CAROLINE HAMMOND BAMMEL

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Caroline Penrose Hammond Bammel 1940–1995

BY THE PREMATURE DEATH of Caroline Hammond Bammel, early Christian studies lost a major scholar, who had already achieved much and had many more things to tell us. She came of a family with a high academic background. She was born at Falmouth on 5 July 1940, at a time of dramatic peril for Britain in the world, and her eminent father had already gone from home to cope heroically with Hitler's war, soon to play a crucial role in Greece and the Balkans which he knew so well. So it came about that until she was five years old, his first-born had no opportunity to set eyes on him. When at the end of it all he came home, she had by then seen only a photograph of his head and shoulders, and it is on family record that her immediate reaction on her first sight of him was amazement that he was also endowed with legs. With the war ended and normal Cambridge university life gradually reviving, she was to find herself no longer an only child in what had hitherto seemed to be a one-parent family, but rather the eldest member of a lively quartet which in time would become a quintet.

No portrait of her could fail to say how important her family was to her. Beside her devotion to the acquisition of scholarly skills, there was a richly human side—delightful, indeed scintillating wit, sometimes gently teasing but never touched by malice—and the Hammond family share memories of peals of cheerful laughter together. Among her deepest pleasures was to be walking in the scenic splendours of the Elan valley in mid-Wales with its large reservoir, and this lovely valley was but one of many local areas and districts which she loved to

explore. A favourite hobby was planning such walks. She also had high skill with drawings and ironic cartoons.

When in the coming of her fifties the grave medical verdict declared that a terminal cancer had begun its slow deadly work, a family assembly, after she had shared the serious and bitter news with each individually, was characteristically an occasion for indestructible courage and cheerfulness.

In October 1959 she arrived at Girton as an undergraduate to read for the classical tripos under Alison Duke. She was taught ancient history by a young Fellow of Trinity Hall, Robert Runcie. All her teachers found her to combine a self-effacing modesty with an acute intelligence of exceptional power. The mathematical system of old Cambridge in allocating marks in the Tripos according to the number of questions expected was not really clear to her, so that in her Tripos answers she succumbed to the temptation to write long and immensely learned answers and then ran short of time. In consequence she was not placed by the examiners in the first class—and was not the only brilliant scholar of her time (with a scintillating career ahead) who was to stumble at this fence. Nevertheless, she went on to undertake research, realising that to someone well equipped in Latin and Greek, in questions of text and palaeography, there was a wide field open before her in early Christian literature. So while she was trained to be qualified to teach Cicero and Vergil, her investigations took her beyond the canonical texts of the traditional classical syllabus.

A question that especially intrigued her was the continuity and discontinuity between the 'classical' Greek and Latin world and the new attitudes brought into being as people in the Roman Empire became Christian—which they did with a rapidity that astonished both sides of that debate. A year crucial for its consequences was spent in Munich as a Fellow under the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. There she went to sit at the feet of Bernhard Bischoff, grand master of medieval manuscripts, Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy and of many other learned bodies. At first she found herself surprised and baffled by the fact that the main subject for his graduate seminar was the 'Lives of Saints'. Initially, she supposed that these often folklorish documents lay beyond her range or proper concern. She had not yet discovered the hard-headedness characteristic of Bollandist critical work on these voluminous documents. She was persuaded to attend, and immediately found herself riveted by Bischoff's methods and prodigious knowledge of his subject. From 1966 Girton College

appointed her to a research fellowship. Two years later this was transformed into an official fellowship with a college lectureship, combining both classics and theology.

She had a well-filled timetable teaching undergraduates, especially in classics, but her research interests remained in the field of early Christian literature. As a thesis-subject for a doctorate she wanted to edit a text, and having already discovered Origen to be a figure of high interest, she embarked on a large project of soaring ambition which seemed only to become ever larger and more Everest-like over the many years that the work eventually demanded. The proposal was to plug a major gap in the critical editions of what remains of Origen's biblical commentaries, namely the abbreviating Latin paraphrase of his exposition of Romans produced by Rufinus of Aquileia in 406 in southern Italy, a work last seriously edited in 1759.

The search through the catalogues of manuscripts produced an alarming quantity of codices needing inspection and collation at least in part. Among them one was of particularly great importance, namely the fifth century Lyon 483 in half-uncial (Lowe, CLA VI 779), containing the first half, books 1–5, damaged at the beginning and end and with some other defects, but in date no great distance from Rufinus' autograph. It became possible to demonstrate that Rufinus' personal preferences, as mentioned in his writings, are reflected in the manner of punctuation and of citation, but especially in idiosyncratic *nomina sacra* with *dms* for *dominus, is* for *iesus* (never *dns* or *ihs*), the abbreviation *is* being extremely unusual but influenced by Greek usage attested from about 300 onwards. Rufinus had his circle of admirers and supporters, and not all the points in the contest went to Jerome in their vast quarrel which so distressed Augustine and others. Rufinus' works were lovingly copied in monastic houses which valued his achievements, and the scribes followed his precepts, set out in his preface to his translation of Origen, *De principiis*, and again in *Apologia contra Hieronymum*, i. 12. If his well-to-do friends Melania and Pinianus were helping to pay for the scribes making the copies, there would have been a certain expression of loyalty in the scribes' adherence to his principles.

A careful stemma was drawn up for the numerous other manuscripts. A codex from ninth-century St Amand, now at Copenhagen, includes a note on the first folio to the effect that the complete work of Rufinus was 'found in his library after his sudden death, unpublished and uncorrected'. This and several other ninth-century manuscripts

illustrate the seriousness which the commentary on Romans commanded in the Carolingian age with its debates about predestination and grace.

Early Christian commentators followed normal ancient convention in citing a piece of the text being expounded before going on to offer interpretation, and the 'lemmata' of a Bible commentary provide crucial evidence for the type of text lying before the exegete. Rufinus seems to have had difficulty with Origen's lemmata, since he appears to have saved time by quoting only the first Greek words and then leaving it to the scribe to fill in the remainder.

Rufinus decided not to translate Origen's lemmata but provided his own Latin citations using his own manuscript of the Old Latin version. Thereby Rufinus' Latin paraphrase of Origen has preserved for us almost complete the copy of Romans in a manuscript of the *Vetus Latina* written towards the end of the fourth century or thereabouts. His codex need not represent the type of text current in the Aquileia of his youth, since he did not remain there but frequently travelled about. So his codex of the Pauline letters may have been picked up on his travels. In consequence of this procedure Rufinus preserves for us the text of an early manuscript of the pre-Vulgate Latin version of the epistle, which also turns out to be attested in the commentary of Ambrosiaster. From his reading of Origen Rufinus learnt the invaluable habit of recording variant readings between different manuscripts, and from time to time he takes occasion to compare the readings of his codex of Paul with other Latin manuscripts known to him.

The original Greek lemmata of Origen can in part be reconstructed from the content of the commentary.

The interest and importance of the research for the history of the Old Latin Bible gave the impetus to publish the fruits of her labours in the prestigious series of monographs, *Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel*, edited by Beuron Abbey under the aegis of the Heidelberg Academy. Her book of 551 pages mostly in small print appeared in 1985 with the great house of Herder in Freiburg im Breisgau. Five years later came the first volume of the critical edition of Rufinus, containing the first three books, with a promise of three further volumes to come.

Caroline Hammond had learnt fluent German from Mrs Stevenson, mother of her Tutor at Girton, Alison Duke, and was master of the language: 'That pupil of yours—she cannot make a mistake'. As a Humboldt Fellow in Munich she had been able to deploy her linguistic skill. In 1979 she married a Cambridge colleague in the Divinity

Faculty, Ernst Bammel, with a substantial house in Bonn and many German connections. German was the language they used together. So when the time came for her to publish the results of her researches, she decided to use German. Her husband used to say with pride that he never had to correct her. Several of her learned articles in journals also appeared in German.

In addition to the collation and assessment of the manuscript tradition, the commentary on Romans raised other questions. Rufinus expressly recorded that of the 15 *tomoi* of the original Greek of Origen, some had not been available to him, as he set about the task of reducing its length by about half as his friend Heraclius was asking him to do. At the end Rufinus appended a *peroratio* denying the right of malicious critics (Jerome is no doubt in mind here) saying that he ought to be giving his own name rather than that of Origen as the author of the commentary, so much of it is his own work. He goes on to admit that not all the books have been available to him. The booksellers' copies have been incomplete ('*interpolati*', *not* meaning 'interpolated'). Some rolls were not to be had. It was always a factor militating against the complete transmission of Origen's biblical commentaries that they were relentlessly long; scribes became weary and felt sure that patrons would not wish to pay for so many *stichoi*, which in the case of the commentary on Romans would have run to 40,000. Rufinus filled the gaps with matter from Origen's other writings.

In 1899 E. von der Goltz published in the *Texte und Untersuchungen* NF II 4 a description of a tenth-century codex from the great Lavra on Mount Athos, where the scribe of the epistle to the Romans incorporated marginal notes recording the points at which Origen had begun the tomes of his commentary. A superior republication of this material came in 1932 in Harvard Theological Studies from Kirsopp Lake and Silva New. The marginal notes include the information that the eleventh and fourteenth *tomoi* were missing. Von der Goltz thought the marginalia of the same date as the Athos codex. The probability, however, is that they belong to early in the fourth century, first made by Pamphilus or Eusebius at the library of the Church in Palestinian Caesarea. Caroline Bammel spotted an unrecognised clue in Staab's *Pauluskatenen* (1926) and discovered a second witness to the marginal notes in a manuscript hiding in the Vatican library, Palatinus 204 s.xi, making possible a fuller publication of remarkable material.

Fragments of the original Greek of Origen also survive to be brought into the reckoning. Basil (*De Spiritu sancto* 29,73) has a piece on the

divine being of the Holy Spirit. The historian Socrates (*HE* VII 32,17) recorded that 'in the first tome of his commentary on Romans Origen examined at length the use of the word theotokos'. Catena fragments from Vaticanus gr.762 s.x (a copy in Bodleianus Auct.E.ii.20), poorly edited by A. Ramsbotham in the *Journal of Theological Studies* 13 (1912), have been enlarged from Vindob.gr.166 s.xiv by Staab in *Biblische Zeitschrift* 18 (1928). The anthology of Origen on biblical interpretation made in fourth-century Cappadocia and called *Philokalia* has two excerpts. Above all there is the Tura papyrus, discovered in 1941 when the British Army had caves south of Cairo emptied of ancient rubbish to make a cache for ammunition. This gives excerpts of varying length from tomes 5–6, containing the commentary on Romans 3:50–5:10, and was written early in the seventh century or late in the sixth. The papyrus text received a masterly edition from the papyrologist Jean Scherer in 1957, who also provided the text with a partly contentious (and contested) commentary, sceptical of the integrity of Rufinus as a translator.

Caroline Bammel devoted a substantial section of her monograph of 1985 to an evaluation of the Greek papyrus, and some of its readings were incorporated into a verse-by-verse commentary on her monograph. But she did not need to be concerned with the problems inherent in the papyrus itself, where many excerpts cannot have been intelligible to the scribe himself a week later, so drastic is the degree of abbreviation and apocopation. A recent detailed study has appeared in the late Kurt Aland and H.-U. Rosenbaum's *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri* II (1995).

She decided not to include the Tura papyrus readings in her edition, where the Greek runs closely parallel to Rufinus. But she supplied a learned apparatus of parallels and possible sources in Origen or other writers.

It is a source of deep regret that the learned and tireless editor did not live to see her great edition completed. However, in 1996 the Vetus Latina Institut in Beuron and also the publishing house of Herder published a statement of firm intent to complete the printing. Books 4 and 5 are in proof; of book 6 the text and part of the apparatus are ready for the printer. The remaining four books of the whole can be edited from her *Nachlaß*, and the altruistic publishing house hopes to complete the work without undue delay.

Two volumes have been published gathering her papers and notes from learned journals, one from Variorum entitled *Tradition and*

Exegesis in Early Christian Writers, the second from Herder entitled *Origeniana et Rufiniana*. The latter volume includes a paper of central importance for the biography of Rufinus and the chronology of his career. The Variorum volume has its main weight either in papers on unity and diversity in the early Church or (a related theme) the varieties of biblical exposition found in these texts and their influence on the history of ideas.

Academic recognition came to her a little more slowly than one might have expected. She became a Reader at Cambridge, and was elected a Fellow of the Academy in 1994. In Germany more than one faculty of theology smiled upon the possibility of a call to occupy a chair, which would have been highly unusual for an English woman.

Initially she was a nervous lecturer, but she never delivered a lecture to undergraduates without being the soul of lucidity, fortified by hand-outs richly provided with the salient names and points. Youthful shyness yielded in time to the utmost firmness, and friends can recall quiet but formidable questions being addressed to paper-readers at learned seminars who seemed to her to be indifferent to some of the evidence.

Caroline Bammel's students were devoted to her, as she was to them. When first she became seriously ill with cancer, she asked herself what most mattered to her in life, and confessed that the answer was her friends and other people. The delayed sentence of death impelled her to throw herself ever more fully both into her teaching and research, and also into the life of her college and to seeing as much as possible of friends and family. When she realised that the end could not be far distant, a great burst of energy made her that year highly productive of papers in learned journals, including a meditation on death in the *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* concerning this theme in ancient and Christian poetry.

Her husband, Ernst Bammel, well known especially for his learned articles about emergent Christianity, loyally supported her scholarship, and her marriage brought to her deep happiness, Bonn becoming her second home. Whatever of her was mortal now lies in the Bammel family grave at Kessenich by Bonn close to the Rhine. Ernst Bammel died on 5 December 1996 in Germany after a long illness.

She died, in strong faith, in Cambridge on 31 October 1995.

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