plot is not unified. Nevertheless, the two come closer when we concentrate on the problems of the social status of the novel and its readership. These questions have not been solved yet, as the novel, like the *CC*, is a very new and specific genre, impossible to categorize. Some scholars claim that it is the first real genre of popular culture, others that the novels served as amusement for Late Antique intellectuals. Although they do not seem so at first sight, their structure is very carefully devised and they include many allusions to works of Classical literature.¹³¹ The main difference, in my opinion, lies in the fact that the ancient novel, thanks to its plot, could be enjoyed without understanding its complexities, while the *CC* would have had a rather exclusive readership.

6. Riddle, *exertitium ingenii*, *iocus*, ‘Bible quiz’

While a *cento* can be read and enjoyed without a detailed knowledge of the primary text it is woven from, the long plotless catalogues of the *CC* become extremely boring for anybody unfamiliar with the Bible. Each of the attributions is a little riddle in itself, the reader’s eternal question is: ‘What does this line allude to?’ And the reader is happy about finding an answer to each of these questions. The

¹³⁰ Line 211: “Solem petebat Auses, ut siccaretur Bersabee.”

riddle, joke and *exertitium ingenii* are similar to the *CC* in that the plot is not their most important concern. The main purpose of the author is to hide the point elegantly and skillfully, and the main aim of the reader is to get it. But the *CC* seems a little bit too complex to be called a mere joke. In addition, pure jokes do not exist.

The idea of the *exertitium ingenii*, an exhibition of the author's intellect and abilities, was suggested by Reinhold F. Glei.¹³² It is much closer to the *CC*, because the text indeed presents the required *ingenium* of its author and, at the same time, it does not offer a 'message,' one specific deep thought. This interpretation explains the levels of the attributions as well as the variety of methods used in the *CC*: the author is pointing out the different ways he is able to manipulate his source.

If we suppose that the author of the *CC* meant his work as a set of riddles, we may take all the problems of the text as his intention, his attempt to confuse the reader while looking for the answer. Thus, the question of the authorship, time and place of origin of the *CC* might also be well designed and well concealed riddles. (In any case, it is true that all the answers to these questions proposed so far can be rightfully classified as guesses.) Nevertheless, perceiving the *CC* as a set of riddles deprives us from the perception of it as a whole, with the levels of the attributions and plot.

Approaching the *CC* as a 'Bible quiz' has all the advantages of its perceiving it as a set of riddles. In addition, it explains the variety of attributions – the mixture of easy with difficult ones, associations with context shift, etc. This Bible quiz reviews many aspects of the Biblical text through different approaches on different levels. In order to be enjoyed as well, it includes elements of popular genres, i.e. all the genres and types discussed above.

The conflict between the idea of the *exertitium ingenii* and a 'Bible quiz' is a recurring conflict over the primary purpose of the *CC* – the first is primarily to be enjoyed, the second it is a means of education, the first is a joke, the second a serious piece of writing. But this conflict is not part of the text of the *CC*: the *CC* combines both the elements.

¹³¹ Homer and Hesiod are quoted most frequently.

¹³² Reinhold F. Glei, 'Ridebat de facto Sarra. Bemerkungen zur Cena Cypriani' in *Literaturparodie in Antike und Mittelalter* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1993), 169.

IV. Purpose and audience

Throughout the analysis, I frequently encountered the problem of the author's intention and the problem of the audience. The two are closely tied to each other. Every author has a theoretical audience in mind while writing, and if he or she succeeds, the real audience is the same as the theoretical one. It is, of course, often the case that the author does not foresee the reaction to his or her book. But I have decided to dismiss the old idea that the *CC* is a failure, and thus I perceive the purpose and the audience as interdependent, even inseparable.

The author takes the Bible and draws the recipients' attention to it. There may be several reasons for this: he might want to educate his audience, to amuse them through mocking, or to amuse himself through playing with the Scripture. Any combination of these suggestions might also be possible. The idea of education in the usual limited sense does not seem to be compatible with the amusing and playful *CC*. Even the phrase 'education through entertainment' sounds horrifying, like falling into a well-devised trap. However, the author *does* lead the reader or the listener to think about the Bible and to study it carefully by raising interest and presenting mysteries to be solved. There are different levels of the riddles, so that everyone can feel the joy of sudden revelation. Thus, the *CC* truly *is* didactic in a broader sense of the word.

This, however, is only a suggestion, the problem has to remain open. One of the reasons is that the author of the *CC* did not reveal his intentions, he hid or became hidden behind the authority of Saint Cyprian, which ensured that his work did not pass unnoticed.

The *CC* is highly intertextual, there are only a few words that can not be connected to the text of the Bible. The author's ambiguous voice does not provide much help with the interpretation. An exception is the frequently quoted penultimate line of the *CC*: *ridebat de facto Sara*. This is usually interpreted as the author's anticipation of the reaction of his audience,¹³³ suggesting that the text should not be taken seriously but rather enjoyed and laughed at. Bakhtin calls this carnival laughter, freeing temporarily the readers (or listeners) from the usual solemnity of the church.¹³⁴ His ideas have been widely criticised, but the *CC* is still associated with the

¹³³ E.g. Ricklin 237.

¹³⁴ Michail M. Bakhtin, *Román jako dialog* (Novel as a Dialogue), tr. Daniela Hodrová (Prague: Odeon, 1980), 215.

laughter of masses, the kind of laughter Jerome describes in the same letter quoted above, saying:

“Nihil tam facile, quam vilem plebiculam et indoctam contionem linguae volubilitate decipere, quae, quidquid non intellegit, plus miratur.”

(There is nothing so easy as to deceive a cheap mob or an ignorant congregation by voluble talk; anything such people do not understand they admire the more.)¹³⁵

In my opinion, the laughter incited by the *CC* is not of this kind. It is not on the edge of blasphemy, and it does not contrast with the solemnity of the church as Bakhtin imagines. Nor is it the stupid laughter of a cheap mob Jerome witnessed. I think that the laughter might easily have been a means of checking who passed and who failed the ‘Bible quiz’. By laughing, the readers or listeners proved their knowledge of the Bible. In connection to the *CC*, the laughter is not only expected, it is required, and thus it is embarrassing *not* to laugh. The laughter of the *CC* is not Bakhtin’s laughter embracing everybody in a common blasphemous merriment, but an exclusive laughter, the laughter of an elite.

There are various types of elite. According to the limited definition, the audience would consist of people so familiar with the Bible that they would recognise (sometimes after some effort) each of the allusions and fully appreciate the author’s *ingenium*. The text would be aimed for small group performance or for private reading, and the author could have been an intellectual interested in the Bible as a model text for his work. The audience would have to be very small, because it is clear from the textual analysis that some of the attributions are so loosely connected with the Bible that they are almost indiscernible.

But even a broader educated audience – people who, although not experts, were familiar with the Bible, can fit the idea of an elite. They would find some familiar allusions, others difficult but possible to get, and yet others totally undecipherable. They might go and check the Bible in order to comprehend more afterwards. Although they would not understand everything, they could obviously enjoy themselves and be motivated.

The fact that the *CC* includes many elements of popular genres and literary types suggests that its author is trying to attract the attention of his audience. This

¹³⁵ Jerome, *Selected Letters*, tr. F. A. Wright (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 212.

would not be needed if this audience were the close elite, and thus the second, more open understanding of elite seems to be more relevant. Some of the allusions in the *CC* are so obscure that it is unimaginable that anyone would understand all of them. Perhaps the author is simply presenting the Bible accurately – he lets his audience feel what it is like to read the Bible: you understand some parts and are baffled by others, but altogether it is enjoyable and worth it.

Conclusion

The *Cena Cypriani* is a very peculiar text with many different aspects. Previous research has dealt with various questions of authorship, function, context, etc., and has reached very different, often contradictory results. In a new attempt, I discussed each of the 472 biblical allusions individually. On this basis, I concentrated on defining the author's writing methods: source choice, attribution, cataloguing and plot, and I tried to place the *CC* into the context of literary genres and types. I arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The author of the *CC* was particularly inclined to choose popular, exciting and plot-dense events from the Bible including violence, miracles and tricks.
2. The author did not have a single technique when creating the attributions. Rather, he had various methods and tendencies. One of the less familiar methods I identified is the *patiens-agens* shift.
3. Thanks to the variety of the methods applied to it, the *CC* is a text that works on many levels.
4. There is no specific strategy in the cataloguing of the attributions.
5. The plot, despite the content and lexical links between the characters, is rather weak and disjointed.
6. The *CC* features elements of many popular genres. The least problems with categorizing appear when the *CC* is perceived as an *exertitium ingenii* or a set of riddles – a kind of 'Bible quiz'.

All these points certainly have to be seen in context with the basic problem of the purpose and audience of the text. I suggest that the *CC* was aimed neither at a large audience nor at a very limited elite, but at a larger audience within an elite – educated people familiar with the Bible. The text was supposed to draw their attention to the Bible through amusement. It might have been both publicly recited (or even performed) and privately read.

This hypothesis about the purpose and audience of the *CC* is, however, not definite, many problems remain open. They may become the starting point for a further analysis of the relationship between the *Cena Cypriani* and its medieval rewritings.

Appendix

I. The Latin Text

1. Quidam rex nomine Iohel nuptias faciebat in regione orientis,
2. In Chana Galileae.
3. His nuptiis invitati sunt plures.
4. Igitur qui temperius loti in Iordane adfuerunt in convivio.
5. Tunc commundavit Naaman, aquam sparsit Amos,
6. Iacobus et Andreas attulerunt faenum.
7. Matheus et Petrus straverunt, mensam posuit Salomon,
8. Atque omnes discubuerunt turbae.
9. Sed cum iam locus discumbentium plenus esset,
10. Qui superveniebant, quisque ut poterat,
11. Locum sibi inveniebat.
12. Primus atque omnium sedit Adam in medio, Eva super folia,
13. Cain super aratrum, Abel super vulgare,
14. Noe super archam, Iaphet super lateres,
15. Abraham sub arbore, Isaac super aram,
16. Iacob super petram, Loth iuxta ostium,
17. Moyses super lapidem, Helias super pellem,
18. Danihel super tribunal, Tobias super lectum,
19. Ioseph super modium, Benjamin super saccum,
20. David super monticulum, Iohannes in terra,
21. Pharao in arena, Lazarus super tabulam,
22. Iesus super puteum, Zacheus super arborem,
23. Matheus in scamno, Rebecca super hydriam,
24. Raab super stuppam, Ruth super stipulam,
25. Tecla super fenestram, Susanna in orto,
26. Absalon in frondibus, Iudas super loculum,
27. Petrus in cathedra, Iacobus super rete,
28. Samson super columnam, Heli super sellam,
29. Rahel super sarcinam, patiens stabat Paulus,
30. Et murmurabat Esau, et dolebat Iob, quod solus sedebat in stercore.
31. Tunc porrexit Rebecca pallium, Iudith coopertorium,
32. Agar stragulum, Sem et Iaphet cooperuerunt recumbentes.
33. Illatus est gustus cenae et accepit cucurbitas Ionas,
34. Olus Isaias, betas Israel,
35. Morum Ezekiel, siccomorum Zacheus,
36. Citrium Adam, lupinos Danihel,
37. Pepones Pharao, carduum Cain,
38. Ficus Eva, malum Rahel,
39. Prunum Ananias, bulbos Lia,
40. Olivas Noe, ovum Ioseph,
41. Uvas Aaron, nucleos Simeon,
42. Acetum Ionas, accepit oxigarum Iesus.
43. Deinde supervenit Iacob cum filiis suis,
44. Et Laban cum filiabus suis et sederunt super lapides.
45. Venit et Abraham cum domesticis suis,

46. Et Moyses cum cetera turba et sederunt foris.
47. Tunc rex respiciens invitatos suos ait:
48. Quisque vestrum voluerit, veniat in vestiarium meum
49. Et dabo singulis singulas cenatorias vestes.
50. Tunc aliqui ierunt et acceperunt.
51. Primus itaque omnium accepit Zaccharias albam,
52. Abraham passerinam, Loth sulphurinam,
53. Lazarus lineam, Ionas ceruleam,
54. Tecla flammeam, Danihel leoninam,
55. Iohannes trichiniam, Adam pelliceam,
56. Iudas argyrim, Raab coccineam,
57. Herodes cardinam, Pharaon marinam,
58. Enoch celinam, Agar variam,
59. David nervinam, Helias aerinam,
60. Eva arborinam, Iob biplagiam,
61. Isaias mesotropam, Maria stolam,
62. Susanna castalinam, Moyses conchilinam,
63. Abel purpuream, Levi spartacinam,
64. Tamar colourinam, Azarias carbasinam,
65. Aaron myrrinam, Iudith iacintinam,
66. Cain ferrugineam, Abiron nigram,
67. Anna persinam, Isaac nativam,
68. Paulus candidam, Petrus operariam,
69. Iacob pseudoaletinam, Iesus columbinam.
70. At ubi divisit vestes, respiciens eos rex sic ait:
71. Non ante cenabitis, nisi singuli singulas vices feceritis.
72. Atque ita praecepta sibi diaconia consummaverunt.
73. Primus ergo ignem petit Helias, succedit Azarias,
74. Lignum collegit Iepthae, attulit Isaac,
75. Concidit Ioseph, puteum aperuit Iacob,
76. Ysopum porrexit Sephora, ad lacum stabat Danihel,
77. Aquam attulerunt ministri, hydriam portabat Rebecca,
78. Vinum protulit Noe, utrem portabat Agar,
79. Attulit argentum Iudas, vitulum adduxit Abraham,
80. Alligavit Raab, resticulam porrexit Iesus,
81. Pedes copulavit Helias, ferrum tradidit Petrus,
82. Elisit Danihel, occidit Cain,
83. Subportavit Abacuc, suspendit Absalon,
84. Pellem detraxit Helias, ventrem aperuit Hermocrates,
85. Mediana suspendit Tobias, sanguinem effudit Herodes,
86. Stercus proiecit Sem, aquam adiecit Iaphet,
87. Lavit Heliseus, partes fecit Phalech,
88. Numeravit Auses, salem misit Molessadon,
89. Oleum adiecit Iacob, in focum imposuit Ariochus,
90. Coxit Rebecca, prior gustavit Eva.
91. Explicitisque omnibus omnes locis suis resederunt.
92. Tunc intulit panes Saul, fregit Iesus,
93. Tradidit omnibus Petrus, intulit lentem Iacob,
94. Solus manducavit Esau, intulit intritam Abacuc,
95. Totum comedit Danihel, fabam intulit Amelsad,

96. Prior gustavit Misahel.
97. Sed quoniam hedum coctum comederat Isaac,
98. Et piscem assum Tobias, cepit tumultari Eglon,
99. Valde esuriebat Danihel, panem petebat Hermocrates,
100. Non manducabat Iohannes, nichil gustaverat Moyses,
101. Ieiunus erat Iesus, micas colligebat Lazarus.
102. Ceteri autem partes suas tenebant,
103. Quas ex variis venationibus acceperant:
104. Abraham vitulinam, Esau cervinam,
105. Abel agninam, Noe arietinam,
106. Samson leoninam, Heliseus ursinam,
107. Maiorem tamen partem tenebat Benjamin.
108. Tunc postmodum dedit panes Pharaon,
109. Omnibus divisit Ioseph, discum attulit Herodes,
110. Partes composuit Rebecca, intulit Iacob,
111. Distribuit omnibus Noe.
112. Primus ergo sustulit Iohannes caput,
113. Cerebellum Absalon, linguam Aaron,
114. Maxillam Samson, auriculam Petrus,
115. Oculos Lia, cervicem Holofermus,
116. Arterias Zaccharias, collum Saul,
117. Armora Agar, interanea Ionas,
118. Sicutum Tobias, cor Pharaon,
119. Renalia Isaias, latus Adam,
120. Costam Eva, ilia Maria,
121. Ventrem Sara, vulvam Helisabeth,
122. Adipem Abel, femur Abraham,
123. Caudam Moyses, clunes Loth,
124. Pedes Iacob, ossa collegit Ezekiel.
125. Item Iacobus et Andreas intulerunt pisces.
126. Sustulit itaque asellum Iesus,
127. Labionem Moyses, lupum Benjamin,
128. Mugilem Abel, murenam Eva,
129. Pelamidem Adam, locustam Iohannes,
130. Gladium Cain, capitonem Absalon,
131. Polypum Pharaon, torpedinem Lia,
132. Auratam Tamar, scarum Agar,
133. Cantaridem David, allecem Ioseph,
134. Saxatilem Hieremias, umbram Lazarus,
135. Soleam Iudith, irundinem Tobias,
136. Argentillum Iudas, sepiam Herodes,
137. Cornutam Esau, glaucum Ionas,
138. Alopidadam Iacob, salpam Molessadon,
139. Denticem Isaias, araneum Tecla,
140. Coracinum Noe, rubelionem Rebecca,
141. Lacertum Golias, menam Maria,
142. Helionem Samson.
143. Posuit Ionas acetum et Molessadon salem,
144. Prior intinxit Cain.
145. Explicatisque omnibus dedit adipem Abel,

146. Mel Iohannes, lac Abraham,
147. Conspersit Sara, dulcia fecit Iesus,
148. Omnia perministravit Paulus.
149. Sed quoniam aliquot genera vini habebant,
150. Passum bibebat Iesus, marsicum Ionas,
151. Surrentium Pharaon, pellinum Adam,
152. Laletanum Moyses, creticum Isaac,
153. Adrianum Aaron, arbustum Zacheus,
154. Arsinum Tecla, albense Iohannes,
155. Campanum Abel, signinum Maria,
156. Florentinum Rahel.
157. Saturatione vini sopitus iacebat Adam,
158. Ebrius obdormivit Noe, satis biberat Loth,
159. Stertebat Holofernes, somnus tenebat Ionam,
160. Vigilavit prope gallum Petrus, suscitabatur Iesus,
161. Surgere querebat Iacob, prior surrexit Lazarus.
162. Tunc miscuit sciphum Benjamin, intulit Martha,
163. Prior bibit Petrus.
164. Sed quoniam vinum subduxerat Amelsad,
165. Et male miscuerat Ionas, murmurabat Hermippus,
166. Aquam bibebat Iohannes, vinum petebat Maria,
167. Non consentiebat Susanna, plenam ampullam ferebat Martha,
168. Sitiebat Ismahel, ire volebat Tobias,
169. Alienum calicem volebat Iacobus.
170. Sublatisque omnibus aquam manibus petebat Pilatus.
171. Tradidit Iudas, ministravit Martha,
172. Effudit Hermocrates, linteum porrexit Petrus,
173. Intulit lucernas Isaias, gratias egit Simeon,
174. Benedixit Anna, intulit coronas Rahel,
175. Hysopum porrexit David, dedit unguentum Aaron,
176. Perunxit Martha, poma intulit Adam,
177. Favum porrexit Samson, cytharam percussit David,
178. Tympanum Maria, psalterium duxit Iubal,
179. Choreas duxit Iudith, cantavit Asaph,
180. Saltavit Heroidas, laudes dixit Azarias,
181. Magia lusit Mambres, risum fecit Isaac,
182. Osculum porrexit Iudas, valefecit Iothor.
183. Sed cum iam vellent ire, respiciens eos rex sic ait:
184. "Nunc per omnia diem nuptiarum celebrate
185. Et confrequentate et demutato habitu
186. Velut pompas facientes ite in domos vestras."
187. Placuit vero omnibus voluntas regis
188. Atque ite primus omnium prodiit in magistro Iesus,
189. In custodia Iohannes, in retiario Petrus,
190. In secutore Pharaon, in venatore Nemrod,
191. In delatore Iudas, in ortolano Adam,
192. In exodario Eva, in latrone Cain,
193. In pastore Abel, in cursore Iacob,
194. In sacerdote Zaccharias, in rege David,
195. In cytharedo Iubal, in piscatore Iacobus,

196. In coco Ariochns, in aquario Rebecca,
197. In fornacatore Ananias, in bestiario Tecla,
198. In stupido Molessadon, in religioso Salomon,
199. In ministro Martha, in milite Urias,
200. In insano Herodes, in famulo Cham,
201. In medico Tobias, in ebrio Noe,
202. In risiculo Isaac, in triste Iob,
203. In iudice Danihel, in fabro Ioseph,
204. In prostituta Tamar, in formosa Rahel,
205. In odibile Lia, in domina Maria,
206. In impio Loth, in adversario Amalech,
207. In structore Sem, in rustico Esau,
208. In forte Golias, in pistore Hieroboam.
209. Sed quoniam contendebat Dina, aquam effundebat Aaron,
210. Et nudus erat Ionas.
211. Tunc solem petebat Auses, ut siccaretur Bersabee.
212. Quo facto iussit eos rex ad se venire.
213. Qui venerunt altera die et munera ei obtulerunt.
214. Primus itaque omnium obtulit arietem Abraham,
215. Taurum Tecla, oviculam Noe,
216. Camelum Rebecca, leonem Samson,
217. Cervum Esau, vitulum Iesus,
218. Iumentum Iacob, currum Helias,
219. Vestem Iudith, crines Bersabee,
220. Ligulam Agar, frumentum Ioseph,
221. Resinam Ruben, pecuniam Abimelech,
222. Strobilos Levi, capsam Moyses,
223. Favum Petrus, copias Abigea.
224. Sed quoniam ante diem quaedam de convivio
225. Subducta fuerant, iussu regis inquirebantur ab eis.
226. Involaverat enim stragulum multicolourium Agar,
227. Sigillum aureum Rahel, speculum argentum Tecla,
228. Sciphum bibitorium Benjamin, anulum signatorium Tamar,
229. Coopertorium subsericum Iudith,
230. Lanceam regiam David,
231. Alienam uxorem abduxerat Abimelech.
232. Tunc iussit rex, ut omnes, qui fuerant in convivio,
233. Ducerentur in tormenta.
234. Quo facto primum innocens decollatur Iohannes,
235. Occiditur Abel, foras proicitur Adam,
236. Timens obmutescit Zaccharias, fugit Iacob,
237. Queritur Enoch, turbatur Abimelech,
238. Immutatur Nabuchodonosor, deprecatur Abraham,
239. Transfertur Helias, supprimitur Dina,
240. Includitur Noe, impingitur Eglon,
241. Suffigitur Iesus, dampnatur Danihel,
242. Accusatur Susanna, alligatur Ioseph,
243. Occiditur Maria, tollitur Abacuc,
244. Bestiis datur Tecla, in fornacem mittitur Ananias,
245. Vinculis stringitur Samson, perimitur Urias,

246. Flagellatur Paulus, tenditur Isaias,
247. Expoliatur Ionas, lapidatur Hieremias,
248. Excecatur Tobias, non creditur Moysi,
249. Subducitur Abiron, suspenditur Absalon,
250. Confunditur Rebecca, transducitur Agar,
251. Arguitur Pharao, relinquitur Israhel,
252. Addicitur Dathan, deprimitur Chore,
253. Copulatur Isaac, mittitur Nathan,
254. Convincitur Amalech, maledicatur Iudas,
255. Dehonestatur Mambres, cogitur Loth,
256. Interficatur Finees, dimittitur Ofni,
257. Timens moritur Heli, comprimitur Dina,
258. Decipitur Esau, substringitur Saul,
259. Dolet de facto Iob, interrogatur Eva,
260. "Nescio" clamat Cain, tenetur et negat Petrus.
261. Sed quoniam multorum conscientia erat in furto,
262. Quod erat suscipiens Raab, querebatur Laban,
263. Infamabatur Susanna, arguebatur Iohannes,
264. Negabat Rahel, docebat Moyses,
265. Plorabat Trifena, observabat Maria,
266. Attendebat Onesiforus, tristis erat Iob,
267. Iurabat Iacob, non credebatur Pharao,
268. Mentiebatur Hieroboam, pavebat Susanna,
269. Erubescerebat Rebecca, plangebatur Hieremias.
270. Postmodum scrutatis omnibus inventum est furtum apud Beniamin,
271. Quod erat in conscientia Ioseph.
272. Sed posteaquam probatum est regi,
273. Quod Achar filius Carmi solus esset reus furti,
274. Iussit eum commori donavitque eum omnibus.
275. Tunc occasione accepta primus omnium
276. Calce eum percussit Moyses, abiit in complexum Iacob,
277. Vestem detraxit Tecla, ad terram elisit Danihel,
278. Lapide percussit David, virga Aaron,
279. Flagello Iesus, medium aperuit Iudas,
280. Lancea transfixit Eliezer.
281. Tunc iussit rex, uti qui mortuus erat, sepeliretur,
282. Et vendidit agrum Emor, emit Abraham,
283. Monumentum fecit Ioseph, edificavit Nachor,
284. Aromata imposuit Maria, clusit Noe,
285. Superscripsit Pilatus, precium accepit Iudas.
286. Quo facto gaudens clamabat Zaccharias,
287. Confundebatur Helisabeth, stupebat Maria,
288. Ridebat de facto Sara.
289. Tunc explicitis omnibus domos suas repetierunt.

II. The English translation

1. A certain king, Joel by name, organized a wedding in the eastern region,
2. In Cana of Galilee.
3. To this wedding, many were invited.
4. Thus those, who had earlier bathed in the Jordan, came to the feast.
5. At that time Naaman cleansed himself, Amos sprinkled water,
6. James and Andrew brought hay.
7. Matthew and Peter lay down, Solomon prepared the table,
8. And the whole crowd reclined at various places.
9. But when the place was already full of the reclining ones,
10. Those who arrived later, all, as they could,
11. Looked for a place for themselves.
12. So Adam, the first of all, sat in the middle, Eve on leaves,
13. Cain on top of a plough, Abel on a milk churn,
14. Noah on an ark, Japheth on a hill side,
15. Abraham under a tree, Isaac on an altar,
16. Jacob on a rock, Lot beside a gate,
17. Moses on a stone, Elijah on a fur,
18. Daniel on an elevated seat, Tobias on a bed,
19. Joseph on a corn measure, Benjamin on a sack,
20. David on a small mountain, John on the ground,
21. Pharaoh in sand, Lazarus on a table,
22. Jesus on a well, Zacheus on the top of a tree,
23. Matthew on a bank, Rebecca on a water pot,
24. Rahab on flax, Ruth on straw,
25. Thecla on a window, Susanna in a garden,
26. Absolon among boughs, Judas on a moneybox,
27. Peter on a cathedra, James on a net,
28. Samson on a column, Eli on a chair,
29. Rachel on a bag, Paul stood patiently,
30. And Esau grumbled, and Job, because he alone sat in the ashes, suffered.
31. At that time Rebecca presented a veil, Judith a blanket,
32. Achan a cloak, Shem and Japheth covered the guests.
33. The starter was brought and Jonah received a pumpkin,
34. Isaiah vegetables, Israel beet,
35. Ezekiel mulberry, Zacheas sycamore,
36. Adam the fruit, Daniel lupines,
37. Pharaoh watermelons, Cain a thistle,
38. Eve a fig, Rachel an apple,
39. Ananias a plum, Lea onions,
40. Noah olives, Joseph an egg,
41. Aaron grapes, Simeon nuts,
42. Jonah vinegar, Jesus was given a spicy fish soup.
43. Then came Jacob with his sons,
44. And Laban with his daughters and they sat on stones.
45. Abraham with his servants came as well,
46. And Moses with another crowd and they sat outside.
47. Then the king looked at the invited ones and said this:
48. Whoever of you would like, let them enter my cloakroom

49. And I will give to each a dress for the feast.
50. Then some went and received.
51. So, the first of all, Zacharias received a white dress,
52. Abraham a sparrow-coloured one, Lot one yellow like sulfur,
53. Lazarus a linen one, Jonah bluish,
54. Thecla one like flames, Daniel a lion-like one,
55. John the Baptist a dress of camel hair, Adam one from a fur,
56. Judas one of silver, Rahab like a saffron-crocus,
57. Herod a red one, Pharaoh in a marine colour,
58. Enoch one in a heavenly colour, Achan a colourful one,
59. David a dress from strings, Elijah an airy one,
60. Eve a tree-coloured one, Job a twice-destroyed one.
61. Isaiah one folded in the middle, Mary a long, woman's dress,
62. Susanna a chaste one, Moses red like oysters,
63. Abel a purple one, Levi red like blood,
64. Tamar a very colourful one, Azariah a coal-like one,
65. Aaron a yellowish, Judith a hyacinth one,
66. Cain a rusty one, Abiram a black one,
67. Anna a dark blue one, Isaac one of a natural colour,
68. Paul a pure white one, Peter working clothes,
69. Jacob a false one, Jesus a dove gray one.
70. And when the king divided the clothes, looking at them, he said this:
71. You will not feast before you serve to one another.
72. And so they all fulfilled the rules of courtesy.
73. Thus, Elijah, the first, asked for fire, Azariah lit it,
74. Jephthah picked the wood, Isaac brought it,
75. Joseph split it, Jacob opened the well,
76. Shiphras brought ysaop, Daniel stood by the lake,
77. Servants brought the water, Rebecca brought a jug,
78. Noah brought the wine, Hagar carried a leather bag,
79. Judas brought silver, Abraham led a calf,
80. Rahab bound it up, Jesus stretched out the string,
81. Elijah bound together its legs, Peter brought a sword,
82. Daniel choked it to death, Cain killed it,
83. Habakkuk carried it away, Absolon strung it up,
84. Elijah took off its skin, Hermocrates opened its belly,
85. Tobias removed its entrails, Herod drained its blood,
86. Shem threw away the waste, Japheth brought water,
87. Elisha washed the meat, Peleg cut it into pieces,
88. Joshua counted them, Melchizedek salted them,
89. Jacob added oil, Arioeh put it over the fire,
90. Rebecca cooked it, Eve tasted it first.
91. When it was done, everyone sat back in their places.
92. Then Saul brought the bread, Jesus divided it,
93. Peter gave it to everyone, Jacob brought lentils,
94. Esau ate alone, Habakkuk brought soup,
95. Daniel ate it all, Amelsad brought beans,
96. Mishael tasted it first.
97. When Isaac ate of the cooked kid,
98. And Tobias fried fish, Eglon began to make a fuss,

99. Daniel was very hungry, Hermocrates asked for bread,
100. John the Baptist did not eat, Moses did not try anything,
101. Jesus was hungry, Lazarus picked the crumbs.
102. But others kept their portions,
103. Which came from various huntings:
104. Abraham veal, Esau stag,
105. Abel lamb, Noah ram,
106. Samson lion, Elisha bear,
107. But it was Benjamin who kept the greatest piece.
108. After this, Pharaoh gave bread,
109. Joseph divided it among all, Herod brought a plate,
110. Rebecca put together the pieces, Jacob carried them,
111. Noah handed them to everybody.
112. Thus first John took the head,
113. Absolon the brains, Aaron the tongue,
114. Samson the jaw, Peter the little ear,
115. Lea the eyes, Holofernes the neck,
116. Zacharias the arteries, Saul the lower neck,
117. Hagar the shoulders, Jonah the entrails,
118. Tobias the liver, Pharaoh the heart,
119. Isaiah the kidneys, Adam the flank,
120. Eve the rib, Mary the groin,
121. Sarah the belly, Elisabeth the womb,
122. Abel the fat, Abraham the thigh,
123. Moses the tail, Lot the haunch,
124. Jacob the legs, Ezekiel collected the bones.
125. Then Jacob and Andrew brought the fish.
126. And thus Jesus received a cod,
127. Moses a tongue-fish, Benjamin a wolf-fish,
128. Abel mooing fish, Eve murena,
129. Adam a tuna fish, John a crab,
130. Cain a swordfish, Absolon head-fish,
131. Pharaoh a polyp, Lea a ray,
132. Tamar a golden fish, Achan a colourful fish,
133. David a singing fish, Joseph a fish sauce,
134. Jeremiah rock fish, Lazarus a grayling,
135. Judith a sole-fish, Tobias a flying fish,
136. Judas a silver fish, Herod a cuttlefish,
137. Esau a fish with horns, Jonah a blue-green fish,
138. Jacob a fish cunning like a fox, Melchizedek salted fish,
139. Isaiah a fish with teeth, Thecla a spider fish,
140. Noah a raven fish, Rebecca a red fish,
141. Goliath a lizard fish, Mary a herring,
142. Samson a sun-fish.
143. Jonah added vinegar and Melchizedek salt,
144. And Cain was the first one to dip.
145. When all the food had been laid out, Abel provided fat,
146. John honey, Abraham milk,
147. Sarah sprinkled it, Jesus prepared desserts,
148. Paul offered everything.

149. But because they had several kinds of wine,
150. Jesus drank raisin wine, Jonah Marsican,
151. Pharaoh Surrentian, Adam Pellinian,
152. Moses Laletanian, Isaac Cretan,
153. Aaron Adriatic, Zacchaeus Arbustan,
154. Thecla Arsinian, John Albensian,
155. Abel Campanian, Mary Signinian,
156. Rachel Florentine.
157. Adam lay sleepy from too much wine,
158. Drunk Noah fell asleep, Lot drank enough,
159. Holofernes snored, Jonah was won by sleep,
160. Peter was awake beside a cock, Jesus woke up,
161. Jacob wanted to get up, the first one to get up was Lazarus.
162. Then Benjamin shook the cup, Martha brought it,
163. The first to drink was Peter.
164. But because Amelsad stole wine,
165. And Jonah mixed it in a bad way, Hermippus mumbled,
166. John drank water, Mary asked for wine,
167. Susanna did not agree, Martha carried a full vessel,
168. Ismael was thirsty, Tobias wanted to leave,
169. Jacob wanted to drink from another's chalice.
170. When everything was done, Pilate asked for water to wash his hands.
171. Judas gave away, Martha served,
172. Hermocrates poured, Peter spread out a linen cloth,
173. Isaiah brought a lamp, Simeon thanked him,
174. Anna praised, Rachel brought wreaths,
175. David offered ysope, Aaron gave ointment,
176. Martha anointed, Adam brought apples,
177. Samson offered honey, David played the guitar,
178. Mary played the drum, Jubal sang the psalter,
179. Judith led the choir of women dancers, Asaf sang,
180. Heroidas danced, Azariah gave praise,
181. Mambres played magic, Isaac made jokes,
182. Judas offered a kiss, Jethro said goodbye.
183. But when they already wanted to go, the king, looking at them, said:
184. "Now celebrate in all possible ways the day of the wedding
185. And get together, and when you lay aside your costumes,
186. go to your homes in a festive procession."
187. The king's will truly pleased everybody
188. And so Jesus the first of all proceeded as a master,
189. John as a custodian, Peter as a net maker,
190. Pharaoh as a follower, Nimrod as a hunter,
191. Judas as a betrayer, Adam as a gardener,
192. Eve as an actress, Cain as a criminal,
193. Abel as a shepherd, Jacob as a runner,
194. Zacharias as a priest, David as a king,
195. Jubal as a guitar player, Jacob as a fisherman,
196. Ariocho as a cook, Rebecca as a water-bearer,
197. Hananiah as a stoker, Thecla as a beast tamer,
198. Melchizedek as a fool, Solomon as a religious man,

199. Martha as a maid servant, Uriah as a warrior,
200. Herod as a madman, Cham as a servant,
201. Tobias as a doctor, Noah as a drunkard,
202. Isaac as a jester, Job as an unhappy man,
203. Daniel as a judge, Joseph as a craftsman,
204. Tamar as a prostitute, Rachel as a beauty,
205. Lea as a hated woman, Mary as a married woman,
206. Lot as a blasphemous man, Amalek as an adversary,
207. Shem as a master builder, Esau as a countryman,
208. Goliath as a strong man, Jeroboam as a baker.
209. But because Dinah fought, Aaron drew water,
210. And Jonah remained naked.
211. Then Joshua asked for sun, so that Bethsheeba would get dry.
212. When this was done, the king ordered them to come to him.
213. They came the next day and brought him presents.
214. So Abraham the first of all brought him mutton,
215. Thecla a bull, Noah a little sheep,
216. Rebecca a camel, Samson a lion,
217. Esau a stag, Jesus a calf,
218. Jacob draught animals, Elijah a carriage,
219. Judith clothes, Bethsheeba a lock of hair,
220. Achan a spoon, Joseph grain,
221. Ruben resin, Abimelech money,
222. Levi nuts, Moses a casket,
223. Peter honey, Abigail supplies.
224. But because at daybreak some things from the feast
225. Were stolen, by the order of the king the guests were examined.
226. Achan stole a colourful cloak,
227. Rachel a golden picture, Thecla a silver mirror,
228. Benjamin a cup, Tamar a seal-ring,
229. Judith a silk curtain,
230. David a royal lance,
231. Abimelech led away another's wife.
232. Then the king ordered everyone who attended the feast,
233. To be taken to torture.
234. Because of this, as the first one, John the Baptist was beheaded,
235. Abel was killed, Adam expelled,
236. Zacharias became mute out of fear, Jacob ran away,
237. Enoch was examined, Abimelech confused,
238. Nebuchadnezzar was changed, Abraham asked for mercy,
239. Elijah was taken up, Dinah was embarrassed,
240. Noah was enclosed, Eglon stabbed,
241. Jesus was crucified, Daniel was condemned,
242. Susanna was accused, Joseph imprisoned,
243. Mary was killed, Habakkuk was carried away,
244. Thecla given to beasts, Ananias thrown into a furnace,
245. Samson tied up with ropes, Uriah killed,
246. Paul scourged, Isaiah arrested,
247. Jonah robbed, Jeremiah stoned to death,
248. Tobias blinded, Moses disbelieved,

249. Abiram thrown down, Absalom strung up,
250. Rebecca lost her discretion, Hagar was taken away,
251. Pharaoh accused, Israel abandoned to fate,
252. Dathan adjudged, Korah devoured,
253. Isaac tied up, Nathan sent,
254. Amalek was overcome, Judas was cursed,
255. Mambres lost his honesty, Lot was coerced,
256. Phinehas killed, Hophni sent elsewhere,
257. Eli died filled with fear, Dinah was humiliated,
258. Esau was deceived, Saul tied up,
259. Job suffered, Eve was interrogated,
260. "I do not know!" cried Cain, Peter held back and denied.
261. But because many knew about the theft,
262. Rahab was suspect, Laban complained,
263. Susanna was slandered, John was accused,
264. Rachel denied, Moses instructed,
265. Triphena cried, Mary looked on,
266. Onesiforus paid attention, Job was unhappy,
267. Jacob swore, Pharaoh did not believe,
268. Jeroboam deceived, Susanna feared,
269. Rebecca blushed, Jeremiah lamented,
270. After all were investigated, the stolen goods were found on Benjamin,
271. about which Joseph knew before.
272. But afterwards it occurred to the king,
273. that Achan, son of Carmi, was the only one to blame for the theft,
274. he ordered his death and gave him to all.
275. Then they seized the opportunity, and, as the first of all,
276. Moses kicked him, Jacob came to close quarters with him,
277. Thecla tore off his clothes, Daniel knocked him down,
278. David beat him with a stone, Aaron with a rod,
279. Jesus with a whip, Judas cut his stomach,
280. Eliezer stabbed (him) with a lance.
281. Then the king ordered that the one who had died should be buried,
282. And Hamor sold a field, Abraham bought it,
283. Joseph made the grave, Nahor built it,
284. Mary anointed him with the ointment, Noah closed the tomb,
285. Pilate wrote the inscription, Judas accepted the price.
286. After this Zacharias cried with joy,
287. Elisabeth was embarrassed, Mary was stupefied,
288. Sarah laughed at it.
289. When all this was done, they returned to their homes.

III. The Textual Analysis

The main purpose of this part is to provide the reader of the *CC* with the Biblical citation relevant for each allusion, because, in my opinion, understanding the intertextuality of the *CC* is a key element in understanding the *CC* itself. Most of the allusions were defined by Hagen, Strecker, Rönsch, Lapôtre, Harnack, Herveus Burgodiensis and Modesto. However, none of them dealt with specifying the character of the attributions and the relationship between the *CC* and the Bible – the nature of the context shifts etc.

In addition to the individual allusions, there is a short introduction to each catalogue of the *CC*, summarizing its character and distinctive features within the *CC*. When a character appears for the first time, the other occurrences are listed, and his or her role in the *CC* is briefly described. This way, I tried to suggest some connections and relationships within the *CC*.

It proved impossible to interpret in detail each of the 472 allusion. Thus, this part should rather be approached as work in progress. Although many additions can be and should be made to it, it gives an idea of the author's process through specific examples. I found it useful to deal with individual aspects and problems of the *CC* before addressing it as a whole.

i) Arrival (lines 1-11)

The first part of the *CC* is short but dense with plot. It places the feast in spacial context only to keep destroying the idea of definite imaginable space throughout the text. The temporal frame is not given but it soon becomes clear that it cannot be specified – various characters from different times meet here, and thus the text stands outside of the concept of time. Reading *CC* as a religious text, we could argue that this manipulation with time stresses the unity of the Bible, which is approached in the *CC* as a whole that makes sense only in its entirety, and thus also the Biblical characters belong to one another. This reading is, however, not necessary. Putting characters from various parts of a text or from various texts together into one new text is fully in accordance with the writing tradition of Late Antiquity.

The opening part is not yet a real catalogue, it is rather a scene. The manuscripts, as opposed to the editions, make a distinction – the scenes are usually presented in one column, while the catalogues in two columns, putting only one attribution on each line. Thus, in the manuscripts, the whole first part is in one column, not divided into lines like here.¹³⁶ Although Herveus Burgodiensis argued that always two allusions belong together,¹³⁷ his theory works only on a very few pairs.

1. **Quidam rex nomine Iohel nuptias faciebat in regione orientis,**
A certain king, Joel by name, organized a wedding in the eastern region,

Joel 1.5, 8¹³⁸, 12. 'Joel' means 'Yahweh is God' and thus Joel is associated with God and the feast he is organizing with heavenly feast. There are more persons called Joel in the Bible. Here, it is probably the prophet Joel. Cyprian's feast stands in

¹³⁶ I decided to copy the organization of the text from Modesto, although it differs from the manuscripts, because her solution allows good orientation in the text.

¹³⁷ "binos et binos in aliquo consimiles associat" in: Wilmart 258.

¹³⁸ Modesto 36.

a contrast to the first book of Joel, in which people are told to cry over the catastrophes sent by God. “*Expergescimini ebrii et flete et ululate omnes qui bibitis vinum in dulcedine quoniam periit ab ore vestro... Plange quasi virgo accinta sacco super virum pubertatis suae... Vineam confusa est ficus elanguit malogranatum et palma et malum et omnia ligna agri aruerunt quia confusum est gaudium a filiis hominum.*” There are mentions of drinking wine, marriage and food – all relevant for the feast but in a different context in the Bible.

It is not said for whom the king organized the wedding. The later re-writings state explicitly that it is for the king’s son. Hrabanus Maurus also renames the characters: he calls the king ‘Abbatheos’ and the son ‘Bartheos,’ thus openly associating the king with God, the son with Jesus Christ, and the wedding with the marriage of Jesus and the Christian Church.

The place – *in regione orientis*, is quite vague but real. After its specification in the following line, it becomes clear, that the place is symbolic in a similar way as the name of the king – and the reader begins to suspect that it is not a common feast that is going to take place. The place lacks any physical properties, it will enlarge and contract throughout.

This line introduces king Joel. His suggestions and commands throughout the CC often mark the ends and beginnings of individual catalogues. He does not take part in the festivities, he rather watches and regulates them. His role becomes more important towards the end of the text – it is he who decides that Achan should be the scapegoat. His initial offers change first into suggestions and then into sharp orders.¹³⁹

2. In Chana Galileae.

In Cana of Galilee.

John 2. 1-11. Cana of Galilee is the place where, at a wedding, Jesus performs his first miracle: he turns water into wine. “*Et die tertio nuptiae factae sunt in Cana Galilaeae...*”¹⁴⁰

Cana is mentioned two more times in the Bible, always in relation to Christ. He returned there once more (John 4.46) and later reappeared there after his resurrection (John 21.2). These other instances are very short and rather insignificant. This line not only makes clear that the feast is not likely to be a real event, but it also marks it as a unique and unusual feast. In addition, it alludes to the possibility of miracles taking place during it.

3. His nuptiis invitati sunt plures.

To this wedding, many were invited.

¹³⁹ (See the gradual change in lines 47, 70, 183, 212, 225, 232, and 272).

¹⁴⁰ The text continues: “...et erat mater Iesu ibi. Vocatus est autem ibi et Iesus et discipuli eius ad nuptias. Et deficiente vino dicit mater Iesu ad eum: ‘Vinum non habent.’ Et dicit ei Iesus: ‘Quid mihi et tibi est mulier, nondum venit hora mea. Dicit mater eius ministris: ‘Quodcumque dixerit vobis, facite. Erant autem ibi lapidae hydriae sex positae secundum purificationem Iudaeorum, capientes singulae metretas binas vel ternas. Dicit eis Iesus: ‘Implete hydrias aqua.’ Et impleverunt eas usque ad summum. Et dicit eis Iesus: ‘Haurite nunc et ferte architriclino.’ Et tulerunt. Ut autem gustavit architriclinus aquam vinum factam et non sciebat unde esset, ministri autem sciebant qui haurierant aquam. Vocat sponsum architriclinus et dicit ei: ‘omnis homo primum bonum vinum ponit et cum inebriati fuerint, tunc id quod deterius est. Tu servasti bonum vinum usque ad huc. Hoc fecit initium signorum Iesus in Cana Galilaeae et manifestavit gloriam suam et crediderunt in eum discipuli eius.’”

This line does not reveal yet the type of the guests coming, it might still be a common wedding with many guests. But even ‘plures’ does not quite describe the number of the guests – altogether 121 characters are named in the text.

4. Igitur qui temperius loti in Iordane adfuerunt in convivio.

Thus those, who had earlier bathed in the Jordan, came to the feast.

Joshua 3.1-7 and/or Luke 3.3.¹⁴¹ The Jordan is the most important river in both the Old and the New Testament. The miraculous crossing of the Jordan in Joshua enables the Jews to enter the Promised Land.¹⁴² Luke 3.3 describes John the Baptist baptizing in the Jordan.¹⁴³ In Luke 3.21-22, while John baptizes Jesus, the Holy Spirit appears in the form of a dove.¹⁴⁴

In addition, in Antiquity it was common to have a bath before a *cena*. In this respect, the structure is in agreement with a real *symposion*, and also with symposion literature where this episode often occurs.

Modesto translates *temperius* as ‘in the right time’, but does not give any justification or explanation of such translation.

The line could also be understood as describing the baptism, and thus stressing that the feast is only for Christians. Finally, mentioning the Jordan here could also simply relate to the next line.

5. Tunc commendavit Naaman, aquam sparsit Amos,

At that time Naaman cleansed himself, Amos sprinkled water,

a) 2 Kings 5.14. Naaman washes in the Jordan in order to be healed from leprosy: “*Descendit et lavit in Jordane septies iuxta sermonem viri Dei*”¹⁴⁵ et restituta est caro eius sicut caro pueri parvuli et mundatus est.” In the context of *CC*, Naaman simply washes before the feast. Being aware of the Biblical context, we can see that he washed himself very thoroughly indeed.

This is the only mention of Naaman in *CC*. He was probably happy to get rid of leprosy, so he did not cook, eat, drink or steal anything.

This line is the first example of a typical line of the *CC*: a Biblical character is presented in an action or with an attribute. Various parts of the Bible are alluded to in a row without any apparent system. The characters are presented as performing the

¹⁴¹ Modesto 37.

¹⁴² The Vulgate reads: “igitur Iosue de nocte consurgens movit castra egredientesque de Setthim venerunt ad Iordanem ipse et omnes filii Israhel et morati sunt ibi per tres dies 2 quibus evolutis transierunt praecones per castrorum medium 3 et clamare coeperunt quando videritis arcam foederis Domini Dei vestri et sacerdotes stirpis leviticae portantes eam vos quoque consurgite et sequimini praecedentes 4 sitque inter vos et arcam spatium cubitorum duum milium ut procul videre possitis et nosse per quam viam ingrediamini quia prius non ambulastis per eam et cavete ne adpropinquetis ad arcam 5 dixitque Iosue ad populum sanctificamini cras enim faciet Dominus inter vos mirabilia 6 et ait ad sacerdotes tollite arcam foederis et praecedite populum qui iussa complentes tulerunt et ambulaverunt ante eos 7 dixitque Dominus ad Iosue hodie incipiam exaltare te coram omni Israhel ut sciant quod sicut cum Mosi fui ita et tecum sim.”

¹⁴³ The Vulgate: “Et venit in omnem regionem Iordanis praedicans baptismum paenitentiae in remissionem peccatorum.”

¹⁴⁴ The Vulgate: “Factum est autem cum baptizaretur omnis populus et Iesu baptizato et orante apertum est caelum 22 et descendit Spiritus Sanctus corporali specie sicut columba in ipsum et vox de caelo facta est tu es Filius meus dilectus in te conplacuit mihi.”

¹⁴⁵ Elijah.

same or similar activities as in the Bible, but in a different context. The context shift is the basis of the humour of the CC.

b) Amos 7.4-5. This allusion could be a metaphor. Amos does not sprinkle water anywhere in the Bible. But, when God threatens to send a big fire against the people, he persuades him not to do so, and thus he extinguishes the potential fire.¹⁴⁶ Such association is, however, quite distant, and thus not very persuasive.

I found in the book of Amos two mentions of water that might be relevant. They describe God as the one who draws together the waters from the sea and pours them over the earth. Amos 5.8: "...qui vocat *aquas* maris et *effundit* eas super faciem terrae Dominus nomen eius."¹⁴⁷ It might be included as an allusion to God's punishment, because such references repeatedly occur in the CC. And, if we associate king Joel with God, this half line could enigmatically describe his true intentions when organizing the feast.

This is the only occurrence of Amos at the feast.

6. **Iacobus et Andreas attulerunt faenum.**

James and Andrew brought hay.

Most probably the line relates to Jesus' disciples, but it is not clear.¹⁴⁸ There are many places where James and Andrew are mentioned in the New Testament, but mostly only as the disciples or as fishermen.¹⁴⁹ Further, the commentary of Herveus Burgodiensis does not provide much useful information: "Iacobus and Andreas, qui erant de Bethsaida, dicuntur attulisse faenum, quod habundat in regione civitatis."

It seems strange to connect specifically James and Andrew. They are put together again in line 125a bringing fish. They were both fishermen, but James' brother was John and Andrew's brother was Peter. James also appears alone: in lines 27b and 195b as a fisherman, and in 169 as the man who desires Jesus' chalice. Andrew does not appear alone.

7. **Matheus et Petrus straverunt, mensam posuit Salomon,**

Matthew and Peter lay down, Solomon prepared the table,

¹⁴⁶ "Haec ostendit mihi Dominus Deus et ecce vocabat iudicium ad ignem Dominus Deus, et devoravit abyssum multam et comedit simul partem. Et dixi: 'Domine Deus, quiesce, obsecro, quis suscitabit Jacob quia parvulus est.'"

¹⁴⁷ The other, almost the same is Amos 9.6: "qui aedificat in caelo ascensionem suam et fasciculum suum super terram fundavit qui *vocat aquas maris et effundit eas super faciem terrae* Dominus nomen eius."

¹⁴⁸ Harnack states openly that he cannot explain it (Harnack 15). Hagen skips the allusion (Hagen 179).

¹⁴⁹ From the Vulgate: Matthew 4.18: "ambulans autem iuxta mare Galilaeae vidit duos fratres Simonem qui vocatur Petrus et Andream fratrem eius mittentes rete in mare erant enim piscatores."

Matthew 4.21: "et procedens inde vidit alios duos fratres Iacobum Zebedaei et Iohannem fratrem eius in navi cum Zebedaeo patre eorum reficientes retia sua et vocavit eos."

Mark 1.16: "et praeteriens secus mare Galilaeae vidit Simonem et Andream fratrem eius mittentes retia in mare erant enim piscatores."

Mark 1.19: "et progressus inde pusillum vidit Iacobum Zebedaei et Iohannem fratrem eius et ipsos in navi componentes retia."

John 1.40: "erat autem Andreas frater Simonis Petri unus ex duobus qui audierant ab Iohanne et secuti fuerant eum."

a) There are mentions of Matthew and Peter, but there is no connection to this context.¹⁵⁰ The only link between the apostles Matthew and Peter is that Jesus visited their houses and not the houses of the other apostles. And homes could be connected to lying down.¹⁵¹

Matthew appears again in line 23a sitting on a bank. Peter appears 11 more times in various contexts.¹⁵²

b) 1 Kings 4.22-23 describes the amount of food that was consumed at Solomon's court.¹⁵³ The word *mensa* appears in 1 Kings 2.7, where the dying David gives advice to Solomon as how to behave towards his friends and enemies. "Sed et filiis Berzellai Galaaditis redes gratiam, eruntque comedentes in *mensa* tua." Thus, Solomon does not prepare a table in the Bible, he is only advised to do so.

Solomon appears once again in line 198b, as walking in the procession *in religioso*.

8. **Atque omnes discubuerunt turbae.**

And the whole crowd reclined at various places.

Mark 6.39-40 and John 6.10. The crowd probably alludes to the people who went and listened to Jesus. At least, these passages are the only ones in the Vulgate where the word *discubuerunt* occurs. In addition, the crowd in the Vulgate sits on hay, *faenum*, like in *CC*. Jesus proceeds to feed the crowd with bread and fish,¹⁵⁴ and thus this is one of numerous allusions to food in the *CC*. As soon becomes clear, this crowd does not include the most prominent Biblical characters. These are yet to come.

9. **Sed cum iam locus discumbentium plenus esset,**

But when the place was already full of the reclining ones,

10 **Qui superveniebant, quisque ut poterat,**

Those who arrived later, all, as they could,

11. **Locum sibi inveniebat.**

Looked for a place for themselves.

The last three lines form a rare occasion in the *CC*: a real plot is presented, instead of a catalogue. The scene is very vivid – the place is full of guests and so the

¹⁵⁰ From the Vulgate: Matthew 8.14: et cum venisset Iesus in domum Petri vidit socrum eius iacentem et febricitantem."

Mark 2.14-15: "14 et cum praeteriret vidit Levin Alpei sedentem ad teloneum et ait illi sequere me et surgens secutus est eum 15 et factum est cum accumberet in domo illius multi publicani et peccatores simul discumbebant cum Iesu et discipulis eius erant enim multi qui et sequebantur eum."

¹⁵¹ Modesto 37.

¹⁵² The lines are: 27a, 68b, 81b, 93a, 114b, 160a, 163, 172b, 189b, 223a, and 260b.

¹⁵³ "Erat autem *cibus* Salomonis per dies singulos triginta chori similiae et sexaginta chori farinae 23 decem boves pingues et viginti boves pascuales et centum arietes excepta venatione cervorum caprearum atque bubalorum et avium altitium."

¹⁵⁴ Mark 6.39-40: "et praecepit illis ut accumbere facerent omnes secundum contubernia super viride *faenum* 40 et *discubuerunt* in partes per centenos et per quinquagenos."

John 6.10: "dixit ergo Iesus facite homines discumbere erat autem *faenum* multum in loco *discubuerunt* ergo viri numero quasi quinque milia."

newcomers have to sit somewhere else. However, it remains unclear who the first guests are, as the most prominent characters of the Bible are the latecomers.

In my opinion, this scene is included to provide a reason, however poor, for the latecomers to sit on unusual, surprising things.

(i) Seating (lines 12-30)

The second catalogue, compared with the others, follows more or less the chronological organization of the Bible. Nevertheless, it would strain the case to speak about keeping the Biblical chronology – after the first four attributions, jumping back and forward takes place. It is obviously not the intention of the author of the *CC* to organize his work chronologically.

It is actually the first ‘real’ catalogue of *CC*, with a marked beginning (specifying someone as the first) and an end (introduction of a new action). This catalogue has been, together with the catalogue of the fish, examined in more detail by Christine Modesto.¹⁵⁵ Most of the allusions used are clear.

12. Primus atque omnium sedit Adam in medio, Eva super folia,

So Adam, the first of all, sat in the middle, Eve on leaves,

a) Genesis 2.15. Adam is first to be mentioned, as he was the first to be created. But there is no mention of *medium* in the Vulgate.¹⁵⁶ *Medium* could certainly be argued to be the most prominent place to sit. And, at the same time, it is abstract enough to fit such a strange space as the place of the feast – there is no big table with a head where Adam could sit and prove his prominence.

In my opinion, *medium* could, however, in a wider sense, allude to Adam’s ‘middle’, which was opened while Eve was being created. This could be supported by the fact that none of the other allusions deals simply with Adam’s prominence, while there are two allusions on the birth of Eve from his side while he was sleeping.

Adam appears ten times during the feast.¹⁵⁷ He is associated with the fruit (lines 36a, 176b, and 191b), his new robe of fur (55b, 129a, and 151b), the birth of Eve (119b and 157), and the expulsion from Eden (235b). Thus, the most important and popular events of his life are alluded to, with the exception of the event when God gave Adam and Eve robes from fur. It is usually interpreted as God’s forgiveness, but its inclusion in the *CC* still seems rather peculiar.

Adam is the first character in the *CC*, singled out as *primus*. The individual catalogues often begin with stressing one character who was the first to do the described activity. Other characters thus singled out in the *CC* are Zacharias,¹⁵⁸ Elijah,¹⁵⁹ John the Baptist,¹⁶⁰ Jesus,¹⁶¹ Abraham,¹⁶² and Moses¹⁶³. They all have a very significant position in the Bible. Similarly, other characters are singled out as doing something ‘prior’ (for these, see line 90b).

¹⁵⁵ Modesto 84-90.

¹⁵⁶ The Vulgate: “Tulit ergo Dominus Deus hominem et posuit eum in paradiso voluptatis ut operaretur et custodiret illum.”

¹⁵⁷ The subsequent occasions are lines 36a, 55b, 119b, 129a, 151b, 157, 176b, 191b, 235b.

¹⁵⁸ Line 73.

¹⁵⁹ Line 73.

¹⁶⁰ Line 112.

¹⁶¹ Line 188.

¹⁶² Line 214.

¹⁶³ Line 275-276.

b) Genesis 3.7. While Adam is associated with the state of innocence before the fall, Eve is characterized through the fall itself.¹⁶⁴

Eve appears seven more times.¹⁶⁵ Only once is her birth alluded to (120a). All the other allusions concern the fall: fig leaves (here and 38a), the tree (60a), tasting the fruit (90b), the snake (128b), expulsion (192a) and interrogation (259b).

13. Cain super aratrum, Abel super mulgarium,
Cain on top of a plough, Abel on a milk churn,

a) Genesis 4.2. Cain became a ploughman. “Fuit autem Abel *pastor ovium* et Cain *agricola*.” This image of Cain as a ploughman and Abel as a shepherd stemming from this Biblical allusion reappears throughout the *CC*. Very specific attributes are associated with them, so that it seems that the Bible is not the only source of the allusions. However, it is also possible that the author of *CC* approached this sentence as establishing two contrasting types and developed the details himself.

Cain re-appears seven more times.¹⁶⁶ He is always connected either with his occupation, or, more frequently, with his murder of Abel.

b) Genesis 4.2. Abel became a shepherd. The order in *CC* is reversed (see 13a). This is the first appearance of Abel. He is mentioned eight more times.¹⁶⁷ Similarly to Cain, Abel always appears either in his general role as a shepherd, or as Cain’s victim.

14. Noe super archam, Iaphet super lateres,
Noah on an ark, Japheth on a hill side,

a) Genesis 6.14. God tells Noah to build an ark: “Fac tibi *arcam* de lignis levigatis mansiunculas in arca facies et bitumine linies intrinsecus et extrinsecus.”

In general, the ark is Noah’s most well-known attribute. However, out of eleven references to Noah in the *CC*,¹⁶⁸ only this one refers to the ark explicitly. Seven more lines can be connected to it – the animals taken into the ark (105b, 111 and 215b), God’s closing of the ark (240a and 284b), and detecting the end of the flood (40a and 140a). Three other lines allude to Noah’s drunkenness (78a, 158a, 201b). The story of Noah getting drunk, seen naked and covered by his sons is elaborated through mentions of Shem, Ham and Japheth as well.

b) Genesis 9.27. “dilatet Deus Iafeth et habitet in tabernaculis Sem sitque Chanaan servus eius.” Modesto translates *lateres* as ‘bricks’ and explains that bricks are necessary to build the houses in which Japheth is to live.¹⁶⁹ Thus, the half line would be connected with Noah’s curse, a result of the event when his sons covered him.

I am more inclined to take *lateres* as ‘sides’. This place could, in my opinion, relate more directly to the covering of Noah. The ‘side’ would be referring to the fact

¹⁶⁴ “Et aperti sunt oculi amborum cumque cognovissent esse se nudos consuerunt *folia ficus* et fecerunt sibi perizomata.”

¹⁶⁵ In lines 38a, 60a, 90b, 120a, 128b, 192a, and 259b.

¹⁶⁶ In lines 37b, 66a, 82b, 130a, 144, 192b, and 260a.

¹⁶⁷ In lines 63a, 105a, 122a, 128a, 145, 155a, 193a, 235a.

¹⁶⁸ These are in 14a, 40a, 78a, 105b, 111, 140a, 158a, 201b, 215b, 240a, 284b.

¹⁶⁹ Modesto 84.

that Japheth approached him from the side, turned backwards. Or, the ‘side’ would be a euphemism for Noah's private parts that were covered.

Finally, the allusion could easily be based on some pictorial representation of the flood with Japheth sitting on a hillside by the ark while the water is rising.

Japheth is mentioned two more times, in lines 32b and 86b, first associated with covering his drunk father, then ‘adding water’ probably with the flood.

15. Abraham sub arbore, Isaac super aram,
Abraham under a tree, Isaac on an altar,

a) Genesis 18.1.¹⁷⁰ God appears to Abraham when he is sitting in the entrance of his tent. From the Vulgate, the connection is not clear and can be only established by the fact that Abraham sits in shadow on both occasions. “Apparuit autem ei Dominus in *convalle* Mambre sedenti in ostio tabernaculi sui in ipso fervore diei.” But an older version clears up the allusion: “ad ilicem oder quercum Mambre.”¹⁷¹

This is the first appearance of Abraham out of ten.¹⁷² The same story as here is usually alluded to – the arrival of angels revealing to him the coming birth of his son. Mentions of Sara relate to the same occasion, while mentions of Isaac mostly to preparations for his sacrifice.

b) Genesis 22.9. The well-known scene of Isaac’s sacrifice. “Veneruntque ad locum quem ostenderat ei Deus, in quo aedificavit *altarem* et desuper ligna composuit cumque conligasset Isaac filium suum, *posuit eum in altari* super struem lignorum.” There is an *agens* shift, because in Genesis, Abraham places Isaac on the altar, while in *CC* Isaac sits there himself. As Isaac is generally considered to be a pre-figuration of Jesus Christ, his sitting on the altar might signify his willingness to die. Thus, the link between Isaac and Jesus would be strengthened.

Isaac appears altogether 8 times.¹⁷³ Most of them are related to his sacrifice, but there are three allusions to his birth and to laughter (67b, 181b, and 202a). The allusions to laughter could be understood as referring to the meaning of his name – ‘the laughing one’.

16. Iacob super petram, Loth iuxta ostium,
Jacob on a rock, Lot beside a gate,

a) Genesis 28.11. Jacob takes a stone, *lapis*, to sleep on.¹⁷⁴ In his sleep, Jacob has the well-known dream of the ladder. He wakes up, concludes that the place is God’s house and anoints the stone. Thus, mentioning the stone stresses indirectly the importance of the place of the wedding as the place of God’s presence.

However, there is no reason for the author to change the Biblical word *lapis* for *petra*, except perhaps in trying to avoid repetition, as *lapis* appears in the following line.

¹⁷⁰ Hagen also proposes Genesis 21.33, but Strecker rejects it, because instead of the “plantavit nemus” of the Vulgate, there is “plantavit agrum” in the Itala (Strecker 75).

¹⁷¹ Strecker 75.

¹⁷² The nine others are in lines 45, 52a, 79b, 104a, 122b, 146b, 214, 238b, 282b.

¹⁷³ In lines 15b, 74b, 67b, 97, 152b, 181b, 202a, and 253a.

¹⁷⁴ “Cumque venisset ad quendam locum et vellet in eo requiescere post solis occubitum, tulit de *lapidibus* qui iacebant et subponens capiti suo dormivit in eodem loco.”

Jacob is mentioned very frequently, 15 times, in the *CC*.¹⁷⁵ His dream and the fight with the angel is alluded to, but most often his deception of Esau.

b) Genesis 19.1. Perhaps an allusion to Lot sitting beside the gate of Sodom: “Loth autem sedebat ad *portam* Sodomorum.” The word used in the Vulgate is different.

Without refusing Hagen’s interpretation, Modesto proposes also Genesis 19.10, where the word *ostium* appears, when Lot is taken inside his house and the gate is closed. “Et ecce miserunt manum viri et introduxerunt ad se Loth cluseruntque *ostium*.” The *viri* who thus save Lot are actually angels. Thus, similarly to the previous line, the divine presence is stressed here.

Lot appears six times.¹⁷⁶ The destruction of Sodom is directly alluded to only once (52b), but as many of the allusions are not quite clear, they could easily refer to the same event.

17. **Moyse super lapidem, Helias super pellem,** Moses on a stone, Elijah on a fur,

a) Exodus 17.12. Moses rests on the stone, so that he could keep his hand up. “Manus autem Mosi erant graves, sumentes igitur *lapidem* posuerunt subter eum in quo sedit Aaron autem et Hur sustentabant manus eius ex utraque parte.” The whole episode is a miracle: when Moses holds up his hand, his people are winning over Amalek, when he puts it down, Amalek wins. The Israelites finally win over Amalek. This episode is alluded to again through the mentions of Amalek.

It is also possible that the attributes of Moses and Jacob (line 16a) should be switched: *lapis* obviously fits Jacob better than *petra*. Moses in turn is associated with *petra*, in the better known episode of drawing water from the rock, in Genesis 17.6.¹⁷⁷ This miracle of Moses was later perceived as a prefiguration of the miracles of Jesus Christ.

This is the first appearance of Moses, who then re-appears 10 times.¹⁷⁸ Some of the allusions relate to Moses’ inability to speak (127a, 152a, 248b), many others are not very clear. As opposed to other characters, who are usually represented only through one or two significant events, he is represented through five different events and a role.

b) 2 Kings 1.8.¹⁷⁹ Elijah is recognized due to his fur cloak. “At illi dixerunt vir pilosus et zona *pelicia* accintis renibus qui ait Helias Thesbites est.” Perhaps it is the same cloak which Elijah later uses to make the Jordan draw back its waters so that he can cross it. In any case, a fur cloak is not commonly associated with this character. There is one more similar allusion in line 84a.

Surprisingly, both Adam and Elijah are put together with fur in the *CC*. However, it is not the only occasion in the *CC* that two characters are associated with the same object.

¹⁷⁵ The lines are: 16a, 43, 69a, 75b, 89a, 93b, 110b, 124a, 138a, 161a, 193b, 218a, 236b, 267a, and 276b.

¹⁷⁶ In lines: 16b, 52b, 123b, 158b, 206a, and 255b.

¹⁷⁷ The Vulgate: “en ego stabo coram te ibi super *petram* Horeb percutiesque *petram* et exhibit ex ea aqua ut bibat populus fecit Moses ita coram.”

¹⁷⁸ In lines 46, 62b, 100b, 123a, 127a, 152a, 222b, 248b, 264b, and 276a.

¹⁷⁹ Modesto 86.

This is the first appearance of Elijah at the feast. He appears six more times.¹⁸⁰ Most of them allude to the mode of Elijah's death, while line 81a probably relates to the killing of the prophets.

18. Danihel super tribunal, Tobias super lectum,
Daniel on an elevated seat, Tobias on a bed,

a) Daniel 2.14: "Tunc Daniel requivit de lege et sententia ab Arioch principe militiae regis, qui egressus fuerat ad interficiendos sapientes Babylonis." Modesto suggests also Daniel 13.50, where Daniel, still young, speaks for Susanna and he achieves respect of the elders, who tell him to sit in the middle.¹⁸¹

In none of the quotations is Daniel mentioned as sitting on a tribune. Nevertheless, he could have been portrayed as such – there is only a little abstraction needed to create this image on the basis of his role in the Bible.

Daniel's appearance in *CC* is important – he is mentioned 10 times.¹⁸² The attributes relate to his imprisonment (36b, 95a, 99a and 241b), the lion den (54b, 82a, 277b) and his role as judge (18a, 76b, and 203a).

b) Hagen proposes Tobit 4.1, which, however, concerns the deathbed of his father and has no connection to Tobias himself. Modesto's proposal, Tobit 8.4,¹⁸³ makes more sense. In her opinion, the allusion is to Tobias' marriage bed, which is specific, because Tobias is the first after seven bridegrooms who survives the wedding night. However, the word *lectum* is nowhere mentioned in the text.

So, while in the Bible Tobias leaves the bed in order to praise God, in *CC* he sits on it as if compromising – he does not sleep in the bed, but he is reluctant to leave it.

This allusion is not very clear: the episode with the bed is only one of many examples of Tobias' piety, and, at the same time, there are other Biblical characters who are related to their beds more closely. For example, it is said about Saul that he *sedit super lectum* in 1 Samuel 28.23.¹⁸⁴ This allusion is connected to violence – Saul just heard from Samuel that God left him and he will lose the battle, and to food as well, because his wife forces him to eat.

Comparing this allusion to the first part of this line, we could argue that, as Daniel proved to be a good and wise judge in many arguments, the bed is Tobias' tribune – thanks to the help of the angel, he gets rid of the demon troubling Sarah and becomes the first of her husbands to survive the wedding night.

Tobias is mentioned eight times.¹⁸⁵ In older versions of the *CC* his name is spelled as *tobis* or *thobis*. The main allusion is to his miracles with the entrails of the fish he catches.

19. Ioseph super modium, Benjamin super saccum,

¹⁸⁰ In lines 59b, 73a, 81a, 84a, 218b, and 239a.

¹⁸¹ "Reversus est ergo populus cum festinatione et dixerunt ei senes: "Veni et *sede in medio* nostrum et indica nobis, quia tibi dedit Deus honorem senectutis."

¹⁸² In lines 18a, 36b, 54b, 76b, 82a, 95a, 99a, 203a, 241b, 277b.

¹⁸³ "Tunc hortatus est virginem Tobias, dixitque ei: Sarra, esurge, deprecemur Deum hodie et cras et secundum cras, quia istis tribus noctibus Deo iungimur, tertia autem transacta nocte in nostro erimus coniugio."

¹⁸⁴ The Vulgate: "qui rennuit et ait non comedam coegerunt autem eum servi sui et mulier et tandem audita voce eorum surrexit de terra et sedit super lectum."

¹⁸⁵ In lines 18b, 85a, 98a, 118a, 135b, 168b, 201a, 248a.

Joseph on a corn measure, Benjamin on a sack,

a) Genesis 41.56.¹⁸⁶ Although *modium* is not mentioned anywhere in the Bible, it is easy to imagine Joseph, who takes care about the stocks of grain for the whole of Egypt, giving out *modia* of the preserved grain.

This Joseph is not distinguished in any way from the father of Jesus and from Joseph of Arimathea, who are also present at the feast. Thus, confusion may arise and does arise: there are two allusions, 40b and 133b, where it cannot be determined which Joseph is meant.

The Old Testament Joseph is connected to the grain, the trick he played on Benjamin and, perhaps, to his imprisonment by Potiphar. After this line, he is mentioned also in lines 109a, 220b, 242b, and 271.

b) Genesis 44.12. This allusion is to a successful trick of Joseph on his brother – finding the supposedly stolen cup in Benjamin’s sack: “Quos scrutatus incipiens a maiore usque ad minimum, invenit scyphum *in sacco* Beniamin.”

Benjamin reappears, always related to the sack and the cup in it, and only once is he mentioned as Joseph’s most beloved brother (line 107). After this first citation, five more follow.¹⁸⁷

20. David super monticulum, Iohannes in terra,
David on a small mountain, John on the ground,

1 Samuel 26.13.¹⁸⁸ After David spared Saul’s life and only took his lance from him, he stood on top of a mountain, *in vertice montis*, to talk to him from afar. Even if this is the right allusion,¹⁸⁹ it remains unclear why the author used a diminutive. Modesto states vaguely that hills and mountains play an important role in David’s life, as for example in 1 Samuel 22.5¹⁹⁰ or 26.1.¹⁹¹ The latter is the beginning of the encounter with Saul – David is hiding in the hill of Hachilah. (The word used in the Vulgate is *collis*.)

The allusion is, in any case, to a less-known episode. This is the first entrance by David. He appears 8 times,¹⁹² three times as a musician (59a, 133a, and 177b), once as king (194b), once as the killer of Goliath (278a). Two allusions are to the episode with the lance (here and 230) and the remaining case connects him with ysop.

a) Matthew 3.4.¹⁹³ “Ipse autem Iohannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum et zonam pelliciam circa lumbos suos esca autem eius erat lucustae et mel silvestre.” It could be argued that John the Baptist sits on the ground due to his modesty. This attribute, although not related to a specific place in the text of the Bible, is in accordance with the general image of John the Baptist.

¹⁸⁶ “Crescebat autem cotidiefames in omni terra aperuitque Ioseph universa horrea et vendebat Aegyptiis.”

¹⁸⁷ These are: 107, 127b, 162a, 228a, and 270.

¹⁸⁸ “Cumque transisset David ex adverso et stetisset *in vertice montis* de longe et esset grande intervallum inter eos.”

¹⁸⁹ It was suggested by Modesto (Modesto 86).

¹⁹⁰ “Et profectus est David et venit in saltum Haret.”

¹⁹¹ “Ecce David absconditus est in colle Hachila.”

¹⁹² In lines 20a, 59a, 133a, 175a, 177b, 194b, 230, 278a.

¹⁹³ This is Modesto’s suggestion, but she is not sure. Modesto 87.

This is the first allusion to a New Testament character in the *CC*. After this, John the Baptist re-appears 10 more times.¹⁹⁴ Allusion is made primarily to his fast¹⁹⁵ and to his death.¹⁹⁶ His robe is mentioned twice – once a real one (55a), once as a sign of his purity (154b).

21. Pharao in arena, Lazarus super tabulam,
Pharaoh in sand, Lazarus on a table,

a) Exodus 14.30.¹⁹⁷ Pharaoh is connected to sand quite loosely, only through the association with the land of Egypt. Thus, the allusion is probably not to a specific place in the Bible. (In my opinion, a better choice would be Exodus 14.3,¹⁹⁸ because it at least partly reveals the nature of the land.

This first appearance of Pharaoh at the feast is a good example of the problems connected with deciphering the attributes assigned to him: they are all very detached, rarely based on the text of the Bible. Altogether he is mentioned 10 times.¹⁹⁹

b) Luke 16.20-21.²⁰⁰ An obvious allusion to Lazarus who wanted to eat crumbs from a rich man's table. The word used in the excerpt, is, however, *mensa*. In the *CC* Lazarus' position is reversed: now he can eat whatever he wants.

This Lazarus is mentioned twice in the *CC*, here and in line 101b, where it is again alluded to his poverty. The poor Lazarus is actually not a character, he is the subject of Jesus' story. There is another character of the same name in the *CC*: Jesus' friend Lazarus who dies and is brought back to life by Jesus.²⁰¹

22. Iesus super puteum, Zacheus super arborem,
Jesus on a well, Zacheus on the top of a tree,

a) John 4.6.²⁰² Jesus sits on the edge of a well and speaks about the water of life, which will satisfy all thirst. In the Vulgate, he is described to sit *super fontem*. It is doubtful whether the exchange of 'spring' for 'well' is a matter of word choice only, but while spring is never mentioned in the *CC*, well is often alluded to. In any case, this seat makes Jesus the controller of water. It also recalls his miracle at the wedding at Cana.

Jesus appears altogether 14 times at the feast, only surpassed by Jacob.²⁰³ Eleven different events from his life are evoked: sitting by the well (here), his crucifixion (lines 42b, 150a, 241a), baptism (line 69b), being bound (80b), dividing bread (92b), his fasting in the desert (101a), arrival to Jerusalem on the ass (126), Isaiah's prophecy of his birth (147b), being woken by the apostles during the storm

¹⁹⁴ In lines 20b, 55a, 100a, 112, 129b, 146a, 154b, 166a, 189a, 234, and 263b.

¹⁹⁵ (20b, 100a, 129b, 146a, 166a)

¹⁹⁶ (112, 189a, 234, 263b)

¹⁹⁷ "liberavitque Dominus in die illo Israhel de manu Aegyptiorum."

¹⁹⁸ "Dicturusque est Pharao super filiis Israhel coartati sunt in terre, conclusit eos *desertum*."

¹⁹⁹ In lines 21a, 37a, 57b, 108, 118b, 131a, 151a, 190a, 251a, and 267b.

²⁰⁰ "Et erat quidam mendicus nomine Lazarus, qui iacebat ad ianum eius ulceribus plenus. Cupiens saturari de micis quae cadebant de *mensa* divitis, sed canes veniebant et lingeabant ulcera eius."

²⁰¹ This one is mentioned three times, in lines 53a, 134b, and 161b.

²⁰² "Erat autem ibi fons Iacob. Iesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic *super fontem*, hora erat quasi sexta."

²⁰³ The relevant lines are: 22a, 42b, 69b, 80b, 92b, 101a, 126, 147b, 150a, 160b, 188, 217b, 241a, and 279a.

(160b), parable of the prodigal son (217b), and flagellating everyone out of the Jerusalem temple (279a). One of the allusions is to his role as master (line 188). From this list, it is also clear that it was not the intention of the author to place the chosen allusions in the chronological order in the *CC*. Most of the events can be found in more than one gospel, and thus it is difficult to judge which of them the author of the *CC* used. However, none of the gospels includes all the events, and so it is clear that the author worked at least with two.

b) Luke 19.2-4. Zacheus climbs a tree, *in arborem sycomorum*, so that he would see Jesus passing by.²⁰⁴ The tree in the Bible is specified – it is a sycamore. The author of the *CC* made an abstraction here.

This image of eager Zacheus on top of a tree recurs during *CC*. Zacheus appears three times – 22b, 35b, and 153b – each time associated with a tree.

23. Matheus in scamno, Rebecca super hydriam,
Matthew on a bank, Rebecca on a water pot,

a) (See also 7a.) Matthew 9.9. Modesto suggests that the bank could be a usual part of the customhouse - *teloneum*.²⁰⁵ This association is rather distant, there is no mention of a bank in the Bible. Modesto also thinks that bank could be a metaphor for Matthew's simplicity and humility.²⁰⁶ In my opinion the allusion could be explained by an image or by the use of another text.

b) Genesis 24.16. Rebecca goes to fetch water (*impleverat hydriam*) and thanks to sharing it she marries well.²⁰⁷ It is remarkable that Rebecca is followed by four more women in a row in the *CC*.

This is the first appearance of Rebecca at the feast. She is mentioned 10 times, which makes her the most frequently mentioned woman in the *CC*.²⁰⁸ Her attributes recall primarily her embarrassment when she saw her future husband, Isaac, for the first time,²⁰⁹ fetching water,²¹⁰ and her trick on Isaac, so that he would bless Jacob instead of Esau.²¹¹ Most of Jacob's and Esau's attributes are also connected with this last event.

24. Raab super stuppam, Ruth super stipulam,
Rahab on flax, Ruth on straw,

a) Joshua 2.6.²¹² Prostitute Rahab saves spies by hiding them in flax. The Vulgate reads *stipula*,²¹³ which is associated in the following half line of the *CC* with Ruth,

²⁰⁴ The whole quotation reads: "Et ecce vir nomine Zaccheus, et hic erat princeps publicanorum et ipse dives. Et quarebat videre Iesum quis esset, et non poterat prae turba quia statura pisillus erat. Et praecurrens ascendit in arborem sycomorum ut videret illum, quia inde erat transiturus."

²⁰⁵ "Et cum transiret inde Iesus, vidit hominem sedentem in teloneo, Mattheum nomine et ait illi sequere me et surgens secutus est eum."

²⁰⁶ Modesto 87.

²⁰⁷ "Puella decora nimis virgoque pulcherrima et incognita viro descenderat autem ad fontem et impleverat hydriam ac revertebatur."

²⁰⁸ In lines 23b, 31a, 77b, 90a, 110a, 140b, 196b, 216a, 250a, and 269a.

²⁰⁹ (Lines 31a, 140b, 250a, 269a.)

²¹⁰ (Lines 23b, 77b, 196b, 216a.)

²¹¹ (Lines 90a and 110a.)

²¹² This link is suggested by Modesto in: Modesto 88.

who, according to the Vulgate should be attributed *spicae*. This is not the only occasion in the *CC* where it seems that the author might have mixed the attributes on purpose (see also for example line 42). On the other hand, it does not happen often enough to claim that the exchange of attributes is one of his primary techniques.

Throughout the *CC*, Rahab is associated with this trick and its consequences. Altogether she appears four times, in lines 24a, 56b, 80a, and 262a.

b) Ruth 2.2. Ruth offers to go to a field and pick up grain, *spicas*, not *stipulam* in the Vulgate.²¹⁴

This is the first and the only appearance of Ruth at the feast. It seems curious that she appears so briefly and with an inexplicable attribute.

25. Thecla super fenestram, Susanna in orto,
Thecla on a window, Susanna in a garden,

a) *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (*APT*) 7. Paul in Iconium was staying and preaching opposite Thecla's house. She stood by the window, "*assedit super fenestram*" and listened to his preaching and was converted. Sitting on the window is different to sitting by the window, it is definitely less comfortable.

This is the first instance of the use of the *APT*, the most frequently cited of all apocrypha in the *CC*. Harnack uses this line to show that the author of the *CC* was using a Latin translation of the *APT* rather than the Greek original.²¹⁵ However, in my opinion, it is far from certain.

Thecla appears nine times.²¹⁶ She is associated with various events from her life – meeting Paul (25a, 139b), being given to the beasts (197b, 215a, 244a), being about to be burnt (54a, 154a), her clothes being torn off her (277a), and escaping from prison (227b). Most of these are violent attempts to 'cure' her from her faith.

b) Daniel 13.7. Beautiful and chaste Susanna is walking in the garden of her husband when the two vile men approach her and want to get her.²¹⁷ The original attribute, *in pomerio*, is abstracted, but the connection is clear. *In paradiso* appears in some manuscripts instead.

Susanna appears six times in the *CC*.²¹⁸ Three of the allusions come straight from the Bible – 25b, 167a and 242a; one is in accordance with general understanding of her story as a story of chastity (62a). The final two (263a and 268b) are mere implications. The very last – *pavebat* – even stands in contrast to the usual perception of Susanna as a brave woman.

26. Absalon in frondibus, Iudas super loculum,
Absolon among boughs, Judas on a moneybox,

²¹³ "Ipsa autem fecit ascendere viros in solarium domus suae, operuitque eos *lini stipula* quae ibi erat."

²¹⁴ "Dixitque Ruth Moabitibus ad socrum suam si iubes vadam in agrum et colligam *spicas* quae metentium fugerint manus."

²¹⁵ Harnack 18.

²¹⁶ In lines 25a, 54a, 139b, 154a, 197b, 215a, 227b, 244a, and 277a.

²¹⁷ "Cum autem populus revertisset per meridiem, ingrediebatur Susanna et deambulabat *in pomerio* viri sui."

²¹⁸ In lines 25b, 62a, 167a, 242a, 263a, and 268b.

a) 2 Samuel 18.9. Absolon's head is stuck among branches of an oak, "*adhesit caput eius quercui*," while he rides a mule.²¹⁹

This is the first appearance of Absolon. There are four more.²²⁰ All the allusions are related to the same story.

b) John 13.29. This is the only place where the word is in connection to Judas. Judas had a moneybox, *loculos*, on him, so Jesus sent him to buy things that the disciples could then give to the poor.²²¹ All the other nine allusions to Judas,²²² however, relate to his betrayal of Jesus, and thus this allusion stands out. However, this line is also concerned with money, and thus it is possible, that it alludes to the betrayal as well, rather than to the above quoted, less significant event.

27. Petrus in cathedra, Iacobus super rete,
Peter on a cathedra, James on a net,

a) (See also 7a.) A definite place in the Bible cannot be specified, because the connection between Peter and *cathedra* is later. In the Bible, *cathedra* is a seat of God (Ezekiel 28.2²²³) and also a seat of Moses (Matthew 23.1-2²²⁴). The *cathedra* is a specific term with connotations of authority and importance: it is implied that who sits on the *cathedra* is the one who decides. Thus, it is not so surprising that Harnack understands the allusion as a general reference to Peter's status as a bishop of Rome and he uses the line as a proof that the *CC* could not have been written before 380, when this perception of Peter was firmly established.²²⁵

Thus, this is one of the few allusions that are connected to 'tradition' rather than to a specific text. It is complicated not only because it can not be specified, but also because it contrasts the usual technique of the author which is based on close relationship to the text of the Bible. Thus it seems more probable to me that the allusion is based on a soecific text that at something so vague as tradition.

b) (See also 6.) Matthew 4.21.²²⁶ The allusion is clearly to James' occupation. James and John are fishermen both at the beginning and later, when they, led by Jesus, become fishers of men.

28. Samson super columnam, Heli super sellam,
Samson on a column, Eli on a chair,

²¹⁹ The whole passage reads: "Accidit autem ut occurreret Absalom servis David sedens mulo cumque ingressus fuisset mulus subter condensam quercum et magnam *adhesit caput eius quercui*, et illo suspenso inter caelum et terram, mulus cui sederat pertransivit."

²²⁰ The other ones are: 83b, 113a, 130b, and 249b.

²²¹ "Quidam enim putabant quia *loculos* habebat Iudas, quia dicit ei Iesus eme ea quae opus sunt nobis ad diem festum, aut egenis ut aliquid daret."

²²² They are: 56a, 79a, 136a, 171a, 182a, 191a, 254b, 279b, and 285b.

²²³ "Fili hominis dic principi Tyri haec dicit Dominus Deus, eo quod elevatum est cor tuum et dixisti. Deus ego sum et *in cathedra Dei* sedi in corde maris cum sis homo et non Deus et dedisti cor tuum quasi cor Dei."

²²⁴ "Tunc Iesus locutus est ad turbas et discipulos suos dicens *super cathedram Mosi* sederunt scribae et Pharisei."

²²⁵ Harnack 21.

²²⁶ "Et procedens inde vidit alios duos fratres, Iacobum Zebedaei et Iohannem fratrem eius, in navi cum Zebedaeo patre eorum reficientes *retia* sua, et vocavit eos."

a) Judges 16.29-30. Samson takes revenge on the Philistines by making a column fall on them.²²⁷ The word choice of the *CC* is in agreement with the Bible. The column is a characteristic object for Samson – it evokes both his most glorious deed and his death.

Samson appears seven times.²²⁸ Surprisingly, most of the allusions refer to his killing of the lion.²²⁹ Only one refers to his killing of a thousand men with the jaw of an ass (114a), one to his loss of power (245a), and one to his death (28a).

a) 1 Samuel 4.18. Eli dies falling from a chair, *de sella*.²³⁰ Thus, this allusion, as well as the preceding one, is to the death of the character.

Eli appears only one more time in the *CC*, in line 257a, where his death is alluded to again – he is said to have died full of fear. This event can be connected to allusions to his sons Phineas and Hophni in lines 256a and 256b, because Eli died when it was announced to him that his sons died in the battle.

29. **Rahel super sarcinam, patiens stabat Paulus,** Rachel on a bag, Paul stood *patiensly*,

a) Genesis 31.34.²³¹ Rachel hides the idols of her father under her saddle, *stramen* and they are not discovered.²³² This specification might not seem very persuasive, but the Septuagint reveals a clearer agreement with this line.²³³

This is the first appearance of Rachel at the feast. She appears seven times.²³⁴ Three of these allude to this trick of hers (29a, 227a, 264a), three to her beauty, which is usually contrasted with Lea's ugliness (156, 174b, 204b), and one to her agreement with Lea about the apples (38b).

b) Acts 9.15-16. God reveals to Paul all that he will have to go through because of his belief;²³⁵ maybe Paul's patience comes from this. Harnack, on the other hand, claims that the allusion is to *APT* 23, where Paul fasts in a cave and prays for Thecla for six days.²³⁶ However, he is not mentioned to be standing *patiensly* there. It has also been suggested that the author of the *CC* alludes to Paul's typical role in the Bible, rather than to any specific passage. In my opinion it can not be decided.

This is the first appearance of Paul. There are three more: 68a, 148, and 246a. One alludes to the flagellation of Paul (246a), but the others (probably including the one discussed above) relate rather to his character in general.

²²⁷ "Et adprehendens ambas *columnas* quibus innitebatur domus alteramque earum dextera et alteram leva tenens ait moriatur anima mea cum Philisthim concussisque fortiter columnis cecidit domus super omnes principes et ceteram multitudinem quae ibi erat multoque plures interfecit moriens quam ante vivus occiderat."

²²⁸ In lines 28a, 106a, 114a, 142, 177a, 216b, and 245a.

²²⁹ (Lines 106a, 142, 177a, and 216b)

²³⁰ The whole passage reads: "Cumque ille nominasset arkam Dei, cecidit de *sella* retrorsum iuxta ostium, et fractis cervicibus mortuus est. Senex enim erat vir et grandevus et ipse iudicavit Israhel quadraginta annis."

²³¹ Modesto agrees here with Strecker and Rönsch.

²³² The whole passage reads: "Illa festinans abscondit idola subter *stramen* cameli et sedit desuper."

²³³ Rönsch 348.

²³⁴ In lines 29a, 38b, 156, 174b, 204b, 227a, and 264a.

²³⁵ "Dixit autem ad eum Dominus: 'Vade quoniam vas electionis est mihi iste ut portet nomen meum coram gentibus et regibus et filiis Israhel. Ego enim ostendam illi, quanta oporteat eum pro nomine meo pati.'"

²³⁶ Harnack 18.

30. Et murmurabat Esau, et dolebat Iob, quod solus sedebat in stercore.
And Esau grumbled, and Job, because he alone sat in the ashes, suffered.

a) Genesis 27.30-41. After Jacob steals the grace from their father, Esau tries in vain to get it back. "... (34:) Auditis Esau sermonibus patris inrugiit *clamore magno* et consternatus ait: 'Benedic etiam mihi pater mi.'" The Biblical quotation *clamore magno* is thus exactly opposite to *CC*'s *murmurabat*. But perhaps the allusion should be associated with 27.41, when Esau speaks to himself: "Oderat ergo semper Esau Iacob pro benedictione qua benedixerat ei pater, dixitque in corde suo: 'Veniant dies luctus patris mei ut occidam Iacob fratrem meum.'" In addition, Strecker points out that *murmurabat* could substitute *maledicebat*. Then, there would be no contrast.

Esau appears seven times.²³⁷ He is always connected either to his role as a hunter or to being deceived by Jacob.²³⁸

b) Job 2.7-8. Job is described as sitting in the ashes – "*sedens in sterquilinio*".²³⁹ Job is the only one of the guests who sits in the *CC* in the very same way as in the Bible. However, the context into which he is put is very different – he is not a typical wedding guest and, as is stated explicitly, does not enjoy the event very much.

Altogether, Job appears five times.²⁴⁰ Twice it is stated that he is unhappy (202b and 266b), which is never mentioned in the Bible.

This last line of this catalogue stresses the fact that many of the guests are not seated very comfortably, and they would really appreciate some food now.

(ii) The Starter (lines 31-42)

The catalogue of the starters is perhaps the most confusing one in the whole *CC*. Many attributes remain unclear in it. As this catalogue is missing from the *CHM*, Hagen is of no help here.

The first two lines refer to the covering of the guests, and it is only on the third line that the real starter begins. But this eating seems quite disorganized. Except for Jesus, mentioned at the very end, there are only Old Testament characters.

31. Tunc porrexit Rebecca pallium, Iudith coopertorium,
At that time Rebecca presented a veil, Judith a blanket,

a) (See also 23b.) Genesis 24.65. Pallium is not only a type of Greek robe, but any piece of rectangular cloth, and thus it is associated with the veil in the passage where Rebecca covers herself when she sees her future husband Isaac: "At illa tollens cito *pallium* operuit se." This event is recalled four times in the *CC*, although it is not a very significant one. Significant is what follows: Isaac leads Rebecca to his mother's tent and they make love.²⁴¹

²³⁷ In lines 30a, 94a, 104b, 137a, 207b, 217a, and 258a.

²³⁸ (As the hunter in lines 104b, 137a, 207b, and 217a, as the one deceived in lines 30a, 94a, and 258a.)

²³⁹ The whole passage reads: "Egressus igitur Satan a facie Domini percussit Iob ulcere pessimo a planta pedis usque ad verticem eius. Qui testa saniem deradebat *sedens in sterquilinio*."

²⁴⁰ In lines 30b, 60b, 202b, 259b, and 266b.

²⁴¹ Genesis 24.67: "qui introduxit eam in tabernaculum Sarrae matris suae et accepit uxorem et in tantum dilexit ut dolorem qui ex morte matris acciderat temperaret."

b) Judith 12.15. Judith's maidservant comes and lays down fur blankets. Thus, there is an *agens* shift. The scene of laying the blankets is not a very important one in itself, but it forms a part of the picture of Judith's seduction of Holofernes. The Vulgate and other versions have the Greek 'κονοπευμα' here.²⁴² More probably, the cooptorium should be connected to the curtain that Judith steals from Holofernes' bed in order to prove to her people that she was there.²⁴³

This line introduces Judith to the feast. Altogether she appears six times.²⁴⁴ Mostly, her seduction of Holofernes is alluded to. Once, the feast after her victory is evoked (179a).

The Book of Judith is mentioned eight times (the remaining two occasions are allusions to Holofernes), as frequently as The Book of Tobit. Thus, the two are the most often cited of the deuterocanonical books. I would like to argue that the author of *CC* chose them because he was fascinated by their plots and characters, rather than by the religious message.

32. **Agar stragulum, Sem et Iaphet cooperuerunt recumbentes.**

Achan a cloak, Shem and Japheth covered the guests.

a) Joshua 7.21. Achan describes a cloak he saw and stole. "Vidi enim inter spolia *pallium* coccineum, valde bonum." The connection is clear, but it should be supposed that the version with which the author of the *CC* was working had the word *stragulum*. The C. Lug. has *vestem variam*.

Various of Achan's thefts are mentioned throughout *CC*, and in the end he is punished. Achan's story is very cruel and it is reminiscent of the crucifixion of Jesus except for the fact that Achan really is guilty and he deserves punishment, although perhaps not such a harsh one.

The spelling "Agar" causes confusion of two characters: Achan, who is spelled Achar in Itala, and Hagar. Sometimes it is difficult to decide which one is meant, and the confusion is apparent also from the re-writings of the *CC*.²⁴⁵ This line is a clear allusion to Achan, because Hagar has no connection to a cloak, except that concubines might have worn colourful cloaks.²⁴⁶

Achan is mentioned six times.²⁴⁷ His position is in no way different from the position of other characters. Thus it seems rather random that he is to be punished for all – there are many other characters guilty of several crimes that escape punishment. Maybe this sense of a random choice of the scapegoat is intentional.

b) (See also 14b for Japheth.) Genesis 9.23. When Noah got drunk and lay naked in his tent, Shem and Japheth came and covered, *operuerunt*, him.²⁴⁸ The author of the *CC* seems to like this episode, because it appears frequently.

There is an object shift in the *CC* (even in the manuscripts of the Y group that read *cooperuerunt se*) – instead of Noah, Shem and Japheth cover the guests (or, in the Y group manuscripts, themselves).

²⁴² Strecker 77, and also Rönsch 348.

²⁴³ Judith 13.9.

²⁴⁴ In lines 31b, 65b, 135a, 179a, 219a, and 229.

²⁴⁵ For more details, see Rönsch 347.

²⁴⁶ Strecker 69.

²⁴⁷ In lines 32a, 58b, 132b, 220a, 226, and 273.

²⁴⁸ The whole passage reads: "At verum Sem et Iafeth pallium imposuerunt umeris suis et incedentes retrorsum *operuerunt* verecunda patris sui faciesque eorum aversae erant et patris virilia non viderunt."

This is the only time when Shem and Japheth appear together. For Japheth's occurrence see 14b. Shem re-appears two more times, in 86a and 207a. Neither of the two allusions is very clear.

33. Illatus est gustus cenae et accepit cucurbitas Ionas,
The starter was brought and Jonah received a pumpkin,

Jonah 4.6. In the Vulgate, God lets a gourd, *hedera*, grow over Jonah's head so that he would be in shadow.²⁴⁹ According to Strecker, the model of the author of the CC had *cucurbita* instead of *hedera* here.²⁵⁰ *Cucurbita* at this place appears for example in Itala, as Rönsch points out.²⁵¹

Although The Book of Jonah is very short, Jonah appears 11 times in CC.²⁵² Unfortunately only very few of these allusions are clear. He is twice connected to the colour blue (53b, 137b) which could be related to the sea, but only remotely to Jonah himself. Twice he is associated with vinegar (42a, 143a) which also remains doubtful. Once he is mentioned as being naked (210), which does not occur in the Bible at all. The other attributions are similarly ambiguous. Altogether it seems that all the allusions could be connected to his stay inside the whale.

34. Olus Isaias, betas Israel,
Isaiah vegetables, Israel beet,

a) Isaiah 28.25. God determines a suitable time for each type of work. "Nonne cum adaequaverit faciem eius seret gith et cuminum sparget et ponet triticum per ordinem et hordeum et militum et viciam in finibus suis." Neither the word *olus* nor *holus* appears anywhere in the Bible. The term is likely to involve spices, which would justify this Biblical connection, otherwise quite distant.²⁵³

Rönsch suggests²⁵⁴ substituting Isaiah with Elisha in 2 Kings 4.38.²⁵⁵

Isaiah is mentioned here for the first time. He will re-appear five more times.²⁵⁶ Four times, the allusion is probably to his death (61a, 139a, 119a, and 246b), once perhaps to his teaching (173a). But only one of all the attributions is clear – his arrest (246b).

b) Isaiah 51.20. Rönsch quotes this passage,²⁵⁷ and so does Modesto: "filii tui proiecti sunt dormierunt in capite omnium viarum sicut *bestia inlaqueata* pleni indignatione Domini increpatione Dei tui." But Strecker questions the connection.²⁵⁸

²⁴⁹ The whole passage reads: "Et preparavit Dominus Deus *hederam* et ascendit super caput Ionae, ut esset umbra super caput eius et protegeret eum, laboraverat enim et laetatus est Iona super *hedera* laetitia magna."

²⁵⁰ Strecker 74.

²⁵¹ Rönsch 345.

²⁵² In lines 33, 42a, 53b, 117b, 137b, 143a, 150b, 159b, 165a, 210, and 247a.

²⁵³ Modesto 39.

²⁵⁴ Rönsch 348.

²⁵⁵ "Et Heliseus reversus est in Galgala erat autem fames in terra et filii prophetarum habitabant coram eo dixitque uni de pueris suis pone ollam grandem et coque pulmentum filiis prophetarum."

²⁵⁶ In lines 61a, 119a, 139a, 173a, and 246b.

²⁵⁷ Rönsch 348.

²⁵⁸ Strecker 77.

Israel is mentioned one more time, in line 251b, where he is ambiguously ‘left alone’. Modesto argues persuasively that the second allusion is to Jacob, left alone to fight with the angel.

35. Morum Ezekiel, sicomorum Zacheus,
Ezekiel mulberry, Zacheas sycamore,

a) Ezekiel 27.17 “Iuda et terra Israhel ipsi institores tui in frumento primo balsamum et mel et oleum et *resinam* proposuerunt in mercatu tuo.” Modesto suggests, not very persuasively, that by *morum* the author means resin.²⁵⁹ Thus, the allusion remains unclear.

Ezekiel appears only one more time, in line 124b, when he collects bones.

b) (See also 22b). Luke 19.2-4. This attribution refers directly to the Bible and is absolutely clear, as are all the appearances of Zacheus. The tree is specified here (as opposed to line 22b), but there is an object change – the fruit of the tree, not the tree itself is meant here.

36. Citrium Adam, lupinos Danihel,
Adam the fruit, Daniel lupines,

a) (See also 12a.) Genesis 2.17. Adam is warned by God not to eat from the tree of knowledge.²⁶⁰ Modesto argues that *citrium* means simply ‘fruit’, but even if the author meant ‘lemon,’ the attribution would be clear, although a little more distant, and perhaps a little more funny as well.

b) (See also 18a.) Daniel 1.12. The allusion is clearly to Daniel’s suggestion to try vegetarian food, *legumina*.²⁶¹ The word *lupini* is not found in the older versions of the Bible, so the allusion is perhaps based on specification.

This scene discussing diet in prison is not a very important one in the Bible. Perhaps the author of *CC* included it because it deals with food.

Some manuscripts have David here, but that is an error.²⁶²

37. Pepones Pharaos, carduum Cain,
Pharaoh watermelons, Cain a thistle,

a) (See also 21a.) Numbers 11.5. The Israelites in the desert desire watermelons, *pepones*, and other food they had had in Egypt.²⁶³ According to André, *pepones* are specific types of watermelons originating in Egypt. In any case, the connection to Pharaoh is not based on the text of the Bible, but rather on a distant association.

b) (See also 13a.) Genesis 4.3. It should probably be associated with Cain’s occupation: agriculture. *Carduus* means not only a thistle but also a type of vegetable

²⁵⁹ Modesto 39.

²⁶⁰ “De ligno autem ne comedas, in quocumque enim die comederis, ex eo morte morieris.”

²⁶¹ “Tempta nos, obsecro, servos tuos diebus decem, et dentur nobis *legumina* ad uscendum et aqua ad bibendum.”

²⁶² Strecker 77.

²⁶³ “Recordamur piscium quos comedebamus in Aegypto gratis, in mentem nobis veniunt cucumeres et *pepones* porrique et cepae et alia.”

that is reminiscent of a thistle – an artichoke. Or, as Modesto claims, through the red colour of this special kind of thistle, the attribute refers to Cain’s murder. In the first case, the attribution would be based on specification, in the second case on far association.

38. Ficus Eva, malum Rahel,
Eve a fig, Rachel an apple,

a) (See also 12b.) Genesis 3.7. A clear allusion. An object shift takes place – the fruit is meant here, not the leaf of the fig tree.

b) (See also 29a.) Genesis 30.14-15. It was Lea who got apples of love from her son Ruben. Rachel wanted some too, so she gave up her husband Jacob for the night, in exchange for the apples.²⁶⁴ While the Vulgate has only *mandragora*, the C. Lug. reads: “abiit autem Ruben in diebus messis et invenit *mala* mandratora.”

The apples link Rachel and Lea in a similar way as the issue of beauty, but they fit the topic of eating better. In addition, put on the same line as Eve and the fig, Rachel’s apples might draw attention to female character.

39. Prunum Ananias, bulbos Lia,
Ananias a plum, Lea onions,

a) Acts 9.10. This is an unclear, frequently discussed allusion. Modesto links it to the Acts of the Apostles, where God sends Ananias of Damascus to look for Paul.²⁶⁵ Modesto agrees with Rönsch and Strecker that it is Ananias from Damascus, because Damascus was renowned for its plums, also called *damascena*.²⁶⁶ Thus, two more different characters of the same name²⁶⁷ would appear in the CC.

Lapôte claims that this Ananias is still the same Old Testament Ananias, one of the three friends of Daniel, who were put in the furnace, and he explains that oven dried plums were very popular sweets during the fourth century.²⁶⁸ Modesto, however, disproves it. Unfortunately, there is no interpretation suggested that would link the allusion to the Biblical text, thus, whichever Ananias is meant, the allusion seems to be based on far association.

Ananias of Damascus is not mentioned again. The Old Testament Ananias is connected to his furnace adventure on both the occasions when he reappears in the CC, in lines 197a and 244b.

b) Genesis 29.17. This attribution is usually put together with other allusions to Rachel’s beauty and Lea’s ugliness. “Sed Lia *lippis* erat *oculis*, Rahel decora facie et venusto aspectu.” Rönsch claims that *bulbos* is a word play with *lippis*.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ “Egressus autem Ruben tempore messis triticeae. In agro repperit *mandragoras* quos matri Liae detulit. Dixitque Rahel da mihi partem de mandragoris filii tui illa respondit parumne tibi videtur quod praeripuisti maritum mihi nisi etiam mandragoras filii mei tuleris ait Rahel dormiat tecum hac nocte pro mandragoris filii tui.”

²⁶⁵ “Erat autem quidam dispulus Damasci, nomine Ananias. Et dixit ad illum in visu Dominus Anania at ille ait ecce ego Domine.”

²⁶⁶ Rönsch 348, Strecker 62.

²⁶⁷ (The first pair is Achan and Hagar, both presented as Agar.)

²⁶⁸ Lapôte 342.

²⁶⁹ Rönsch 348.

This is the first appearance of Lea at the feast; she appears three more times, in lines 115a, 131b, and 205a, always associated with her ugliness.

40. Olivas Noe, ovum Ioseph,
Noah olives, Joseph an egg,

a) (See also 14a.) Genesis 8.11. A clear allusion. The dove sent from the ark returns to Noah carrying a branch from an olive tree, *ramum olivae*.²⁷⁰ There is an object shift like in, e.g. line 35b or 38a: not the branch, but the fruit is meant. The line refers more to the idea of new life than to the flood itself.

b) (See also 19a.) Job 39.14. The quotation from Job – the only place in the Bible where the word *ovum* appears, has only a very distant connection with Joseph. “Quando relinquit in terra ova sua, tu forsitan in pulvere calefacis ea.” As Rönsch points out, the passage deals with an ostrich, and both the ostrich and the Old Testament Joseph come from Africa.²⁷¹ Thus, the allusion is based on far association.

The Josephs in the *CC* are not distinguished from one another. Thus, in my opinion, it is also possible that an egg remotely alludes to birth, and the Joseph here is the New Testament husband of the Virgin Mary. I am aware of the fact that this interpretation is rather stretched, but so is the other one.

41. Uvas Aaron, nucleos Simeon,
Aaron grapes, Simeon nuts,

a) Leviticus 10.8-9. Grapes are to be associated with wine, *vinum*, which God prohibits Aaron to drink.²⁷² It is implied that wine is made of vine grapes, and, although the Biblical passage is concerned with the dangers of drunkenness, it is not the time to drink wine yet in the *CC*.

This is the first appearance of Aaron at the feast; he re-appears 6 more times.²⁷³ As in this line, he is not associated with a single story, but rather with five minor details from his life, all closely related to Moses. So closely that it even seems that he stole his attributes. There is one allusion to his tongue, more skillful than that of Moses (113b), one to drawing water from the rock (209b), one to his rod (278b), one to Adriatic sea (153a) and two to his being anointed (65a and 175b).

b) Genesis 43.11. This is an unclear allusion. Simeon and his brothers, following the order of their father, bring presents to Joseph, among which there are pistachios and dates, but Simeon is not explicitly mentioned as taking part in this event. The Vulgate, again, is not sufficient if we are looking for the exact word.²⁷⁴ Perhaps it is an abstraction. Or, perhaps there was a lexical agreement before – both Strecker and

²⁷⁰ “At illa venit ad eum ad verperam portans *ramum olivae* virentibus foliis in ore suo.”

²⁷¹ Rönsch 348.

²⁷² “Dixit quoque Dominus ad Aaron *vinum* et omne quod inebriare potest non bibetis tu et filii tui quando intratis tabernaculum testimonii ne moriamini quia praeceptum est semipeternum in generationes vestras.”

²⁷³ In lines 65a, 113b, 153a, 175b, 209b, and 278b.

²⁷⁴ “Igitur Israhel pater eorum dixit ad eos si sic necesse est facite quod vultis, sumite de optimis terrae fructibus in vasis vestris et deferte vino munera modicum resinae et mellis et styracis et stactes et terebinthi et amigdalarum.”

Rönsch quote the older *nuces*.²⁷⁵ Thomas Ricklin derives the meaning from Greek.²⁷⁶ The allusions to nuts connect Levi with Simeon in the *CC* (see the line 41b).

This is the first and only appearance of Simeon. The name reappears, because the New Testament Simeon is mentioned in line 173b.

42. Acetum Ionas, accepit oxigarum Iesus.

Jonah vinegar, Jesus was given a spicy fish soup.

a) (See also 33.) Jonah 2.1. Perhaps this refers to Jonah's stay in the whale's acidic stomach.²⁷⁷ Or, it could be a far allusion to the fact that vinegar is needed for a fish sauce. Strecker suggests a simple pun based on an older version – Jonah is devoured *a ceto*.²⁷⁸

The connection of Jonah and vinegar reappears in 143a.

b) (See also 22a.) Mark 6.14. John 19.29. *Oxigarum* is a spicy fish soup made of vinegar, spices and garum (the entrails of macrellas). Perhaps it should be connected to Jesus' feeding of the crowd with the fish, or to his crucifixion, when Jesus is given a sponge soaked in vinegar – *aceto plenum*.²⁷⁹

It would definitely make more sense if the attributes in this line were given in the other way – Jonah would get oxigarum and Jesus vinegar. It is possible that such an exchange of characters and their attributes was intentional, although it does not happen frequently in the *CC*.

(iii) The Latecomers (43-46)

This catalogue is very short and its purpose is not very clear, especially as most of the latecomers, who are said to have come *deinde*, afterwards, have already been mentioned. Perhaps it is there just to show the feast as a very big gathering with many guests. Modesto disagrees with Martin about specifying who is actually late for the feast in the *CC*. Both of them find the latecomers important for identifying the text as *symposion* literature.²⁸⁰

This passage is also missing from the *CHM*, and that is why Hagen does not explain it. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the allusions in this catalogue are not tied to certain Biblical events. The action described is simply being late, which none of these characters does in the Bible. Why the author of the *CC* chose these specific characters is not clear.

All the characters are from the Old Testament. The first three allusions are placed in reverse order compared to the Bible.

43. Deinde supervenit Iacob cum filiis suis,

Then came Jacob with his sons,

²⁷⁵ Strecker 77, and Rönsch 349.

²⁷⁶ Ricklin 219.

²⁷⁷ "Et preparavit Dominus piscem grandem ut degluttiret Ionam, et erat Iona in ventre piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus."

²⁷⁸ Strecker 75.

²⁷⁹ "Vas ergo positum erat *aceto plenum*. Illi autem spongiam plenam aceto hysopo circumponentes obtulerunt ori eius."

²⁸⁰ Martin 97, Modesto 114-115.

(See also 16a.) Genesis 35.5-24.²⁸¹ Jacob had 12 sons from his wives Lea and Rachel and their maidservants.

- 44. Et Laban cum filiabus suis et sederunt super lapides.**
And Laban with his daughters and they sat on stones.

Genesis 29.16. The daughters are Lea and Rachel.²⁸² Lea appears four times (see also line 39b), and Rachel seven times (see also line 29a). (Thus beauty is preferred over ugliness...)

Laban appears one more time, in line 262b, where he complains.

- 45. Venit et Abraham cum domesticis suis,**
Abraham with his servants came as well,

(See also 15a.) Genesis 17.23. Abraham leaves his home, as God orders him to do.²⁸³

- 46. Et Moyses cum cetera turba et sederunt foris.**
And Moses with another crowd and they sat outside.

b) (See also 17a.) Exodus 3.10 et cons. A clear allusion to Moses' taking his people out of Egypt.

(iv) Dressing (47-71)

The catalogue of dressing is the only one in the *CC* where the number of women is larger than the number of men: 29 female compared to 8 male characters appear. There are 27 characters from the Old Testament, 9 from the New Testament and 1 from the Apocrypha (the *APT*). Only 9 of all the allusions refer to dress that the particular person might have worn, in 23 cases the association is based on an object or characteristic; 5 attributions remain obscure. 14 attributes are based on a typical perception of the character, 21 on an unusual event in his or her life: death (5 times), danger (5 times), sin (4 times), etc.

This catalogue is mostly concerned with colours – in 27 cases, the dress worn is described with respect to its colour only. The colours are mostly red (7 times), blue (6 times), and yellow (3 times). The colours white, black, gray and 'colourful' each occur twice. The remaining three are silver, 'natural' and 'tree-like'. The connection of the Biblical characters and colours assigned to them is an interesting issue.

Material is mentioned on four occasions: linen, camel hair, fur, and strings. Twice, a typical type of clothing is described – 'stola' (a long female dress) and working clothes. Four of the robes are fictional and difficult to imagine: 'twice-destroyed,' 'folded in the middle,' 'chaste,' and 'false'. There are quite a few words that do not appear in the Bible, some of them are perhaps neologisms: *biplagijs*, *mesotropus*, *castalinus*, *spartacinus*, and *pseudoaletinus*.

²⁸¹ For example Genesis 35.22. "Erant autem filii Iacob duodecim."

²⁸² "Habebat vero filias duas. Nomen maioris Lia, minor appellabatur Rahel."

²⁸³ "Tulit autem Abraham Ismahelem filium suum, et omnes vernaculos domus suae universosque quos emerat, cunctos mares ex omnibus viris domus suae et circumcidit carnem praeputii eorum. Statim in ipsa die sicut praeceperat ei Deus."

Although it was quite common to dress for a feast, it seems a little bit out of place in the middle of the festivities. We can see that the medieval re-writers felt uneasy about it too: in the *CHM*, the author places the section of dressing before the catalogue of the festive procession. Thus, in his work, the guests do not dress for the feast but for the procession, and their robes function as costumes.

47. Tunc rex respiciens invitatos suos ait:

Then the king looked at the invited ones and said this:

Again, it is the king who directs the action. At this stage he only offers, he does not order yet. But he chooses the robes for the guests himself.

48. Quisque vestrum voluerit, veniat in vestiarium meum

Whoever of you would like, let them enter my cloakroom

The fact that many more women than men are attracted by this proposal indicates that women are more likely to dress up than men.

49. Et dabo singulis singulas cenatorias vestes.

And I will give to each a dress for the feast.

By putting *cenatorias*, the author of the *CC* makes it clear that the robes are for the feast, not for the procession. But in the ninth century, it was obviously not usual to re-dress before a feast, and so Hrabanus Maurus chose to make the text more understandable for his audience by placing this catalogue right before the catalogue of the procession.

50. Tunc aliqui ierunt et acceperunt.

Then some went and received.

51. Primus itaque omnium accepit Zaccharias albam,

So, the first of all, Zacharias received a white dress,

Luke 1.9. Zacharias, father of John the Baptist and husband of Elisabeth, was a priest, which is why he wears a white dress. It is never stated explicitly in the Bible – it is a direct implication.

This is the first appearance of Zacharias at the feast. He re-appears four more times.²⁸⁴ He is associated either with the role of priest, or with the birth of his son, John the Baptist.

52. Abraham passerinam, Loth sulphurinam,

²⁸⁴ In lines 116a, 194a, 236a, and 286.

Abraham a sparrow-coloured one, Lot one yellow like sulfur,

a) (See also 15a.) Genesis 15.10. The connection is not quite clear, especially as the Vulgate only has *aves*.²⁸⁵ It is not likely that the author of the *CC* would make a specification here. Rather, as Strecker and Rönsch suggest, that instead of *aves* in the quotation, there used to be *passeres*.²⁸⁶

The situation that is recalled here is God's conversation with Abraham promising him great progeny. Thus it could indirectly refer to Isaac – a recurring theme in the *CC*.

b) (See also 16b.) Genesis 19.24. The colour reminds of the sulfur and fire that the Lord sent against Sodom.²⁸⁷ Lot and his family escaped, but it was an important event in his life, especially as he lost his wife during the destruction.

53. Lazarus lineam, Ionas ceruleam,
Lazarus a linen one, Jonah bluish,

a) John 11.44. The deceased Lazarus had his hands and feet tied together with his robe, and his face was covered with a scarf, *sudario*.²⁸⁸ Although there is no mention of linen, it fits the picture.

This is the first occurrence of Lazar, the friend of Jesus. All the three references to him relate to his death and bringing back to life (53a, 134b and 161b). The poor Lazarus from Jesus' preaching appears two times in the *CC*, in lines 21b and 101b.

b) (See also 33.) Jonah 1.4 (or 1.15-). A blue or blue-green colour could be reminiscent of the sea, where the whale swims. Jonah is associated with a blue colour in line 137b as well.

Apparently he loses this robe later during the feast, because in line 210 he is mentioned as being naked.

54. Thecla flammeam, Danihel leoninam,
Thecla one like flames, Daniel a lion-like one,

a) (See also 25a.) *APT* 20-22. Thecla was condemned to be burned, but the Lord sent rain that extinguished the fire. Alternatively, this allusion may refer to the situation when Thecla, while fighting with the beasts, is surrounded by flames, which both protect her and hide her nakedness. Both of these occasions are events of danger and violence.

²⁸⁵ "Respondens Dominus sume inquit mihi vaccam triennem et capram trimam et arietem annorum trium turturem quoque et columbam qui tollens universa haec divisit per medium et utrasque partes contra se altrinsecus posuit *aves* autem non divisit."

²⁸⁶ Strecker 76, Rönsch 346.

²⁸⁷ "Igitur dominus pluit super Sodomam et Gomorram *sulphur* et ignem a Domino de caelo et subvertit civitates eas et omnem circa regionem universos habitatores urbium et cuncta terrae virentia."

²⁸⁸ "Haec cum dixisset voce magna clamavit Lazare veni foras et statim prodiit qui fuerat mortuus ligatus pedes et manus institis et facies illius *sudario* erat ligata."

b) (See also 18a.) Daniel 6.17. This attribution clearly refers to Daniel's imprisonment in the lion's den, *lacum leonum*²⁸⁹, a situation very similar to that of Thecla in the first half line.

55. Iohannes trichiniam, Adam pelliceam,

John the Baptist a dress of camel hair, Adam one from a fur,

a) (See also 20b.) Matthew 3.4: John the Baptist wears a robe of camel hair, *vestimentum de pilis camelorum*, in the Bible as well.²⁹⁰ The word *trichinia* used here comes from Greek.²⁹¹ Thus, there is no shift or change between the original situation and that of CC.

b) (See also 12a.) Genesis 3.21. Both Adam and Eve receive from God robes from fur, *tunicas pellicias*, after the fall,²⁹² but only Adam is mentioned here.

This half line is in accordance with the first one – they both describe the real clothes worn by the Biblical characters.

56. Iudas argyrim, Raab coccineam,

Judas one of silver, Rahab like a saffron-crocus,

a) (See also 26b.) Matthew 26.15.²⁹³ As elsewhere, Judas is connected to the money he earned from his betrayal of Jesus.

b) (See also 24a.) Joshua 2.18-21. The prostitute Rahab saves Joshua's spies and in return she wants to have her family saved. In order that her house is recognised, she puts a string of saffron colour, *funiculus iste coccineus*, in the window.²⁹⁴

Both these half lines refer to agreements. One an immoral agreement made in order to kill someone, the other a moral agreement made in order to save someone.

57. Herodes cardinam, Pharaon marinam,

Herod a red one, Pharaoh in a marine colour,

a) Matthew 14.9 or Matthew 2.16 – Herod has John the Baptist killed as well as the innocent children. Modesto suggests that it is *cardinuus*, i.e. *colorem cardinui exhibens*, having the colour of a thistle.²⁹⁵ The thistle is probably not connected to Herod's dynasty, rather, the allusion is simply to the colour – violet or red, like the blood that he does not hesitate to shed.

²⁸⁹ "Tunc rex praecepit et adduxerunt Danihelem et miserunt eum in lacum *leonum* dixitque rex Daniheli Deus tuus quem colis semper ipse liberabit te."

²⁹⁰ "Ipse autem Iohannes habebat *vestimentum de pilis camelorum* et zonam pelliciam circa lumbos suos."

²⁹¹ Modesto 43.

²⁹² "Fecit quoque Dominus Deus Adam et uxori eius *tunicas pellicias* et induit eos et ait ecce Adam factus est quasi unus ex nobis sciens bonum et malum nunc ergo ne forte mittat manum suam et sumat etiam de ligno vitae et comedat et vivat in aeternum."

²⁹³ "Et ait illis quid vultis mihi dare et ego vobis eum tradam at illi constituerunt ei *triginta argenteos*."

²⁹⁴ "Si ingredientibus nobis terram signum fuerit *funiculus iste coccineus* et ligaveris eum in fenestra per quam nos dimisisti et patrem tuum ac matrem fratresque et omnem cognationem tuam congregaveris in domum tuam."

²⁹⁵ Modesto 41.

Herod appears four more times,²⁹⁶ twice directly connected to the death of John the Baptist (109b and 136b), once more generally connected to bloodshed (85b – the allusion is reminiscent of this one), and once he is called insane (200a).

- b) (See also 21a.) Exodus 14.16-30. Another awkward allusion, perhaps to Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites.

Thus both the half lines refer to unjust persecution.

58. Enoch celinam, Agar variam,

Enoch one in a heavenly colour, Achan a colourful one,

- a) Genesis 5.24. The Lord took Enoch up to heaven. The Vulgate does not include the word *caelum* on the relevant occasion,²⁹⁷ but the connection is clear.

Enoch appears one more time, in an unclear allusion (line 237a) where he is examined.

- b) (See also 32a.) Joshua 7.21. *Agar* should be understood as Achar again, because Hagar has no connection to colourful clothes. It is probably a colourful Babylonian dress, which Achan stole (see also 32a). Because the Vulgate has “*pallium coccineum valde bonum*,” it is clear that the source of the author differed here.

59. David nervinam, Helias aerinam,

David a dress from strings, Elijah an airy one,

- a) (See also 20a.) 1 Samuel 16.23. According to Strecker, it is an allusion to David's strength.²⁹⁸ But because David defeated Goliath thanks to his wit rather than strength, it appears to me more logical to derive it, together with Modesto,²⁹⁹ from his harp, *cithara*.³⁰⁰

- b) (See also 17b.) 2 Kings 2.11. An allusion to Elijah's ascension to heaven, *in caelum*.³⁰¹ This allusion is reminiscent of the one to Enoch in line 58a.

60. Eva arborinam, Iob biplagiam,

Eve a tree-coloured one, Job a twice-destroyed one.

- a) (See also 12b.) Genesis 3.6. The connection between Eve and the tree is clear, only the word used in the Vulgate is *lignum*.³⁰²

²⁹⁶ (In lines 85b, 109b, 136b, and 200a.)

²⁹⁷ “Et facti sunt omnes dies Enoch trecenti sexaginta quinque anni ambulavitque cum Deo et non apparuit quia tulit eum Deus.”

²⁹⁸ “David fortis manu sive desiderabilis.”

²⁹⁹ Modesto 41.

³⁰⁰ “Igitur quandocumque spiritus Dei arripiebat Saul tollebat David *citharam* et percutiebat manu sua et refocilabatur Saul et levius habebat recedebat enim ab eo spiritus malus.”

³⁰¹ “Cumque pergerent et incedentes sermocinarentur ecce currus igneus et equi ignei diviserunt utrumque et ascendit Helias per turbinem *in caelum*.”

³⁰² “Vidit igitur mulier quod bonum esset *lignum* ad vescendum et pulchrum oculis aspectuque delectabile et tulit de fructu illius et comedit deditque viro suo qui comedit et aperti sunt oculi amborum.”

b) (See also 30b.) Job 1.6. The word *biplagijs* does not appear anywhere in the Bible. But I agree with Rönsch here, that it is probably an allusion to Job's injuries, which are double: the loss of his property and the loss of his health.³⁰³

61. Isaias mesotropam, Maria stolam,
Isaiah one folded in the middle, Mary a long, woman's dress,

a) (See also 34a.) Hebrews 11.37. The word *mesotropus* does not occur outside the CC, it is a 'hapax legomenon,' created from the words 'μεζος' and 'τροπάω'.³⁰⁴ It is perhaps a robe that is turned or folded in the middle. Herveus Burgodiensis confuses Isaiah with Joshua and explains the allusion through Joshua's achievement to stop the sun in the middle of its journey through the sky and to force it to return. The sense of the connection with the prophet Isaiah is unclear, unless it refers to the death of Isaiah: Isaiah hid inside a hollow tree which was then cut in the middle by king Manasse. The event is, however, only described in the apocryphal *Martyrium Prophaetae Ysaiae*. In Hebrews 11.37, the modes of the deaths of the prophets are mentioned without being ascribed to individual characters.

b) (See also 61b.) Matthew 1.20. This is one of the most frequently discussed attributions of the CC, because the perception of the Virgin Mary as a married woman is absolutely strange to the New Testament. Such idea is later and perhaps, as Brewer has suggested,³⁰⁵ stems from the apocryphal tradition – from the *Protoevangelium Iacobi*, of which we unfortunately have no surviving Latin version, or from the *Pseudo-Matthaei de nativitate Mariae*, where Mary is called 'domina'.

Mary appears altogether 11 times in CC,³⁰⁶ but one of them refers to the Old Testament Mary (178a), and two other to Mary Magdalene (243a and 284a). One more allusion is reminiscent of this one (*in domina* in line 205b), two refer to the wedding at Cana (155b and 166b), one to the birth of Christ (120b), and three more either to her reaction to the annunciation or to her general role in the New Testament.

62. Susanna castalinam, Moyses conchilinam,
Susanna a chaste one, Moses red like oysters,

a) (See also 25b.) Daniel 13. A clear allusion to Susanna and the vile old men. The word for the robe is a neologism made from the adjective *castus*.³⁰⁷ The clothes are obviously not real, and they are also quite difficult to imagine. The attribution is based on poetic association.

b) (See also 17a.) Exodus 14.21-27. *Conchilinus* from *concha*, a mussel, from which the purple colour was made. Perhaps it can be associated with Moses' journey through the middle of the Red Sea,³⁰⁸ but it is not very clear.³⁰⁹

³⁰³ Rönsch 347.

³⁰⁴ Modesto 41.

³⁰⁵ Brewer 106.

³⁰⁶ (In lines 61b, 120b, 141b, 155b, 166b, 178a, 205b, 243a, 265b, 284a, and 287b.)

³⁰⁷ Cf. Modesto 42.

³⁰⁸ "Cumque extentisset manum super mare abstulit illud Dominus flante vento vehementi et urente tota nocte et vertit in siccum divisaque est aqua 22 et ingressi sunt filii Israhel per medium maris sicci erat

63. Abel purpuream, Levi spartacinam,
Abel a purple one, Levi red like blood,

a) (See also 13b.) Genesis 4.8. A probable allusion to the murder of Abel³¹⁰ – when he was dead, perhaps the blood was spread all over him as if he wore a purple robe. Hrabanus Maurus surely understood the attribution in this way, because his version has *Abel sanguineam*.

b) Genesis 34.25. *Spartacinus* comes probably from *spartum*, a red herb growing in dry lands. The word *spartacinus* is not found anywhere else. Maybe the colour should be associated with the bloody killing, by which Dinah's brothers Simon and Levi avenge the seduction of their sister.³¹¹ Thus, the allusion would be reminiscent of the one for Herod in this catalogue.³¹²

Levi appears only one more time, in line 222a, in an utterly obscure allusion where he gets nuts, *strobilos*. Perhaps there is a parallel with his brother Simeon, who also gets nuts – *nucleos*, in line 41b.

Thus, both of these two half lines refer, through the red colour, to blood, and thus to violent killing. In the first instance, it is connected to the victim, in the second to the murderer.

64. Tamar colourinam, Azarias carbasinam,
Tamar a very colourful one, Azariah a coal-like one,

a) Genesis 38.14. This allusion recalls a special occasion: normally, Tamar is characterized by widow's dress, which she only puts aside when she is trying to get pregnant with her father in law, making him mistake her for a prostitute. The new dress is not described in the Bible, it is only stated that Tamar sat *mutato habitu*.³¹³ But as she wanted to attract attention, it could easily have been colourful.

Tamar appears four times altogether.³¹⁴ The same trick on her father-in-law is alluded to each time.

b) Daniel 3.21. *Carbasinus* comes from *carbo*, coal,³¹⁵ and it is recalled here because Azariah (Abed-nego) and his two friends were thrown into a fire.³¹⁶

enim aqua quasi murus a dextra eorum et leva 23 persequentesque Aegyptii ingressi sunt post eos omnis equitatus Pharaonis currus eius et equites per medium maris 24 iamque advenerat vigilia matutina et ecce respiciens Dominus super castra Aegyptiorum per columnam ignis et nubis interfecit exercitum eorum 25 et subvertit rotas curruum ferebanturque in profundum dixerunt ergo Aegyptii fugiamus Israhalem Dominus enim pugnat pro eis contra nos 26 et ait Dominus ad Moysen extende manum tuam super mare ut revertantur aquae ad Aegyptios super currus et equites eorum 27 cumque extendisset Moyses manum contra mare reversum est primo diluculo ad priorem locum fugientibusque Aegyptiis occurrerunt aquae et involvit eos Dominus in mediis fluctibus.”

³⁰⁹ Cf. Modesto 42.

³¹⁰ “Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum egrediamur foras cumque essent in agro consurrexit Cain adversus Abel fratrem suum et interfecit eum.”

³¹¹ “Et ecce die tertio quando gravissimus vulnere dolor est arreptis duo Iacob filii Symeon et Levi fratres Dinae gladiis ingressi sunt urbem confidenter interfecitque omnibus masculis Emor et Sychem pariter necaverunt tollentes Dinam de domo Sychem sororem suam.”

³¹² Cf. Modesto 42.

³¹³ “Quae depositis viduitatis vestibus adsumpsit theristrum et *mutato habitu* sedit in bivio itineris quod ducit Thamnam eo quod crevisset Sela et non eum accepisset maritum.”

³¹⁴ In lines 64a, 132a, 204a, and 228b.

Azariah reappears two more times, in lines 73b and 180b, both of which are related to this event.

65. Aaron myrrinam, Iudith iacintinam,
Aaron a yellowish, Judith a hyacinth one,

a) (See also 41a.) Leviticus 8.12. *Myrrina* is the colour of myrrh, *mitra*, and it relates to the situation when Moses anointed Aaron.³¹⁷ The situation is not particularly important in the Bible, as are none of the events from Aaron's life recalled in the *CC*.

b) (See also 31b.) Judith 10.3. Judith, intending to decapitate Holofernes, puts off her widow's dress and dresses up – “induit se vestimentis iucunditatis suae”. The colour of her dress, however, is not mentioned.³¹⁸

The situation is very much the same as the situation of Tamar, putting off her widow's clothes and dressing up in order to fool her father-in-law (although, of course, the consequences differ substantially), and thus this line is linked to the previous one.

In addition, there is a link, possibly intentional, with the preceding half line as well. While Moses *imposuitque mitras* on Aaron, Judith, in the passage that is recalled here, *imposuit mitram super caput suum* (– they are doing the same things, but women are more independent, at least in the realm of dressing).

66. Cain ferrugineam, Abiron nigram,
Cain a rusty one, Abiram a black one,

a) (See also 13a.) Genesis 4.10. Cain is again shown as a fratricide. *Ferrugineus* means having the colour of iron, rusty. Rönsch suggests that the dark colour of the clothes could also be connected to Genesis 4.5, where Cain covers his face: “Iratissime est Cain vehementer et *concidit vultus eius*.”³¹⁹ I prefer the first solution.

b) Numbers 16.29-33. An allusion to the earth which opened up and swallowed Abiram, Dathan and their families.³²⁰

³¹⁵ Cf. Modesto 43.

³¹⁶ “Et confestim viri illi vincenti cum braciis suis et tiaris et calciamentis et vestibus missi sunt in medium fornacis ignis ardentis.”

³¹⁷ “Quod fundens super caput Aaron unxit eum et consecravit filios quoque eius oblatos vestivit tunicis lineis et cinxit balteo inposuitque *mitras* ut iusserat Dominus.”

³¹⁸ „et inposuit mitram super caput suum et induitque sandalia pedibus suis adsumpsitque dextraliola et lilia et inares et anulos et omnibus ornamentis suis ornavit se cui etiam Dominus contulit splendorem quoniam omnis ista compositio non ex libidine sed ex virtute pendebat et ideo Dominus hanc in illam pulchritudinem ampliavit ut incomparabili decore omnium oculis appareret inposuit itaque abrae suae ascopam vini et vas olei et pulenta et palatas et panes et caseum et profecta est.”

³¹⁹ Rönsch 346.

³²⁰ “Ut aperiens terra os suum degluttat eos et omnia quae ad illos pertinent descenderintque viventes in infernum scietis quod blasphemaverint Dominum confestim igitur ut cessavit loqui disrupta est terra sub pedibus eorum et aperiens os suum devoravit illos cum tabernaculis suis et universa substantia descenderuntque vivi in infernum operati humo et perierunt de medio multitudinis at vero omnis Israel qui stabat per gyrum fugit ad clamorem pereuntium dicens ne forte et nos terra degluttat.”

This is the first appearance of Abiram. He appears only one more time, in line 249a, but the story of the earth opening and swallowing him and his family is alluded to also through Dathan (252a) and Chore (252b).

67. Anna persinam, Isaac nativam,
Anna a dark blue one, Isaac one of a natural colour,

a) Luke 2.36-37. Probably³²¹ the prophetess Anna, who married quite old and was widowed after seven years.³²² Herveus Burgodiensis claims that the allusion relates to Anna, Samuel's mother, from 1 Samuel 1.7-8. He claims that such dress fits her, because she had no children and because dark blue is close to black, which was precious and beautiful. But the only other appearance of Anna in line 174a ('benedixit Anna') refers certainly to the prophetess, and so should this one, although an assumption that the author of the *CC* used always one name to refer to one character in order to avoid confusion is wrong.³²³

In any case, there is no Anna in the Bible wearing a dark blue dress, or associated with anything of dark blue colour, and thus this allusion remains unclear.

b) (See also 15b.) Genesis 17.17nn (or Genesis 21.2). *Nativus* may be connected to *natus*, as an allusion to Isaac's birth,³²⁴ which is quite common in the *CC*.

68. Paulus candidam, Petrus operariam,
Paul a pure white one, Peter working clothes,

a) (See also 29b.) Acts 9.3-8. White is the colour of the newly baptized. Perhaps associated with Paul's conversion, during which a stream of light from Jesus descended upon him.³²⁵

Some manuscripts read *tarsicam* at this point, which clearly refers to Paul's place of origin. As this attribution is much clearer, it is probably not the original one.

b) (See also 7a.) Matthew 4.18, Mark 1.9, Luke 5.2. Peter was called by Jesus just as he was dealing with nets, but there is no mention of his clothes.³²⁶ Or, perhaps the allusion is to the fact that he was very hard-working as the bishop of Rome.

³²¹ Cf. Modesto 43.

³²² "Et erat Anna prophetissa filia Phanuhel de tribu Aser haec processerat in diebus multis et vixerat cum viro suo annis septem a virginitate sua et haec vidua usque ad annos octoginta quattuor quae non discedebat de templo ieiuniis et obsecrationibus serviens nocte ac die."

³²³ E.g. the name Agar refers to two different people, the name Iosephus to three.

³²⁴ Cf. Modesto 43.

³²⁵ "Et cum iter faceret contigit ut adpropinquaret Damasco et subito circumfulsit eum lux de caelo et cadens in terram audivit vocem dicentem sibi Saule Saule quid me persequeris qui dixit quis es Domine et ille ego sum Iesus quem tu persequeris sed surge et ingredere civitatem et dicetur tibi quid te oporteat facere viri autem illi qui comitabantur cum eo stabant stupefacti audientes quidem vocem neminem autem videntes surrexit autem Saulus de terra apertisque oculis nihil videbat ad manus autem illum trahentes introduxerunt Damascum."

69. Iacob pseudoaletinam, Iesus columbinam.

Jacob a false one, Jesus a dove gray one.

a) (See also 16a.) Genesis 27.36. A neologism made of ‘*ψευδο*’ and ‘*αληθινος*’ – an allusion to Jacob’s cunning trick, thanks to which he took his elder brother’s right of precedence. Alternatively, it could be a general allusion to his name, which means ‘traitor’.³²⁷

b) (See also 22a.) John 1.32. John witnessed how the Holy Spirit came down in the form of a dove and marked Jesus as the one who would baptize through the Holy Spirit.³²⁸ (By wearing the dove-like clothes, Jesus becomes one with the Holy Spirit.)

70. At ubi divisit vestes, respiciens eos rex sic ait:

And when the king divided the clothes, looking at them he said this:

This line marks the end of the catalogue of dressing.

71. Non ante cenabitis, nisi singuli singulas vices feceritis.

You will not feast before you serve to one another.

These lines mark with absolute clarity that this feast does not follow the usual program. Although the reader has accepted already that the guests sit in weird places and dress in unusual robes, he or she must be struck by the fact that they have to cook the food themselves.

(vi) Cooking (72-90)

Cooking done by the guests is an unexpected part of any feast. Nevertheless, it allows the guests to be active (so far, they have only sat or accepted assigned clothes).

It seems that this passage narrates the lighting of a fire, the bringing of water, and the killing and cooking of a lamb. Thus, the whole catalogue could evoke some kind of sacrifice. But probably the metaphoric reading should not be stretched too far, the plot is implied rather than presented, the co-operation of the characters is only suggested. Still, this catalogue is perhaps closest to some kind of communication.

72. Atque ita praecepta sibi diaconia consummaverunt.

And so they all fulfilled the rules of courtesy.

Modesto points out the word *diaconia*. She also stresses the importance of the scene: king Joel, who stands for God, behaves against his teachings, and refuses to become the servant of his guests.³²⁹

³²⁶ (Matthew:) “Ambulans autem iuxta mare Galilaeae vidit duos fratres Simonem qui vocatur Petrus et Andream fratrem eius mittentes rete in mare erant enim piscatores.” (Mark:) “Vidit Iacobum Zebedaei et Iohannem fratrem eius et ipsos in navi componentes retia et statim vocavit illos.” (Luke:) “Et vidit duas naves stantes secus stagnum piscatores autem descenderant et lavabant retia.”

³²⁷ Cf. Modesto 43.

³²⁸ “Et ego nesciebam eum sed qui misit me baptizare in aqua ille mihi dixit super quem videris Spiritum descendentem et manentem super eum hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu Sancto et ego vidi et testimonium perhibui quia hic est Filius Dei.”

³²⁹ Modesto 44.

73. Primus ergo ignem petit Helias, succedit Azarias,
Thus, Elijah, the first, asked for fire, Azariah lit it,

a) (See also 17b.) 1 Kings 18.38. The fire of God, *ignis Domini*, falls and destroys everything.³³⁰ Rather, this recalls the fire carriage on which Helias ascends the heavens.

b) (See also 64b.) Daniel 3.22. If we read *succedit* not as ‘followed him’ but as ‘lit’, Azariah is shown as lighting the fire which is supposed to burn himself and thus his action might be paralleled to Jesus’ voluntary sacrifice.

74. Lignum collegit Iepthae, attulit Isaac,
Jephthah picked the wood, Isaac brought it,

a) Judges 11.30-31. Jephthah promises a burnt sacrifice, *holocaustum*, to God if he wins over the Ammonites.³³¹ It is his only daughter who comes to meet him and so he has to sacrifice her. There is, however, no mention about the preparations like picking the wood, and thus the whole allusion is not very clear.

This line is decisive for marking the text as belonging to the group X.³³² Manuscripts of the group Y read instead: “lignum porrexit Sara”. Strecker claims that the original was: “ligna porrexit Sarepta” which later split into these two allusions.³³³ The widow Sarepta really collects wood in 1 Kings 17.10.³³⁴ I find Strecker’s solution elegant.

b) (See also 15b.) Genesis 22.6. Isaac carried the wood, *tulit ligna*, for his own sacrifice.³³⁵ Again, Isaac’s acceptance of his fate, a parallel to Jesus, seems to be stressed.

75. Concidit Ioseph, puteum aperuit Iacob,
Joseph split it, Jacob opened the well,

a) Matthew 13.55.³³⁶ Perhaps it is a simple allusion to Joseph’s craft – as a carpenter, he often split wood.

Another allusion certainly connected with this Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary, is in line 203b. In addition, there are two unclear allusions, lines 133b and 40b.

³³⁰ “Cecidit autem *ignis Domini* et voravit holocaustum et ligna et lapides pulverem quoque et aquam quae erat in aquaeductu lambens.”

³³¹ “votum vovit Domino dicens si tradideris filios Ammon in manus meas 31 quicumque primus fuerit egressus de foribus domus meae mihiq[ue] occurrerit revertenti cum pace a filiis Ammon eum *holocaustum* offeram Domino.”

³³² Defined in Strecker 65-66, and taken over by Modesto.

³³³ Strecker 65.

³³⁴ “Surrexit et abiit Sareptam cumq[ue] venisset ad portam civitatis apparuit ei mulier vidua *colligens ligna* et vocavit eam dixitq[ue] da mihi paululum aquae in vase ut bibam.”

³³⁵ “*Tulit* quoq[ue] *ligna* holocausti et inposuit super Isaac filium suum ipse vero portabat in manibus ignem et gladium cumq[ue] duo pergerent simul.”

³³⁶ “Nonne hic est *fabri filius* nonne mater eius dicitur Maria et fratres eius Iacobus et Ioseph et Simon et Iudas.”

b) (See also 16a.) Genesis 29.10. Jacob meets his future wife, Rachel, by a well, *puteum*, from the mouth of which he has to roll a stone, so that he can give water to her sheep.³³⁷ So here he does the same thing as in the Bible.

76. Ysopum porrexit Sephora, ad lacum stabat Danihel,
Shiphrah brought ysop, Daniel stood by the lake,

a) Exodus 1.15-16.³³⁸ Shiphrah was a midwife and ysop was used during childbirth.³³⁹

This is the only occurrence of Shiphrah at the feast. Her story is not connected to any other story and thus stands out. The only possible connection is through her profession – the *CC* is very much concerned with the theme of childbirth.

a) (See also 18a.) Daniel 12.5. In a strange apocalyptic vision, Daniel sees two men standing on either side of a big river. He asks them about the end of the world, but does not understand their answer. This line is problematic, because it is connected with Daniel only loosely, and with a lake not at all.

77. Aquam attulerunt ministri, hydriam portabat Rebecca,
Servants brought the water, Rebecca brought a jug,

a) John 2.7. There are many servants in the Bible, but the ones here are, in my opinion, those from the wedding at Cana, where they assist Jesus' first miracle.³⁴⁰ *Ministri* do not reappear at the feast, but the wedding at Cana is alluded to more times.

b) (See also 23b.) Genesis 24.15. Rebecca meets Abraham's servant by a well carrying a water pot, *hydriam portans*.³⁴¹ This allusion is clear.

78. Vinum protulit Noe, utrem portabat Agar,
Noah brought the wine, Hagar carried a leather bag,

a) (See also 14a.) Genesis 9.20-21. Noah gets drunk when drinking wine, *bibens vinum*.³⁴²

Although Noah is not the greatest drinker in the Bible, he is repeatedly associated with wine in the *CC*.

³³⁷ "Quam cum vidisset Iacob et sciret consobrinam suam ovesque Laban avunculi sui *amovit lapidem* quo *puteus* claudebatur."

³³⁸ "Dixit autem rex Aegypti obsetricibus Hebraeorum quarum una vocabatur Sephra altera Phua 16 praeciens eis quando obsetricabitis Hebraeas et partus tempus advenerit si masculus fuerit interficite illum si femina reservate."

³³⁹ Cf. Modesto 44.

³⁴⁰ "Dicit eis Iesus implete hydrias aqua et impleverunt eas usque ad summum."

³⁴¹ "Necdum intra se verba compleverat et ecce Rebecca egrediebatur filia Bathuel filii Melchae uxoris Nahor fratris Abraham *habens hydriam* in scapula."

³⁴² "Coepitque Noe vir agricola exercere terram et plantavit vineam 21 *bibensque vinum* inebriatus est et nudatus in tabernaculo suo."

b) Genesis 21.14. Abraham expels Hagar and gives her a leather bag, *uter*.³⁴³ Here, it is obvious that Hagar, not Achar, is meant.

Hagar appears two more times, in lines 117a and 250b, and both refer to this situation. Line 168a features Ishmael, Hagar's son, and relates to the same event.

79. Attulit argentum Iudas, vitulum adduxit Abraham,
Judas brought silver, Abraham led a calf,

a) (See also 26b.) Matthew 26.15. Another clear allusion to Judas' betrayal.

b) (See also 15a.) Genesis 18.7. The allusion relates to the angels' visit to Abraham. Abraham and Sarah prepare a small feast for them, including a calf, *vitulum*.³⁴⁴

80. Alligavit Raab, resticulum porrexit Iesus,
Rahab bound it up, Jesus stretched out the string,

a) (See also 24a.) Joshua 2.18. An allusion to the saffron-coloured rope that Rahab was advised to let down from the window in order to save her family (cf. also with 56b) – *si ligaveris*.³⁴⁵ Here, of course, the binding is put into a very different context.

b) (See also 22a.) Matthew 27.2 or Mark 15.1. An allusion to the rope with which Jesus is bound, *vinctus*, when he is taken to Pilate.³⁴⁶ It is not clear whether Jesus produces the rope by which he himself had been bound, or whether this is *pateins-agens* shift (Jesus, who was bound, is now binding).

81. Pedes copulavit Helias, ferrum tradidit Petrus,
Elijah bound together its legs, Peter brought a sword,

a) (See also 17b.) 1 Kings 18.40?³⁴⁷ Perhaps it should be associated with the event when Elijah killed, *interfecit*, the prophets, but the relationship is very vague.

b) (See also 7a.) John 18.10. Peter cuts off the ear of the servant of the high priest with his sword – *gladium* in the Vulgate.³⁴⁸ An older version probably had *ferrum*.

³⁴³ "Surrexit itaque Abraham mane et tollens panem et *utrem* aquae inposuit scapulae eius tradiditque puerum et dimisit eam quae cum abisset errabat in solitudine Bersabee."

³⁴⁴ "ipse vero ad armentum cucurrit et tulit inde *vitulum* tenerrimum et optimum deditque puero qui festinavit et coxit illum."

³⁴⁵ "si ingredientibus nobis terram signum fuerit funiculus iste coccineus et *ligaveris* eum in fenestra per quam nos dimisisti et patrem tuum ac matrem fratresque et omnem cognationem tuam congregaveris in domum tuam."

³⁴⁶ Matthew 27.2: "Et *vinctum* adduxerunt eum et tradiderunt Pontio Pilato praesidi." Mark 15.1: "Et confestim mane consilium facientes summi sacerdotes cum senioribus et scribis et universo concilio *vincientes* Iesum duxerunt et tradiderunt Pilato."

³⁴⁷ "Dixitque Helias ad eos adprehendite prophetas Baal et ne unus quidem fugiat ex eis quos cum comprehendissent duxit eos Helias ad torrentem Cison et *interfecit* eos ibi."

This allusion is another example of the violent events the author of the *CC* chose for his work.

82. Elisit Danihel, occidit Cain,

Daniel choked it to death, Cain killed it,

a) (See also 18a.) Daniel 14.26-27. Daniel in the lion's den – the lions are ready to choke him to death. This is a *pateins-agens* shift type.

b) (See also 13a.) Genesis 4.8. Cain again as a murderer of his brother again.

83. Subportavit Abacuc, suspendit Absalon,

Habakkuk carried it away, Absolon strung it up,

a) Daniel 14.34. The Judean prophet Habakkuk saved Daniel by bringing food to him (instructed to do so by an angel). Compared to the *CC*, the food Habakkuk brought is not specified in the Bible.

This is the first appearance of Habakkuk at the feast. The older versions of the *CC* have *ambacum* or *hambacum* for Abacuc.³⁴⁹ He appears two more times, in lines 94b and 243b, always associated with the food he brought to Daniel. This event does not seem very remarkable in the Bible. Perhaps the situation was interesting for the author of the *CC* simply because it deals with food.

b) (See also 26a.) 2 Samuel 18.9. This recalls the same situation as all the other mentions of Absolon at the feast. The same word is used here as in the Vulgate – *suspendo*.³⁵⁰

84. Pellem detraxit Helias, ventrem aperuit Hermocrates,

Elijah took off its skin, Hermocrates opened its belly,

a) (See also 17b.) 2 Kings 1.8. An allusion to Elijah's robe, as in the line 17b. Adam and John the Baptist are also associated with fur or skin. The reason why the author of the *CC* chose this so many times is not clear. This particular line sounds almost like a critique of killing animals for their skin, but indeed, someone had to take off an animal's skin so that Elijah could wear a robe made of it.

b) *Acta Pauli*. The episode of Hermocrates and Hermippus follows the story about Thecla in the probably original *Acta Pauli*. These are preserved in the Coptic version found and edited by Carl Schmidt. Harnack uses the fact that the story is used in the *CC* to claim that the author of the *CC* took *Acta Pauli* instead of the canonical *Acta apostolorum*, considering them an integral part of the Holy Scripture.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ "Simon ergo Petrus habens *gladium* eduxit eum et percussit pontificis servum et abscondit eius auriculam dextram erat autem nomen servo Malchus."

³⁴⁹ Strecker 71.

³⁵⁰ "Accidit autem ut occurreret Absalom servis David sedens mulo cumque ingressus fuisset mulus subter condensam quercum et magnam adhesit caput eius quercui et illo *suspensio* inter caelum et terram mulus cui sederat pertransivit."

³⁵¹ Harnack 18-20. Harnack does not question his assumption that the author of the *CC* was Christian.

In the story, Hermocrates' belly is opened, he asks Paul to heal him, and is healed. His son Hermippus, is, however, not happy about it, because he was already looking forward to his inheritance.³⁵²

This is the first appearance of Hermocrates at the feast. He appears two more times, in lines 99b and 172a. His son appears only once, in line 165b. The same story is always alluded to.

85. Mediana suspendit Tobias, sanguinem effudit Herodes,
Tobias removed its entrails, Herod drained its blood,

a) (See also 18b.) Tobit 6.5. An angel instructs Tobias to remove the organs of a fish. These are then used to cure Tobias' father from blindness and save Tobias' wife Sarah from a bad demon that was troubling her. The wording is not to be found in the Vulgate, but there is an older version: "dixit angelus ad puerum: finde eum *medium*".³⁵³

b) (See also 57a.) Matthew 14.9-10 or Matthew 2.16.³⁵⁴ It is not clear whether the allusion relates to Herod's orders to kill the innocents, or to kill John the Baptist.³⁵⁵ On both occasions, blood is shed, but neither sin is committed by Herod personally, and thus it could be perceived as *pateins-agens* shift.

86. Stercus proiecit Sem, aquam adiecit Iaphet,
Shem threw away the waste, Japheth brought water,

a) (See also 32b.) Genesis 9.23.³⁵⁶ This is one of the most obscure allusions in the CC. There is no connection between Shem and *stercus* in the Bible. Herveus Burgodiensis proposes, not very persuasively, Genesis 9.23 where Shem and Ham cover their drunk, naked father, claiming that by *stercus* the author of the CC means "sordem derisionis Chain".³⁵⁷

b) (See also 14b.) Perhaps this is a distant allusion to the flood.³⁵⁸ Both Shem and Japheth appear only very briefly in the Bible, but they play an important role in CC. But the allusions relating to them are not very clear.

87. Lavit Heliseus, partes fecit Phalech,
Elisha washed the meat, Peleg cut it into pieces,

a) 2 Kings 5.10. Elisha is advised to wash, *lavare*, seven times in the Jordan, so that his body may be healed.³⁵⁹ The allusion recalls line 5a, where Naaman does the same. Here, Elisha does not wash himself but the meat. Thus, there is an object shift.

³⁵² Harnack 19.

³⁵³ Strecker 77.

³⁵⁴ Matthew 14.9-10: "Et contristatus est rex propter iuramentum autem et eos qui pariter recumbabant iussit dari 10 misitque et decollavit Iohannem in carcere." Matthew 2.16 "Tunc Herodes videns quoniam inlusus esset a magis iratus est valde et mittens occidit omnes pueros qui erant in Bethleem et in omnibus finibus eius a bimatu et infra secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis."

³⁵⁵ Cf. Modesto 44-45.

³⁵⁶ "At vero Sem et Iafeth pallium inposuerunt umeris suis et incedentes retrorsum operuerunt verecunda patris sui faciesque eorum aversae erant et patris virilia non viderunt."

³⁵⁷ Cf. Modesto 45.

³⁵⁸ Cf. Modesto 45.

Elisha appears one more time, in line 106b, associated with a violent scene with bears.

b) Genesis 10.25. Peleg means ‘division’, so perhaps this is a pun based on etymology. The Biblical quotation assigned to it also speaks about the etymology of the name.³⁶⁰

This is the only occasion when Peleg is mentioned at the feast.

88. Numeravit Auses, salem misit Molessadon,
Joshua counted them, Melchizedek salted them,

a) Numbers 26.62-64. If Auses is Ozeah, the son of Numa, whom Moses called Joshua,³⁶¹ then this could be associated with the counting of the Levis. The Vulgate has *numerati sunt*.³⁶²

The name *Auses* appears one more time, in line 211a, where he asks for sun, but it is not certain that the line concerns the same person.

b) Genesis 13.3 or Genesis 14.3³⁶³. The first quotation is identified because Melchizedek as a priest supposedly had to salt the meat of sacrificial animals. The latter is taken from Strecker, who connects the king of Sodom with a group in the Dead Sea area.

Melchizedek appears three more times, twice associated with salt again (lines 138b and 143b), whereas on the last occasion he takes part in the procession *in stupido* (line 198a). The spelling of the name varies greatly: Malassadom, Malas sadom, Molasadam, Malarandon etc.³⁶⁴

In my opinion, the allusion is not very clear, and it could also be a very simple pun related to Genesis 14.18: “at vero Melchisedech rex *Salem proferens* panem et vinum erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi.”

89. Oleum adiecit Iacob, in focum imposuit Ariochus,
Jacob added oil, Arioch put it over the fire,

a) (See also 16a.) Genesis 28.18. This is a clear allusion: Jacob anoints with oil the stone, which he had slept on when he had the dream about his fight with the angel. The Vulgate reads *fundens oleum*.³⁶⁵

³⁵⁹ “Misitque ad eum Heliseus nuntium dicens vade et *lavare* septies in Iordane et recipiet sanitatem caro tua atque mundaberis.”

³⁶⁰ “Natique sunt Eber filii duo nomen uni Faleg eo quod in diebus eius *divisa sit* terra et nomen fratris eius Iectan.”

³⁶¹ This is Strecker’s suggestion, and Modesto agrees with it. Strecker 71, Modesto 45.

³⁶² “Fueruntque omnes qui *numerati sunt* viginti tria milia generis masculini ab uno mense et supra quia non sunt recensiti inter filios Israhel nec eis cum ceteris data possessio 63 hic est numerus filiorum Israhel qui descripti sunt a Mosen et Eleazaro sacerdote in campestribus Moab supra Iordanem contra Hiericho 64 inter quos nullus fuit eorum qui ante numerati sunt a Mose et Aaron in deserto Sinai.”

³⁶³ “Omnes hii convenerunt in vallem Silvestrem quae nunc est mare *Salis*.”

³⁶⁴ Cf. Strecker 72.

³⁶⁵ “Surgens ergo mane tulit lapidem quem subposuerat capiti suo et erexit in titulum *fundens oleum* desuper.”

b) Daniel 2.14.³⁶⁶ Arioch, the head of the king's guards, is persuaded by Daniel not to kill the Babylonian wise men. The only possible connection with the fire is that Arioch is at first supposed to throw Daniel's friends there. If that is so, then the story of the three friends in the furnace is recalled very frequently in the *CC*.

Arioch appears one more time, in 196a as a cook, which could be associated with the same event as here.

90. Coxit Rebecca, prior gustavit Eva.

Rebecca cooked it, Eve tasted it first.

a) (See also 23b.) Genesis 27.17. Rebecca sent Jacob for kids and cooked, *coxit*, food.³⁶⁷ This is another clear allusion to the trick Rebecca and Jacob played on Isaac and Esau.

b) (See also 12b.) Genesis 3.6. Eve ate the apple and gave it to Adam, too. The Vulgate has *comedit*, and the taste of the apple is not described.³⁶⁸

Eve was definitely the first person whose tasting something had significant consequences. Thus the word *prior* is very appropriate here. Other characters marked with *prior* in the *CC* – Cain,³⁶⁹ Lazarus³⁷⁰ and Peter,³⁷¹ are significant as well. The sole exception is Mishael,³⁷² whose role in the Bible is not very remarkable.

(vii-xi) Eating (91-148)

The catalogue of eating presents a remarkable shift of context from the primary sources to the *CC*. Some of the food presented is real food eaten by the characters, but there are numerous occasions when the characters eat their attributes. The blasphemy of such imagery seems to be greater than the one in the catalogue of dressing – it is fine to wear, to keep on one's body, one's attribute, but to put it *inside* the body is reminiscent of pagan beliefs.

I have subdivided it into four shorter catalogues: eating various types of food, eating meat from hunting, eating lamb, eating fish, and eating sweets. Thus, there seem to be five dishes, plus the starter that was served before the guests dressed.

(vii) Eating various (91-101)

This passage is a short, disorganized part of the feast, before the guests start to eat the meat from the hunting. At the beginning, various meat-free meals are offered,

³⁶⁶ "Tunc Danihel requisivit de lege atque sententia ab Arioch principe militiae regis qui egressus fuerat ad interficiendos sapientes Babylonis."

³⁶⁷ "Dedit pulmentum et panes quos *coxerat* tradidit."

³⁶⁸ "Vidit igitur mulier quod bonum esset lignum ad vescendum et pulchrum oculis aspectuque delectabile et tulit de fructu illius et *comedit* deditque viro suo qui comedit."

³⁶⁹ Line 144.

³⁷⁰ Line 161.

³⁷¹ Line 163.

³⁷² Line 96.

as if during a fast. Or, perhaps, the slow beginning is just intended to stand in contrast with the great debauchery that is to follow. At the end of this catalogue, some of the guests are, surprisingly, very hungry.

91. Explicitisque omnibus omnes locis suis resederunt.

When it was done, everyone sat back in their places.

This catalogue begins without the king's interference, perhaps because the guests obviously do not have to be persuaded to eat what they have cooked. Having cooked, the guests return to their initial role of guests: they sit back down to enjoy the food. However, the role of the servants was finished with bringing the water in line 77a, and thus the guests have to serve the meals to one another.

Even though it is not repeated here, the reader remembers well that *suis locis* means ashes for poor Job, the ground for John the Baptist, or an ark for Noah.

92. Tunc intulit panes Saul, fregit Iesus,

Then Saul brought the bread, Jesus divided it,

a) 1 Samuel 16.20. Isai sends food to Saul by his son David, including a lot of bread. The Vulgate reads: "*Tulitque Isai asinum plenum panibus...*"³⁷³ It is not Saul who brings the food, it is brought to him, and thus, there is a *patiens-agens* shift here. This event is not a very remarkable one within the Bible, as compared to the one presented in the other half of the line. But, through the food Saul meets and starts to like David. Then, whenever Saul feels bad, David plays *cithara* for him and he is relieved. Thus, this event can be connected to allusions to David as an entertainer (lines 59a, 133a, and 177b).

Saul re-appears two more times, in lines 116b and 258b. Both the other occasions refer to his death. Saul's story is also connected to David, who is mentioned eight times (see also 20a).

b) (See also 22a.) E.g. Matthew 26.26.³⁷⁴ This is an allusion to Jesus dividing bread during the Last Supper. Alternatively, it can allude to Jesus feeding the crowds, as e.g. in Matthew 14.19³⁷⁵ or 15.36.³⁷⁶ Finally, Jesus divides bread to his disciples after the resurrection, and when they eat, they recognise him.³⁷⁷ The Vulgate has *fregit* in all these cases.³⁷⁸

93. Tradidit omnibus Petrus, intulit lentem Iacob,

Peter gave it to everyone, Jacob brought lentils,

³⁷³ The sentence continues: "...et lagoenam vini et hedum de capris unum et misit per manum David filii sui Saul."

³⁷⁴ (Also Mark 14.22, Luke 22.19 and 1 Corinthians 11.24.)

³⁷⁵ "et cum iussisset turbam discumbere supra faenum acceptis quinque panibus et duobus piscibus aspiciens in caelum benedixit et *fregit* et dedit discipulis panes discipuli autem turbis."

³⁷⁶ "et accipiens septem panes et pisces et gratias agens *fregit* et dedit discipulis suis et discipuli dederunt populo." The passages in other Gospels are: Mark 6.41, 8.6, Luke 9.16,

³⁷⁷ Luke 24.30: "et factum est dum recumberet cum illis accepit panem et benedixit ac *fregit* et porrigebat illis."

³⁷⁸ "Cenantibus autem eis accepit Iesus panem et benedixit ac *fregit* deditque discipulis suis et ait accipite et comedite hoc est corpus meum."

a) (See also 7a.) Perhaps the attribution is based on the fact that Peter, the most important of the apostles, related – *tradidit*, Jesus’ teaching. Harnack claims that this, together with line 27a, is a general allusion to Peter’s position as a bishop of Rome.³⁷⁹ Modesto claims that the author has probably used the apocryphal *Acta Petri*, but a connection is only found in the Coptic version.³⁸⁰ I would also prefer to find a clear textual connection, but it does not seem very likely to me that the author of the *CC* would use another text just for the sake of one allusion. In any case, exploring this problem further is impossible due to the lack of primary sources.

b) (See also 16a.) Genesis 25.34. It is the lentils for which Esau exchanged primogeniture with Jacob. The Vulgate has the same word.³⁸¹ This clear allusion combines two favourite themes of the author of the *CC*: food and trickery.

94. Solus manducavit Esau, intulit intritam Abacuc,
Esau ate alone, Habakkuk brought soup,

a) (See also 30a.) Genesis 25.34. Esau eats the lentils and loses his inheritance. This attribution is connected to the preceding half line – see also 93b.

b) (See also 83a.) Daniel 14.33-34. *Intrita* is a kind of soup made from bread (bread is mixed with water, honey, wine or milk), served especially to the sick.³⁸² The explanation that Habakkuk possibly brought the soup to Daniel along with other food is not entirely satisfactory, but specification repeatedly occurs in connection with Habakkuk’s food.

95. Totum comedit Danihel, fabam intulit Amelsad,
Daniel ate it all, Amelsad brought beans,

a) (See also 18a.) Daniel 14.39. This half line refers back to the previous one. It is not explicitly stated in the Bible, but it does not require much imagination, to accept that Daniel, who had not eaten for several days, ate all that Habakkuk brought to him in the prison.

b) Daniel 1.16. The name comes from the Greek version, where a servant of this name brings vegetables instead of royal delicacies.³⁸³ The Vulgate has: “Porro *Malasar*... dabatque eis *legumina*.” This part of the *Vetus Latina* did not survive.

The puns on Greek words prove that the author of the *CC* knew Greek well. But it is not clear if we should suppose that he used the Greek version of the Bible as well as the Latin one. Another solution comes to mind, but is impossible to prove: Perhaps the *CC* was originally written in Greek, and only afterwards translated into Latin. The translator would then use a Latin version of the Bible to make the text understandable. But, at the points where complicated Greek puns occur, he would simply leave the Greek transcribed into the Latin alphabet. Also at points which he would misunderstand, he would just leave the original.

³⁷⁹ Harnack 21.

³⁸⁰ Cf. Modesto 45-46.

³⁸¹ “Et sic accepto pane et *lentis* edulio comedit et bibit et abiit parvipendens quod primogenita vendidisset.”

³⁸² Cf. Modesto 46.

³⁸³ Strecker 73.

Amelsad appears one more time, in line 164, where he steals wine. His story is connected to Daniel – see also e.g. line 36b.

- 96. Prior gustavit Misahel.**
Mishaël tasted it first.

Mishaël is one of the men who eat the vegetables, but there is no suggestion that he should be the first one. (See the preceding line 95b.) Apart from this place, Mishaël does not appear anywhere else in the *CC*. The names singled out in the *CC* as first are usually really special in a way, but Mishaël is an exception. Except for the name, the line is exactly the same as 90b, but the difference lies in the fact that Eve, whom the allusion describes well, tastes the meal before it is served, while Mishaël tastes beans, when they are served.

- 97. Sed quoniam hedum coctum comederat Isaac,**
When Isaac ate of the cooked kid,

(See also 15b.) Genesis 27.9. Isaac wanted some meat from Esau's hunt, but Rebecca sends Jacob for two kids, *duos hedos*, which she then cooks quickly.³⁸⁴ This is a clear allusion: it recalls the occasion when Rebecca's and Jacob's trick is at its peak – when Isaac eats the cooked kid, he blesses Jacob mistaking him for Esau.

Some of the lines in the *CC* are introduced by *sed* without really presenting any kind of opposition. Here, however, a contrast can be detected: while Isaac and Tobias have food, Eglon, Daniel, Hermocrates, John the Baptist, Moses, Jesus, and Lazarus remain hungry.

- 98. Et piscem assum Tobias, cepit tumultari Eglon,**
And Tobias fried fish, Eglon began to make a fuss,

a) (See also 18b.) Tobit 6.5. Tobias eats fish also in The Book of Tobit. It is a special fish – its entrails will enable him to heal his father and his wife. Tobias eats another fish, a flying fish, when the fish are served, in line 135b. Both the lines refer to the same event.

b) Judges 3.19. Eglon, the king of Moab, was killed by Ahod, whom he first asked to be quiet – *imperavit silentium*.³⁸⁵ Perhaps the shift from the original scene is simply based on contrast. However, the allusion is not very clear.

Eglon appears one more time, in line 240b, which refers to his death as well.

- 99. Valde esuriebat Danihel, panem petebat Hermocrates,**
Daniel was very hungry, Hermocrates asked for bread,

a) (See also 18a.) Daniel 14.30. Daniel was hungry in the lion's den – he would have died there if Habakkuk had not secretly brought him food. In the context of the *CC*, however, he seems rather greedy – he was mentioned as having eaten everything a short while ago, in line 95a, and now he would like to eat again!

³⁸⁴ “et pergens ad gregem adfer mihi *duos hedos* optimos ut faciam ex eis escas patri tuo quibus libenter vescitur.”

³⁸⁵ “Et reversus de Galgalis ubi erant idola dixit ad regem verbum secretum habeo ad te o rex et ille *imperavit silentium* egressisque omnibus qui circa eum erant.”

b) (See also 84b.) *Acta Pauli*. After Hermocrates is miraculously healed by Paul, he asks for bread.³⁸⁶

100. Non manducabat Iohannes, nichil gustaverat Moyses,
John the Baptist did not eat, Moses did not try anything,

a) (See also 20b.) Matthew 3.4. John the Baptist ate only locusts and honey of wild bees when he was in the desert.³⁸⁷ The allusion is clear, only John the Baptist's modesty is a little bit exaggerated at this point. However, his fast does not last long – later in the *CC* he eats the head of the cooked kid,³⁸⁸ locust fish,³⁸⁹ and honey,³⁹⁰ and he drinks not only water,³⁹¹ but also Albensian wine.³⁹²

b) (See also 17a.) Exodus 16.3. Moses and his people starve in the desert.³⁹³ Thus in this line, allusions to a voluntary and to an involuntary fasting are put together. But Moses will be fed at the feast as well – he is mentioned later as eating the tail of the kid,³⁹⁴ the tongue-fish,³⁹⁵ and drinking Laletanian wine.³⁹⁶ Thus it seems that both John the Baptist and Moses are just waiting for better food: beans, lentils, soup and bread are not good enough for them.

101. Ieiunus erat Iesus, micas colligebat Lazarus.
Jesus was hungry, Lazarus picked the crumbs.

a) (See also 22a.) Matthew 4.2. In the desert, Jesus did not eat for 40 days. The Vulgate has the same word stem – it says that Jesus *ieiunasset*.³⁹⁷

b) (See also 21b.) Luke 16.21. Lazarus tries to eat the crumbs, *micas*, in the Bible as well, but the dogs are faster.³⁹⁸ As in the previous line, voluntary and an involuntary fasting meets in this line.

The last seven allusions (starting with Eglon in line 98b) do not seem to fit the idea of a big feast very much. None of the seven guests is happy: Daniel, Hermocrates and Jesus are hungry, Eglon is dissatisfied, John the Baptist and Moses do not eat, Lazarus does not eat enough. (Perhaps Lazarus eats more than he ever has, but picking crumbs is not usual at a wedding feast.)

³⁸⁶ Harnack 19.

³⁸⁷ “Ipse autem Iohannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum et zonam pelliciam circa lumbos suos esca autem eius erat lucustae et mel silvestre.”

³⁸⁸ Line 112.

³⁸⁹ Line 129b.

³⁹⁰ Line 146a.

³⁹¹ Line 166a.

³⁹² Line 154b.

³⁹³ “Dixeruntque ad eos filii Israhel utinam mortui essemus per manum Domini in terra Aegypti quando sedebamus super ollas carniū et comedebamus panes in saturitate cur eduxistis nos in desertum istud ut occideretis omnem multitudinem fame.”

³⁹⁴ Line 123a.

³⁹⁵ Line 127a.

³⁹⁶ Line 152a.

³⁹⁷ “Et cum *ieiunasset* quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus postea esuriit.”

³⁹⁸ “Cupiēns saturari *de micis* quae cadebant de mensa divitis sed et canes veniebant et lingeabant ulcera eius.”

Other guests, however, have good portions of meat in the next catalogue. Thus it remains unclear whether it is the choice of these characters not to eat, or whether no food is served to them.

(viii) Eating meat from hunting (102-107)

This very short catalogue includes only Old Testament characters. The New Testament characters proved not to be great eaters in the few preceding lines.

102. Ceteri autem partes suas tenebant,
But others kept their portions,

Partes suas (similar to *locis suis*) suggests that the portion which each of the guests gets is a portion appropriate for him or her.

103. Quas ex variis venationibus acceperant:
Which came from various huntings:

It is, as usual, not clear who and why hunted the animals, and how the meals were brought to the feast.

104. Abraham vitulinam, Esau cervinam,
Abraham veal, Esau stag,

a) (See also 15a.) Genesis 18.7. Abraham offers veal, *vitulum*, to the three men – angels – who come to him to announce to him the birth of his son Isaac.³⁹⁹ Abraham is not mentioned as tasting the meat himself.

b) (See also 30a.) Genesis 27.3. Isaac told Esau to make a meal for him from the hunted deer, *venatu aliquid*,⁴⁰⁰ but Jacob and Rebecca deceived him. Isaac might not have meant a stag. A stag could be understood as being generally associated with Esau, and this line as another reference to Esau's occupation.

105. Abel agninam, Noe arietinam,
Abel lamb, Noah ram,

a) (See also 13b.) Genesis 4.4. (See also 14.) Abel does not eat animals, he offers to God from the newborn ones of his flock.⁴⁰¹ Or, it might be an associative allusion to his death, common in the *CC*.

b) (See also 14a.) Genesis 7.8-9. This is perhaps an allusion to taking the animals to the ark. Noah took all the animals, so perhaps a ram as well. This is a different type of specification than e.g. specifying food that Habakkuk brought to Daniel in prison. Here, any animal could be mentioned, because Noah took all, while Habakkuk only

³⁹⁹ "ipse vero ad armentum cucurrit et tulit inde *vitulum* tenerrimum et optimum deditque puero qui festinavit et coxit illum."

⁴⁰⁰ "sume arma tua faretram et arcum et egredere foras cumque *venatu aliquid* adprehenderis."

⁴⁰¹ "Abel quoque obtulit de primogenitis gregis sui et de adipibus eorum et respexit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius."

brought certain food to Daniel. However, as we do not know what food, it becomes the same case as Noah's.

Or, it could relate to Genesis 8.20 – Noah's sacrifice to God after the flood.⁴⁰² The latter suggestion is, in my opinion, better, because *pecus* is mentioned at this point (Noah takes for the sacrifice *de cunctis pecoribus*) and also this half line matches with the preceding one better – they both refer to a sacrifice.

106. Samson leoninam, Heliseus ursinam,
Samson lion, Elisha bear,

a) (See also 28a.) Judges 14.5-6. Samson, when still a child, tore apart a baby lion, *catulus leonis*, and thus revealed his unusual strength.⁴⁰³ (The idea that he ate the lion afterwards is quite peculiar, but he found honey inside its corpse and ate that.)

b) (See also 87a.) 2 Kings 2.24. This clear allusion recalls a very cruel Old Testament story: Elisha was cursing children that laughed at him, and God revenged him – two bears, *duo ursi*, ran out from the forest and killed the children.⁴⁰⁴

107. Maiorem tamen partem tenebat Benjamin.
But it was Benjamin who kept the greatest piece.

(See also 19b.) Genesis 43.34. Benjamin is Joseph's favourite brother: Joseph gives him a greater portion of food (*maiorque pars*).⁴⁰⁵

(ix) Eating Lamb (lines 108-124)

In this catalogue the lamb (the one previously cooked by the characters?) is divided among the guests. In most of the allusions, the part the characters get is originally a part of their own body. Lines 108-111 describe preparations for eating the lamb; the eating itself only begins at line 112. (Similarly, the catalogue of 'Eating various' (lines 91-101) could be called 'preparation' for eating meats from the hunt.)

108. Tunc postmodum dedit panes Pharaon,
After this, Pharaoh gave bread,

(See also 21a.) Genesis 41.55. During the seven years of hunger, Pharaoh is asked for bread and he can give it, thanks to Joseph.⁴⁰⁶ There is an *agens* shift, because it is actually Joseph who distributes the grain. But perhaps *dedit* is to be

⁴⁰² "Aedificavit autem Noe altare Domino et tollens de cunctis pecoribus et volucris mundi obtulit holocausta super altare."

⁴⁰³ "Descendit itaque Samson cum patre suo et matre in Thamnatha cumque venissent ad vineas oppidi apparuit *catulus leonis* saevus rugiens et occurrit ei 6 inruit autem spiritus Domini in Samson et dilaceravit leonem quasi hedum in frusta concerperet nihil omnino habens in manu et hoc patri et matri noluit indicare."

⁴⁰⁴ "Qui cum se respexisset vidit eos et maledixit eis in nomine Domini egressique sunt *duo ursi* de saltu et laceraverunt ex eis quadraginta duos pueros."

⁴⁰⁵ "Sumptis partibus quas ab eo acceperant *maiorque pars* venit Benjamin ita ut quinque partibus excederet biberuntque et inebriati sunt cum eo."

⁴⁰⁶ "qua esuriens clamavit populus ad Pharaonem *alimenta* petens quibus ille respondit ite ad Ioseph et quicquid vobis dixerit facite."

understood as ‘provided’, because Joseph’s activity is not neglected (see the following line).

109. Omnibus divisit Ioseph, discum attulit Herodes,
Joseph divided it among all, Herod brought a plate,

a) (See also 19a.) Genesis 47.15-17. Thanks to Joseph, grain is saved in Egypt, and when seven bad years come, Egypt has enough. Joseph becomes the main distributor of the supplies.⁴⁰⁷ However, Joseph is reluctant to give really to *omnibus* in the Bible – his brothers have to fetch their youngest brother, Benjamin, with them in order to get the bread.

b) (See also 57a.) Matthew 14.11. A clear allusion to the plate on which the head of John the Baptist is brought. The Vulgate has *discum* as well.⁴⁰⁸ There is a *pateins-agens* shift: it is not Herod who brings the plate but he orders it to be brought.

110. Partes composuit Rebecca, intulit Iacob,
Rebecca put together the pieces, Jacob carried them,

a) (See also 23b.) Genesis 27.14. Perhaps it is another allusion to Rebecca’s cooking – the trick on Isaac she designed.⁴⁰⁹ But the allusion is not clear.

b) (See also 16a.) Genesis 27.17. Probably the same situation as above – after Rebecca cooks the meat, Jacob takes it to his father. But the Vulgate has only *dedit* and *tradidit* there.⁴¹⁰

111. Distribuit omnibus Noe.
Noah handed them to everybody.

(See also 14a.) Genesis 6.19-21. Noah does not give out, but rather, according to God’s instructions, accepts everything into his ark. Thus, his original action is reversed here.⁴¹¹

112. Primus ergo sustulit Iohannes caput,
Thus first John took the head,

(See also 20b.) Matthew 14.(8-)11. The head of John the Baptist, *caput eius*, is given to Salome.⁴¹² There is a *pateins-agens* shift, because while in the Bible the head is ‘taken from’ John, in *CC* he takes it himself.

⁴⁰⁷ “Cumque defecisset emptoris pretium venit cuncta Aegyptus ad Ioseph dicens da nobis *panes* quare morimur coram te deficiente pecunia 16 quibus ille respondit adducite pecora vestra et dabo vobis pro eis cibos si pretium non habetis 17 quae cum adduxissent dedit eis alimenta pro equis et ovibus et bubus et asinis sustentavitque eos illo anno pro commutatione pecorum.”

⁴⁰⁸ “Et adlatum est caput eius *in disco* et datum est puellae et tulit matri suae.”

⁴⁰⁹ “Abiit et adtulit deditque matri paravit illa cibos sicut noverat velle patrem illius.”

⁴¹⁰ “Dedit pulmentum et panes quos coxerat tradidit.”

⁴¹¹ “Et ex cunctis animantibus universae carnis bina induces in arcam ut vivant tecum masculini sexus et feminini 20 de volucris iuxta genus suum et de iumentis in genere suo et ex omni reptili terrae secundum genus suum bina de *omnibus* ingredientur tecum ut possint vivere 21 tolles igitur tecum ex omnibus escis quae mandi possunt et conportabis apud te et erunt tibi tamquam illis in cibum.”

Poor John the Baptist will not be full after this dish – the others take from the head the brains, the tongue, the jaw, the little ear, and the eyes (see the following lines). There is no wonder he will have also a fish and honey afterwards.

113. Cerebellum Absalon, linguam Aaron,
Absolon the brains, Aaron the tongue,

a) (See also 26a.) 2 Samuel 18.9. This is probably another allusion to Absolon's death, but the Vulgate has only *caput* here,⁴¹³ there is no mention about brains in connection with this character.

b) (See also 41a.) Exodus 4.10 or Exodus 4.14.⁴¹⁴ Perhaps it should be associated with the fact that Aaron was skilfull in speech, *eloquens*, while the tongue of Moses was slower, he was *tardioris linguae*. A similar allusion is that to Moses in line 127. Aaron's tongue is not explicitly mentioned in the Bible, but this connection makes sense.

114. Maxillam Samson, auriculam Petrus,
Samson the jaw, Peter the little ear,

a) (See also 28a.) Judges 15.15-16. Samson kills one thousand men with an ass' jaw. The word used in the Vulgate is the same.⁴¹⁵

(Note also the place name – Judges 15.14: “qui cum venisset ad locum *Maxillae* et Philisthim vociferantes occurrissent ei inruit spiritus Domini in eum et sicut solent ad odorem ignis lina consumi ita vincula quibus ligatus erat dissipata sunt et soluta.”)

b) (See also 7a.) John 18.10. This is already a second allusion to this rather violent act by Peter. The Vulgate has *auriculam* as well.⁴¹⁶

115. Oculos Lia, cervicem Holofernus,
Lea the eyes, Holofernes the neck,

a) (See also 39b.) Genesis 29.17 A clear allusion agreeing with the perception in the CC of Lea as an ugly woman, as well as with the recalled text of the Bible, where eyes, *oculi*, are explicitly mentioned.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹² “(At illa praemonita a matre sua da mihi inquit hic in disco caput Iohannis Baptistae 9 et contristatus est rex propter iuramentum autem et eos qui pariter recumbebant iussit dari 10 misitque et decollavit Iohannem in carcere) 11 et adlatum est *caput* eius in disco et datum est puellae et tulit matri suae.”

⁴¹³ “Accidit autem ut occurreret Absalom servis David sedens mulo cumque ingressus fuisset mulus subter condensam quercum et magnam adhesit *caput* eius quercui et illo suspenso inter caelum et terram mulus cui sederat pertransivit.”

⁴¹⁴ Exodus 4.14: “iratus Dominus in Mosen ait Aaron frater tuus Levites scio quod *eloquens* sit ecce ipse egreditur in occursum tuum vidensque te laetabitur corde.” Exodus 4.10: “ait Moses obsecro Domine non sum eloquens ab heri et nudius tertius et ex quo locutus es ad servum tuum inpeditionis et tardioris *linguae* sum.”

⁴¹⁵ “Inventamque *maxillam* id est mandibulam asini quae iacebat arripiens interfecit in ea mille viros 16 et ait in *maxilla* asini in mandibula pulli asinarum delevi eos et percussi mille viros.”

⁴¹⁶ “Simon ergo Petrus habens gladium eduxit eum et percussit pontificis servum et abscidit eius *auriculam* dextram erat autem nomen servo Malchus.”

⁴¹⁷ “Sed Lia lippis erat *oculis*, Rahel decora facie et venusto aspectu.”

b) Judith 13.10. Judith, killing Holofernes, stabs him twice in his neck – “percussit bis in *cervicem* eius”. This is a clear allusion

This is the first appearance of Holofernes at the feast. He appears one more time, in line 159a, associated with his deep sleep before Judith killed him.

116. Arterias Zaccharias, collum Saul,
Zacharias the arteries, Saul the lower neck,

a) (See also 51.) Luke 11.51. An unclear allusion. It could be a loose association with all the blood shed from the beginning until Zacharias. But the Vulgate speaks only about blood here.⁴¹⁸

Rönsch argues that the prophet Zechariah is meant.⁴¹⁹ He says that in an older version, there is *vena* or *arteria* instead of *fons* in Zechariah 13.1.⁴²⁰

b) (See also 92a.) 1 Samuel 31.9-10. After Saul’s death, the Philistines find his body and cut off his head.⁴²¹ Although it is not explicitly mentioned, the lower neck is the place of the cut.⁴²²

117. Armora Agar, interanea Ionas,
Hagar the shoulders, Jonah the entrails,

a) (See also 78b.) Genesis 21.14. The same event is referred to as with all appearances of Hagar.⁴²³ Strecker quotes an older version, which instead of *scapula* that appears in the Vulgate, has “et imposuit in *humeros*.”⁴²⁴

It is clear that Hagar, not Achar, is meant here.

b) (See also 33.) Jonah 2.1. A possible allusion to Jonah’s imprisonment inside the whale – *in ventre piscis*.⁴²⁵

118. Sicotum Tobias, cor Pharaos,
Tobias the liver, Pharaoh the heart,

a) (See also 18b.) Tobit 6.5. Tobias uses the heart and the liver of the fish he caught to cast away the demon troubling Sarah. Strecker discusses the differences among manuscripts: ⁴²⁶ some manuscripts of the Y group have *ficatum*, which seems

⁴¹⁸ “A sanguine Abel usque ad *sanguinem* Zacchariae qui periit inter altare et aedem ita dico vobis requiretur ab hac generatione.”

⁴¹⁹ Rönsch 349.

⁴²⁰ “In die illa erit *fons* patens domus David et habitantibus Hierusalem in ablutionem peccatoris et menstruatae.”

⁴²¹ “Et praeciderunt *caput* Saul et expoliaverunt eum armis et miserunt in terram Philistinorum per circuitum ut adnuntiaretur in templo idolorum et in populis 10 et posuerunt arma eius in templo Astharoth *corpus* vero eius suspenderunt in muro Bethsan.”

⁴²² Cf. Modesto 47.

⁴²³ “Surrexit itaque Abraham mane et tollens panem et utrem aquae inposuit *scapulae* eius tradiditque puerum et dimisit eam quae cum abisset errabat in solitudine Bersabee.”

⁴²⁴ Strecker 77.

⁴²⁵ “Et praeparavit Dominus piscem grandem ut degluttiret Ionam et erat Iona *in ventre* piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.”

⁴²⁶ Strecker 76.

older to him. The manuscripts of the X group have *fel piscis*, or *pellem piscis*, which is definitely later.⁴²⁷

b) (See also 21a.) Exodus 4.21. Pharaoh's heart, *cor*, is hardened by God, so that he would not be willing to release the Jews.⁴²⁸ The attribution might also be related to the first half line, to Tobias' healing of Sarah thanks to both the heart and liver of the fish.

119. Renalia Isaias, latus Adam,
Isaiah the kidneys, Adam the flank,

a) (See also 34a.) This is probably a vague allusion to the mode of Isaiah's death – he was cut in half while hiding inside a tree, and thus his entrails, probably including the kidneys, were damaged. The source for this allusion is the apocryphal *Martyrium Prophaetae Iasaiae*. Rönsch has a different, not very persuasive suggestion to connect this with Isaiah 11.5: "Et erit iustitia cingulum lumborum eius et fides cinctorium *renis* eius."⁴²⁹

b) (See also 12a.) Genesis 2.21. An allusion to the creation of Eve. The Vulgate only speaks about substituting one of his ribs – *unam de costis eius*.⁴³⁰ The author of the CC probably wanted to avoid repetition – the rib is recalled in the following half line. In addition, in Bible illuminations, Eve is usually portrayed as coming out of Adam's side, and so in this context the allusion is clear.

120. Costam Eva, ilia Maria,
Eve the rib, Mary the groin,

a) (See also 12b.) Genesis 2.22. An obvious, more specific allusion to the creation of Eve.⁴³¹

b) (See also 61b.) Matthew 1.20-21.⁴³² Or Luke 1.31.⁴³³ A clear allusion to the immaculate conception.

121. Ventrem Sara, vulvam Helisabeth,
Sarah the belly, Elisabeth the womb,

⁴²⁷ Cf. also Modesto 47.

⁴²⁸ "Dixitque ei Dominus revertenti in Aegyptum vide ut omnia ostenta quae posui in manu tua facias coram Pharaone ego indurabo *cor* eius et non dimittet populum."

⁴²⁹ Rönsch 349.

⁴³⁰ "Inmisit ergo Dominus Deus soporem in Adam cumque obdormisset tulit *unam de costis* eius et replevit carnem pro ea."

⁴³¹ "Et aedificavit Dominus Deus *costam* quam tulerat de Adam in mulierem et adduxit eam ad Adam."

⁴³² "Haec autem eo cogitante ecce angelus Domini in somnis apparuit ei dicens Ioseph fili David noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam quod enim in ea natum est de Spiritu Sancto est 21 pariet autem filium et vocabis nomen eius Iesum ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum."

⁴³³ "Ecce concipies in utero et paries filium et vocabis nomen eius Iesum."

- a) Genesis 18.11-15. An allusion to Sarah's late, almost miraculous conception.⁴³⁴

This is the first allusion to Sarah. She appears two more times in lines 147a, and 288.

- b) Luke 1.24-25. An allusion to Elisabeth's pregnancy.⁴³⁵ This is the first allusion to Elisabeth. She is mentioned again in line 287a, and again her giving birth to John the Baptist is alluded to.

In my opinion, it is significant that from line 119b to 121b, all the attributions are concerned with births, and all the births are miraculous in some way. This is not a unique occasion in the *CC* – a similar sequence of allusions to birth appears at the end, lines 286-288.

122. Adipem Abel, femur Abraham,
Abel the fat, Abraham the thigh,

- a) (See also 13b.) Genesis 4.4. Again, an allusion to Abel sacrificing the fat of the newborns of his flock.⁴³⁶

- b) (See also 15a.) Genesis 24.2. Abraham asks his servant to swear by his thigh, *femur*, which might mean that if he breaks his promise, he will not be able to have children.⁴³⁷

Thus, both of these half lines could allude to birth as well, but rather negatively.

123. Caudam Moyses, clunes Loth,
Moses the tail, Lot the haunch,

- a) (See also 17a.) Exodus 4.4. Moses runs before a rod changed by God into a serpent. God advises him to hold the serpent's tail – *caudam*.⁴³⁸ Neither this scene nor the image of Moses eating the kid's tail reflects the significant and solemn position Moses has in the Old Testament. The attribution in the *CC* seems rather mocking.

Or, as Rönsch suggests, it could allude to Deuteronomy 28.13: "Constituet te Dominus in caput et non *in caudam*."⁴³⁹

- b) (See also 16b.) Genesis 19.3.⁴⁴⁰ The allusion is not clear: perhaps Lot gave the angels, among other food during the little feast he prepared for them – *convivium*, also a haunch.

⁴³⁴ "Erant autem ambo senes provectaeque aetatis et desierant Sarrae fieri muliebria 12 quae risit occulte dicens postquam consenui et dominus meus vetulus est voluptati operam dabo 13 dixit autem Dominus ad Abraham quare risit Sarra dicens num vere paritura sum anus 14 numquid Deo est quicquam difficile iuxta condictum revertar ad te hoc eodem tempore vita comite et habebit Sarra filium 15 negavit Sarra dicens non risi timore perterrita Dominus autem non est inquit ita sed risisti."

⁴³⁵ "Post hos autem dies concepit Elisabeth uxor eius et occultabat se mensibus quinque dicens 25 quia sic mihi fecit Dominus in diebus quibus respexit auferre obprobrium meum inter homines."

⁴³⁶ For the quotation see 105a.

⁴³⁷ "Dixitque ad servum seniore[m] domus suae qui praeerat omnibus quae habebat pone manum tuam subter *femur* meum."

⁴³⁸ "Dixitque Dominus extende manum tuam et adprehende *caudam* eius extendit et tenuit versaue est in virgam."

⁴³⁹ Rönsch 348.

124. Pedes Iacob, ossa collegit Ezekiel.

Jacob the legs, Ezekiel collected the bones.

a) (See also 16a.) Genesis 25.25. Jacob is born in a way that he holds his brother Esau's leg, or, more precisely his heel – *plantam*.⁴⁴¹

b) (See also 35a.) Ezekiel 37.1.⁴⁴² Ezekiel led by God comes to a valley full of bones – “*plenus ossibus*”.⁴⁴³

(x) Eating the Fish (125-142)

This is perhaps the most difficult catalogue to identify. Most scholars claim that instead of the Bible, this part was inspired by Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. However, bringing up Pliny in this context seems rather irrelevant to me. In my opinion, most of the allusions to obscure or non-existent fishes are simple puns based on external similarity with words that are common attributes of the specific characters. This is one of the two catalogues that Modesto analyzed in more detail, so for each of the allusions her book can be consulted.⁴⁴⁴

125. Item Iacobus et Andreas intulerunt pisces.

Then Jacob and Andrew brought the fish.

(See also 6.) Putting together these two apostles is strange. However, they were both fishermen, which is why they bring fish.

126. Sustulit itaque asellum Iesus,

And thus Jesus received a cod,

(See also 22a.) John 12.14-15. An allusion to Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on an ass *asellus*.⁴⁴⁵ But the fish exists as well – it is a cod, which, according to Pliny, was very honoured for its taste. Thus, the real fish reflects Jesus' status among other characters in the Bible. In the translation, the double meaning of the allusion got lost.

127. Labionem Moyses, lupum Benjamin,

Moses a tongue-fish, Benjamin a wolf-fish,

a) (See also 17a.) Exodus 4.10.⁴⁴⁶ Pliny does not mention such fish, probably the attribution relates to Moses' unskilled mouth and tongue as is the case elsewhere (see also 113b or 152a).

⁴⁴⁰ “Conpulit illos oppido ut deverterent ad eum ingressisque domum illius fecit *convivium* coxit azyma et comederunt.”

⁴⁴¹ “Qui primus egressus est rufus erat et totus in morem pellis hispidus vocatumque est nomen eius Esau protinus alter egrediens *plantam* fratris tenebat manu et idcirco appellavit eum Iacob.”

⁴⁴² Rönsch 345.

⁴⁴³ “Facta est super me manus Domini et eduxit me in spiritu Domini et dimisit me in medio campi qui erat plenus *ossibus*.”

⁴⁴⁴ Modesto 90-95.

⁴⁴⁵ “Et invenit Iesus *asellum* et sedit super eum sicut scriptum est noli timere filia Sion ecce rex tuus venit sedens super pullum asinae.”

⁴⁴⁶ Hagen 171.

- b) (See also 19b.) Genesis 49.27.⁴⁴⁷ Benjamin eats his prey like a wolf – *lupus*.⁴⁴⁸ The fish was used to make a fish sauce, *garum*.

128. Mugilem Abel, murenam Eva,
Abel mooing fish, Eve murena,

- a) (See also 13b.) Genesis 4.2. Mullet? It can be derived from *mugire*, to ‘shout’ or to ‘moo’ and thus connected with Abel’s flocks of sheep and to his occupation.⁴⁴⁹ Modesto, however, derives the word from *mungere*, which she associates with deceiving and fooling. Thus it would allude to the event when Abel was deceived and killed by Esau.⁴⁵⁰ The fish, according to Pliny, was known for playing tricks on both animals and humans.

- b) (See also 12b.) Genesis 3.1.⁴⁵¹ Murena looks like a serpent and thus might be reminiscent of the serpent in paradise.⁴⁵²

Herveus Burgodiensis takes from Pliny that murenas usually have sexual intercourse with snakes, and he links the allusion to the myth of Eve having intercourse with the snake in Eden, conceiving and giving birth to corrupt humanity. Harnack is of the same opinion, and he stresses that this allusion supports his dating of the CC to the late fourth or the fifth century, because this is the time when the myth was spread among the Gnostics.⁴⁵³ However, it is obvious, that the attribution does not necessarily relate to the myth, it can be simply based on the similarity of murena and snake.

129. Pelamidem Adam, locustam Iohannes,
Adam a tuna fish, John a crab,

- a) (See also 12a.) Genesis 2.7. According to Hagen, this allusion relates to the creation of Adam out of earth. This allusion can, however, be only understood through Greek ‘πηλός’ – the clay, the earth.

- b) (See also 20b.) Matthew 3.4. Locusta is a sea crab, but also a locust – John’s favourite food in the desert. This is another clear allusion to his fast.

130. Gladium Cain, capitonem Absalon,
Cain a swordfish, Absalom head-fish,

- a) (See also 13a.) Genesis 4.8. The association is clearly to Cain’s fratricide. There is also a fish of the name, which is very dangerous.

⁴⁴⁷ Rönsch 345 and Lapôtre 552.

⁴⁴⁸ “Beniamin *lupus* rapax mane comedet praedam et vespere dividet spolia.”

⁴⁴⁹ Lapôtre 552.

⁴⁵⁰ Modesto 91.

⁴⁵¹ Hagen suggests Genesis 3.4, but there is not much difference between the two. Hagen 171.

⁴⁵² “Sed et *serpens* erat callidior cunctis animantibus terrae quae fecerat Dominus Deus qui dixit ad mulierem cur praecepit vobis Deus ut non comederetis de omni ligno paradisi.”

⁴⁵³ Harnack 21.

b) (See also 26a.) 1 Samuel 18.9. Obviously a pun on *caput*, a head, which refers Absolon's peculiar mode of death, with which he is associated throughout the CC.

131. Polypum Pharaoh, torpedinem Lia,

Pharaoh a polyp, Lea a ray,

a) (See also 21a.) Exodus 14.23. Polyp is a type of octopus. Typically for allusions concerning Pharaoh, the attribution is not quite clear. Lapôte mentions Pliny, who says that a polyp is extremely determined to follow its prey under all conditions.⁴⁵⁴ Thus, the allusion would relate to the fact that Pharaoh followed the Jews up to the middle of the sea – “per medium maris”.⁴⁵⁵ (The octopus-like body of a polyp could be associated with ‘multiple persecution’ of the Jews by Pharaoh.)

b) (See also 39b.) Genesis 29.23-25.⁴⁵⁶ A torpedo is a fish, but this is probably derived from *torpere*, to ‘be without one’s own will, to be deluded’, which would allude to Laban’s trick on Jacob when he led Lea to him at night. (Pliny states that the fish hides before it approaches its prey.)

132. Auratam Tamar, scarum Agar,

Tamar a golden fish, Achan a colourful fish,

a) (See also 64a.) Genesis 38.11-19. Tamar put on golden jewelry, so that she would look like a prostitute.⁴⁵⁷ (Or is it here because she was paid by her father in law?)

b) (See also 32a.) Joshua 7.21. Scarus was a colourful fish (very popular in Pliny’s time). It might be connected with the supposedly colourful cloak Achan stole.

133. Cantaridem David, allecem Ioseph,

David “cantaridem”, Joseph a fish sauce,

a) (See also 20a.) 1 Samuel 16.23⁴⁵⁸ or 2 Samuel 1.17.⁴⁵⁹ *Cantharis* or ‘κάνθαρις’ is not a fish. Perhaps it should be connected with *cantare* – David’s singing. This is not explicitly mentioned in the Bible, but it is directly implied.

b) (See also 19a and 75a.) Genesis 47.12. *Allex* is, according to Pliny, a fish sauce made of small lower quality fish. But it is even unclear which Joseph is meant here. Modesto claims that the Old Testament Joseph gets the sauce, because Egypt was rich in fish.⁴⁶⁰ In my opinion, the allusion could be based on *alere*, to ‘feed’ and

⁴⁵⁴ Lapôte 554.

⁴⁵⁵ “Persequentesque Aegyptii ingressi sunt post eos omnis equitatus Pharaonis currus eius et equites per medium maris.”

⁴⁵⁶ “Et vespere filiam suam Liam introduxit ad eum dans ancillam filiae Zelpham nomine ad quam cum ex more Iacob fuisset ingressus facto mane vidit Liam et dixit ad socerum quid est quod facere voluisti nonne pro Rahel servivi tibi quare inposuisti mihi.”

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. Lapôte 554.

⁴⁵⁸ “Igitur quandocumque spiritus Dei arripiebat Saul tollebat David citharam et percutiebat manu sua et refocilabatur Saul et levius habebat recedebat enim ab eo spiritus malus.”

⁴⁵⁹ “Planxit autem David planctum huiusmodi super Saul et super Ionathan filium eius.”

⁴⁶⁰ Modesto 92.

refers to the Old Testament Joseph who fed, *alebat*, the whole nation, including his family.⁴⁶¹

134. Saxatilem Hieremias, umbram Lazarus,
Jeremiah rock fish, Lazarus a grayling,

a) Jeremiah 37.15. Hagen uses apocrypha in order to explain this allusion.⁴⁶² But it is not necessary, as there is a parallel also in the Bible. Jeremiah is thrown into a dungeon and kept there for some days.⁴⁶³ Similarly, saxatilis is, according to Pliny, a fish that often hides for a long time in a cave on the seabed.

This is the first appearance of Jeremiah. He appears two more times: once it is alluded to his death by stoning (line 247b), once to his lamentations (269b).

b) (See also 53a.) John 11.38, or, more probably, Luke 1.79. This is not the poor Lazarus, but Jesus' friend. Hagen⁴⁶⁴ derives the parallel from the darkness in his tomb.⁴⁶⁵ But Modesto's idea that Lazarus was for a few days covered by the shadow of death *umbra mortis*, a common idea in the Bible,⁴⁶⁶ seems more likely, although the shadow of death does not occur in this episode, Jesus only talks about his sleep.⁴⁶⁷

I chose to translate it as 'grayling', as it preserves the pun, and, at the same time, it is a fish, a type of trout.

135. Soleam Iudith, irundinem Tobias,
Judith a sole-fish, Tobias a flying fish,

a) (See also 31b.) Judith 10.4. Pun – it is a type of fish as well, but *solea* are sandals Judith is wearing. While the Vulgate differs by “induitque *sandalia* pedibus suis”, an older version clearly proves the connection: “et accepit *soleas* in pedes suos.”⁴⁶⁸

b) (See also 18b.) *Hirundo* is a flying fish, so it can be associated with Tobit 6.2, where a big fish flies out from the sea (wanting to bite him in his leg) – the fish that causes so many miracles.

136. Argentillum Iudas, sepiam Herodes,
Judas a silver fish, Herod a cuttlefish,

a) (See also 26b.) Matthew 26.15. An allusion to Judas' money again. (Pliny, no surprise, does not know such a fish.)

⁴⁶¹ “At *alebat* eos omnemque domum patris sui praebeens cibaria singulis.”

⁴⁶² Hagen 172.

⁴⁶³ “Itaque ingressus est Hieremias in domum laci et in *ergastula* et sedit ibi Hieremias diebus multis.”

⁴⁶⁴ Hagen 172.

⁴⁶⁵ John 11.38: “Iesus ergo rursum fremens in semet ipso venit ad monumentum erat autem spelunca et lapis superpositus erat ei.”

⁴⁶⁶ E.g. Luke 1.79: “Inluminare his qui in tenebris et in *umbra mortis* sedent ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis.”

⁴⁶⁷ John 11.11: “Haec ait et post hoc dicit eis Lazarus amicus noster *dormit* sed vado ut a somno exsuscitem eum.”

⁴⁶⁸ Strecker 75.

b) (See also 57a.) Matthew 14.8. The shape of a cuttlefish is reminiscent of the plate on which Herod ordered John the Baptist's head to be brought. Thus, this is a good example of metaphor used by the author of the *CC*.

137. Cornutam Esau, glaucum Ionas,
Esau a fish with horns, Jonah a blue-green fish,

a) (See also 30a.) Genesis 25.27-38. Again, perhaps it should be associated with the horned animals hunted by Esau. According to Lapôte, it alludes to the horns of the stag Esau hunted for his father.⁴⁶⁹ In my opinion, there is not a big difference between the two solutions, and they are both possible.

b) (See also 33.) Jonah 1.4 (or 1.15-). The fish is not known but the colour could be reminiscent of the colour of the sea, as well as Jonah's dress in the *CC*, which is *cerulea* (see the line 53b).

138. Aloidam Iacob, salpam Molessadon,
Jacob a fish cunning like a fox, Melchizedek salted fish,

a) (See also 16a.) Genesis 27.36. (Or the whole chapter 27.) According to Lapôte, *alopex* also means a fox, which reminds of the trick Jacob played on Esau.⁴⁷⁰ This is an elegant and persuasive suggestion.

b) (See also 88b.) Genesis 13.3, Genesis 14.18 or Genesis 14.3. Melchizedek is always associated with salt, and so he is here.
Manuscripts of group X have *talpam*, which is surely later.

139. Denticem Isaias, araneum Tecla,
Isaiah a fish with teeth, Thecla a spider fish,

a) (See also 34a.) The allusion has not been identified. Pliny does not know this fish. In my opinion, it could refer to the saw with which Isaiah was killed, as to a saw with 'sharp teeth'.⁴⁷¹

b) (See also 25a.) *APT* 25. Thecla sat at the window as a spider – *araneus*.

140. Coracinum Noe, rubelionem Rebecca,
Noah a black fish, Rebecca a red fish,

a) (See also 14a.) Genesis 8.6-7. Noah sends out a *corax*, raven, to see whether the flood is over. The fish does exist, but the connection with Noah is clearly based on pun.⁴⁷² Lapôte argues that the parallel lies in the fact that a raven can foresee rain, while Noah can foresee a flood.⁴⁷³ In my opinion, the first solution is preferable, because it stands closer to the text of the Bible.

⁴⁶⁹ Lapôte 557.

⁴⁷⁰ Lapôte 558.

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Lapôte 558.

⁴⁷² "Cumque transissent quadraginta dies aperiens Noe fenestram arcae quam fecerat dimisit *corvum* 7 qui egrediebatur et revertebatur donec sicarentur aquae super terram."

⁴⁷³ Lapôte 559.

b) (See also 23b.) Genesis 24.64-65. Rebecca is connected to the colour red – she blushes⁴⁷⁴ when she sees Isaac for the first time, and her son Esau is ruddy.

141. Lacertum Goliath, menam Maria,
Goliath a lizard fish, Mary a herring,

a) 1 Samuel 17.4-7. There is such a fish, but *lacertus* also means ‘muscle’ or ‘arm’ – attributes of Goliath’s strength.⁴⁷⁵

This is the first appearance of Goliath. He appears one more time, in line 208a, where his strength is referred to again.

b) (See also 61b.) *Maena* is a fish with healing properties, but the connection is not clear. Receiving a herring could also simply allude to Mary’s modesty. This allusion does not seem to be connected with a specific passage in the Bible.

142. Helionem Samson.
Samson a sun fish.

(See also 28a.) Judges 13.24. Samson means ‘a child of the sun,’ and thus he gets a sun fish. (Alternatively, it could simply be a pun on *leonem*.)

(xi) Eating Sweets (143-148)

Eating sweets is a short catalogue of various smaller dishes closing the eating part of the feast. The name I assigned to it does not fit very well, especially as the catalogue begins with vinegar and salt. Perhaps the first two lines should be part of the previous catalogue. Thus the catalogue would end with “prior intixit Cain” – with an analogy to the ending of the catalogue of cooking (see line 90b).⁴⁷⁶

No new character is introduced in this catalogue. In three cases, the allusion already mentioned in the *CC* is repeated here (143a, 143b, and 145), four attributions relate to recurring situations, and only the last two attributions are unique in the *CC*.

This catalogue is a list of people serving rather than eating.

143. Posuit Ionas acetum et Molessadon salem,
Jonah added vinegar and Melchizedek salt,

a) (See also 33.) Jonah 2.1. Jonah is again associated with vinegar (see line 42a).

b) (See also 88b.) Genesis 14.18. The same attribution is repeated for the third time.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. Lapôtre 559.

⁴⁷⁵ “Et egressus est vir spurius de castris Philisthinorum nomine Goliath de Geth altitudinis sex cubitorum et palmo 5 et cassis aerea super caput eius et lorica hamata induebatur porro pondus loricae eius quinque milia siclorum aeris 6 et ocreas aereas habebat in cruribus et clypeus aereus tegebat umeros eius 7 hastile autem hastae eius erat quasi liciatorium textentium ipsum autem ferrum hastae eius sescentos siclos habebat ferri et armiger eius antecedeat eum.”

⁴⁷⁶ In any case, the distinction to individual catalogues is not definite, it should simply facilitate reader’s orientation in the text.

144. Prior intinxit Cain.

And Cain was the first one to dip.

(See also 13a.) Genesis 4.8. *Intinxit* could be understood as a metaphor on killing – to thrust a sword into a body. Thus it would be one of many allusions to Cain’s fratricide.

145. Explicatisque omnibus dedit adipem Abel,

When all the food had been laid out, Abel provided fat,

(See also 13b.) Genesis 4.4. Abel provides fat, as in line 122a. The allusion is to the same passage as in line 105a, to Abel’s sacrifice.⁴⁷⁷

146. Mel Iohannes, lac Abraham,

John honey, Abraham milk,

a) (See also 20b.) Matthew 3.4. Another allusion to John the Baptist’s diet in the desert.⁴⁷⁸

b) (See also 15a.) Genesis 18.8. Abraham makes a little feast for the angels, and he also offers them milk.⁴⁷⁹ The visit of the angels to Abraham is often recalled in the *CC*.

147. Consersit Sara, dulcia fecit Iesus,

Sarah sprinkled it, Jesus prepared desserts,

a) (See also 121a.) Genesis 18.6. (See also the previous allusion – 146b.) This line also alludes to the visit of the angels – Abraham asks Sarah to prepare bread. But it cannot be discerned from the Vulgate.⁴⁸⁰ But Strecker points out an older version with: “*Festina et conspergere tres mensuras similaginis*”.⁴⁸¹

b) (See also 22a.) Isaiah 7.14-15. Isaiah foresees the birth of a son who will eat butter and honey, *butyrum et mel* (common ingredients in sweets) so as to be able to renounce evil and choose good.⁴⁸²

This very attribution appears in Zeno’s Easter sermon, and thus, because of its presence here, it has been claimed that the author of the *CC* knew and parodied the sermon.

148. Omnia perministravit Paulus.

Paul offered everything.

⁴⁷⁷ “Abel quoque obtulit de primogenitis gregis sui et de *adipibus* eorum et respexit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius.”

⁴⁷⁸ “Ipse autem Iohannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum et zonam pelliciam circa lumbos suos esca autem eius erat lucustae et *mel* silvestre.”

⁴⁷⁹ “Tulit quoque butyrum et *lac* et vitulum quem coxerat et posuit coram eis ipse vero stabat iuxta eos sub arbore.”

⁴⁸⁰ “Festinavit Abraham in tabernaculum ad Sarram dixitque ei adcelera tria sata similiae commisce et fac subcinericios panes.”

⁴⁸¹ Strecker 76.

⁴⁸² “Propter hoc dabit Dominus ipse vobis signum ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitis nomen eius Emmanuhel *butyrum et mel* comedet ut sciat reprobare malum et eligere bonum.”

(See also 29b.) This is not the only allusion to Paul that seems to be concerned with his role in the New Testament in general. Alternatively, the attribution could be taken from *Acta Petri cum Simone*,⁴⁸³ or from the *Acta Pauli*. In my opinion it cannot be decided, because the allusion is too general.⁴⁸⁴

(xii) Drinking Wine (149-156)

The short catalogue of the wines is reminiscent of the catalogue of the fish, because it is mostly based on puns. The catalogue does not present any new characters but it includes two completely unclear allusions (151a and 152b), as well as a few ambiguous ones. More men than women are interested in drinking – there are ten men and only three women mentioned in this catalogue.

Drinking is a necessary pre-condition for the feast to turn into a crazy, disorganized and violent event.

149. Sed quoniam aliquot genera vini habebant, But because they had several kinds of wine,

Sed quoniam marks beginning of a new catalogue as elsewhere. It is not clear whether *habebant* refers to the guests or to the organizers – whether the wine was prepared for them or whether the guests had to provide it themselves, similarly to the food.

Perhaps this line stresses the contrast with the wedding at Cana, where, soon enough, they had no wine left.

150. Passum bibebat Iesus, marsicum Ionas, Jesus drank raisin wine, Jonah Marsican,

a) (See also 22a.) E.g. Matthew 17.12.⁴⁸⁵ It is a raisin wine, but more probably, there is a pun here – Jesus gets *passum*, because he suffered – *passus est*.⁴⁸⁶

b) (See also 33.) Pliny says Marsican wine is not the best kind. Here, it is probably a simple pun on *mare*, the sea.⁴⁸⁷

151. Surrentium Pharaos, pellinum Adam, Pharaoh Surrentian, Adam Pellinian,

a) (See also 21a.) The connection to Pharaoh remains unclear. This is one of the six completely unclear allusions. (In any case, Pliny states that Surrentian wine is very good.)

b) (See also 12a.) Genesis 3.21. Such wine is not known. Probably it is a pun on *tunica pellicia* – not the first mention of it in the CC.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸³ Harnack 18.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Modesto 48.

⁴⁸⁵ “Dico autem vobis quia Helias iam venit et non cognoverunt eum sed fecerunt in eo quaecumque voluerunt sic et Filius hominis *passurus est* ab eis.”

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. Modesto 48.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. Modesto 48.

152. Laletanum Moyses, creticum Isaac,
Moses Laletanian, Isaac Cretan,

- a) (See also 17a.) Exodus 4.10. It might be a Spanish wine, but the name sounds like Greek ‘λαλεῖν’, to mumble, and thus could again allude to Moses’ inability to speak.⁴⁸⁹ If it is the case, this is one of the baffling allusions based on Greek language.
- b) (See also 15b.) Very famous and good wine, but the allusion is unclear.⁴⁹⁰

153. Adrianum Aaron, arbustum Zacheus,
Aaron Adriatic, Zacchaeus Arbustan,

- a) (See also 41a.) Exodus 14.22.⁴⁹¹ Perhaps it alludes to Aaron’s journey across the Red Sea.⁴⁹² Then it would be the only allusion to this event in the *CC*. (According to Pliny, this is the very best wine.
- b) (See also 22b.) Luke 19.2-4.⁴⁹³ The wine is not known, but the name is reminiscent of *arbor*, tree, a recurring attribute of Zacchaeus in the *CC*.⁴⁹⁴

154. Arsinum Tecla, albense Iohannes,
Thecla Arsinian, John Albensian,

- a) (See also 25a.) *APT* 20-22. It sounds like the perfect participle of *ardeo*, to be on fire. Harnack claims that it describes Thecla’s burning affection for Paul,⁴⁹⁵ but I agree with Modesto, that it refers to the event when Thecla was condemned to be burnt, but was miraculously saved.⁴⁹⁶ Thus, this line refers to the same event as line 54a.
- b) (See also 20b.) It can be a variant of *Albanum*, a good sort of wine, or simply derived from *albus*, white, the colour of purity.⁴⁹⁷

155. Campanum Abel, signinum Maria,

⁴⁸⁸ “Fecit quoque Dominus Deus Adam et uxori eius *tunicas pellicias* et induit eos.”

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. Modesto 48.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. Brewer 109.

⁴⁹¹ “Et ingressi sunt filii Israhel per medium maris sicci erat enim aqua quasi murus a dextra eorum et leva.”

⁴⁹² Cf. Modesto 49.

⁴⁹³ “Et ecce vir nomine Zaccheus et hic erat princeps publicanorum et ipse dives et quaerebat videre Iesum quis esset et non poterat prae turba quia statura pusillus erat et praecurrens ascendit *in arborem* sycomorum ut videret illum quia inde erat transiturus.”

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. Modesto 49.

⁴⁹⁵ Harnack 19.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. Modesto 49.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. Modesto 50.

Abel Campanian, Mary Signinian,

a) (See also 13b.) Genesis 4.8. Perhaps a pun on *campus* – the place where Cain was killed. But there is *in agro* in the Vulgate.⁴⁹⁸ Hagen's idea that the place should read *canipum* and relate to Genesis 4.3,⁴⁹⁹ is not too plausible.⁵⁰⁰

b) (See also 61b.) John 2.11. It might be wine from Signa, but perhaps it is for *signum* – Mary asks Jesus for wine during the wedding at Cana, he truly makes it and thus makes his first miracle – *initium signorum*.⁵⁰¹

156. Florentinum Rahel.

Rachel Florentine.

(See also 29a.) Genesis 29.17. Perhaps another allusion to Rachel's beauty, which might be (but is not) described as *florens* – flowering.

(xiii) The Effects of Wine Drinking and Entertainment (157-182)

This catalogue is rather long and very diverse – the guests seem to be at ease, the wine relaxed them. First, the effects of the wine (mostly sleeping) can be detected and then comes the entertainment (playing instruments and singing). By the end of this catalogue, the guests are ready to take part in the procession.

The catalogue is quite long (it features 47 characters), but not very united. It could easily be divided into four sub-catalogues: sleeping (lines 157-161), more drinking (162-169), confused reactions (170-177a), and music and entertainment (177b-182). Some of the characters are mentioned for the first and only time in the CC.

157. Saturazione vini sopitus iacebat Adam,

Adam lay sleepy from too much wine,

(See also 12a.) Genesis 2.21. Adam sleeps while God creates Eve from his rib.⁵⁰² Here, there is a shift in the cause of the sleep.

158. Ebrius obdormivit Noe, satis biberat Loth,

Drunk Noah fell asleep, Lot drank enough,

a) (See also 14a.) Genesis 9.21. Noah's drunkenness is alluded to repeatedly in the CC.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁸ "Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum egrediamur foras cumque essent *in agro* consurrexit Cain adversus Abel fratrem suum et interfecit eum."

⁴⁹⁹ Hagen 172.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. Modesto 50.

⁵⁰¹ "Hoc fecit *initium signorum* Iesus in Cana Galilaeae et manifestavit gloriam suam et crediderunt in eum discipuli eius."

⁵⁰² "Inmisit ergo Dominus Deus *soporem* in Adam cumque obdormisset tulit unam de costis eius et replevit carnem pro ea."

⁵⁰³ "Bibensque vinum *inebriatus est* et nudatus in tabernaculo suo."

b) (See also 16b.) Genesis 19.32-35. After the fall of Sodom, Lot's daughters made their father drunk so that they could be impregnated by him.⁵⁰⁴

159. Stertebat Holofernes, somnus tenebat Ionam,
Holofernes snored, Jonah was won by sleep,

a) (See also 115b.) Judith 12.20-13.3. Holofernes was very happy during the feast he organized, he drank a lot of wine and finally he fell asleep, by which he provided Judith with a great opportunity to kill him.

b) (See also 33.) Jonah 1.5. During a great storm that the Lord made because Jonah did not listen to him, Jonah went down into the lower part of the ship and slept there – *dormiebat sopore gravi*.⁵⁰⁵

160. Vigilavit prope gallum Petrus, suscitabatur Iesus,
Peter was awake beside a cock, Jesus woke up,

(See also 7a.) Matthew 26.34,⁵⁰⁶ Matthew 26.74,⁵⁰⁷ Mark 15.30,⁵⁰⁸ Mark 15.67-72,⁵⁰⁹ Luke 22.34,⁵¹⁰ Luke 22.60-61,⁵¹¹ John 13.38,⁵¹² and John 18.27.⁵¹³ The well-known story of Peter denying Christ.

But the allusion might also come from the episode in the garden of Gethsemane, where all the disciples whom Jesus asks to stay awake with him fall asleep – Matthew 26.40-41⁵¹⁴ and Mark 14.33-34.⁵¹⁵ The previously mentioned passage is more likely, because Jesus addresses Peter directly there.

⁵⁰⁴ "Veni *inebriemus eum vino* dormiamusque cum eo ut servare possimus ex patre nostro semen dederunt itaque patri suo *bibere vinum* nocte illa et ingressa est maior dormivitque cum patre at ille non sensit nec quando accubuit filia nec quando surrexit."

⁵⁰⁵ "Et timuerunt nautae et clamaverunt viri ad deum suum et miserunt vasa quae erant in navi in mare ut adleviaretur ab eis et Iona descendit ad interiora navis et *dormiebat sopore gravi*."

⁵⁰⁶ "Ait illi Iesus amen dico tibi quia in hac nocte antequam *gallus* cantet ter me negabis."

⁵⁰⁷ "Tunc coepit detestari et iurare quia non novisset hominem et continuo *gallus* cantavit."

⁵⁰⁸ "Et ait illi Iesus amen dico tibi quia tu hodie in nocte hac priusquam bis *gallus* vocem dederit ter me es negaturus."

⁵⁰⁹ "Et cum vidisset Petrum calefacientem se aspiciens illum ait et tu cum Iesu Nazareno eras at ille negavit dicens neque scio neque novi quid dicas et exiit foras ante atrium et *gallus* cantavit rursus autem cum vidisset illum ancilla coepit dicere circumstantibus quia hic ex illis est at ille iterum negavit et post pusillum rursus qui adstabant dicebant Petro vere ex illis es nam et Galilaeus es. ille autem coepit anathematizare et iurare quia nescio hominem istum quem dicitis et statim iterum *gallus* cantavit et recordatus est Petrus verbi quod dixerat ei Iesus priusquam *gallus* cantet bis ter me negabis et coepit flere."

⁵¹⁰ "Et ille dixit dico tibi Petre non cantabit hodie *gallus* donec ter abneges nosse me."

⁵¹¹ "Et ait Petrus homo nescio quod dicis et continuo adhuc illo loquente cantavit *gallus* et conversus Dominus respexit Petrum et recordatus est Petrus verbi Domini sicut dixit quia priusquam *gallus* cantet ter me negabis."

⁵¹² "Respondit Iesus animam tuam pro me ponis amen amen dico tibi non cantabit *gallus* donec me ter neges."

⁵¹³ "Iterum ergo negavit Petrus et statim *gallus* cantavit."

⁵¹⁴ "Et venit ad discipulos et invenit eos dormientes et dicit Petro sic non potuistis una hora *vigilare* mecum vigilate et orate ut non intretis in temptationem spiritus quidem promptus est caro autem infirma."

⁵¹⁵ "Et adsumit Petrum et Iacobum et Iohannem secum et coepit pavere et taedere et ait illis tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem sustinete hic et *vigilate*."

b) (See also 22a.) Matthew 8.24-25. During a great storm the disciples feared for their lives while Jesus calmly slept in his boat, until they woke him up – *suscitaverunt eum*.⁵¹⁶ Jesus certainly does not appear to be a very good drinker, if he fell asleep so soon. But perhaps he was just meditating.

161. Surgere querebat Iacob, prior surrexit Lazarus.

Jacob wanted to get up, the first one to get up was Lazarus.

a) (See also 16a.) Genesis 28.18. Jacob getting up in the morning – *surgens*, anoints with oil the stone on which he had slept.⁵¹⁷

b) (See also 53a.) John 11.44. An allusion to Lazarus' miraculous resurrection from the dead.⁵¹⁸ This line ends the short sub-catalogue of sleeping after eating and drinking. Now, new drinks are going to be served and vivid entertainment begins.

162. Tunc miscuit sciphum Benjamin, intulit Martha,

Then Benjamin shook the cup, Martha brought it,

a) (See also 19b.) Genesis 44.12. Another allusion to the cup hidden in Benjamin's bag.⁵¹⁹

b) Luke 10.40. A generalizing allusion to the industrious Martha, whose sister, by listening to Jesus' words, chose a better way.⁵²⁰

This is the first appearance of Martha. She re-appears four times, in lines 167b, 171b, 176a, and 199a, always as a servant to the others. Her appearance is one of the rare occasions in the CC when one character is mentioned more than once within a single catalogue.

163. Prior bibit Petrus.

The first to drink was Peter.

(See also 7a.) Matthew 10.2 and elsewhere.⁵²¹ Peter is always in the first place among the apostles.⁵²²

⁵¹⁶ "Et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus ipse vero *dormiebat* et accesserunt et *suscitaverunt eum* dicentes Domine salva nos perimus."

⁵¹⁷ "*Surgens* ergo mane tulit lapidem quem subposuerat capiti suo et erexit in titulum fundens oleum desuper."

⁵¹⁸ "Et *statim* *prodiit* qui fuerat mortuus ligatus pedes et manus institis et facies illius sudario erat ligata dicit Iesus eis solvite eum et sinite abire."

⁵¹⁹ "Quos scrutatus incipiens a maiore usque ad minimum invenit *scyphum* in sacco Benjamin."

⁵²⁰ "Martha autem satagebat circa frequens ministerium quae stetit et ait Domine non est tibi curae quod soror mea reliquit me solam ministrare dic ergo illi ut me adiuvet."

⁵²¹ Cf. Modesto 51.

⁵²² "Duodecim autem apostolorum nomina sunt haec *primus* Simon qui dicitur *Petrus* et Andreas frater eius."

- 164. Sed quoniam vinum subduxerat Amelsad,**
But because Amelsad stole wine,

(See also 95b.) Daniel 1.16. Amelsad takes care of food in the Greek version. The Vulgate, on the other hand, reads: “Porro Malassar tollebat cibaria et vinum potus eorum dabatque eis legumina.” There is no mention of Amelsad stealing the wine.

- 165. Et male miscuerat Ionas, murmurabat Hermippus,**
And Jonah mixed it in a bad way, Hermippus mumbled,

a) (See also 33.) Jonah 3.7.⁵²³ Rönsch suggests that the author of the *CC* meant that Jonah poured in a bad way, that he was a bad waiter.⁵²⁴

(It could also be a contrast to Jonah 4.4: “Et dixit Dominus putasne *bene* irascaris tu?” and Jonah 4.9: “et dixit Dominus ad Ionam putasne *bene* irascaris tu super hederam et dixit *bene* irascor ego usque ad mortem.”)

b) *Acta Pauli*. The allusion is to the son of Hermocrates, who is upset about his father being miraculously healed, because he was looking forward to inheriting his property. The episode follows immediately after the story about Thecla in the original *Acta Pauli*.⁵²⁵

This is the only appearance of Hermippus in the *CC*, but his father Hermocrates appears three times, in lines 84b, 99b, and 172a.

- 166. Aquam bibebat Iohannes, vinum petebat Maria,**
John drank water, Mary asked for wine,

a) (See also 20b.) Luke 1.15. The Lord tells Zacharias that his son will not drink wine and other alcoholic beverages – *vinum et sicera non bibet*.⁵²⁶

b) (See also 61b.) John 2.3. During the wedding at Cana, Mary asks Jesus for more wine.⁵²⁷

- 167. Non consentiebat Susanna, plenam ampullam ferebat Martha,**
Susanna did not agree, Martha carried a full vessel,

a) (See also 25b.) Daniel 13.2. A clear allusion to Susanna’s chastity.

b) (See also 162b.) Luke 10.40. Martha again as a servant.⁵²⁸

- 168. Sitiebat Ismahel, ire volebat Tobias,**
Ismael was thirsty, Tobias wanted to leave,

⁵²³ “Et clamavit et dixit in Nineve ex ore regis et principum eius dicens homines et iumenta et boves et pecora *non gustent quicquam* nec pascantur et *aquam non bibant*.”

⁵²⁴ Rönsch 346.

⁵²⁵ Harnack 19.

⁵²⁶ “Erit enim magnus coram Domino *et vinum et sicera non bibet* et Spiritu Sancto replebitur adhuc ex utero matris suae.”

⁵²⁷ “Et deficiente vino dicit mater Iesu ad eum vinum non habent.”

⁵²⁸ Cf. Modesto 51.

a) (See also 78b.) Genesis 21.15-16. Hagar leaves her son Ismael in a desert and walks away so that she would not have to watch her son dying of thirst.⁵²⁹

b) (See also 18b.) Tobit 10.8. Tobias, knowing that his parents are waiting for him, asks his father-in-law to let him go, and he finally does. This is an unimportant event in Tobias' life, and it is not clear why it is pointed out in the *CC*.

169. Alienum calicem volebat Iacobus.

Jacob wanted to drink from another's chalice.

(See also 6.) Matthew 20.20-24.⁵³⁰ An allusion to a well-known episode.⁵³¹

170. Sublatisque omnibus aquam manibus petebat Pilatus.

When everything was done, Pilate asked for water to wash his hands.

Matthew 27.24. Pilate washed his hands of Jesus' case – *accepta aqua lavit manus*.⁵³²

This is the first, quite late appearance of Pilate. He appears one more time, in line 285a, putting an inscription over Achan's grave.

171. Tradidit Iudas, ministravit Martha,

Judas gave away, Martha served,

a) (See also 26b.) Matthew 26.14-16,⁵³³ Mark 14.10-11,⁵³⁴ or Luke 22.3-6.⁵³⁵ The same situation of Judas' betrayal.

b) (See also 162b.) Luke 10.40. Martha again as a servant.

172. Effudit Hermocrates, linteum porrexit Petrus,

Hermocrates poured, Peter spread out a linen cloth,

⁵²⁹ "Cumque consumpta esset aqua in utre abiecit puerum subter unam arborum quae ibi erant et abiit seditque e regione procul quantum potest arcus iacere dixit enim non videbo morientem puerum et sedens contra levavit vocem suam et flevit."

⁵³⁰ Rönsch 345.

⁵³¹ "Tunc accessit ad eum mater filiorum Zebedaei cum filiis suis adorans et petens aliquid ab eo qui dixit ei quid vis ait illi dic ut sedeant hii duo filii mei unus ad dexteram tuam et unus ad sinistram in regno tuo respondens autem Iesus dixit nescitis quid petatis *potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum dicunt ei possumus* ait illis calicem quidem meum bibetis sedere autem ad dexteram meam et sinistram non est meum dare vobis sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo et audientes decem indignati sunt de duobus fratribus."

⁵³² "Videns autem Pilatus quia nihil proficeret sed magis tumultus fieret coram populo dicens innocens ego sum a sanguine iusti huius vos videritis."

⁵³³ "Tunc abiit unus de duodecim qui dicitur Iudas Scarioth ad principes sacerdotum et ait illis quid vultis mihi dare et ego vobis eum *tradam* at illi constituerunt ei triginta argenteos et exinde quaerebat opportunitatem ut eum traderet."

⁵³⁴ "Et Iudas Scarioth unus de duodecim abiit ad summos sacerdotes ut proderet eum illis qui audientes gavisi sunt et promiserunt ei pecuniam se daturus et quaerebat quomodo illum oportune *traderet*."

⁵³⁵ "Intravit autem Satan in Iudam qui cognominatur Scarioth unum de duodecim et abiit et locutus est cum principibus sacerdotum et magistratibus quemadmodum illum *traderet* eis et gavisi sunt et pacti sunt pecuniam illi dare et spondidit et quaerebat opportunitatem ut traderet illum sine turbis."

a) (See also 84b.) *Acta Pauli*. Hermocrates is hydaleous and he asks Paul for help.

b) (See also 7a.) Acts 10.10-13. It perhaps relates to a strange vision of Peter's.⁵³⁶ Food is included in the vision.

173. Intulit lucernas Isaias, gratias egit Simeon,
Isaiah brought a lamp, Simeon thanked him,

a) (See also 34a.) Isaiah 2.5. The prophet Isaiah saw in his vision the light of God coming to the house of Jacob. The word used is *lumen*.⁵³⁷

b) Luke 2.27-29. Simeon could not die until he had seen the Messiah. He thanked God when he held the baby Jesus.⁵³⁸

This is the only appearance of the New Testament Simeon. In line 41b, the Old Testament Simeon is mentioned.

174. Benedixit Anna, intulit coronas Rahel,
Anna praised, Rachel brought wreaths,

a) (See also 67a.) Luke 2.(36-37)38. The prophetess Anna went to the temple and praised God.⁵³⁹

b) (See also 29a.) Genesis 29.17 This is perhaps another allusion to Rachel's beauty.

175. Hysopum porrexit David, dedit unguentum Aaron,
David offered ysope, Aaron gave ointment,

a) (See also 20a.) Psalms 50.9. The accused David asks for mercy: "asparges me *hysopo* et mundabor lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor."

b) (See also 41a.) Leviticus 8.12. Aaron is anointed. "Quod fundens super caput Aaron *unxit eum* et consecravit."

176. Perunxit Martha, poma intulit Adam,
Martha anointed, Adam brought apples,

a) (See also 162b.) Luke 10.40. Martha still serves the others.

⁵³⁶ "Et cum esuriret voluit gustare parantibus autem eis cecidit super eum mentis excessus et videt caelum apertum et descendens vas quoddam velut *linteum* magnum quattuor initiis submitti de caelo in terram in quo erant omnia quadrupedia et serpentina terrae et volatilia caeli et facta est vox ad eum surge Petre et occide et manduca."

⁵³⁷ "Domus Iacob venite et ambulemus *in lumine* Domini."

⁵³⁸ "Et venit in Spiritu in templum et cum inducerent puerum Iesum parentes eius ut facerent secundum consuetudinem legis pro eo et ipse accepit eum in ulnas suas et *benedixit Deum* et dixit nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine secundum verbum tuum in pace."

⁵³⁹ "Et erat Anna prophetissa filia Phanuel de tribu Aser haec processerat in diebus multis et vixerat cum viro suo annis septem a virginitate sua et haec vidua usque ad annos octoginta quattuor quae non discedebat de templo ieiuniis et obsecrationibus serviens nocte ac die et haec ipsa hora superveniens *confitebatur Domino* et loquebatur de illo omnibus qui expectabant redemptionem Hierusalem."

b) (See also 12a.) Genesis 3.6. The apples are surely the fruit, *fructus*, from the Tree of Knowledge.⁵⁴⁰ In the Bible, the fruit is never specified, while in the CC, it is referred to as *poma* or *citrium* (line 36a).

177. Favum porrexit Samson, cytharam percussit David,
Samson offered honey, David played the guitar,

a) (See also 28a.) Judges 14.8-9. In the corpse of the lion, which he killed, Samson finds bees and honey – *favus mellis*, and shares it with his parents.⁵⁴¹

b) (See also 20a.) 1 Samuel 16.23. Whenever Saul was possessed by an evil spirit, David took his cithara and played it – “tollebat David *citharam* et *percutiebat manu sua*”.⁵⁴²

This half line is the beginning of entertainment in the CC. In this sub-catalogue, many guests appear that have not been mentioned so far and will not be mentioned again.

178. Tympanum Maria, psalterium duxit Iubal,
Mary played the drum, Jubal sang the psalter,

a) Exodus 15.20. This is most probably the prophetess Mary, sister of Aaron, who took the drums – *sumpsit tympanum*.⁵⁴³ Modesto points out that drum was an important instrument in the cult of Kybele.⁵⁴⁴

This is the only mention of the Old Testament Mary.

b) Genesis 4.21. Jubal became a father of all who play cithara or flute: “et nomen fratris eius Iubal ipse fuit pater canentium cithara et organo.”

After this line, he appears one more time, in line 195a.

179. Choreas duxit Iudith, cantavit Asaph,
Judith led the choir of women dancers, Asaf sang,

a) (See also 31b.) Judith 15.13. After she killed Holofernes, Judith led a dance of women.

b) 1 Chronicles 15.17. Asaf is named among musicians and singers summoned by David.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁰ “Vidit igitur mulier quod bonum esset lignum ad vescendum et pulchrum oculis aspectuque delectabile et tulit de *fructu* illius et comedit deditque viro suo qui comedit.”

⁵⁴¹ “Et post aliquot dies revertens ut acciperet eam declinavit ut videret cadaver leonis et ecce examen apium in ore leonis erat ac *favus mellis* 9 quem cum sumpsisset in manibus comedebat in via veniensque ad patrem suum et matrem *dedit eis* partem qui et ipsi comederunt nec tamen eis voluit indicare quod mel de corpore leonis adsumpserat.”

⁵⁴² The whole passage reads: “Igitur quandocumque spiritus Dei arripiebat Saul tollebat David *citharam* et *percutiebat manu sua* et refocilabatur Saul et levius habebat recedebat enim ab eo spiritus malus.”

⁵⁴³ “Sumpsit ergo Maria prophetis soror Aaron tympanum in manu egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris.”

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. Modesto 51.

This is the only mention of Asaf in the CC.

180. Saltavit Heroidas, laudes dixit Azarias,
Heroidas danced, Azariah gave praise,

a) Mark 6.22. The daughter of Herois danced – *saltasset*, and all the guests liked her.⁵⁴⁶ Her beautiful dance recalls also the tragedy that is to follow in the Bible.⁵⁴⁷
This is the only mention of the daughter of Herois in the CC.

c) (See also 64b.) Daniel 3.17. Azariah is one of the three men who refuse idolatry, praise God and when he saves them from the fire, they praise him in a long hymn.

181. Magia lusit Mambres, risum fecit Isaac,
Mambres played magic, Isaac made jokes,

a) Exodus 7.11-12. Mambres is one of the magicians whom Pharaoh calls to help him against Aaron's miracles, of course in vain.⁵⁴⁸ In the Biblical passage, he is not named specifically, but his name was well-known in the tradition.

This is the first appearance of Mambres. He appears one more time, in line 255a.

b) (See also 15b.) Genesis 21.6. 'Isaac' means 'the one who laughs'.⁵⁴⁹ Alternatively, Sara's laughter (when she learnt about a child to be born to her) can perhaps be associated with Isaac himself as well.

182. Osculum porrexit Iudas, valefecit Iothor.
Judas offered a kiss, Jethro said goodbye.

a) (See also 26b.) Matthew 26.48-49,⁵⁵⁰ Mark 14.44-45,⁵⁵¹ or Luke 22.47-48.⁵⁵²
The well-known event when Judas betrayed Jesus by kissing him – *osculatus est eum*.

b) Exodus 4.18. Jethro says goodbye to his son-in-law Moses, who goes to see his brothers in Egypt. The wording in the Bible is different, but the meaning is the

⁵⁴⁵ "Constitueruntque Levitas Heman filium Iohel et de fratribus eius *Asaph* filium Barachiae de filiis vero Merari fratribus eorum Ethan filium Casaiae."

⁵⁴⁶ "Cumque introisset filia ipsius Herodiadis et *saltasset* et placuisset Herodi simulque recumbentibus rex ait puellae pete a me quod vis et dabo tibi."

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. Modesto 51.

⁵⁴⁸ "Vocavit autem Pharaon sapientes et maleficos et fecerunt etiam ipsi per incantationes aegyptias et arcana quaedam similiter 12 proieceruntque singuli virgas suas quae versae sunt in dracones sed devoravit virga Aaron virgas eorum."

⁵⁴⁹ This fact is stressed by Rönsch. See Rönsch 346.

⁵⁵⁰ "Qui autem tradidit eum dedit illis signum dicens quemcumque *osculatus* fuero ipse est tenete eum 49 et confestim accedens ad Iesum dixit have rabbi et *osculatus* est eum."

⁵⁵¹ "Dederat autem traditor eius signum eis dicens quemcumque *osculatus* fuero ipse est tenete eum et ducite 45 et cum venisset statim accedens ad eum ait rabbi et *osculatus* est eum."

⁵⁵² "Adhuc eo loquente ecce turba et qui vocabatur Iudas unus de duodecim antecedebat eos et adpropinquavit Iesu ut oscularetur eum 48 Iesus autem dixit ei Iuda *osculo* Filium hominis tradis."

same.⁵⁵³ This allusion is reminiscent of the one on Tobias leaving his parents-in-law (see line 168b).

This is the only appearance of Jethro in the *CC*. Some manuscripts have *Loth* which is probably a later corruption of *Lothor* made from *Jothor*.

(xiv) Procession (lines 183-211)

The festive procession marks the end of the feast itself. It seems very carefree and merry, and thus it stands in sharp contrast to the events of the following day.

Direct speech is included at the beginning of the catalogue – a rare occasion in the *CC*. However, this does not change the fact that communication is missing from the *CC*.

Some characters appear here for the first time: Nemrod, Joshua, Urias, Jeroboam, Bethsheeba, and Dinah.

183. Sed cum iam vellent ire, respiciens eos rex sic ait:

But when they already wanted to go, the king, looking at them, said:

It is again the king who initiates the new action, this time with a simple imperative. The whole scene, the way it is introduced here, creates an image of the ending of the wedding feast.

184. “Nunc per omnia diem nuptiarum celebrate

“Now celebrate in all possible ways the day of the wedding

185. Et confrequentate et demutato habitu

And get together, and when you lay aside your costumes,

186. Velut pompas facientes ite in domos vestras.”

go to your homes in a festive procession.”

187. Placuit vero omnibus voluntas regis

The king’s will truly pleased everybody

This is the last of the king’s suggestions that pleases the guests. Yet, the king suggested that they celebrate the wedding day and *then* go home, and they are described going home in the festive procession immediately in the following lines. This is only one of many small discrepancies in the plot of the *CC*, which destroys its possible unity and logical structure.

⁵⁵³ “Abiit Moses et reversus est ad Iethro cognatum suum dixitque ei vadam et revertar ad fratres meos in Aegyptum ut videam si adhuc vivunt cui ait Iethro vade in pace.”

- 188. Atque ite primus omnium prodiit in magistro Iesus,**
And so Jesus the first of all proceeded as a master,

(See also 22a.) Matthew 23.8.⁵⁵⁴ ‘Magister’ is an equivalent to the Hebrew *rabbi*.⁵⁵⁵ Jesus receives a prominent place for the first time in the *CC* here, in the festive procession. Pointing out his prominence at this stage makes the catalogue reminiscent of Jesus’ carrying of his cross.

- 189. In custodia Iohannes, in retiario Petrus,**
John as a custodian, Peter as a net maker,

a) (See also 20b.) Luke 3.20. In the Bible, John the Baptist is imprisoned, while in the *CC*, he is the guardian. “Adiecit et hoc supra omnia et inclusit Iohannem in carcere.”⁵⁵⁶

b) (See also 7a.) Matthew 4.18⁵⁵⁷ (and also Mark and Luke). Peter was originally a fisherman. *Retiarius* is actually a gladiator fighting with net and trident.⁵⁵⁸

- 190. In secutore Pharaon, in venatore Nemrod,**
Pharaoh as a follower, Nimrod as a hunter,

a) (See also 21a.) Exodus 14.18.⁵⁵⁹ Pharaoh pursued, *persecutus est*, the Jews.⁵⁶⁰

b) Genesis 10.9. Nimrod, the hunter – *venator*, surprisingly turns up quite late during the feast.⁵⁶¹

This is the only mention of Nimrod in the *CC*.

- 191. In delatore Iudas, in ortolano Adam,**
Judas as a betrayer, Adam as a gardener,

a) (See also 26b.) Matthew 26.14 (and also Mark and Luke). Another clear allusion to Judas’ betrayal.

b) (See also 12a.) Genesis 2.17. A clear allusion to Adam and Eve’s stay in the garden of Eden. (In the later tradition, it is Jesus who is mistaken by Mary for a gardener – a particularly parodic scene in folk tradition).

⁵⁵⁴ “Vos autem nolite vocari rabbi unus enim est magister vester omnes autem vos fratres estis.”

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Modesto 51.

⁵⁵⁶ For a discussion of the word ‘custodia’, see Modesto 52.

⁵⁵⁷ “Ambulans autem iuxta mare Galilaeae vidit duos fratres Simonem qui vocatur Petrus et Andream fratrem eius mittentes *rete* in mare erant enim piscatores.”

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. Modesto 52.

⁵⁵⁹ “Induravitque Dominus cor Pharaonis regis Aegypti et *persecutus est* filios Israhel at illi egressi erant in manu excelsa.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Modesto 52.

⁵⁶¹ “Et erat robustus *venator* coram Domino ab hoc exivit proverbium quasi Nimrod robustus *venator* coram Domino.”

192. In exodario Eva, in latrone Cain,
Eve as an actress, Cain as a criminal,

a) (See also 12b.) Perhaps *exodarius* is an actor appearing in *exodium*, a comic play.⁵⁶² At the same time, as Herveus Burgodiensis argues, it refers to the *exodus* from paradise.⁵⁶³

b) (See also 13a.) Genesis 4.8-10. Cain as the murderer of his brother, again.

193. In pastore Abel, in cursore Iacob,
Abel as a shepherd, Jacob as a runner,

a) (See also 13b.) Genesis 4.2. Abel's occupation. Again, Cain and Abel are mentioned together, as in line 13.

b) (See also 16a.) Genesis 27.43. Jacob runs from Esau's revenge. His mother advises him: "Nunc ergo fili audi vocem meam et consurgens *fuge* ad Laban fratrem meum in Haran."

194. In sacerdote Zaccharias, in rege David,
Zacharias as a priest, David as a king,

a) (See also 51.) Luke 1.5. Zacharias really is a priest – *sacerdos*.⁵⁶⁴

b) (See also 20a.) 2 Samuel 5.3-4. David indeed was a king.⁵⁶⁵

195. In cytharedo Iubal, in piscatore Iacobus,
Jubal as a guitar player, Jacob as a fisherman,

a) (See also 178b.) Genesis 4.21. An allusion to the same passage as in line 178b.

b) (See also 6.) Matthew 4.19-21.⁵⁶⁶ Again, James in his typical role, both before and after he met Jesus.

196. In coco Ariochus, in aquario Rebecca,
Arioch as a cook, Rebecca as a water-bearer,

a) (See also 89b.) Daniel 2.14. Perhaps Arioch is also connected with throwing Daniel's three friends into the furnace, and from the image of him standing by the

⁵⁶² Cf. Bayless 36.

⁵⁶³ Cf. Modesto 52.

⁵⁶⁴ "Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Iudaeae *sacerdos* quidam nomine Zaccharias de vice Abia et uxor illi de filiabus Aaron et nomen eius Elisabeth."

⁵⁶⁵ "Venerunt quoque et senes de Israhel ad regem in Hebron et percussit cum eis *rex David* foedus in Hebron coram Domino unxeruntque David in regem super Israhel 4 filius triginta annorum erat David cum regnare coepisset et quadraginta annis regnavit."

⁵⁶⁶ "Et ait illis venite post me et faciam vos fieri *piscatores* hominum 20 at illi continuo relictis retibus secuti sunt eum 21 et procedens inde vidit alios duos fratres Iacobum Zebedaei et Iohannem fratrem eius in navi cum Zebedaeo patre eorum reficientes *retia* sua et vocavit eos."

fire, it is not far to imagine him as a cook. Strecker supports this interpretation with textual evidence.⁵⁶⁷

b) (See also 23b.) Genesis 24.15. Rebecca carried water in the passage that is often recalled in the *CC*.⁵⁶⁸

197. In fornacatore Ananias, in bestiario Tecla,
Hananiah as a stoker, Thecla as a beast tamer,

a) (See also 39a.) Daniel 3.16-17.⁵⁶⁹ Hananiah (Sidrach) is one of the friends thrown into the furnace. Modesto points out that in most of the manuscripts there is *in fornicatore* – as prostitute, which, however, is in no connection to Hananiah's life and thus should be corrected.⁵⁷⁰ There is a *pateins-agens* shift – what was done to Hananiah, he now is doing himself.

b) (See also 25a.) *APT* 27nn. Thecla was thrown into a pit with wild animals, but she was saved by a lion who lay down at her feet. This is not, however, a *pateins-agens* shift. Thecla really tamed the beasts that were about to kill her.

198. In stupido Molessadon, in religioso Salomon,
Melchizedek as a fool, Solomon as a religious man,

a) (See also 88b.) This allusion is not clear. Strecker claims that Melchizedek is silly because he offered and thus lost all his salt.⁵⁷¹ Thus, the allusion would not relate to the Biblical story, but to the story of the *CC* – to line 143b.

b) (See also 7b.) 1 Kings 5.5. David tells his son Solomon to follow God's orders.⁵⁷² But perhaps the allusion refers to Solomon's role in general rather than to a specific passage. Solomon was the one who was allowed to build the temple.

199. In ministro Martha, in milite Urias,
Martha as a maid servant, Uriah as a warrior,

a) (See also 162b.) Luke 10.40. Martha's role in the *CC* is stated explicitly here.

b) 2 Samuel 11.15. Uriah is the husband of Bethsheeba, with whom David slept before sending Uriah into battle to die.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁷ Strecker 74.

⁵⁶⁸ "Necdum intra se verba conpleverat et ecce Rebecca egrediebatur filia Bathuel filii Melchae uxoris Nahor fratris Abraham habens *hydriam* in scapula."

⁵⁶⁹ "Respondentes *Sedrac* Misac et Abdenago dixerunt regi Nabuchodonosor non oportet nos de hac re respondere tibi 17 ecce enim Deus noster quem colimus potest eripere nos de camino ignis ardentis et de manibus tuis rex liberare."

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Modesto 52-53.

⁵⁷¹ Strecker 75.

⁵⁷² "Quam ob rem cogito aedificare templum nomini Domini Dei mei sicut locutus est Dominus David patri meo dicens filius tuus quem dabo pro te super solium tuum ipse aedificabit domum nomini meo."

This is the first appearance of Uriah. He does not seem to derive much pleasure from the feast: he appears only once more, in line 245b, when he is killed.

200. In insano Herodes, in famulo Cham,
Herod as a madman, Cham as a servant,

a) (See also 57a.) Matthew 14.7.⁵⁷⁴ Perhaps Herod's thoughtless promise to Salome to fulfill any wish she might have could be classified as insane.

b) Genesis 9.25-26. This is the first and only occurrence of this son of Noah at the feast. Noah cannot curse Cham, so he curses his son Chanaan and says that he shall be servant to the progeny of the other two brothers.⁵⁷⁵

201. In medico Tobias, in ebrio Noe,
Tobias as a doctor, Noah as a drunkard,

a) (See also 18b.) Tobit 6.5. Tobias cures his father of blindness using bile that he takes out of a fish, following the angel's advice. In the Bible, it is much more of a miracle than of science.

b) (See also 14a.) Genesis 9.20-21. Noah's role throughout the feast is that of a drunkard.

202. In risiculo Isaac, in triste Iob,
Isaac as a jester, Job as an unhappy man,

a) (See also 15b.) In Genesis 18.10-13,⁵⁷⁶ and in Genesis 21.6⁵⁷⁷ Sara laughs. In Genesis 17.17, Abraham laughs.⁵⁷⁸ Both Isaac's parents are laughing – and so is he.⁵⁷⁹ A very similar allusion occurs in line 181b.

b) (See also 30b.) Job's role throughout. Here, his state stands out even more by the comparison with happy and laughing Isaac.

203. In iudice Danihel, in fabro Ioseph,
Daniel as a judge, Joseph as a craftsman,

⁵⁷³ "Scribens in epistula ponite Uriam ex adverso belli ubi fortissimum *proelium* est et derelinquite eum ut percussus intreat."

⁵⁷⁴ "Unde cum iuramento pollicitus est ei dare quodcumque postulasset ab eo."

⁵⁷⁵ "Ait maledictus Chanaan *servus servorum* erit fratribus suis 26 dixitque benedictus Dominus Deus Sem sit Chanaan servus eius."

⁵⁷⁶ "Cui dixit revertens veniam ad te tempore isto vita comite et habebit filium Sarra uxor tua quo audito Sarra risit post ostium tabernaculi 11 erant autem ambo senes provectaeque aetatis et desierant Sarrae fieri muliebria 12 quae risit occulte dicens postquam consenui et dominus meus vetulus est voluptati operam dabo 13 dixit autem Dominus ad Abraham quare risit Sarra dicens num vere paritura sum anus."

⁵⁷⁷ "Dixitque Sarra risum fecit mihi Deus quicumque audierit conridebit mihi."

⁵⁷⁸ "Cecidit Abraham in faciem et risit dicens in corde suo putasne centenario nascetur filius et Sarra nonagenaria pariet."

⁵⁷⁹ (For the neologism *risiculum*, see Modesto 53.)

a) (See also 18a.) Daniel 13.50. This is probably a general allusion to Daniel's role in the Old Testament, not connected to a specific passage.

b) (See also 75a.) Matthew 13.55. This is clearly the New Testament Joseph, the 'father' of Jesus. The Vulgate describes Jesus as "*fabri filius*".⁵⁸⁰

204. In prostituta Tamar, in formosa Rahel,
Tamar as a prostitute, Rachel as a beauty,

a) (See also 64a.) Genesis 38.14. Tamar dresses up as a prostitute and behaves like one to point out to her father-in-law the injustice he has done to her.⁵⁸¹

b) (See also 29a.) Genesis 29.17. Rachel is, again, the beautiful one. And, as elsewhere, a contrasting allusion to Lea follows.

205. In odibile Lia, in domina Maria,
Lea as a hated woman, Mary as a married woman,

a) (See also 39b.) Genesis 29-30. Jacob hated Lea because he wanted Rachel. Rachel hated her, because Lea, as opposed to herself, bore many children to Jacob. The Vulgate has only Genesis 29.31: "*Videns autem dominus quod despiceret Liam*", but the C. Lug. reads: "*Videns autem dominus quia oditur Lia*."⁵⁸²

b) (See also 61b.) This perception of the Virgin is unusual in the Bible and probably comes from the apocrypha. It can be linked to the allusion to her in the catalogue of dressing, where Mary wears a *stola* (line 61b). Harnack uses this line to date the *CC* to the end of the fourth century.⁵⁸³

206. In impio Loth, in adversario Amalech,
Lot as a blasphemous man, Amalek as an adversary,

a) (See also 16b.) Genesis 13.11-13? Is it because Lot left his brother and went to Sodom? The only occurrence of the word *impius* in the Vulgate is connected to the event when Lot is persuading God not to destroy the city even if only one pious man was found there, in Genesis 18.23-25,⁵⁸⁴ but the passage does not provide a suitable solution.

⁵⁸⁰ "Nonne hic est *fabri* filius nonne mater eius dicitur Maria et fratres eius Iacobus et Ioseph et Simon et Iudas."

⁵⁸¹ "Quae depositis viduitatis vestibibus adsumpsit theristrum et mutato habitu sedit in bivio itineris quod ducit Thamnam eo quod crevisset Sela et non eum accepisset maritum."

⁵⁸² Strecker 74.

⁵⁸³ Harnack 21.

⁵⁸⁴ "Et adpropinquans ait numquid perdes iustum cum *impio* 24 si fuerint quinquaginta iusti in civitate peribunt simul et non parces loco illi propter quinquaginta iustos si fuerint in eo 25 absit a te ut rem hanc facias et occidas iustum cum *impio* fiatque iustus sicut impius non est hoc tuum qui iudicas omnem terram nequaquam facies iudicium."

b) Exodus 17.10? Amalek is Joshua's adversary in war. The word does not occur in the Vulgate, there is only "pugnavit contra Amalech".⁵⁸⁵ (See also 17.)

This is the first appearance of Amalek at the feast. He is mentioned one more time, in line 254a, where he is defeated.

207. In structore Sem, in rustico Esau,

Shem as a master builder, Esau as a countryman,

a) (See also 32b.) Genesis 9.27. It is never stated that Shem was a builder. The only possible connection is the allusion to Shem's houses, in which Japheth is predicted to live – *habitet in tabernaculis Sem*.⁵⁸⁶

b) (See also 30a.) Genesis 25.27. Again, Esau's general role. Perhaps the word *rusticus* also suggests Esau's naivety, in that he is so easily fooled by Jacob. (It is perhaps not a chance that in the assigned allusion, the words *in tabernaculis* also occur, as in the previous half line.)⁵⁸⁷

208. In forte Goliath, in pistore Hieroboam.

Goliath as a strong man, Jeroboam as a baker.

a) (See also 141a.) 1 Samuel 17. Again, an allusion describing a general characteristic of the person rather than connected to a specific place in the text. The word *fortis* (actually it is *fortissimus*) appears in 1 Samuel 17.51.⁵⁸⁸

Strecker connects this line with 1 Samuel 17.4: "egressus est vir *spurius*", claiming that older versions had here *fortis*.⁵⁸⁹ This is probably right.

b) 1 Kings 14.3. Jeroboam told his wife to go to the prophet Achias and take with her ten loaves of bread – *decem panes*.⁵⁹⁰ So, it is not him who is the baker, there is an *agens* shift.

Jeroboam appears one more time in the CC, in line 268a, as deceiving, which refers to the same story.

209. Sed quoniam contendebat Dina, aquam effundebat Aaron,

But because Dinah fought, Aaron drew water,

a) Genesis 34.2.⁵⁹¹ Dinah was raped by Sichem, but it is not mentioned whether she defended herself.⁵⁹² It is not clear why this line is introduced by *sed quoniam*; there is no contrast to the preceding events presented in it.

⁵⁸⁵ "Fecit Iosue ut locutus ei erat Moses et pugnavit contra Amalech Moses autem et Aaron et Hur ascenderunt super verticem collis."

⁵⁸⁶ "Dilatet Deus Iafeth et *habitet in tabernaculis Sem* sitque Chanaan servus eius."

⁵⁸⁷ "Quibus adultis factus est Esau vir gnarus venandi et homo agricola Jacob autem vir simplex habitabat in tabernaculis."

⁵⁸⁸ "Cucurrit et stetit super Philistheum et tulit gladium eius et eduxit de vagina sua et interfecit eum praeciditque caput eius videntes autem Philisthim quod mortuus esset *fortissimus* eorum fugerunt."

⁵⁸⁹ Strecker 78.

⁵⁹⁰ "Tolle quoque in manu tua *decem panes* et crustula et vas mellis et vade ad illum ipse indicabit tibi quid eventurum sit huic puero."

⁵⁹¹ "Quam cum vidisset Sychem filius Emor Evei princeps terrae illius adamavit et rapuit et dormivit cum illa vi opprimens virginem."

⁵⁹² Cf. Modesto 53.

Dinah appears two more times in the *CC*, in lines 239b and 257b. They both refer to the same event, saying that Dinah was embarrassed and humiliated. And, surprisingly, they both occur in one catalogue, the catalogue of the tortures.

b) (See also 41a.) Exodus 17.6.⁵⁹³ Aaron goes with Moses across the Red Sea (Exodus 14.22 – see 153). And he is present when the water comes out of the rock in Oreb as well (Exodus 17.6). However, he never draws water by himself.⁵⁹⁴ I am more inclined to the latter possibility, but it cannot be decided.

210. Et nudus erat Ionas.

And Jonah remained naked.

(See also 33.) There is no mention of Jonah's dress in the Bible. Such a perception could either be derived from a picture, or, we could suppose that there is an *agens* shift and another character – e.g. Noah or Adam – is meant.

211. Tunc solem petebat Auses, ut siccaretur Bersabee.

Then Joshua asked for sun, so that Bethsheeba would get dry.

a) (For the name see 88a.) Joshua 10.12. Joshua asks the sun and the moon to stop – *sol... ne movearis*, and when they do so, the people exact revenge on his enemies.⁵⁹⁵ This is the only allusion to this Joshua in the *CC*.

The allusion is not quite clear from the Vulgate, especially as Auses is Osee in it. Thus the place was misunderstood and manuscripts of the group X replaced it with: "Stolam petebat Auses ut indueretur Bersabee."

b) 2 Samuel 11.2. David saw Bethsheeba having a bath – *mulierem se lavantem*, which, although not stated explicitly, implies that she was wet.⁵⁹⁶ (For the name see Modesto 53, for the story see also 199b.)

This is the first appearance of Bethsheeba at the feast. She appears once more, in an unclear attribution in line 219b.

(xv) Presents (lines 212-223)

The catalogue of the presents takes place on the following day. Giving presents to the organizer of a feast is in accordance with ancient customs. In the *CC*, revelation of the thefts follows right after, making this catalogue ironic, and showing the shallowness of the guests.

Some of the 19 allusions are to original sacrifices to God. Thus, there is a parallel between king Joel and God, which was made more explicit later by e.g. Hrabanus Maurus. Most of the allusions used are easily identifiable, except for 222a ('strobilos Levi'), which remains unclear. Some new characters appear also here:

⁵⁹³ "En ego stabo coram te ibi super petram Horeb percutiensque petram et *exibit* ex ea aqua ut bibat populus fecit Moses ita coram senibus Israhel."

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. Modesto 53.

⁵⁹⁵ "Tunc locutus est Iosue Domino in die qua tradidit Amorream in conspectu filiorum Israhel dixitque coram eis *sol* contra Gabaon *ne movearis* et luna contra vallem Ahialon."

⁵⁹⁶ "Dum haec agerentur accidit ut surgeret David de stratu suo post meridiem et deambulet in solario domus regiae viditque *mulierem se lavantem* ex adverso super solarium suum erat autem mulier pulchra valde."

Ruben, Abimelech, Abigail. Eight presents are animals, four more are edible. The strangest present is perhaps Bethsheeba's lock of hair.

212. Quo facto iussit eos rex ad se venire.

When this was done, the king ordered them to come to him.

While bringing presents should be a voluntary action, the king seems to require them. Or, perhaps, he orders the guests to come, because he already has a suspicion that something has been stolen.

213. Qui venerunt altera die et munera ei obtulerunt.

They came the next day and brought him presents.

Perhaps the guests want to soothe the king with their presents so that he will not inquire about the thefts.

214. Primus itaque omnium obtulit arietem Abraham,

So Abraham the first of all brought him mutton,

(See also 15a.) Genesis 22.13. An allusion to the ram, *arietem*, given by God to be sacrificed instead of Isaac.⁵⁹⁷

215. Taurum Tecla, oviculam Noe,

Thecla a bull, Noah a little sheep,

a) (See also 25a.) *APT* 27nn. Among the animals, which are supposed to kill Thecla, there is a bull as well.

b) (See also 14a.) Genesis 7.2-4. Perhaps again simply one of the animals taken by Noah into the ark. A ram has already been mentioned in connection with Noah in line 105b. A ram and a sheep could serve as an example of an animal couple taken into the ark.

216. Camelum Rebecca, leonem Samson,

Rebecca a camel, Samson a lion,

a) (See also 23b.) Genesis 24.19-20. Rebecca gives water not only to Abraham's servant but also to his camels – *camelis*.⁵⁹⁸

b) (See also 28a.) Judges 14.5-6. Again, an allusion to Samson killing the lion – *catulus leonis* – see line 106a.

217. Cervum Esau, vitulum Iesus,

Esau a stag, Jesus a calf,

⁵⁹⁷ "Evavit Abraham oculos viditque post tergum *arietem* inter vepres herentem cornibus quem adsumens obtulit holocaustum pro filio."

⁵⁹⁸ "Cumque ille bibisset adiecit quin et *camelis* tuis hauriam aquam donec cuncti bibant 20 effundensque hydriam in canalibus recurrit ad puteum ut hauriret aquam et haustam omnibus camelis dedit."

a) (See also 30a.) Genesis 27.3. Again, Esau connected with game, which can be connected either to his occupation or to the requirement of his father to bring him some meat from his hunt (*venatu aliquid*). Or, although it is not very likely, it could be a pun on Genesis 27.40-41.⁵⁹⁹ There is a very similar allusion in line 104b.

b) (See also 22a.) Luke 15.23.⁶⁰⁰ Herveus Burgodiensis identifies this as an allusion to the parable of the prodigal son.⁶⁰¹ However, Jesus is frequently compared to a calf that has to be sacrificed. It might simply be an allusion to this common parallel than to a specific part of the Bible.

218. Iumentum Iacob, currum Helias,
Jacob draught animals, Elijah a carriage,

a) (See also 16a.) Genesis 30.43.⁶⁰² Jacob had a lot of property – *greges multos*, certainly including draught animals. Modesto suggests that it is derived from Greek ‘κτηνος’ – all or domestic quadrupeds.⁶⁰³

b) (See also 17b.) 2 Kings 2.11. This is a clear allusion to the fiery chariot – *currus igneus* on which Elijah ascends to heaven.⁶⁰⁴

219. Vestem Iudith, crines Bersabee,
Judith clothes, Bethsheeba a lock of hair,

a) (See also 31b.) Judith 10.3. Judith dresses up in order to arouse Holofernes’ interest.

b) (See also 211b.) 2 Samuel 11.2-27. The connection between Bethsheeba and a lock of hair is unclear. Perhaps Bethsheeba cuts off her hair to mark her mourning for Uriah.

220. Ligulam Agar, frumentum Ioseph,
Achan a spoon, Joseph grain,

a) (See also 32a.) Joshua 7.24. Achan steals, among other things, a golden spoon or a golden rod (*ligna* or *ligula* or *lagula* in *Vetus Latina*). But the Vulgate has *regulam*.⁶⁰⁵

Here, the manuscripts of group X read *ligna Agar, ligna Isaac, or ligula Agar*.⁶⁰⁶ It is probably Achan, not Hagar, because he stole a golden spoon (*ligulam*

⁵⁹⁹ “Erit benedictio tua vives gladio et fratri tuo servies tempusque veniet cum excutias et solvas *iugum eius de cervicibus* tuis 41 oderat ergo semper Esau Iacob pro benedictione qua benedixerat ei pater dixitque in corde suo veniant dies luctus patris mei ut occidam Iacob fratrem meum.”

⁶⁰⁰ “Et adducite *vitulum* saginatum et occidite et manducemus et epulemur.”

⁶⁰¹ Cf. Modesto 53.

⁶⁰² “Ditatusque est homo ultra modum et habuit *greges multos* ancillas et servos camelos et asinos.”

⁶⁰³ Modesto 53-54.

⁶⁰⁴ “Cumque pergerent et incedentes sermocinarentur ecce *currus igneus* et equi ignei diviserunt utrumque et ascendit Helias per turbinem in caelum.”

⁶⁰⁵ “Tollens itaque Iosue Achan filium Zare argentumque et pallium et auream *regulam* filiosque eius et filias boves et asinos et oves ipsumque tabernaculum et cunctam suppellectilem et omnis Israhel cum eo duxerunt eos ad vallem Achor.”

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Modesto 54.

auream)⁶⁰⁷. I agree with Strecker⁶⁰⁸ that this version is the original one, which became corrupted later to senseless *ligna Agar* and this was ‘improved’, to make sense, into *ligna Isaac*.

b) (See also 19a.) Genesis 41.56⁶⁰⁹ or rather Genesis 41.35, because the word *frumentum* appears there.⁶¹⁰ A clear allusion to the Old Testament Joseph.

221. Resinam Ruben, pecuniam Abimelech,
Ruben resin, Abimelech money,

a) Genesis 37.25 The allusion is related to the previous half line. It evokes the selling of Joseph by his brothers to the Ishmaelites, who were just passing by, carrying, among other things, resin – *resinam*.⁶¹¹ Their brother, Ruben, did not know about it, and the brothers told him that Joseph was killed by beasts. Thus, the connection to Ruben is not satisfactory. Modesto suggests that the Ishmaelites paid for Joseph with resin,⁶¹² but this is not reflected in the text of the Bible.

This is the first and the only appearance of Ruben at the feast.

b) Genesis 20.16. Abimelech returns Sarah to Abraham together with one thousand silver coins – *mille argenteos*.⁶¹³

This is the first appearance of Abimelech. He re-appears soon afterwards, in lines 231 and 237b. The same story is always alluded to: Abimelech took Sarah (*alienam uxorem abduxerat*), was troubled by it (*turbatur*) and then gave her back with money (*pecuniam*).

222. Strobilos Levi, capsam Moyses,
Levi nuts, Moses a casket,

a) (See also 63b.) The connection between Dinah’s brother Levi and nuts is not clear. Herveus Burgodiensis attempts an explanation, but his parallel is not very satisfactory.⁶¹⁴ Thomas Ricklin derives the meaning from Greek.⁶¹⁵ The allusions to nuts connect Levi with Simeon in the CC (see the line 41b).

b) (See also 17a.) Exodus 25.16⁶¹⁶ or Exodus 26.33.⁶¹⁷ This is perhaps an allusion to the ark of testimony, but that is *arca* in the Vulgate. The Vulgate has *capsella*,⁶¹⁸ but that is in 1 Samuel 6.11.⁶¹⁹

⁶⁰⁷ This is from C.Lug.

⁶⁰⁸ Strecker 67

⁶⁰⁹ “Crescebat autem cotidie fames in omni terra aperuitque Ioseph universa horrea et vendebat Aegyptiis nam et illos oppresserat fames.”

⁶¹⁰ “Qui iam nunc futuri sunt congregat in horrea et *omne frumentum* sub Pharaonis potestate condatur serveturque in urbibus.”

⁶¹¹ “Et sedentes ut comederent panem viderunt viatores Ismahelitas venire de Galaad et camelos eorum portare aromata et *resinam* et stacten in Aegyptum.”

⁶¹² Modesto 54.

⁶¹³ “Sarraf autem dixit ecce *mille argenteos* dedi fratri tuo hoc erit tibi in velamen oculorum ad omnes qui tecum sunt et quocumque perrexeris mementoque te deprehensam.”

⁶¹⁴ Cf. Modesto 54.

⁶¹⁵ Ricklin 219.

⁶¹⁶ “Ponesque in *arcam testificationem* quam dabo tibi.”

⁶¹⁷ “Inseretur autem velum per circulos intra quod pones arcam testimonii et quo sanctuarium et sanctuarii sanctuaria dividuntur.”

223. Favum Petrus, copias Abigea.

Peter honey, Abigail supplies.

a) (See also 7a.) Luke 24.42. When Jesus is resurrected he asks for food and his disciples give him honey – *favum mellis* as well.⁶²⁰ Peter, however, is not explicitly mentioned among the disciples.⁶²¹ It is strange that two characters are associated with one attribute in the *CC* – Samson is mentioned as offering honey in line 177a.

b) 1 Samuel 25.18. Abigail provided great supplies of food, and thus prevented David and others from bloodshed: “Festinavit igitur Abigail et tulit *ducentos panes et duos utres vini et quinque arietes coctos et quinque sata pulentae et centum ligaturas uvae passae et ducentas massas caricarum et inposuit super asinos.*” This is an abstraction.

Abigail is mentioned here for the first and only time.

(xvi) Thefts (lines 224-231)

Compared to the catalogue of tortures that follows, the catalogue of the thefts is rather short. It is an unexpected shift in the plot, as sudden as the cooking done by the guests, but one with more serious consequences.

Some of the thefts in the catalogue were really committed in the Bible, some were only errors or misunderstandings, some are simple attributes of the characters.

It is not stated how the thefts were revealed and by whom. This is typical for the *CC* – the text entirely lacks any kind of plot development – individual catalogues are introduced very briefly, without any attempt neither to unite the whole logically, nor to create any kind of tension. All possible conflicts are erased – although the fact that the guests were stealing at the feast is striking (especially as it has seemed so far that they were forced to provide all the food and drink themselves), it is presented as dryly as any other catalogue. The absolute lack of explicit tension in the *CC* caused, in my opinion, its perception as a rather poor piece of writing. It is possible to argue that the author’s intention was to create even bigger tension by seemingly excluding tension from his work, but it cannot be proven.

No new characters appear in this catalogue.

224. Sed quoniam ante diem quaedam de convivio

But because at daybreak some things from the feast

225. Subducta fuerant, iussu regis inquirebantur ab eis.

Were stolen, by the order of the king the guests were examined.

We do not know who interrogated the guests, we only get the conclusion. A catalogue is a suitable means to report results of an investigation.

226. Involaverat enim stragulum multicolourium Agar,

⁶¹⁸ “Et posuerunt arcam Dei super plaustrum et capsellam quae habebat mures aureos et similitudinem anorum.”

⁶¹⁹ Cf. Modesto 54.

⁶²⁰ “At illi obtulerunt ei partem piscis assi et *favum mellis*.”

⁶²¹ Cf. Modesto 54.

Achan stole a colourful cloak,

(See also 32a.) Joshua 7.21. In the Bible, Achan stole many other things beside a cloak. In the *CC*, the cloak is perhaps the colourful robe he received from the king in line 58b.

Achan is mentioned as the first of the thieves, and, although his crime is no worse than the crimes of the others, only he will be punished.

227. Sigillum aureum Rahel, speculum argentum Tecla,
Rachel a golden picture, Thecla a silver mirror,

a) (See also 29a.) Genesis 31.32. Rachel really stole; she stole idols from her father Laban – *furata esset idola*.⁶²² A golden picture is not mentioned explicitly.

b) (See also 25a.) *APT* 18. Thecla gave a silver mirror to the prison guard, so that she could enter and be with Paul. The mirror belonged to her, she did not steal it.

228. Scipum bibitorium Benjamin, anulum signatorium Tamar,
Benjamin a cup, Tamar a seal-ring,

a) (See also 19b.) Genesis 44.12.⁶²³ Benjamin did not steal the cup, it was put into his sack by Joseph's servants, but it was Joseph's intention that he would look like a thief.

b) (See also 64a.) Genesis 38.11-19. Tamar dresses up as a prostitute, and gets from her father-in-law, who wants to sleep with her, a ring – *anulum*, a string and a rod, which she should return when he sends her her price, a kid.⁶²⁴ Of course, she keeps the things and shows them when she is to be burnt because of her pregnancy. Her action can be easily described as stealing.

229. Coopertorium subsericum Iudith,
Judith a silk curtain,

(See also 31b.) Judith 13.10. Judith really steals the curtain from Holofernes' bed in order to prove that she was there and killed him. (It is not a necessary theft, because she is carrying the head of Holofernes as well.)

230. Lanceam regiam David,
David a royal lance,

(See also 20a.) 1 Samuel 26.8. David does not kill sleeping Saul, he only takes (steals) his lance – *lancea*, and water chalice.⁶²⁵

⁶²² "Quod autem furti arguis apud quemcumque inveneris deos tuos necetur coram fratribus nostris scrutare quicquid tuorum apud me inveneris et aufer haec dicens ignorabat quod Rahel *furata esset idola*."

⁶²³ "Quos scrutatus incipiens a maiore usque ad minimum invenit *scyphum* in sacco Benjamin."

⁶²⁴ "Ait Iudas quid vis tibi pro arrabone dari respondit *anulum tuum* et armillam et baculum quem manu tenes ad unum igitur coitum concepit mulier."

⁶²⁵ "Dixitque Abisai ad David conclusit Deus hodie inimicum tuum in manus tuas nunc ergo perfodiam eum *lancea* in terra semel et secundo opus non erit."

231. Alienam uxorem abduxerat Abimelech.

Abimelech led away another's wife.

(See also 221b.) Genesis 20.2.⁶²⁶ Abimelech asks for Sarah by mistake, because Abraham presents her as his sister. Here he looks like a great abuser.

(xvii) Torture (lines 232-269)

This is the longest catalogue in the *CC* – it presents 69 characters being tortured, while only eight were mentioned as guilty of the thefts. Thus, this catalogue can be perceived as stressing the violence and cruelty of the Bible. Numerous attributions referring to violent events in the Bible are put together. However, some of the characters killed in this section reappear safe and sound later.

Pateins-agens shifts and *agens* shifts occur (which, of course, does not diminish the violence of the event referred to). The nine characters who appear only here⁶²⁷ are indeed unfortunate – they are tortured without enjoying the food, the drink, procession, and without being guilty of the thefts.

Similarly to the previous one, this catalogue, however surprising, is opened without any explicit acknowledgement of its specific character.

232. Tunc iussit rex, ut omnes, qui fuerant in convivio,

Then the king ordered everyone who attended the feast,

233. Ducerentur in tormenta.

To be taken to torture.

After the rather short catalogue of the thefts, it is quite surprising that the king sends everybody to torture. Thus, as becomes clear from the following line, the innocent are harmed as well, some of them fatally.

This order of the king stands in sharp contrast both to the preceding events and to his final decision to punish only one of the guests.

234. Quo facto primum innocens decollatur Iohannes,

Because of this, as the first one, John the Baptist was beheaded,

(See also 20b.) Matthew 14.5nn, Mark 6.17nn. A clear allusion.

235. Occiditur Abel, foras proicitur Adam,

Abel was killed, Adam expelled,

a) (See also 13b.) Genesis 4.8. A clear allusion. In the passage, there is *interfecit*,⁶²⁸ but later, in Genesis 4.25, there is also *occidit* referring to Cain's deed.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁶ “*Dixitque de Sarra uxore sua soror mea est* misit ergo Abimelech rex Gerarae et tulit eam.”

⁶²⁷ (Nabuchadnezzar, Mary Magdalene, Dathan, Korah, Nathan, Phineas, Hophni, Trifena and Onesiforus)

⁶²⁸ “*dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum egrediamur foras cumque essent in agro consurrexit Cain adversus Abel fratrem suum et interfecit eum.*”

⁶²⁹ “*Cognovit quoque adhuc Adam uxorem suam et peperit filium vocavitque nomen eius Seth dicens posuit mihi Deus semen aliud pro Abel quem occidit Cain.*”

b) (See also 12a.) Genesis 3.23. A clear allusion, but the Vulgate says: “*emisit eum Dominus Deus de paradiso voluptatis ut operaretur terram de qua sumptus est.*” Adam’s ‘torture’ does not seem so horrible compared to the preceding ones. (But we can still feel its consequences...)

236. Timens obmutescit Zaccharias, fugit Iacob,
Zacharias became mute out of fear, Jacob ran away,

a) (See also 51.) Luke 1.22. There is no mention about Zacharias fearing when he remained mute – *permansit mutus* in the Bible.⁶³⁰

b) (See also 16a.) Genesis 27.43. Another allusion to Jacob’s escape (see also line 193b). This attribution does not seem to quite fit the idea of a catalogue of tortures, but more similarly detached allusions follow.

237. Queritur Enoch, turbatur Abimelech,
Enoch was examined, Abimelech confused,

a) (See also 58a.) Genesis 5.21-24. It is not clear why Enoch is interrogated. Enoch is one of the ten patriarchs in line from Adam to Noah.⁶³¹ Enoch is also the name of Cain’s son.

b) (See also 221b.) Genesis 20.16-18. The same event is alluded to as in the previous catalogue (line 231) – Abimelech takes Sarah from Abraham, thinking it is his sister, not his wife. The confusion is caused by Abraham.

238. Immutatur Nabuchodonosor, deprecatur Abraham,
Nebuchadnezzar was changed, Abraham asked for mercy,

a) Daniel 4.30. Nebuchadnezzar went away from people and recognized the supreme authority of the God of Israel.⁶³² This is the only allusion to Nebuchadnezzar in the CC.

b) (See also 15a.) Genesis 18.23. Abraham asks God to save Sodom if he finds just men in it.⁶³³

⁶³⁰ “Egressus autem non poterat loqui ad illos et cognoverunt quod visionem vidisset in templo et ipse erat innuens illis et *permansit mutus.*”

⁶³¹ “Porro Enoch vixit sexaginta quinque annis et genuit Mathusalam 22 et ambulavit Enoch cum Deo postquam genuit Mathusalam trecentis annis et genuit filios et filias 23 et facti sunt omnes dies Enoch trecenti sexaginta quinque anni 24 ambulavitque cum Deo et non apparuit quia tulit eum Deus.”

⁶³² “Eadem hora sermo completus est super Nabuchodonosor ex hominibus abiectus est et faenum ut bos comedit et rore caeli corpus eius infectum est donec capilli eius in similitudinem aquilarum crescent et unguis eius quasi avium.”

⁶³³ “Et adpropinquans ait numquid perdes iustum cum impio si fuerint quinquaginta iusti in civitate peribunt simul et non parces loco illi propter quinquaginta iustos si fuerint in eo.”

239. Transfertur Helias, supprimitur Dina,
Elijah was taken up, Dinah was embarrassed,

a) (See also 17b.) 2 Kings 2.11. A clear allusion to Elijah's ascension to heaven, which works well in the context of tortures as well.⁶³⁴

b) (See also 209a.) Genesis 34.2. A clear allusion to the same event as all allusions to Dinah in the CC. The Vulgate has *dormivit cum illa vi opprimens virginem*.⁶³⁵

240. Includitur Noe, impingitur Eglon,
Noah was enclosed, Eglon stabbed,

a) (See also 14a.) Genesis 7.16. God closes the ark behind Noah,⁶³⁶ while in the CC it seems that he is imprisoned. (See also 284b.)

b) (See also 98b.) Judges 3.21. Ehud stabbed – *infixit* the Moabian king Eglon in the belly and thus he frees the Israelites from his rule.⁶³⁷ (This is a remarkable murder, not only because Ehud murders the fat Eglon by a trick, but because he leaves the knife in Eglon's belly and the fat closes the wound around it.) (For the variants in manuscripts see Modesto 55.)

241. Suffigitur Iesus, dampnatur Danihel,
Jesus was crucified, Daniel was condemned,

a) (See also 22a.) Matthew 27.35,⁶³⁸ Mark 15.25,⁶³⁹ Luke 23.33,⁶⁴⁰ or John 19.18.⁶⁴¹ A clear allusion. In the context of the CC, Jesus is crucified as an ordinary thief. The allusion is remarkable, if we perceive the whole text of the CC as a Biblical allegory connected to Easter.

b) (See also 18a.) Daniel 14.34. An unclear allusion. Perhaps it should be taken as an *agens-patiens* shift and connected to the following half line. Daniel reveals the guilt of the vile men and condemns them.

⁶³⁴ "Cumque pergerent et incedentes sermocinarentur ecce currus igneus et equi ignei diviserunt utrumque et *ascendit* Helias per turbinem in caelum."

⁶³⁵ "Quam cum vidisset Sychem filius Emor Evei princeps terrae illius adamavit et rapuit et *dormivit cum illa vi opprimens virginem*."

⁶³⁶ "Et quae ingressa sunt masculus et femina ex omni carne introierunt sicut praeceperat ei Deus et *inclusit eum Dominus* de foris."

⁶³⁷ "Extenditque Ahoth manum sinistram et tulit sicam de dextro femore suo *infixitque* eam in ventre eius."

⁶³⁸ "Postquam autem *crucifixerunt* eum diviserunt vestimenta eius sortem mittentes."

⁶³⁹ "Erat autem hora tertia et *crucifixerunt* eum."

⁶⁴⁰ "Et postquam venerunt in locum qui vocatur Calvariae ibi *crucifixerunt* eum et latrones unum a dextris et alterum a sinistris."

⁶⁴¹ "Ubi eum *crucifixerunt* et cum eo alios duos hinc et hinc medium autem Iesum."

242. Accusatur Susanna, alligatur Ioseph,
Susanna was accused, Joseph imprisoned,

- a) (See also 25b.) Daniel 13.27-64. Susanna is indeed accused, although she is innocent. A reference to the same story as all allusions to Susanna.
- b) (See also 19a.) Genesis 36.20. Perhaps alludes to Joseph's imprisonment by Potiphar. But the Vulgate has *clausus*.⁶⁴²

243. Occiditur Maria, tollitur Abacuc,
Mary was killed, Habakkuk was carried away,

- a) (See also 61b.) John 8.4-5. It might allude to the stoning of Mary Magdalene, who however did not die of it.⁶⁴³ No woman called Maria is killed in the Bible. Manuscripts of the group X read: *occiditur Martha*, which does not solve the problem.⁶⁴⁴
- b) (See also 83a.) Daniel 14.36. Habakkuk saves Daniel by bringing him food. There is an *agens patiens* shift in this allusion – in the CC, he does not carry, but is carried.

244. Bestiis datur Thecla, in fornacem mittitur Ananias,
Thecla given to beasts, Ananiah thrown into a furnace,

- a) (See also 25a.) APT 27nn. Thecla is indeed given to beasts, but she is miraculously saved. Of course the punishment is unjust.
- b) (See also 39a.) Daniel 3.20. A clear allusion to the well-known story. The Vulgate has: *mitterent eos in fornacem*⁶⁴⁵ and thus there is a complete lexical agreement, the only difference lies in the fact that Hananiah is singled out in the CC.

245. Vinculis stringitur Samson, perimitur Urias,
Samson tied up with ropes, Uriah killed,

- a) (See also 28a.) Judges 16.21. Delilah cuts off Samson's hair and the Philistines drag him tied up, *vinctum catenis*.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴² "Tradiditque Ioseph in carcerem ubi vincti regis custodiebantur et erat ibi *clausus*."

⁶⁴³ "Et dixerunt ei magister haec mulier modo deprehensa est in adulterio in lege autem Moses mandavit nobis huiusmodi *lapidare* tu ergo quid dicis."

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. Modesto 55.

⁶⁴⁵ The whole passage reads: "Et viris fortissimis de exercitu suo iussit ut ligatis pedibus Sedrac Misac et Abdenago *mitterent eos in fornacem ignis ardentem*."

⁶⁴⁶ "Quem cum adprehendissent Philistin statim eruerunt oculos eius et duxerunt Gazam *vinctum catenis* et clausum in carcere morere fecerunt."

b) (See also 199b.) 2 Samuel 11.17. It is on David's command that Uriah is placed in the fiercest fighting and dies – *mortuus est*.⁶⁴⁷

Manuscripts of group Y read here: "punitur Urias," but that, as Strecker points out,⁶⁴⁸ is an obvious mistake, it should be "pimitur." Johannes Diaconus then changed it to the logical "perimitur".

246. Flagellatur Paulus, tenditur Isaias,
Paul scourged, Isaiah arrested,

a) (See also 29b.) *APT* 21. Paul is scourged for deluding young virgins. (While Thecla is condemned to be burnt, because she is one of the deluded.) The precise Greek quotation is to be found in Harnack.⁶⁴⁹

b) (See also 34a.) Hebrews 11.36. About the prophets in general: "Alii vero ludibria et verbera experti insuper et vincula et *carceres*."⁶⁵⁰

247. Expoliatur Ionas, lapidatur Hieremias,
Jonah robbed, Jeremiah stoned to death,

a) (See also 33.) Jonah 4.7-8.⁶⁵¹ Perhaps it alludes to the event when Jonah is deprived of the shadow of the tree provided by God.⁶⁵² Thus, the attribution would be metaphorical.

b) (See also 134a.) Hebrews 11.37. About the prophets, it is said in general also *lapidati sunt*.⁶⁵³

(The reference given by the commentators does not make sense to me: Jeremiah 11.23. "et reliquiae non erunt ex eis inducam enim malum super viros Anathoth annum visitationis eorum.")

248. Excecatur Tobias, non creditur Moysi,
Tobias blinded, Moses disbelieved,

a) (See also 18b.) Tobit 11.10-13. The action is reversed: in the Bible it was Tobias' father who became blind and Tobias who healed him.

b) (See also 17a.) Exodus 4.1. Moses fears that he will be disbelieved due to his unskilful speech.⁶⁵⁴ The possibility suggested in the Bible becomes true in the *CC*.

⁶⁴⁷ "Egressique viri de civitate bellabant adversum Ioab et ceciderunt de populo servorum David et *mortuus est etiam Urias Hethheus*."

⁶⁴⁸ Strecker 66.

⁶⁴⁹ Harnack 18.

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. Modesto 55.

⁶⁵¹ "Et paravit Deus vermem ascensu diluculo in crastinum et percussit hederam et exaruit 8 et cum ortus fuisset sol praecepit Dominus vento calido et urenti et percussit sol super caput Ionae et aestuabat et petivit animae suae ut moreretur et dixit melius est mihi mori quam vivere."

⁶⁵² Cf. Modesto 55.

⁶⁵³ "*lapidati sunt secti sunt temptati sunt in occisione gladii mortui sunt circumierunt in melotis in pellibus caprinis egentes angustati adflicti*."

249. Subducitur Abiron, suspenditur Absalon,

Abiram thrown down, Absolon strung up,

a) (See also 66b.) Numbers 16.32. The earth opened and swallowed Abiram and his family – *devoravit illos*.⁶⁵⁵ In the CC it seems that he is thrown to the ground by the king's servants.

b) (See also 26a.) 2 Samuel 18.9. The same story as elsewhere. There is lexical agreement: “illo *suspensio* inter caelum et terram”.

250. Confunditur Rebecca, transducitur Agar,

Rebecca lost her discretion, Hagar was taken away,

a) (See also 23b.) Genesis 24.65. Probably, the same event is alluded to as elsewhere – Rebecca covered herself when she saw Isaac. But the shift of context significantly changes the meaning here.

b) (See also 78b.) Genesis 21.14. Again, the same event from Hagar's life is evoked as elsewhere. The word does not appear in the Vulgate, there is only *cum abisset errabat*.⁶⁵⁶

Strecker, however, reads *Achar* here⁶⁵⁷, which is also justifiable.

Manuscripts of the group Y read *transducitur David*, but it is probably a later change.

251. Arguitur Pharaon, relinquitur Israhel,

Pharaoh accused, Israel abandoned to fate,

a) (See also 21a.) Exodus 7.4.⁶⁵⁸ Another unclear allusion to Pharaoh.

b) (See also 34b.) Genesis 32.24nn. This probably alludes to Jacob's fight with the angel and his change of name: “*remansit solus et ecce vir luctabatur cum eo usque mane*.” Strecker gives evidence for this from an older version.⁶⁵⁹

252. Addicitur Dathan, deprimitur Chore,

Dathan adjudged, Korah devoured,

a) (See also 66b.) Numbers 16.32. The recurrent story of the earth swallowing Abiram and his family. (The names are mentioned in Numbers 16.27.⁶⁶⁰)

⁶⁵⁴ “Respondens Moses ait non credent mihi neque audient vocem meam, sed dicent non apparuit tibi Dominus.”

⁶⁵⁵ “Et aperiens os suum *devoravit illos* cum tabernaculis suis et universa substantia.”

⁶⁵⁶ “Surrexit itaque Abraham mane et tollens panem et utrem aquae inposuit scapulae eius tradiditque puerum et dimisit eam quae cum abisset *errabat* in solitudine Bersabee.”

⁶⁵⁷ Strecker 70.

⁶⁵⁸ (“Et non audiet vos inmittamque manum meam super Aegyptum et educam exercitum et populum meum filios Israhel de terra Aegypti per iudicia maxima.”)

⁶⁵⁹ Strecker 77.

⁶⁶⁰ “Cumque recessissent a tentoriis eorum per circuitum *Dathan* et Abiram egressi stabant in introitu papilionum suorum cum uxoribus et liberis omnique frequentia.”

b) (See also 66a - the same as above.) Korah is also mentioned before, in Numbers 16.24.⁶⁶¹

253. Copulatur Isaac, mittitur Nathan,
Isaac tied up, Nathan sent,

a) (See also 15b.) Genesis 22.9. An event recurring in the CC. Isaac is originally tied up by his father Abraham: "... cumque *conligasset* Isaac filium suum posuit eum in altari super struem lingorum."

b) 2 Samuel 12.1. The allusion is to an insignificant event when Nathan is sent to David: "*Misit* ergo Dominus Nathan ad David." This is the first and only appearance of Nathan in the CC.

254. Convincitur Amalech, maledicatur Iudas,
Amalek was overcome, Judas was cursed,

a) (See also 206b.) Exodus 17.13. Amalek's defeat – a re-appearing scene in the CC.⁶⁶²

b) (See also 26b.) John 17.12. Jesus calls Judas the son of perdition – *filius perditionis*,⁶⁶³ and thus it is stressed here that Judas' betrayal was necessary for the Scriptures to be fulfilled.

255. Dehonestatur Mambres, cogitur Loth,
Mambres lost his honesty, Lot was coerced,

a) (See also 181a.) Exodus 7.11-12⁶⁶⁴ or 2 Timothy 3.8.⁶⁶⁵ Mambres, Pharaoh's magician, was unable to perform the same miracles as Aaron and Moses.⁶⁶⁶

b) (See also 16b.) Genesis 19.15. The angels forced Lot to get up – *cogebant eum*.⁶⁶⁷ Or, Lot was forced by his daughters to impregnate them.

256. Interficatur Finees, dimittitur Ofni,
Phinehas killed, Hophni sent elsewhere,

a) 1 Samuel 4.11: "Et arca Dei capta est duoque filii Heli *mortui sunt* Ofni et Finees." This is the only appearance of Phinehas in the CC.

⁶⁶¹ "Praecipe universo populo ut separetur a tabernaculis *Core* et *Dathan* et *Abiram*."

⁶⁶² "Fugavitque *Iosue* *Amalech* et populi eius in ore gladii."

⁶⁶³ "Cum essem cum eis ego servabam eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi custodivi et nemo ex his perivit nisi *filius perditionis*, ut scriptura impleatur."

⁶⁶⁴ Modesto gives Exodus 8.14-15, but there is not much difference between the two. (Cf. Modesto 55.)

⁶⁶⁵ "Quemadmodum autem *Iannes* et *Mambres* restiterunt *Mosi* ita et hii resistunt veritati homines corrupti mente reprobi circa fidem."

⁶⁶⁶ "Vocavit autem *Pharao* sapientes et maleficos et fecerunt etiam ipsi per incantationes aegyptias et arcana quaedam similiter 12 proieceruntque singuli virgas suas quae versae sunt in dracones sed devoravit virga *Aaron* virgas eorum."

⁶⁶⁷ "Cumque esset mane *cogebant eum* angeli dicentes surge et tolle uxorem tuam et duas filias quas habes ne et tu pariter pereas in scelere civitatis."

b) 1 Samuel 4.4. This half line is connected to the previous one, but the order of the allusions is reversed in the Bible. The Vulgate has: “*misit ergo populus...*”⁶⁶⁸ Hophni is not mentioned anywhere else in the CC.

257. Timens moritur Heli, comprimitur Dina,
Eli died filled with fear, Dinah was humiliated,

a) (See also 28b.) 1 Samuel 4.18.⁶⁶⁹ A clear allusion. (See also the previous line.)

b) (See also 209a.) Genesis 34.2. The same story again.

258. Decipitur Esau, substringitur Saul,
Esau was deceived, Saul tied up,

a) (See also 30a.) Genesis 27.30-41. A clear allusion. In Genesis 27.35, the deception is mentioned explicitly: “*venit germanus tuus fraudulenter et accepit benedictionem tuam.*”

b) (See also 92a.) 1 Samuel 31.10.⁶⁷⁰ There is a shift in circumstances – when Saul is tied up in the Bible, he is already dead – his head has been cut off.

259. Dolet de facto Iob, interrogatur Eva,
Job suffered, Eve was interrogated,

a) (See also 30b.) Job 42.6.⁶⁷¹ (The verb itself appears only once in the book of Job – Job 14.22.)⁶⁷²

b) (See also 12b.) Genesis 3.13. God interrogates Eve after she eats the forbidden fruit. “*Et dixit Dominus Deus ad mulierem quare hoc fecisti? Quae respondit serpens decepit me et comedi.*”

260. “Nescio” clamat Cain, tenetur et negat Petrus.
“I do not know!” cried Cain, Peter held back and denied.

a) (See also 13a.) Genesis 4.9. There is a nice context shift from the original situation, which goes like this: “*Et ait Dominus ad Cain: ‘Ubi est Abel, frater tuus?’ Qui respondit: ‘Nescio, num custos fratris mei sum.’*”

⁶⁶⁸ “*Misit ergo populus in Silo et tulerunt inde arcam foederis Domini exercitum sedentis super cherubim, erantque duo filii Heli cum arca foederis Domini Ofni et Finees.*”

⁶⁶⁹ “*Cumque ille nominasset arcam Dei cecidit de sella retrorsum iuxta ostium et fractis cervicibus mortuus est senex enim erat vir et grandevus et ipse iudicavit Israhel quadraginta annis.*”

⁶⁷⁰ “*Et posuerunt arma eius in templo Astharoth corpus vero eius suspenderunt in muro Bethsan.*”

⁶⁷¹ “*Idcirco ipse me reprehendo et ago poenitentiam in favilla et cinere.*”

⁶⁷² “*Attamen caro eius dum vivet dolebit et anima illius super semet ipso lugebit.*”

- b) (See also 7a.) Matthew 26.34 etc. A clear allusion – see line 160a.

261. Sed quoniam multorum conscientia erat in furto,
But because many knew about the theft,

This line seems to end the catalogue of the ‘tortures proper’. Lines 262-269 seem to describe rather reactions to the tortures.

262. Quod erat suscipiens Raab, querebatur Laban,
Rahab was suspect, Laban complained,

- a) (See also 24a.) Joshua 2.3.⁶⁷³ Rahab is justly suspected of having hidden the strangers.⁶⁷⁴

- b) (See also 44.) Genesis 31.27-30. Laban complains that Jacob stole away from him, with his women and fortune.⁶⁷⁵

263. Infamabatur Susanna, arguebatur Iohannes,
Susanna was slandered, John was accused,

- a) (See also 25b.) Daniel 13.27-64. A clear, recurring allusion.

- b) (See also 20b.) Matthew 14.3-4,⁶⁷⁶ Mark 6.18.⁶⁷⁷ There is an *agens-patiens* shift, because John the Baptist accused Herod of living with his brother’s wife, and was imprisoned because of it. He was imprisoned and decapitated without being officially accused of anything.

264. Negabat Rahel, docebat Moyses,
Rachel denied, Moses instructed,

- a) (See also 29a.) Genesis 31.35. Rachel denies that she stole her father’s idols, which she actually did steal. She says *nequeo* in the Vulgate, when she refuses to greet her father.⁶⁷⁸

- b) (See also 17a.) Exodus 19. Moses instructs the people according to God’s orders. The Vulgate has *exposuit* in Exodus 19.7.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷³ “Misitque rex Hiericho ad Raab dicens educ viros qui venerunt ad te et ingressi sunt domum tuam exploratores quippe sunt et omnem terram considerare venerunt.”

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. Modesto 56.

⁶⁷⁵ “Cur ignorante me fugere voluisti nec indicare mihi ut prosequer te cum gaudio et canticis et tympanis et cithara non es passus ut oscularer filios meos ac filias stulte operatus es et nunc valet quidem manus mea reddere tibi malum sed Deus patris vestri heri dixit mihi cave ne loquaris cum Iacob quicquam durius esto ad tuos ire cupiebas et desiderio tibi erat domus patris tui cur furatus es deos meos.”

⁶⁷⁶ “Herodes enim tenuit Iohannem et alligavit eum et posuit in carcere propter Herodiam uxorem fratris sui. Dicebat enim illi Iohannes non licet tibi habere eam.”

⁶⁷⁷ “Dicebat enim Iohannes Herodi non licet tibi habere uxorem fratris tui.”

⁶⁷⁸ “Ait ne irascatur dominus meus quod coram te adsurgere *nequeo* quia iuxta consuetudinem feminarum nunc accidit mihi sic delusa sollicitudo quaerentis est.”

⁶⁷⁹ “Venit Moses et convocatis maioribus natu populi *exposuit* omnes sermones quos mandaverat Dominus.”

265. Plorabat Trifena, observabat Maria,
Triphena cried, Mary looked on,

a) *APT* 29. Triphena cries when Thecla is condemned to be given to the beasts. This is the only appearance of Triphena in the *CC*.

b) (See also 61b.) Mark 15.47. The Marys looked – *aspiciebant* at the place where Jesus was buried.⁶⁸⁰ It also describes well the general role of the Virgin Mary – she looks on her whole life, without interfering much or without understanding much.

266. Attendebat Onesiforus, tristis erat Iob,
Onesiforus paid attention, Job was unhappy,

a) *APT* 3. Onesiforus pays attention to Paul's teaching and follows his advice. He also welcomes him in his house. This is the only mention of Onesiforus in the *CC*.
Alternatively, but not very likely, it could refer to 2 Timothy 1.16-18.⁶⁸¹

b) (See also 30b.) The whole book of Job. However, in the Book of Job, it is never stated explicitly that Job is *tristis*.

Some manuscripts read "tristis erat Paulus". According to Harnack, Paul is unhappy about Thecla being in danger, together with Onesiforus and Trifena⁶⁸² (see 266a and 265a). This version might have been the original one, because it is more obscure.

267. Iurabat Iacob, non credebat Pharaon,
Jacob swore, Pharaoh did not believe,

a) (See also 16a.) Genesis 31.53. Laban, following God's instruction, catches up with Jacob, who left him, and suggests a covenant to him. Jacob swears by his father Isaac: "...iuravit Iacob per Timorem patris sui Isaac."

b) (See also 21a.) Exodus 7.13. A clearer allusion to Pharaoh than is usual. "Induratumque est cor Pharaonis et non *audivit* eos sicut praeceperat Dominus."

268. Mentiebatur Hieroboam, pavebat Susanna,
Jeroboam deceived, Susanna feared,

a) (See also 208b.) 1 Kings 14.6.⁶⁸³ Jeroboam orders his wife to conceal her identity by re-dressing and thus try to deceive the prophet Acheas. She fails and Acheas tells her that all her people will die because they have forgotten about God.

b) (See also 25b.) Daniel 13.27-64. It is never stated that Susanna feared. Rather, her determined chastity is stressed throughout the episode in the Bible.

⁶⁸⁰ "Maria autem Magdalene et Maria Ioseph *aspiciebant* ubi poneretur."

⁶⁸¹ "Det misericordiam Dominus Onesifori domui quia saepe me *refrigeravit* et catenam meam non erubuit sed cum Romam venisset *sollicite me quaesivit et invenit* det illi Dominus invenire misericordiam a Domino in illa die et quanta Ephesi ministravit melius tu nosti."

⁶⁸² Harnack 18.

⁶⁸³ "Audivit Ahias sonitum pedum eius introeuntis per ostium et ait ingredi uxorem Hieroboam quare aliam esse te *simulas* ego autem missus sum ad te durus nuntius."

269. Erubescibat Rebecca, plangebatur Hieremias.

Rebecca blushed, Jeremiah lamented,

- a) (See also 23b.) Genesis 24.64-65. Probably the covering again. (The only blushing in the Bible is in Genesis 2.25, referring to Adam and Eve before the fall: “erant autem uterque nudi Adam scilicet et uxor eius et *non erubescabant*.”)
- b) (See also 134a.) Lamentations. The prophet Jeremiah wrote the Lamentations. Or, e.g. Jeremiah 34.5.⁶⁸⁴

(xviii) Achan's Death (270-280):

The last three catalogues could form one larger catalogue with subdivisions: killing Achan (nine guests, lines 276-280), burying Achan (eight guests, lines 282-285) and reactions to the events (four guests, lines 286-288). The other lines are transitional passages, usually including the king's orders.

Achan's death is the part understood as an allegory on Jesus' crucifixion.

270. Postmodum scrutatis omnibus inventum est furtum apud Benjamin,

After all were investigated, the stolen goods were found on Benjamin,

(See also 19b.) Genesis 44.11-12. The stolen cup is found in Benjamin's sack on his way from Egypt.⁶⁸⁵ This line marks the ending of the catalogue of the thefts. Surprisingly, it seems that in the *CC*, Benjamin is the only one against whom the theft is proven. In the Bible, however, Benjamin did not steal the cup, it was put into his sack without him knowing. Identifying an innocent character as the only thief anticipates the content of the following section.

271. Quod erat in conscientia Ioseph.

about which Joseph knew before.

(See also 19a.) Genesis 44.1-2. It was Joseph, Benjamin's brother, who put the cup into Benjamin's bag, so that he could later prove that Benjamin was trying to steal from him.⁶⁸⁶ This line is tied with the preceding one in the Bible as well, but here their order is reversed. The Bible keeps the chronology, while the *CC* reminds one more of a detective story: the result (catching the seeming thief) is presented first and the cause (the original intention) only after. In the *CC*, it is not revealed that Benjamin was innocent. Thus, he seems to be simply a thief, and Joseph his accomplice.

⁶⁸⁴ “Sed in pace morieris et secundum combustiones patrum tuorum regum priorum qui fuerunt ante te sic conburent te et vae domine *plangent* te quia verbum ego locutus sum dicit Dominus.”

⁶⁸⁵ “Itaque festinato deponentes in terram saccos aperuerunt singuli. Quos scrutatus incipiens a maiore usque ad minimum *invenit* scyphum in sacco Benjamin.”

⁶⁸⁶ “Praecepit autem Ioseph dispensatori domus suae dicens: Imple saccos eorum frumento quantum possunt capere et pone pecuniam singulorum in summitate sacci. Scyphum autem meum argenteum et pretium quod dedit tritici pone in ore sacci iunioris. Factumque est ita.”

- 272. Sed posteaquam probatum est regi,**
But afterwards it occurred to the king,

The conjunction *sed*, marks (as elsewhere) the beginning of a new catalogue. How the king got this idea is not stated explicitly. *Probatum est* is most probably a passive, and thus it seems that there was another person (or other people) who persuaded the king, who showed and proved to him that it was Achan who should die. If we understand this punishment of one person for all the guilty ones as a parallel to Jesus' crucifixion, the lack of logic in the king's decision parallels the ambiguity of God's will when sending his own son for death. However, God makes his decision alone, while here king Joel is overwhelmed by arguments. It is, nevertheless, also possible to understand *probatum est* as "it occurred," which still, unfortunately, does not explain the decision. Another important difference here is that Achan, compared to Jesus, actually is guilty.

Hrabanus Maurus makes the Biblical parallel clearer by punishing the king's son instead of Achan. Thus, the king is more obviously associated with God and the victim with Jesus. Also, Hrabanus justifies the crucifixion by stating it was the only way out of the situation. His version reads:⁶⁸⁷

"Videns itaque rex tantam multitudinem deperire,
consideransque non aliter eos evadere posse,
nisi filius eius unigenitus, qui ab omnibus
expectabatur, pro omnibus moriretur,
parcens multitudini ipsum innocentem
pro omnibus mori instituit."

This version lacks the original comic effect, because the Biblical parallel is too clear: it is openly stated that an innocent person is, by the decision of his father, the king, dying for all the others. The passage no longer works fully on both the levels: the Biblical, allegorical, interpretation is the only one possible here, as the textual one by itself would make little sense.

- 273. Quod Achar filius Carmi solus esset reus furti,**
that Achan, son of Carmi, was the only one to blame for the theft,

(See also 32a.) Joshua 7.21-23. (Achan is identified in Joshua 7.1.)⁶⁸⁸ Achan steals many things.⁶⁸⁹ However, both the Bible and the *CC* abound with numerous other sinners besides Achan. The king's choice is thus unclear, but, at the same time, stresses the notion of the king's authority and the substitutive character of the victim: it is important here that one person dies for the others, not who the person is.

⁶⁸⁷ Modesto 156.1-6.

⁶⁸⁸ "Filii autem Israhel praevaricati sunt mandatum et usurpaverunt de anathemata. Nam *Achar, filius Charmi*, filii Zabdi, filii Zare de tribu Iuda, tulit aliquid de anathemata. Iratusque est Dominus contra filios Israhel."

⁶⁸⁹ "Vidi enim inter spolia pallium coccineum valde bonum et ducentos siclos argenti regulamque auream quinquaginta siclorum et concupiscens abstuli et abscondi in terra contra medium tabernaculi mei argentumque fossa humo operui."

- 274. Iussit eum commori donavitque eum omnibus.**
he ordered his death and gave him to all.

The actual catalogue begins after this line. There are nine guests described as participating in killing Achan, five from the Old Testament, two from the New Testament and two from the apocrypha. Eight are male, one female. Seven of the characters actually committed the described action in the Bible (the *agens-agens* type), two were its victims (the *patiens-agens* type).

When we compare this catalogue to Hrabanus Maurus' version, one radical change is clear: Hrabanus does not name the Biblical characters that violate the victim:⁶⁹⁰

“Tunc licentia accepta foras eductus
multisque iniuriis affectus,
flagellatus, consputus, colaphizatus,
illusus cunctis intuentibus, in cruce suspensus
lanceaque per latus est perfossus atque mortuus.”

This is a consequence of drawing a very open parallel to Jesus' crucifixion in the preceding lines. After making it obvious that the victim is Christ himself, it would probably be too blasphemous (even for this type of text) to name specific Biblical characters and their violent activities.

Strecker claims that the original had *combur* instead of *commori*, because it is in agreement with C. Lug., which reads in Joshua 7.25: “lapibabit te et *comburet* te igni”.

- 275. Tunc occasione accepta primus omnium**
Then they seized the opportunity, and, as the first of all,

The fact that the guests “seize the opportunity,” i.e. are enthusiastic about killing, cannot be explained as an effect of their drinking. (This is a topos in the symposion literature – the guests become drunk and violent.) The killing takes place on the day after the feast, and thus the guests' enthusiasm may only be the result of their hangovers, or, more likely, their nature. Even though the following actions are mostly the true actions of the characters in the original texts, they are set in a different context here – e.g. originally the violence concerns not a person but an animal (Elizear), it is a defense (Jacob), or the enemy is much stronger (David). In no case other than the *CC* do the characters violently and enthusiastically kill a helpless person. The new context of the *CC* makes the passage a parody.

Obviously, the author is not suggesting that the characters in the Bible were actually very violent by nature, but draws attention to the fact that there *is* violence portrayed in the Bible (especially if it is read word for word and not allegorically).

Also, as in the catalogue of preparing the food, the guests here cooperate in order to achieve a desired result – to produce food to eat in the first case, and to produce a corpse (and thus to avoid punishment of themselves) in this case. Putting together various characters from the Bible with their various actions works better here than in a simple enumeration such as dressing or seating – the whole passage evokes a vivid picture of the situation in the reader's mind, thanks to being concentrated around

⁶⁹⁰ Modesto 156.7-11.

one character. Reading this passage is also more entertaining because this catalogue is not so long as to become boring.

276. Calce eum percussit Moyses, abiit in complexum Iacob,
Moses kicked him, Jacob came to close quarters with him,

a) (See also 17a.) Exodus 2.11-14. Moses receives the position of priority at the beginning of the catalogue, which usually belongs to Adam or Jesus. The allusion describes the situation in the Bible where Moses witnesses the killing of a Jew and then he kills the murderer.⁶⁹¹ Thus Moses truly kills in the Bible, and, in addition, he worries more about how the news of his deed spreads and spoils his reputation, rather than about feeling guilty for it.

b) (See also 16a.) Genesis 32.24-26. An allusion to Jacob's fight with the angel,⁶⁹² a frequently discussed passage.

277. Vestem detraxit Thecla, ad terram elisit Danihel,
Thecla tore off his clothes, Daniel knocked him down,

a) (See also 25a.) *APT* 26. (?) Thecla was originally *patiens* – in the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, she does not take anybody's dress, but her robe was taken off her. (See also the commentary on the *patiens-agens* shift type.)

b) (See also 18a.) Daniel 14.14-22. Perhaps an allusion to Daniel's recognition of the deception of the priests of Baal, or the destruction of idols.⁶⁹³ Daniel is not directly violent, but by drawing the king's attention to the situation, he causes many deaths and his own promotion, and thus he is not entirely guiltless either.

278. Lapide percussit David, virga Aaron,
David beat him with a stone, Aaron with a rod,

⁶⁹¹ "Egressus ad fratres suos vidit adflictionem eorum et virum aegyptium percutientem quendam de Hebraeis fratribus suis cumque circumspexisset huc atque illuc et nullum adesse vidisset percussum Aegyptium abscondit sabulo et egressus die altero conspexit duos Hebraeos rixantes dixitque ei qui faciebat iniuriam: 'Quare percutis proximum tuum?' Qui respondit: 'Quis constituit te principem et iudicem super nos? Num occidere me tu dicis sicut occidisti Aegyptium.' Timuit Moses et ait: 'Quomodo palam factum est verbum istud?'"

⁶⁹² "Remansit solus et ecce vir luctabatur cum eo usque mane qui cum videret quod eum superare non posset tetigit nervum femoris eius et statim emarcuit. Dixitque ad eum: 'Dimitte me iam enim ascendit aurora. Respondit: 'Non dimittam te, nisi benedixeris mihi.' Ait ergo: 'Quod nomen est tibi?' Respondit: 'Iacob.' At ille: 'Nequaquam,' inquit, 'Iacob appelabitur nomen tuum sed Israhel, quoniam si contra Deum fortis fuisti quanto magis contra homines praevaleris interrogavit eum Iacob: 'Dic mihi quo appellaris nomine?' Respondit: 'Cur quaeris nomen meum?' Et benedixit ei in eodem loco vocavitque Iacob nomen loci illius Phanuhel, dicens: 'Vidi Deum facie ad faciem et salva facta est anima mea ortusque est ei statim sol postquam transgressus est Phanuhel ipse vero claudicabat pede.'"

⁶⁹³ "Et risit Danihel et tenuit regem ne ingrederetur intro et dixit: 'Ecce pavimento animadvertite cuius vestigia sunt haec?' Et dixit rex: 'Video vestigia virorum et mulierum et infantium.'" Et iratus rex tunc adprehendit sacerdotes et uxores et filios eorum et ostenderunt ei abscondita ostiola per quae ingrediebantur et consumeabant quae erant super mensam. Occidit ergo illos rex et tradidit Bel in potestate Daniheli qui subvertit eum et templum eius et erat draco magnus in loco illo et colebant eum Babylonii."

a) (See also 20a.) 1 Samuel 17.48-49. David kills Goliath with a stone.⁶⁹⁴ In the Biblical context, this killing is part of a battle and David is disadvantaged because he is weaker. He puts the stone into his sling. Here, deprived of the context, it seems that David helps to kill defenseless Achan, beating him directly with a stone.

b) (See also 41a.) Exodus 7.10 (-20). Aaron's rod first changes into a serpent, and then initiates two other miracles and seven catastrophes, tormenting Pharaoh until he finally lets the Hebrews go.⁶⁹⁵ Thus, the rod in the Bible is the instrument through which God makes miracles harming the adversaries of the Hebrews. Aaron's use of the rod in the *CC* is less miraculous indeed.

279. Flagello Iesus, medium aperuit Iudas,
Jesus with a whip, Judas cut his stomach,

a) (See also 22a.) John 2.15. Jesus expels everybody from the temple by whipping.⁶⁹⁶ The fact that Jesus himself takes part in killing Achan is very ironic, because, understood allegorically, Achan's death stands for Jesus' crucifixion. Thus, Jesus is, in a way, killing himself. The fact by itself is not so innovative – already in the Bible, Jesus is portrayed as understanding and accepting his fate. The shift lies in the enthusiasm with which he approaches the task here.

It is also a remarkable element of irony that in such a short catalogue of violence, the author includes the messenger of peace of the Bible.

b) (See also 26b.) Acts 1.18. Judas splits open when he hangs himself and his entrails fall out: “Et hic quidem possedit agrum de mercede iniquitatis et *suspensus crepuit medius et diffuse sunt omnia viscera eius*.” Thus, he is originally the victim of the described activity.

280. Lancea transfixit Eliezer.
Eliezer stabbed (him) with a lance.

1 Macabees 6.43-46. Eliezer kills an elephant in a fight – he lies underneath him and stabs him from below. But he himself dies. The action here remains the same, only the object of the violence and the result change. The result is quite the opposite: Eliezer's adversary (i.e. the changed object) dies while he survives. The Latin text does not mention the object of the violence, and thus still enables both the original and the new reading.

This is the first and only appearance of Eliezer at the feast.

⁶⁹⁴ “Cum ergo surrexisset Philistheus et veniret et adpropinquaret contra David. Festinavit David et cucurrit ad pugnam et adverso Philisthei. Et misit manum suam in peram tulitque unum lapidem et funda iecit et *percussit* Philistheum in fronte et infixus est lapis in fronte eius et cecidit in faciem suam super terram.”

⁶⁹⁵ “Ingressit itaque Moses et Aaron ad pharaonem, fecerunt sicut praeceperat Dominus tulitque Aaron virgam coram Pharaon et servis eius quae versa est in colubrum...”

⁶⁹⁶ “Et cum fecisset quasi *flagellum* de funiculis, omnes eiecit de templo, oves quoque et boves, et nummulariorum effudit aes et mensas subvertit.”

(xix) Achan's Burial (lines 281-289)

Out of the following eight characters taking part in the burial, four come from the Old Testament and four from the New Testament, all of whom are connected to Jesus' death. Only one is a woman, seven are men. Five are *agens* type, two *pateins-agens* shift type, and one new *agens* type.

281. Tunc iussit rex, uti qui mortuus erat, sepeliretur,

Then the king ordered that the one who had died should be buried,

The fact that the last of the king's orders is a burial stresses the importance of the relationship between royal power and burial rites. Burial is often a power issue in Antiquity as well (to be enlarged – Antigone etc.!).

282. Et vendidit agrum Emor, emit Abraham,

And Hamor sold a field, Abraham bought it,

a) Genesis 33.19. Jacob buys from Hamor, the father of Sichem, a piece of land.⁶⁹⁷ The burial thus starts from buying the land, as is often the case in the Old Testament.

b) (See also 15a.) Genesis 23.19-20. Abraham buys a field with a cave in which he then buries his wife Sarah.⁶⁹⁸

283. Monumentum fecit Ioseph, edificavit Nachor,

Joseph made the grave, Nahor built it,

a) Mark 15.46. Probably Joseph of Arimathea, who took Jesus' body from the cross and put it into a tomb in a rock.⁶⁹⁹ This is the first allusion within this catalogue to Jesus' death. In the Bible, Joseph does not make the grave, he finds a cave, puts the body inside and closes it with a stone. Here, he is more active.

This is the only appearance of Joseph of Arimathea at the feast, unless the two ambiguous lines 40b and 133b refer to him.

b) Genesis 24.15. Nahor is Abraham's brother, grandfather of Rebecca.⁷⁰⁰ Nahor does not build anything in the Bible and thus this allusion remains unclear.

This is the only appearance of Nahor in the CC.

284. Aromata imposuit Maria, clusit Noe,

Mary anointed him with the ointment, Noah closed the tomb,

⁶⁹⁷ "Emitque partem agri in qua fixerat tabernaculum a filiis Emor patris Sychem centum agnis."

⁶⁹⁸ "Atque ita sepelivit Abraham Sarram uxorem suam in spelunca agri duplici qui respiciebat Mambre haec est Hebron in terra Chanaan. Et confirmatus est ager et antrum quod erat in eo Abrahae in possessionem monumenti a filiis Heth."

⁶⁹⁹ "Ioseph autem mercatus sindonem et deponens eum involvit sindone et posuit eum in monumento quod erat excisum de petra et advolvit lapidem ad ostium monumenti."

⁷⁰⁰ "Necdum intra se verba compleverat et ecce Rebecca egrediebatur filia Bathuel filii Melchae uxoris Nahor fratris Abraham habens hydriam in scapula."

a) (See also 61b.) Mark 16.1. Mary Magdalene, Mary, James' mother and Salome went to buy ointment to anoint the body of Jesus.⁷⁰¹ It is not clear which Mary is meant here.

The episode with the three Marys buying ointment at a market formed a popular episode within medieval Easter plays. This part of the cycle included many everyday life elements – the man selling his ointment praised and advertised his goods, revealed their special ingredients and effects, and quarreled with his wife and servants using numerous swearwords. It seems that the episode formed a part of the cycle in order to introduce a break from the solemnity and seriousness of the rest. In many manuscripts of the cycle, this episode ends with the main character announcing that the entire scene was just a play and should not be taken seriously, but now that it is finished, the serious action will continue.

The Marys in the Bible do not have the opportunity to use the ointment in the end – when they arrive at the tomb, it is already empty. Here, at least one of them can fulfill her role at last.

b) (See also 14a.) Genesis 7.16. Noah entered the ark and God closed it behind him.⁷⁰² Thus, Noah is originally *patiens* of the action which he is now performing. (So, this is the *patiens-agens* shift type.) A remarkable contrast lies in the fact that Noah is enclosed in order to be the only one who stays alive, while all the others die, but Achan is enclosed so that he would stay dead while all the others live.

285. **Superscripsit Pilatus, precium accepit Iudas.**

Pilate wrote the inscription, Judas accepted the price.

a) (See also 170.) Matthew 27.37. Pilate orders that an inscription be put over Jesus head, but actually it is the soldiers who crucify him who do it.⁷⁰³ Thus, this can also be perceived as the *patiens-agens* shift type. Perhaps more activity is assigned to Pilate here so that he would also seem more guilty.

b) (See also 26b.) Matthew 26.15. Again, an allusion to Judas' betrayal. The fact that Judas accepted the price is not openly stated in the Bible, it is only implied. Who gave the money to Judas in the CC, and for what, is not explained here.

286. **Quo facto gaudens clamabat Zaccharias,**

After this Zacharias cried with joy,

(See also 51.) Luke 1.14. An angel announces to Zacharias his future joy from the birth of his son, John the Baptist: "Et erit gaudium tibi et exultatio et multi in natiuitate eius *gaudebunt*." Actually, Zacharias does not cry with joy in the Bible, he does not believe the angel and is punished for it – he remains mute until the son is born. Then he makes prophecies. In CC, Zacharias is enabled to express his feelings. The situation, however, differs substantially from the original one.

⁷⁰¹ "Et cum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalene et Maria Iacobi et Salome emerunt *aromata* ut venientes unguerent eum."

⁷⁰² "Et quae ingressa sunt masculus et femina ex omni carne introierunt sicut praeceperat ei Deus, et inclusit eum Dominus de foris."

⁷⁰³ "Et imposuerunt super caput eius causam ipsius scriptam 'Hic est Iesus rex Iudaeorum'."

Rönsch argues persuasively that the place should be connected to the previous half line and explained by Zechariah 11.12: “et dixi ad eos si bonum est in oculis vestris adferite mercedem meam et si non quiescite et adpenderunt mercedem meam triginta argenteos.”⁷⁰⁴

This line is the beginning of the last and the shortest enumeration in the *CC*, the catalogue of the reactions to the events. There is only one man as opposed to three women, only one character from the Old Testament as opposed to three from the New Testament. The main original idea connecting all these allusions is the notion of a birth: all the actions described are original reactions to the announcement of a child to be born to each of these characters. If we take into account the fact that the text was closely tied to Easter, and that, according to an allegorical reading of the text, Jesus Christ died and was buried in the preceding lines, this last catalogue may be interpreted as an allegory of Christ's resurrection.

287. Confundebatur Helisabeth, stupebat Maria,
Elisabeth was embarrassed, Mary was stupefied,

a) (See also 121b.) Luke 1.24. It is not stated explicitly in the Bible that Elisabeth is embarrassed, but she hides for five months after she conceives.⁷⁰⁵ Here, of course, her embarrassment may be associated with a feeling of shame after the killing of an innocent person.

b) (See also 61b.) Luke 1.29. Mary is surprised when the angel comes to her to greet her from the Lord.⁷⁰⁶ The word *stupebat* can be understood in a more open way, as describing Mary's role in the Bible in general: she simply does not understand what is happening around her.

288. Ridebat de facto Sara.
Sarah laughed at it.

(See also 181.) Genesis 21.6. Sarah laughs about the birth of her son.⁷⁰⁷ Thus, the last activity that takes place before everyone returns home is laughter. Sarah's words in the Bible can be associated with the whole text – they might imply that the text should not be taken seriously, that God himself initiates and supports laughter.

289. Tunc explicitis omnibus domos suas repetierunt.
When all this was done, they returned to their homes.

The last sentence is very simple and does not allude in any way to the violent consequences of the feast. Remarkably, the guests are perceived as having homes. Perhaps simply their proper places within the Bible and their proper activities are meant by this, but the last sentence does not destroy the illusion maintained throughout the whole text that the Biblical characters are neither outside time nor historical characters, but simply contemporaries. Thus, they can leave their homes and come again for a feast – for *Cena Hrabani Mauri*, *Cena Iohanni Diaconi* etc.

⁷⁰⁴ Rönsch 349.

⁷⁰⁵ “Post hos autem dies concepit Elisabeth, uxor eius, et *occultabat se* mensibus quinque.”

⁷⁰⁶ “Quae cum vidisset turbata est in sermone eius. Et cogitabat qualis esset ista salutatio.”

⁷⁰⁷ “Dixitque Sara: ‘*Risum fecit mihi Deus.*’ Quicumque audierit conridebit mihi.”

IV. Photocopies of the Vienna manuscripts

- 1. Codex Vindobonensis 810, fols. 158r-161v**
- 2. Codex Vindobonensis 14 091, fols. 120v-123r**
- 3. Codex Vindobonensis 770, fols. 263r-267v**

in cyrardo iubil. impudenter iacob. in cocco arthochus. in aquario
rebecca. in femineatue arianas. in uestiario tela. in stuppi
malasalon. in religioso salomon. in munistra martha. in mulier
hurias. in in dno heredes. in famulo eham. in medio thue
in ebrio noe. in rufculo ylae. in trite iob. in iudice daniel.
in fabro ioseph. in phtura thamar. in femosa rachel. in
odabile ha. in dña oraxa. in impio loth. in aduersario dnu
leth. in in structoe sem. in rustico elau. in forte gelus. in
pultoe ieroboam. sondebat duna. aqua effundebat ann.
nudus erat ionas. Tunc solem petebat aures. ut sic
retur. versaber. Quo facto. iussit eos rex ad se uenire.
Qui uenerunt alia die. amula ei optuler. Prm itaq
omniū optulit arictē abrahā. thaurū tela. ouiculum
noe. camelū rebecca. leonē samson. ceruū elau. urulū ihe
uinitum iacob. eurrū helas. uestem iudith. ornēs berū
ber. ligna ylae. frumētū ioseph. refinā ruben. pecuniam
abimelech. singulū leui. capās moyses. fauū petrus. copus
abugna. S. qm. aū dnm. de conuicio subducta fuerat. ui.
sua regis querēbat ab eis. in uolūat. n. stragula mlti
colorum agar. sigillum aureū rachel. specim. argenti.
tela. casū balnoriū. beniamin. anulū signatū. thoma.
cooptū sericū. iudith. Tunc iussit rex ut omēs qui fuerant in
aduerat. abimelech. Tunc iussit rex ut omēs qui fuerant in
conuicio ducerentur ad urbem. Quo facto. primus omniū
in nocte decollatur ioseph. occidit abel suas pter. adam.
timens obmuret. Iapharias. fugit iacob. querit mochar

161
haur. abimelech. in mutet nabuchodonosor. deperit abraham. eni.
ferit. helas. supprmit duna. in eluct. noe. in pinge loth.
suffocatur ihe. dampnat daniel. acculat fulmina. aligatur
ioph. occidit oraxa. tollit abacuc. bestis dat tela. in scenam
mutet ananias. uenit sub stringe samson. punit hurias.
flagellatur pedulus. tendit alas. spulat ionas. lapidat ier.
milt. coceat robi. non eradebant moysi. sub ducit abson.
suspensat abalon. refundit rebecca. inducit dā. arguit iano.
relinquit ihe. adducit dathan. depmit choc. copulat ylae.
mutet nathan. nuntiet amalech. malest iudas. demonstret
mābrēs. cognoscit loth inē finēs. demittit ofiu. tenens.
morte hdi. compmit duna. decipit elau. doler de facto iob.
inrogatur. eua. nescio clamar eam. tenet. negat petrus.
S. quia multox ostentia in furto qd erat suspiciens ihab.
querit laban. in famulat fulmina. arguunt negat rachel.
docebat moyses. plebat isna. obseruabat oues. accedebat
oneli serus. itas erat iob. iurabat iacob. n. deditur fano. inat.
bat ieroboi. plebat fulmina. erubescbat rebecca. plangebat
ioremus. hemodū fortitatis ois. in uenit ē furtū. ap. beatum.
qd erat in ostentia ioseph. S. qm. pleatū ē reg. qd ager.
fil. amni solus dō reus. iussit eū mact donatū eū ois. Iē
occasione accepta. pnt omniū calce pcutit moyses. abnt inco
platu iacob. iussit dāt tela. ad trā elat daniel. lapide pnt
ut dō. rō pnt abson. flagello ihe. mabū apuit iudas. lancea.
iussit elaxa. Iē iussit rex ut ihe qui mortuus dō speleret.
a uendat agrū eme. erat abrahā. ioseph monumentū.

fecit & edificauit nachbar aromata unposuit martha clusit
noe sup scripsit pilatus premium accepit iudas Quo facto
clamat nachbaras confunditur elisabeth supet oraxa
rudebat de facto sara. Expheticusq om̃s domos suas reperiunt
quintu

1-2000



三

ut nos humilitate et puritate ha
 beamus exemplum dantem eis sacerdotes
 veros legitime et plene et honorari
 dum ita saltem sacerdotes ipsi talis
 erant. monuisse autem dyaconum dicit
 quod apostoli et presbyteri dicit
 elegit dyaconos hunc primum ascensum
 domum in celos et apostoli et presbyteri
 quatuor sui et ecclesie ministros et quod
 si nos aliquid aude con digne possimus
 qui episcopi fiat possunt et conuincere
 aude dyaconos uigilantes sunt et id
 oportet cassum dyaconum de quo scribit
 Ite induere sunt puritatem et honorem
 sacerdotum agnoscant et episcopo suo sunt
 plene humilitate satis facti qui sunt
 in misericordia dei et omni atque cona
 tione satisfactionis male cogitant
 ut et placeant ut presbyteri superbi in
 more contempnant. Sic de ecclesia
 regredi. Sic altare ipsum solum col
 locat. Sic conuincit presbyteri et omnia
 conuincit et uirtute dei reuelat. Et
 si ultra te dominicus fuit exacer
 bauit et puocauit singulis conuincit
 pietate honoris tui ubi et ad id de
 ponas ut abstineas. Nam si apostoli
 ad humilitatem stantes dixit Iuue
 tutem tuam nemo despicit quito
 magis si a collegis tuis dicendum
 et. Reuerentiam tuam nemo despi
 cit et quo scriptum est. quando cum
 eodem dyacono finis fuisse et scribit
 eius atque audacie praepem de huius
 quod et si qui alii tales episcopis et
 conuincit sacerdotem dei fecerint uel co
 cecere potius ut absque nisi quod hor
 tum et mouemus ut potius se potius
 intelligant et satisfaciunt. In quo
 postea nam tenet pacant etiam
 cum optamus et animus contume
 rias singulorum et omnia pacia
 vnde qui sacerdotali uirtute
 munditiam opto nos te bene uile

Ovidum rex nomine Iohel
 imperator faciebat et regni
 oritur in regna galilee
 quod imperator inuita sunt plures
 regibus qui tempore loci in iordane
 affuerunt in ditione vnde con
 uindant Platanum
 qui affuerunt annos

ayensum posuit
 iacobus et andreas attulerunt
 matheus et petrus strauerunt
 ayensum posuit salomonem omne
 distribuerunt. Et cum in locis
 dyabolum erat qui supereminet
 quod putat potest locum in manu
 premittit omni adun sedet in meo
 Eua super folia
 Sam super aratrum
 Abel super mulgarum
 Noe super archum
 iaphet super lateces
 Abraham super albore
 Isaac super arcem
 iacob super petram
 Lot super ostium
 moyses super lapidem
 Gelyas super pellem
 Daniel super lectum
 ioseph super modum
 Benjamin super sacrum
 Dauid super montem
 Iohannes interitus
 pharao in arcem
 lazarus super tabulam
 iustus super puteum
 zacharias super arbore
 matheus in sompno
 Rebecca super uiam
 Ruth super stipulam
 Ieremias super fenestram
 Susanna in orto
 Absolon in fionibus
 iudas super loculum
 petrus super latitudinem
 iacobus super recte
 Camppon super calupnia
 iohannis super plenum
 iacobus super arcem
 iacobus super arcem
 iacobus super arcem
 et minuitabat etiam
 et dolet iob quod solus sedet in throno
 qui perierat etiam pullum
 et iudith cooperuit
 demetrios cooperuit
 fecerunt illas et gustare
 accepit nouem ionas
 Gollus et iohannis
 Betas israhel
 iohannis et iohannis

Scitorem eichens
 Litrium Adam
 Lymos Daniel
 Pepones pharao
 Cardum Cam
 Fias Qua
 Anahum Rachel
 Izumum Ananias
 Sullos Lia
 Olivas Noe
 Dium Joseph
 Vuas Abcon
 Nucleos Brimegn
 Accepit et hoc ihu xpo
 Deinde supremit iacob ad filios su
 is Et laban in filiabus suis et sede
 runt sup lapides
 Venit Abraham in domestros suos
 Et monstet cum tota eba et sederet foris
 Tunc rex respiciens multos suos
 sic ait Quis vni veniat in vestraio
 meo et dabo singulis singulas cenarias
 vestes Tunc alii ceciderunt et acceperunt
 prius atq cum accepit zacharias
 albam
 Abraham piffema
 Loti Sulphurema
 Lazarus lincum
 Johannes Sculcam
 Gertra Hammea
 Daniel leonnam
 Iohannes Ieritima
 Adam pollicem
 Iudas Argemina
 Raab Lotmeam
 Herodiades Turdidam
 Phario Maemam
 Linoz Celman
 Agar vaciam
 David Merunam
 Gelias Igermam
 Quia Xebormam
 Job Diplagiam
 Isaac Mestropam
 Maria sciam
 Oysima Castulnam
 Moyses Conchiam
 Abel purpurea
 leui Spartaymam
 L. Ginnat Solorma

Muras Carbafnam
 Maron Anrimam
 Judas Tacitumam
 Cam Perzugineam
 Abcon Nigram
 Anna perstnam
 Iosac Natnam
 Iulius Candidam
 Ieremus Sperazua
 Iohannes pseudo aletnam
 Iherus Colubina
 Et v. duxit vestem ex effraes
 eos sic ait Non cenabit in singlas
 vices fatus atq ita preceptam
 et dycomia consummavit
 Tunc itaq omis igne pet hchas
 Quarendit Azarias
 Iohann porrexit Oaca
 Aculit vplac
 Condit Ioseph
 puten appuit iacob
 vppid pteoit Eophoi
 Ad laud stabat Daniel
 Aqm attulerunt miferi
 viciam prast abeta
 vnu proutit Noe
 vitem portabit agar
 Aculit accensad Judas
 vnu ad duxit Abraham
 Aligavit Raab cepula
 pteoit ignis pedes
 Populavit Gelias
 Ierem fuit pererus
 Aculit Daniel
 Dedit Cam
 Supporavit Abcon
 Suspendit Absolon
 pellem straxit Gelias
 ventri aperuit Germoties
 modiana suspendit et hobias
 sanguine effudit Gerodes
 Betus pteat Gem
 Plauti Gelisus
 partes fuit ffalcty
 vnu duxes
 Dalem misit analassadon
 Clemm aduocat pteat
 Iosac imposuit Azarias
 Aculit Felicia

prior gustavit Eva
 Ex phat q omis loqius epideri
 Tunc intulit panes Saul
 Crexit Ihesus
 Et cadit omibz petrg
 Intulit lentem Iacob
 Solus manducat Esau
 Intulit intram & bucul
 Totum comedit Daniel
 Sabam intulit amessada
 Et q edum totu gmedat Iaac
 Et psten affum Ithobias
 Expit tumultuati aglon valde
 Esuebat Daniel
 Paue perbat Hermocres
 Non mdducat Iognes
 Nichil gustauit Moyses
 Ieuus fuit Ihesus
 Iucas colligebat lazary
 A tunc & cca ptes suas tenebat
 q ex raris vna dmbz accepant
 Abraham vitulina
 Esau Secunda
 Abel angina
 Noe arcina
 Dampson leonina
 Gelasius rina
 Naore pten tenebat Beniamin
 Tunc pmodu dedit panes phao
 Omibz dmsit ioseph
 Dylm attulit Gelasius
 panes composuit Iobaca
 Dylm omibz Noe
 Amus go sustulit Iohis caput
 Cerebellum Absolon
 Inquid Aaron
 Dampson maxillas
 Auerailu petrus
 O milos lia
 Ceruicem Golofines
 Aeterea zacharias
 Collum paul
 Remora Agat
 Interanca Iohnes
 ffratid Ithobias
 For phurao
 Renalia yfias
 Catius Adam
 Costam Eva
 Iud maria
 Ventrem Sara

Whiam Elizabeth
 Adipem Abel
 ffratid Abraham
 ffratid Moyses
 Iemes Coth
 ydos Iacobus
 Ioffa collectit yfias
 ffratid Iacobus & Andreab muleri pster
 ffratid utaq Ihus
 laborem Moyses
 Iupum Beniamin
 Iugilem Abel
 Iurena Eva
 pelamdon Adam
 Ioustan Iohannes
 Ibladi Sam
 Iapitone Absalon
 Iolipid pharas
 Iupidme Iia
 Iulata Ihamar
 Iaurid Agat
 Iuntordem Iaud
 Illage Ioseph
 Iapifcaid Iemas
 Umbia Iuprus
 Ioliam Iudas
 Iepiam Gerodes
 Iacmida Esau
 Ilauid Ionas
 Ilopidem Iacob
 Iulpan malassadon
 Dentitem yfias
 Iruanid Terla
 Ioramin Noe
 Iubellione Iobaca
 Iacertam Iolias
 Iruan Iruia
 Ielionem Dampson
 Iosut Ionas acem
 Et malassadon Ialem
 prior intinuit Sam
 Ex phat q omibz de Adipem
 Agat Iohannes
 Iacem Abraham
 Iparit Sara
 Iulaa ffratid Iesus
 Iermitrauit paulus
 Et quo alio qna vni habuit
 passim libebat Ihesus
 Iuxstam Ionas
 Iurcentinu pharao

Pellunt Adam
 Cantant moyses
 Creant ysaac
 Adriaunt Aaron
 Rebutunt zuthone
 Marfunt Tere
 Albenfe Johannes
 Campanunt Abel
 Quenunt maria
 Florentunt Rachele
 amicati omnes vno spiritu
 iacebat Adam
 Ebiunt dormiunt Noe
 Dat bibebat Coe
 Decebat Golofines
 Compunt tendat Jonas
 Emulunt palle petrus
 Iustitabat Ihesus
 Omne quibat Jacob
 prior puerit lazarus
 Tunc infuit apud beniamin
 Intulit maria
 Prior bibit petrus
 Et non vni vni sub duxat amara
 ysaac
 Et male infuit Jonas
 Et inimicabit heremypus
 Agunt biberat Johannes
 Vni petebat maria
 plena ampulla sicut maria
 Quibat ysmahel
 Ite volebat Iacobus
 Alend calice bibat Iacobus
 in ublatus qd omni aqua manna
 petrus pilatus
 I cadit Iudas
 Amsterbat maria
 Effudit heremypus
 Intulit porcorum petrus
 Intulit lutham ysaac
 Creas erat Concon
 Sendit Anna
 Intulit conaz Rachele
 Sedie vnguentum Aaron
 Perunt maria
 Roma intulit Adam
 Faunt porcorum Sampson
 Titant porcorum David
 Intunt maria
 psalterium duxit Iubal
 Coras duxit Iudas
 Intunt David

Qaltant herodias
 Laudes dedit maria
 Magit duxit amambres
 Funt feat ysaac
 Opulunt porcorum Iudas
 Vale feat Lotgor
 Quod iam cum vellent nec eppaces
 Ier sic ait nunc ponia die festum
 aat celebrare ordemutabe habitus
 Ier velut pompas fuientes ite de
 mndq vris placuit vbi omibq volumis
 ege atq itaq p omibq prodit
 In magistro Ihesus
 In custodiam Johannes
 In exequore paxaros
 Invenatore amambres
 Indelatore Iudas
 In oculano Adam
 In opodiario Eia
 In latrone Sam
 In pastore Abel
 In nesciore Iacob
 In balatore Zacharias
 In rege David
 In mactatore Iubal
 In pastore Iacobus
 In toto arceus
 In mero Rebecca
 In informatorio Amambres
 In bestia Tere
 In insipido malassaden
 In melligro Salomon
 In amistro maria
 In milite vras
 In infano Herodes
 In famulo Cham
 In medico Iacobus
 In ebro Noe
 In pistulo ysaac
 In teste Job
 In iudice Daniel
 In odibile Iia
 In domna maria
 In pio Coe
 In adufo malach
 In Bructor Dem
 In fustico Esau
 In fustico Eliab
 In pistorie Ieroboa
 Et qz gerendebat duxa
 Effundebat uatam
 Et nudus erat Jonas
 Et vne stolam petebat amres

Ut facerent Bersabee
 Sub quo facto uisit eos rex ad se
 domine Que uenerunt et muna ei ob
 tulunt
 pms itaqz omz obulit aucte abra
 et autem Isela
 Quicquam Noe
 Camoled. — sebecca
 Conem Dampson
 Secund. Esau
 Pucillu. Iesus
 Inuentu. iacob
 Inuentu. helias
 vestem. iudith
 Ermer. Bersabee
 Pigna. ysaac
 Inuentu. ioseph
 Refman. ruben
 pecunia. abimelech
 Otrobillos. leui
 Capas. moyses
 fuit. petrus
 Copias. abigera
 Sed quid ante diem quedam deo
 ruis subducta fuerant uisum qz
 reos inuenerunt ab eis Inuoluat
 em stragulum multicoloru agar
 Regillum aureu facit
 Spectu. argenteu Isela
 Ephid bibiteu Beniamin
 Amulm signi tamar
 Cooptoru subseruat iudith
 lanceam etia dauid
 Alena uxor. abduxat abimelech
 Vne uisit rex omz qui fuerat
 in ymuo ducenti indiment. qz
 facto pms innocens collatur
 iohannes
 Deditur Abel
 Foras pzoat. adam
 Inmens obmutat zacharias
 fuit iacob
 Queritur Enoch
 Quebit. abimelech
 Inuitat. nabuchodonosor
 Depratur. abraham
 Infixatur. helias
 Inpmit. dona
 Includit. Noe
 Inpmit. Corz
 Infixatur. Iesus
 Dampnat. Daniel
 Infixatur. Susanna
 Infixatur. Ioseph
 Deditur. maria

Tollit. abacul
 Beneficus dat. Isela
 Infirmat. mitti. Ananias
 Pucillu. subseruat. Dampson
 Inuitat. vna
 Infixatur. paulus
 Vendit. ysaac
 Exopoliatur. Ionas
 Exulat. Iomias
 Exulat. Thobias
 Non cedebat. moyses
 Subducit. abraham
 Suspendit. abylon
 Confundit. Rebecca
 Traditur. dauid
 Infixatur. pharao
 Pucillu. ioseph
 Abducit. dauid
 Depmit. Ioseph
 Exulat. ysaac
 Inuitat. natam
 Infirmat. Ananias
 Infirmat. Judas
 De monstrat. mambres
 Infixatur. Corz
 Infixatur. pms
 Demittit. Ioseph
 Inmens. moit. heli
 Compmit. dona
 Depmit. Esau
 Dolet. de facto. iob
 Infixatur. Iuda
 Nestio. Elmat. Sam
 Tenet. et negat. petrus
 Sed qz multoz consen. cat. ioseph
 quod erat
 Infirmat. Iudas
 Infixatur. Laban
 Infirmat. Susanna
 Infirmat. iohannes
 Negat. ioseph
 Infixatur. moyses
 Infixatur. Isela
 Infixatur. maria
 Attendebat. Onisiphorus
 Infixatur. iob
 Infixatur. iacob
 Non cedebat. pharao
 Infirmat. ieroboam
 Infixatur. Susanna
 Infixatur. Rebecca

Plangebat Jeremias
 Ist mod. in scutatis omnib; in
 uenit est furtiu apud Benia
 min qd erat in conspectu ioseph
 postq; pbatum est regi q; agat filij
 thani solus eet reus iussit enim mori
 donauit q; omnibus vnc occasio
 accepta p;us omi calce p;ussit chor
 ses abnt in somplexu iacob
 Vestem detrahit et ceta
 ad terram elisit daniel
 lapide percussit dauid
 virga aaron
 flagello iherosol
 Mediu aperuit iherosol
 Emtea inffruit elixer
 Tunc iussit rex ut mortuus fuisse
 sepeliretur
 Tunc vendidit agad Emor
 Fuit abraham monumentu
 Et edificauit Nachor
 Preomata inposuit aracta
 Clausit Noe
 Duplisse pilatus
 Preomiu accepit iohes iudas
 O ego facto gaudens clamabat zacharias
 Confunditur Elizabeth
 Parpet maia
 Fidebat defacto Sara
 Tunc expleuit omib; domos suas
 peruenit

Omnis sancte pat agnus d;g
 ethe ate 2 dote 2 adte deus
 meus qui em maior te ti
 gras 2 laudes refero deus abraham
 deus isaac deus ioseph iacob deus
 p;em mo; deus p;itaz deus a
 ploru deus m; qui es 2 fusti in
 mundi dispositori deus uiu; p;em
 tuus iudice uiuos et mortuos qui
 es deus v;erax qui sedes sup thronu
 bin et p;spicias abyssos qui vides
 cuncta p;uysa n;stans qui hes
 ptatem mortificas et um uiuificas
 qui hes ptatem de arido m;de facis
 Tu omi d;u; dominator libera de q;
 stauo 2 exaudi nr orante sic ex
 audisti filios isrl m;ra expte et no
 aciderunt nec obedierit famulo
 tuo moys; de p;ate m;is tunc ve
 nis con fima; t;am; Quis qua
 fissura petra; me abstul;us sum

ab ante p;entia tua Cui moni
 dictus sum cade sup me 2 cui
 colli tege me ab ante meum d;u;
 rum te leuans confemge deum
 domie subum m; indulge p;at
 meis Nichil em in p;cept; tuis
 parui Exaudi me rogante sic
 exaudisti ionam de ventre ceti
 2 ecce me de morte ad uitam Sic
 minute induer; tunc 2 alitid
 et p;man; exant op homologesim
 faciens ante conspectu; 2 vniuersi
 p;te meis qui es amator p;e
 m;re; Et d;uid d;at domie
 p;ter nome tuu dele p;em meu
 Et ego deprecans maiestate tua
 dele vniuersa p;ta mea 2 exaudi
 me regente; sicut exaudisti rees
 puos de camino ignis anania
 lezariam anisaelm et misisti an
 gelu tuu cum nubo coru et con
 fusus e nabuchodonosor p;posu;us
 regni; quid tu es rex regnantiu
 et d;u; d;ignand qui solus habes
 i moritate 2 lucem h;etab; in acof
 ilem quem nemo homi vid; nec
 vide potit Exaudi me orantem
 sic exaudisti danielm de laen
 leonu Et misisti aburac propheta;
 2 attulit ei prandiu et dixit p;de
 p;ndiu q; tibi misit domus et d;it
 daniel Non relinq; domus q;em;
 sic Exaudi me orante sic exaudisti
 iherosol et p;eam d;um orarent
 mato domus sue Tunc obtulit
 p; eis Raphael angelus moione
 coru Sic exaudias p;ces meas
 domie 2 admittas ad aula; p;em
 tuam domie oros meas 2 mittas
 angelu tuu qui deleat omi in
 quitates meas sicut delecti sum i
 m;du asara filia raquel illum
 na cor meum Sicut illumasti
 oculos iherosol exaudi me orate
 sicut exaudisti susanna m;ma;
 p;em; sic 2 me liberes ab hoc
 p;culo quia tu es amator p;u;
 constanc; exaudi me orantem
 sic exaudisti ezechia regem
 iudee d;clens ab eo infirmitate
 Sic 2 amc auferas infirmitate
 raris i corp; 2 auxilias in p;do;
 sic illi auxilias annos quid d;em

plurimus p mittente dno couenerim9. Et augend9 qui nec epm
nec eccliam cogitans se cu illo sonauit patri conspiratione. si ul
tra cu eodem p seuerauerit sententiam ferat qua ille in se te
merari9 puocasset. Sed quisq; se conspirationi eius aduerxit
sciat se in ecclia nobiscu comuicatur9 no ee qui se maluit spo
te ab ecclia separe. Has lras frib; nris legite et carthagine
ad cleru transmittite additis nomib; eor9 qui se fidelissimo iux
erunt. Opto uos fratres semper bene ualere.

Epla calidony et herauliani epi ad aprianu epm. quali
ter se abstinuierut a comunicatone felicissimi et augendi et
alior9 lapsor9 nec eu patrem ecclie dederunt

76.

C Alidoni9 ann herauliano et uictore collegis. lre rogati
ang ann numidico prelb9 aprianu ep9 salutem. Abstiniui
m9 a comunicatone felicissimi et augendi. lram respolut9
de extorrentib; et irenei antiloris et pauli sarinatoris qd
ex annotatone mea scire debuisti. lre abstinuim9 soffroniu
et ipm de extorrentib; soliafuz budinariuz. Optam9 te bene
ualere et nri memisse semp et ubiq; uenerande et percolle
dissime pater. Vale.

Inapit cena sue comuini9 sancti aprianu epi. in qua noi
nauerunt omes patres ueteris ac noui testamenti.

Quidam rex nomine whel nuptias faciebat in regione
orientis in chana gallilee. His nuptijs inuitati sunt
plures. Igitur qui temporius loti in iordanem affuerat
in comuiui9. Tunc comendauit nemam quaz sparsit amosia
cob et andreas attulerunt fenuz. Matheus et petrus strauerunt
atq; omnes discubuerunt turbe. Sed cu iam locus discubetuz
plenu9 eet qui supuenebant quis pro ut poterat locum sibi in
ueiebat. Primus itaq; omnium sedit.

Adam in medio.

Eua super folia

cain super gratium.

Abel sup mulgariu.

Noe super archam

Laphet sup lateres

Abraham sub arbore

Isaac super aram

Iacob super petram

Loth iuxta hostium

Moses super lapidez

Helias super pellem

Iohes trioneam
 Adam pelliceam
 Iudas arguriam
 Raab coecineam
 Erodias cardiam
 Enoch celinam
 Agar uariam
 Dauid neruinam
 Helias agrinam
 Eva arborinam
 Iob plagiam
 Icaias mesotropam
 Maria stolam
 Susana castalinam
 Abel purpuream
 Levi spartagnem
 Tamar colorinam
 Azarias carbalinam
 Aaron mirrinam
 Iudas iacinthinam
 Cam fenugineam
 Abiron nigram
 Anna psianam
 Isaac nativam
 Paulus candidam
 Petrus operariam
 Iohes pseudo alatinam
 Ihs columbinam
 At ubi rex diuisit uestes res
 piciens eos sic ait. Non una
 bitis nisi singulas uices fec
 eritis. atq; itaq; precepta
 sibi diaconum consumma
 uerunt. Primum itaq; omni
 uerum petit helias.

Supradit azarias
 Lignu porrexit sarra
 Attulit isaac
 Condit ioseph
 Puteu aperuit iacob
 Ioseph porrexit sophora
 Adlaui stabat daniel
 Aqua attulerunt milites
 Idria portabat rebecca
 Vinu protulit noe
 Vitem portabat agar
 Attulit angelum iudas
 Vulu adduxit abraham
 Alligauit raab rethailam
 Porrexit iesus pedes
 Copulauit helias
 Ferru tradit petrus
 Elisit daniel
 Occidit caym
 Supportauit abraham
 Suspendit absalom
 Pelle detraxit helias
 Venit apud hermonates
 Mediam suspexit tobias
 Sanguis effudit herodes
 Stercus proiecit sem
 Aqua adiecit iaphet
 Clauit helisus
 Partes fecit phalech
 Nutauit auxes
 Sale misit malassadon
 Oleu adiecit iacob
 Foai iposuit ariochus
 Coxit rebecca
 Prior gustauit eua

Explatisq; omib; omnes locis
suis refederunt.
Panem intulit saul
Fregit iesus
Tradidit omib; petrus
Intulit letam iacob
Solus maducauit esau
Intulit introam abaac
Totam comedit daniel
fabam intulit amessada.
Sed quia edim coctum co
mederat isaac
Et piscem asinum tobias
Ceptu tumultuari aglon
ualde
Esuriebat daniel
Panem petebat herocrates
No maducauit iohes
Nihil gustauit moises
Ieiun9 fuit iesus
Micas colligebat lazarus.
Tunc et ceteri partes suas te
nebant que exuaries uena
uoribus acceperant.
Abraam uitulinam
Esau ceruinam
Abel agninam
Hoe arctinam
Sanson leoninam
Euseus ursinam. Sed maio
re pte tenebat beniamin
Tunc postmodum panes
dedit pharao.
Omib; diuisit iosep
Disca attulit herodes

Partes composuit rebecca
Distribuit omib; noe
Primus ergo sustulit ca
put iohannes.
Cerebellum absalon
Linguam aaron
Sanson maxillam
Auriculam petrus
Oculum haa
Cervicem holofernes
Arteria zacharias
Collum saul
Anthora agar
Interanea iohanes
Ficatun thobias
Cor pharao
Renalis esaias
Latus adam
Costa eua
Ilia maria
Ventreem sarra
Vuluam elisabeth
Adipem abel
Femora abraham
Caudam moises
Crures loth
Pedes iacob
ossa collexit elias
Iacobus et andreas in
tulerunt pisces.
Sustulit itaq; asellum iesus
Labonem moises
Lupum beniamin
Mugilem abel
Murenam eua

Pedem adam
 Locustas iohannes
 Gladiū cayn
 Capitonem absalon
 Polipum pharao
 Turpitudinem ha
 Auratam thamar
 Scaurum agar
 Cantoride dauid
 Saxifragū ieremias
 Alege ioseph
 Vmbraū lazarus
 Solam iudas
 Irūdinem tobiat
 Argentillū iudas
 Sepiam herodes
 Calmitam esau
 Clauam ionas
 Alopudem iacob
 Salpam malassadon
 Dentem isaiam
 Araneum teda
 Coracium noe
 Rubellione rebecca
 Lacertum gohas
 Menam maria
 Helionem sanson
 Posuit ionas acetum
 Malassadon salem
 Prior intinxit cayn
 Expiatisq; omnib; dedit
 Adipem abel
 Mel iohannes
 Lattem abraham
 Spaylit sarra

Dulcis fuit iesus
 Ministrauit paulus
 Sed quoniam aliquot gēci
 vinū habebant.
 Passum bibebat iesus
 Marsum ionas
 Succentiniū pharao.
 Pellinum adam
 Laitanū moises
 Adrianū saron
 Citharū isaias
 Arbustiniū zacheus
 Marlinū tecla
 Albenſe iohannes
 Campanū abel
 Sturiniū maria
 florentiniū rachel
 Saturati omnes vino sopiti
 iacebat adam
 Ebrus dormiuit noe
 Satius bibebat loth
 Stertebat holofernes
 Sōnū tenebat ionas
 Vigilauit p gallo petrus
 Suscitabatur iesus
 Surgere querebat iacob
 Prior surrexit lazarus
 Tūc misit saphū beniamin
 Intulit maria
 Prior bibit petrus
 Sed nō iam vinū subdux
 erat amensa isaac.
 Male miscebat ionas
 Murmurabat hermiippus
 Aquatū bibebat iohes

Vinū petebat maria
Plenam ampullam fe-
rebat martha.
Sucebat ismael
lre uolebat tobias
Alienū calicē bibēat iacob.
Sublatū omnibz aqua ma-
nū petit pilatus.
Tradidit iudas
Ministrabat martha
Effudit hermo crates
Litterum porrexit petrus
Intulit lucernā isaias
Erās egit simeon
Bndixit anna
Intulit coronā rachel
Dedit ugentū aaron
Per unxit martha
Poma intulit adam
Fauū porrexit sanfon
Citharam dauid
Typanū maria
Psalteriū iubal
Coreas dixit iudith
Cantauit dauid
Saltauit herodia
Laudes dedit ararias
Magnas lusit mabres
Risum fecit isaac
Osailū porrexit iudas
Vale fecit iothor.
Sed iam cum uellent ire res-
pitens rex sic ait. Hūc p-
omnia diem festū nup-
tiaz celebrate et demū

tate habitus sic uelut po-
pal fauentes ut domibz
uestris. Placuit uero omi-
bz uoluntas regis atq; ita
pmus omnium prodit
In magistro iesus
In custodia iohes
In exeu
In uenatore mambres.
In delatore iudas
In mortuario adam
In exodiaro eua
In latrone cain
In pastore abel
In cursore iacob
In sacerdote zacharias
In rege dauid
In avaro iubal
In piscatore iacobz
In coco ariechus
In aquario rebecca
In fornicatore ananias
In belhario tecla
In stupido malassadon
In diolo salomon
In mstro martha
In milite urias
In sano herodes
In famulo cham
In medico tobias
In ebrio noe
In reliculo isaac
In triste iob
In uidice daniel
In odibilem hya

Indna maria
 In pio loth
 In iustico efau
 In aduersario amalech
 Instructore sem
 In forte golia
 In pulore ieroboam
 Sed quia commendabat
 dina aquam
 Effundebat aaron
 Scalam petebat axel
 Et nudus erat ionas
 Ut succederetur berfabee
 Sub quo facto iussit eos rex
 ad se uenire qui uenerat
 et munera obtulerunt
 Primi itaque omnes obtulit
 Ametam abraham
 Taurum recha
 Ouiola noe
 Camelum rebecca
 Leonem sanfon
 Ceruum efau
 Vitulum ielus
 lumentum iacob
 currum helias
 Vestem iudith
 Crines berfabee
 lingua isaac
 Frumentum ioseph
 Ruben resinam
 Petuiam abimelech
 Strobilos leui
 Captas moises
 fauui petrus

Copias abigaa
 Sed qui ante diem quedam
 de conuio subducta fuerat
 iussus regis impetrabant
 ab eis Inuolauerat qui tra
 gulum mtholoni ager
 Sigillum aureum rachel
 Spectum argenteum recha
 Saphum beniamin
 Anulum signa thamar
 Coopterum serui iudith
 Lanceam regiam claut
 Alienam uxorem abduxe
 rat abimelech
 Tunc iussit rex omnes qui fuerat
 conuio deducere re
 tormetum quo facto
 Primi inuolauerat iohes
 Occidit iussus abel
 foras primas adam
 Tunc obmutetur zacharias
 fugit iacob
 Queritur enoch
 Turbatur abimelech
 Inuitat nabuccodonosor
 Depcatur abraham
 Transfertur helias
 Supponitur dina
 Includit sarra noe
 Impingitur loth
 Suffigitur ielus
 Damnatior daniel
 Accusatur susanna
 Alligatur ioseph
 occiditur maria

Tollitur abacuc
Bethys datur tecla
Infernacē mittit anania
Luriculus substringunt
Fanson
Punitur urias
Flagellatur paulus
Tenditur isaias
Expiatur ionas
Lapidatur ieremias
Excecatur tobias
Nō edebat moyses
Subduatur abiron
Suspenditur absalon
Cōfunditur rebecca
Traditur dauid
Arguitur pharao
Relinquitur israel
Cogitur loth
Interficiunt phinees
Demittit ophim
Timet mori eli
Cōprimitur dima
Deapitur clau
Dolet defacto iob
Interrogatur eua
Nefas clamat cayn
Tenet et negat petrus
Sed quia multorum cōstentia
erat infortu quod erat
Suspiciens raiab
Querēbat laban
Infamab susanna
Arguebatur iohes
Negat rachel

Docbat moyses
Plorabat trisena
Observabat maria
Assidebat onefiphorus
Tristis erat iob
Iurabat iacob
Nō credebat pharao
Maiebatur ieroboam
Lauebat susanna
Erubescibat rebecca
Plangebat ieremias
Postmodū seruatis omnibus
iuentum ē furtū apud te
māmi quod erat incon
saetia iosep. Sed postquā
probatum est regi quod a
gar filius channi solus et
reus uisit nū mori dona
uitq; sū amibz. Tunc ora
sione accepta Prim⁹ omīz
calce pāssit moyses.
Abijt mōplexu iacob
Testem detraxit tecla
Addeam dicit daniel
Lapide pāssit dauid
Virga aaron
Flagello ielus
Medū apuit tobias
Lācea inhiyit chezer.
Tūc uisit rex utq; mortuus
fuisset sepeliretur. Tūc
Agrum uendit gomor
Abraā monumentū fecit
Edificauit nachor
Aromata iposuit martha

clausit noe
 Sublatus pilatus
 Prostratus iudas
 Quo facto gaudens clama-
 bat zacharias.

Confunditur elisabeth
 Stupet maria
 Ridebat defacto sanna
 Tunc explebat omnibus dom-
 suas peruenit

Tractatus sancti apriani epi de misterio incarnationis
 et passionis dñi nri iesu cristi per uersus

Et locus ex omni medius quē cernim⁹ orbem
 Golgata uidei patrio cognomine dicitur
 Hic ego destitit succum robore lignum
 Plantatū memi fructus genuisse salubres
 Non tamen hic ille qui se posuere colonis
 Prebuit: externi fructus habuere beatos
 Arboris: hec spes uno destitit surgit
 Et mox ingeminol extendit brachia ramol
 Sicut plena graues antennae brachia tendit
 Vel cū disunctis iuga fuit ad aratra uiuentis
 Quod tulit hec primo materno semine lapsu
 Conceptit tellus: mox hanc mirabile dictu
 Tertia lux iterū terre superisq; tremendum
 Exulcerat ramum uitali fruge beatum
 Sed bis uictus formatus et ule dieb⁹
 Creuit: i immensū celūq; caernie summo
 Contingit: et tandem sem caput abdidit alto
 Dum tamē ingenti bisseuol pondere ramol
 Edidit: et totum spargens porrexit uictum
 Gentib⁹: ut omnes uictum uitamq; per eum
 Preberent: mortemq; mori qui posse docerent
 Expletis etiā mox quinquaginta dieb⁹
 Vertice defūmo diuini nectaris haustum
 Detulit in ramol ocellis spiritus aura
 Dula rore graues manabat undiq; frondes
 Ecce subingenti ramoz tegminis umbra
 Fons erat: hic nullo casu turbante serenul

Selected Bibliography

I. Primary sources

1. Manuscripts

Cyprianus?. *Cena Cypriani*. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Codex Berolinensis 700, fols. 184v-186v. Latin. 12th century.

Cyprianus?. *Cena Cypriani*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien. Codex Vindobonensis 770, fols. 263r-267v. Latin. 15th century.

Cyprianus?. *Cena Cypriani*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien. Codex Vindobonensis 810, fols. 158r-161v. Latin. 13th century.

Cyprianus?. *Cena Cypriani*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien. Codex Vindobonensis 14 091, fols. 120v-123r. Latin. 15th century.

2. Edited sources

Acta apostolorum apocrypha. Ed. Maximilianus Bonnet. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959.

Apuleius. *Metamorphoses*. Ed. B. L. Hijmans et al. Groningen: E. Forsten, 1995. [text, introduction and commentary]

Ausonius I. Tr. Hugh G. Evelyn White. Loeb Classical Library 69. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti V.P.M. iussu recognita atque edita. Rome, 1598.

Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae, seu Vetus Italica, et caeterae quaecunque in codicibus, manuscriptis et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt. Ed. Pierre Sabatier. Munich: Omnia Mikrofilmtechnik, 1976.

Eco, Umberto. *Il nome della rosa*. Milano: Bompiani, 1997. [40th edition]

“Heriger, urbis Maguntiacensis.” In *Die Cambridger Lieder*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores reum Germanicarum 40. Ed. Karl Strecker, 65-66. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926.

Horatius Flaccus, Quintus. *Saturae*. Paris: Les belles lettres, 1969. [The satire 2.8.79 deals with feast]

“Iudicium coci et pistoris iudice Vulcano.” In: *Anthologia Latina I*. no. 190, ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 135-139. Stuttgart: In aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1982.

Iuvenalis, Decimus Iunius. *Saturae*. London: Heinemann, 1969.
[the fifth satire deals with feast]

Jerome. *Selected Letters*. Tr. F. A. Wright. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Libri de Nativitate Mariae: pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium textus et commentarius.
Corpus Christianorum. series Apocryphorum 9. Ed. Rita Beyers. Turnhout:
Brepols Publishers, 1997.

Modesto, Christine, ed. *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption*. Tübingen:
Günter Narr Verlag, 1992.
[Includes: "Cena Cypriani," "Cena Hrabani Mauri," "Cena Iohanni Diaconi,"
"Cena Azelini," and the "Cena of Arras."]

"O Deus, o Christe, quid portat rusticus iste?" In *Reliquiae Antiquae: Scraps from
ancient manuscripts, illustrating chiefly early English literature and the
English language*, ed. Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell, 290. (New
York: AMS Press, 1966.).
[reprint of the same published in London in 1841]

Petronius. *Cena Trimalchionis*. Ed. M.S. Smith. Oxford: Oxford University, 1982.

Protoevangelium Iacobi. Ed. Car. Adolph. Suckow. Wroclaw, 1840.

Reardon, Bryan P., ed. *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. Berkeley: University of
California Press, 1989.

"The Arras Cena." In *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition*, ed. Martha
Bayless, 230-250. Michigan: Ann Arbor Press, 1996.

II. Secondary sources

Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis*. Bern: Francke, 1946.

Bakhtin, Michail M. *Rabelais and his World*. Tr. Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

_____. *Román jako dialog* (Novel as a Dialogue). Tr. Daniela Hodrová. Prague: Odeon, 1980.

_____. *Voprosy literatury i estetiki: Issledovanija raznyh let* (Questions of Literature and Esthetics). Moscow: Chudozestvennaia literatura, 1975.

Bastiaensen, Antonius A. "Bijbelse figuren aan een bruiloftsmaal. De Cena Cypriani" (Biblical Figures at a Wedding Feast: The Cena Cypriani) *Hermeneus* 69 (1997): 315-323.

Bayless, Martha. *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition*. Michigan: Ann Arbor Press, 1996.

Brewer, Hermann "Über den Heptateuchdichter Cyprian und die Cena Cypriani." *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 28 (1904): 92-115.

Brox, Norbert. *Falsche Verfasserangaben. Zur Erklärung der frühchristlichen Pseudepigraphie*. Stuttgart: KBW Verlag, 1975.

Dane, Joseph A. *Parody: Critical Concepts vs. Literary Practices, Aristophanes to Sterne*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Danow, David K. *The Thought of Mikhail Bakhtin: From Word to Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.

Döpp, S. "Italia II." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 18. Ed. Ernst Dassmann et al. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersmann, 1998.

Gennette, Gérard. *Narrative Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Glei, Reinhold F. 'Cena Cypriani.' *Der Neue Pauly* 2 (1997): 1055.

_____. 'Christine Modesto: Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption.' *Gymnasium* 100 (1993): 475-476.
[a book review]

_____. 'Ridebat de facto Sarra. Bemerkungen zur Cena Cypriani.' In: *Literaturparodie in Antike und Mittelalter*. (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1993): 153-170.

Gloversmith, Frank, ed. *The Theory of Reading*. Sussex: Harvester Press, 1984.

Hagen, Hermann. "Eine Nachahmung von Cyprian's Gastmahl durch Hrabanus Maurus." *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 27 (1883): 164-187.

- Hägg, Thomas. "The New Heroes: Apostles, Martyrs and Saints." *The Novel in the Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 154-165.
- Hansen-Löwe, Aage A. *Der Russische Formalismus: Methodologische Rekonstruktion seiner Entwicklung aus dem Prinzip der Verfremdung*. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978.
- Harnack, Adolph. "Drei wenig beachtete cyprianische Schriften und die Acta Pauli." *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 27 (1883): 1-34.
- Hass, Willy. *Studien zum Heptateuchdichter Cyprian mit Beiträgen zu der vorhieronymaischen Bibelübersetzungen*. Berlin: Universität Verlag, 1912.
- Hilhorst, Anthony. "Kruimels van de Cena Cypriani" (Crumbs from the Cyprian's Feast). *Hermeneus* 70 (1998): 220-222.
- Lapôtre, Albert. "Le souper de Jean Diacre." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 21 (1901): 305-385.
- Lehman, Paul. *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963.
- Lyotard, Jean François. *La condition postmoderne*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1988.
- Makaryk, Irena R. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Martin, Josef. *Symposion. Die Geschichte einer literarischen Form*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1931.
- Modesto, Christine. *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992.
- Müller, Beate. *Komische Intertextualität: Die literarische Parodie*. Tries: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1994.
- Novati, Francesco. "La Parodia sacra nelle letterature moderne." In *Studi critici e letterari*, ed. Francesco Novati, 177-310. Turin: Loescher, 1889.
- Oudin, Casimir. *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis*, vol. I. Frankfurt am Mein: sumptibus M. G. Weidmanni, 1722.
- Plett, Heinrich F., ed. *Intertextuality*. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991.
- Ricklin, Thomas. "Imaginibus vero quasi litteris rerum recordatio continetur. Versuch einer Situierung der Cena Cypriani." In *Peregrina Curiositas. Eine Reise durch den orbis antiquus*, ed. A. Kessler, Th. Ricklin, G. Wurst, 215-238. Freiburg/Schweiz und Göttingen: Universität verlag et al., 1994.

- Rönsch, Hermann. "Einiges zur Erläuterung der Cena Hrabani Mauri" *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 27 (1883): 344-349.
- Rose, Margaret A. *Parody: Ancient, Modern and Post-modern*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Šklovskij, Viktor. *Próza: Úvahy a rozbor* (Prose: Thoughts and Analyses). Tr. Jiřina Zumrová. Prague: Odeon, 1978.
- Stanzel, Franz Karl. *Theorie des Erzählens*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985.
- Stehlíková, Eva. *A co když je to divadlo?* (And What if it is Drama?) Prague: Divadelní ústav, 1998.
- _____. "Cypriánův smích." (The Cyprian's Laughter.) *Divadelní revue* 3 (1994): 81-88.
- _____. "Hostina Cypriánova." (The Cyprian's Feast.) *Divadelní revue* 3 (1994): 89-102.
- Strecker, Karl. "Die Cena Cypriani und ihr Bibeltext." *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 54 (1912): 61-78.
- Strecker, Karl. "Iohannis Diaconi versiculi de Cena Cypriani." *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, IV, 2, Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1896.
- Tronskij, I. M. *Dějiny antické literatury I, II*. (History of the Ancient Literature I, II) Tr. Věra Novotná. Prague: Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1955.
- Wilmart, André. "Le prologue d'Hervé de Bourgdieu pour son commentaire de la Cena Cypriani" *Révue Bénédictine* 35 (1923): 255-263.
- Wright, Thomas. *History of caricature and grotesque in Literature and Art*. London: Virtue Brothers & Co., 1865.